

PROFESSIONS AND THE GROWTH OF PRIVATE

HIGHER EDUCATION, 1810-1980 IN

MEXICO

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ABSTRACT

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1. The main purpose of the present study is to present a more plausible account, than has been provided by either sociologists or historians, of the role played by public and private institutions of higher education in Mexico in professional training.
2. Second. Three sets of sociological theories- attribute analysis, functionalism and power analysis- have been applied to the analysis of private higher education in Mexico with the aim of trying out their usefulness as analyses.
3. It will be argued that the understanding of the process of development of the professions in a society like Mexico implies a completely different position to the functional and attribute approaches. It will be argued that:
 - a) The development of the professions in Mexico is a result mainly of the social rôle which they have been given in a successive changes of power relations. That is, their development has not resulted from their capacity to deliver particular skills, or to have an autonomous organisations or ethical codes, as attribute or functionalist approaches assert.
 - b) In the second place, it is proposed that Gramsci's idea of seeing hegemony allows us to understand the way higher education behave in relation to the intervention of the state.
 - c) Third, following this theoretical proposal , historical analysis and case studies were adapted as most suitable methodological approach.
4. In conclusion, it is suggested that to understand the historical conflict between the Mexican state and the private institutions of higher education it is necessary to reconsider the theories about the rôle of professions in different societies in an historical perspective and an analysis of the power variables are vital for this understanding.

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INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL

PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM

In recent years the enormous expansion of private institutions of higher education in Mexico has generated a fierce debate within a society which long been accustomed to the state having a large measure of control over the nature and scope of university activities. The main state universities have long enjoyed a monopoly over the training of those professionals who would subsequently run state institutions.¹

The movement of professionally trained people between state institutions their own professions was part of the very nature of the Mexican state which emerged from the 1910-1917 revolution. Not only was this monopoly institutionally challenged by the advent of privately founded and controlled universities but it was also ideologically challenged. The corporatist philosophy which allowed the hitherto comfortable game of musical chairs between university, private professions and state institutions to operate was also called into question by a model which saw the purpose of education as largely servicing the need of a growing private sector and the expansion of those professions which would service that sector. A large private domain thus challenged not only the social and political hegemony of the political configuration which emerged during the 1920's and which has subsequently dominated Mexican

society, but it actually meant radically rethinking the structure and nature of higher education as well.²

Currently, many commentators are arguing that the success of private education has been such that it has replaced the dominance of the state universities within the government. It is thus at least partially responsible for them adopting policies more favourable to the private sector. In addition it has led to a recasting of how public universities see their own activities. Yet very little has been written analysing these events and putting them into their historical context.

My purpose is to make a contribution towards filling this gap. Hence, the main purpose of the present study is to present us with a more plausible account, than has been provided by either sociologists or historians, of the role played by public and private institutions of higher education in Mexico in the training of people to occupy roles in the professions.³

Historical literature has tended to ignore the social meaning and evolution of the professions within Mexican society. Sociologists, on the other hand, have tended to ignore how social change can affect the essence of what they are seeking to describe. This is the social meaning and the activities of the professions in general and their sometimes heated debates concerning the training of professionals. Neither has adequately described the role of professional training within the universities nor their relationship to Mexican society. Hence, my purpose in this study is to try to provide

a more adequate account not only of the debate itself but, more importantly of, the sometimes very complex social, cultural and political processes underlying and forming that debate. Let me first deal with a number of theoretical difficulties concerning approaches to the problem.

Whilst sociologists start from the premise that the professions and professionals play an important if not a key role in modern society, there are significant differences in the ways in which they justify their arguments. If we look closely at the main theories which attempt to describe the professions we find that many of them share the characteristic of using a method described by their critics as abstract and a-historical. It is claimed that it is difficult to apply it to a society like Mexico which has experienced fast and sometimes sharp changes affecting all social groups.⁴ If we are to examine the professions and professional training over an extended period of time the rigidity of such an approach makes analysis all but impossible. That is, if we should try to operationalise such a theory we would find it impossible to describe the essence of what a profession is within Mexican society and how professions are rooted in the social division of labour.

A second set of theories whilst not completely abandoning the attempt to construct a formal definition of the professions through a list of attributes have tended to emphasise the function of professions within a particular social entity but somehow independent of time. An example would be the work of Margaret Archer in her study of the teaching profession. Here the rise of the profession is regarded historically

almost as the natural and independent evolution of a single element until such a time as it is constituted and then it is defined by its henceforth immutable characteristics. This approach, whilst still emphasising what some would call a formalistic definition of professions, encounters the problem of how to deal with sometimes very different histories composed of sometimes very different social forces. This orientation, nonetheless, has the advantage of being able to study the professions by observing their relationship to the institutions and social forces which led to their constitution. At the same time the specific internal characteristics of the profession can be examined. However, here we encounter another problem. This approach only allows history to intrude during the initial constitution of a particular profession. Moreover its emphasis on what we can call the natural history of the profession sometimes results in a failure to define the relationship of the profession to power. The role of power in establishing the professions has been often excluded from consideration because it is not easily accepted as a determining the development of the institutions charged with the training of professionals, or indeed in the institutionalisation of a profession.⁵

A third set of theories observes the creation and evolution of professions as independent or non-independent entities. In this case they are closely linked to the social history of the state which is itself the result of a new balance of social forces.⁶ In part, the proponents of this approach argue that an essential characteristic of the professions is their capacity to translate “political demands into expert solutions”. They add, moreover, that they have played an important role in the consolidation of

the modern state through their participation in at least four important areas of its activities based on their “expert knowledge”:

1. The definition of social problems and of social need.
2. The taking, justifying or legitimating of decisions.
3. The allocation of resources and subsequent justification of the allocation.
4. Involvement in newly created “public” actions like health, housing and leisure activities.

It seems reasonable to suppose that higher education in a society cannot be limited to a simple transmission of abilities, knowledge and techniques, we must assume that it refers to characteristics that give meaning to the four relevant areas mentioned above, as well as to the inclusion of these values and knowledge into the educative processes that characterise professional formation in each kind of institution. Hence we will be able to expand on the hypothesis that the power of different professionals will be linked to the institution in which they are based. In other words, the power of the universities, both public or private, will be proportional to their ability to link expert (or professional) knowledge to the dominant values in society. It will be further enhanced their ability to demonstrate that they can help to maintain and structure the social, political and economical order. This translates into their ability to legitimate their own very different programs.

However, this approach still does not allow us to undertake a study of the professions and professional training in Mexico because it assumes a model derived from the social evolution of Europe and the United States. There, the professions were created independently of the state and they played a significant role in modelling modern society.

In Mexico the professions were actually created with a constant intervention of the state, in some ways akin to the creation of the “noblesse de la robe”. This constant presence of the state contextualises their attitudes, their activities and their training.⁷

Most sociological approaches have argued that the principal characteristic of a profession has been its ability to set itself up as an independent body by policing its own activities and certification. In Mexico not only did the state play an important role in creating the professions but through the national university certifies and sanctions their activities. Whereas in other countries the independence of the professions has been related to their own expert judgement and choice of criteria no such view is tenable when we look at Mexican society. The national university is the sole institution which legitimates professional knowledge. Professional bodies play no role whatsoever in this process and in that sense are of little social importance. As a result, in the evolution of the private education system, as we shall see in the following chapters, debates throughout Mexican history have centred on the possibility of obtaining recognition from the national university and hence social and state legitimacy.

Through this study I will also try to develop an alternative to the approaches which I have briefly described above. I will argue that the process of development of the professions is dynamic, and to understand them implies a completely different position to the functional and attributive approaches I described above. I should propose that the development of professions in Mexico does not respond only to their accomplishments, which are in turn the result of their internal attributes, or to the important role played in the social division of labour, but also to the accomplishment of the assigned social role in relation to power needs in each historical moment.

By adopting such an approach it will be possible to demonstrate that the traditional view of the professional as an independent person whose success is based on the skill with which he/she uses their “craft” (the attributes approach) never achieved more than a partial existence in the 19th century Mexico. Its existence coincided with a particular historical phase when the state attempted to create a liberal education. However, once the more interventionist state was created out of the complexity of the Mexican revolution, the liberal professions lost their independence. The limited powers of decision they had over their activities were transferred to a professional bureaucracy housed in the public universities. On the other hand, the private-technocratic professional discourse that gave priority to training professions at the service of industry has lately gain legitimacy after years conflict with the state.

In conclusion I will argue that there is no a single concept of professional and correspondingly there is no one form of professional training. Educational options,

based in different institutions, can also result in professional options. In the second place, I will argue that when the expertise that characterises different forms of training enters the market, its success will be measured by the state in terms of its ability to fulfil the four central activities described above concerning the evolution of the state and society.

II. OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

A work that opens up a new academic area runs considerable risks. But the use of concepts common to all the social sciences assists us in identifying important socio-political processes, educational patterns and the policy making context.

When I began this research comprehensive studies of private higher education in Mexico did not exist . Most of the information had to be obtained from second hand sources, archives, interviews and visits to the campuses of several private institutions. Most of the documents used were those that these same institutions use to recruit new students. Obviously these must be examined with considerable caution.

Chapter I and II are devoted to present the theoretical discussion that and methodological devises that give rise to this study.

Chapters III, IV and V and VI are historical in character. These chapters analyse the different episodes that illustrate the opposition to the state's monopoly in education,

particularly higher education. The focus is on the groups in conflict and ideas which they promoted. The new institutions that were created will be also analysed in the light of these conflicts.

In chapter III, I examine the historical foundations of what, following the nomenclature devised by Mexican historians we can call “liberal educational discourse” in the 19th century, Mexico. Its understanding will help us to understand the origins of the Mexican state discourse towards private education.

Chapter IV is devoted to discuss the basis in which an educational possibility started to flourish as the result of the existence of an independent nation.

The revolution in 1910 drastically modifies the scene. Freedom of education, the 19th century battle against the Church, became a common aspiration in the new revolutionary state. Chapter V is dedicated to the new alliances and the process of radicalisation of the state. Specifically it will be centred on the way in which educational issues became the focus of the alliance between Catholics, liberals and conservatives. The radicalised state expressed its intentions to control higher education. It needed specific kinds of professionals and no others. It also determine that education should transmit to students certain ideology.

The discourse against the monopolist tendencies of the state was also an argument against the authoritarianism of that same state. A moral critique of politicians and their procedures began to evolve. During this period the state’s discourse is well ar-

articulated. In the following Cardenist period (1934-1940) we can observe a new ideological response to the state's perceived needs in education.

However conflicts do not last for ever and by 1945 the Mexican State was negotiating a new pact with all those groups formerly opposed to it. In Chapter VI is also dedicated to how hegemony requires consensus and consensus requires a common ideology. The politics of class conciliation introduce new alliances between the state, the liberal professions, the capitalists and the church. It may be seen, therefore, that the state accepted that it must give free rein to those forces in civil society which had alternative educational strategies. Nevertheless the state remained responsible for the challenging task of educating the peasants and workers, who represented, at that time, the vast majority of the population.

Chapter VII is devoted to analysing some specific higher educational institutions representative of the different models that were in conflict at that time. We reconstruct their history, their values, their organisations, and their social objectives and provide a comprehensive account of different alternatives in professional training

Chapter VIII, I analyse in greater depth the most important aspects of the growth of private education from 1950's until the end of the 1980's in the light of the arguments presented in previous chapters.

Conclusions are presented in Chapter IX. Historical trends are discussed in the light of the current theoretical and methodological debate about professions and training institutions.

¹ Universidad Futura Vol.4 No. 11 Primavera 1993

² De Leonardo, Patricia. La Educacion Privada en Mexico. Ed Linea, México, 1982. What the historical analysis proposes is that private and public higher education constitute two different nets and three models. Net refers basically to the organisational representation of the educational structure. Model refers to the content of education and its implications for society. It is proposed that in Mexico these two nets, depend on the structure of social classes and the way wealth is distributed. On the other hand the models are constituted by the public institutions that educate the political and technical cadres for the government. The liberal model that sees higher education as the means to rationalised society through professional trained men. It propose a curricula based on technical, non-political, and, neutral contents (scientific). The private option that subordinates professions to the technical, economic, social and ideological needs of the dominant class. Finally it will be discussed the theoretical characteristics of these models and their consequences for the development of Mexican higher education.

³ There are studies that emphasise the relationship between power and education, but there are no works describing the relations of institutions of higher education to types of professional training and power.

⁴ These theories called the attributive approach proved unable to clarify the understanding of the problem of power and control that cut across the debates about the characteristics of professional training.

⁵ In next chapter a complete argument about these theories will be set out.

⁶ A third set of theories do emphasise the problem of power relations through showing how professions exercise in particular social settings. I.e. Freidson Eliot Professional Powers. The university of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1986

⁷ There is not an extensive literature about this topics. To expand this point see: Arce, francisco et al., Histria de las Profesioness en Mèxico. El Colegiode México, México, 1982

CHAPTER I

THE PROFESSIONS

The analysis of the conflicts which arose at the foundation of each of the private universities that will be discussed seemed to show that there was state hostility to the kind of professional which these institutions wished to produce. Apparently, the state considered the new professional profiles to be radically opposed to those needed in the wake of the Mexican revolution. This opposition was seen by the state to be as much technical as ideological and social.

It would seem that the professions and the universities, were the key elements in the functioning of the state. Francisco Arce, in his chapter on the expansion of the professions in Mexico between 1930 and 1945, points out:

“The revolution of 1910 was not only a movement oriented towards changing the regime but also a great step towards a new kind of modernity quite distinct from that foreseen by the theoreticians of earlier times. The revolution was also a social explosion which implied the renewal of the governing class and an increase in the expectation of social mobility at all levels of society. These phenomena, in a society which was beginning to grow at an extraordinary rate, had a direct effect on the development of the professional sector. University policy explains many of the ways in which professional studies came to be shaped and also explains the rivalry between the Universities and the state for the control of this politically decisive elite” (Arce, et al. 1982: 225-226).

However, it could be asked what it is that converts the professions in a politically decisive sector. Why is that the post-revolutionary state tried at all cost to impede the

creation of Universities which could not be under its direct control?. In the following chapters, an attempt will be made to answer these questions. Two perspectives will be examined: that of the theoretical studies of the professions and that of the state policy towards higher education.

For more traditional analysts of the professions, the study of the state might seem anomalous, given that the autonomy from the state is considered one of the most important characteristics of the professions. As shall be seen, this is true for some professions in some countries. In Mexico, state interference is so blatant and of such a radical kind that it is impossible to ignore. Nevertheless, given the documentary evidence, a historical study of the rôle of the professions in the educational policy decisions of the state:

“..must take as a starting point the place where they are born; that is, the Universities and institutions of higher education. Although the study of the professions goes far beyond that of the institutions where they are taught...The history of both is linked” (Arce, et al. 1982:228)

The view of Arce seems to us to be correct. However, his aim is not to analyse theoretical models of the professions but rather to trace their history. His (excellent) study is oriented basically towards analysing state policy on public education. Private institutions are referred to only obliquely.

From the point of view of the present study, private higher education has a two-fold interest. One aim would be to fill the gaps in the official version of higher education history. A second would be to take clear those characteristics of the professions which

make them so important to state educational policy. For these reasons, it could seem important to look at the different theoretical approaches which have been used to analyse the professions.

Two main approaches dominated the sociological analysis of the professions until the 1960s. First, there were studies that focused on their special characteristics: analysis of attributes or traits. Second, there is a line of research which emphasises the social function of such experts (managers and technicians) in an increasingly complex social division of labour.

The first approach has generally used the liberal professions as its paradigm. Medicine has been seen as the best example of the complex of attributes which are said to characterise a profession. Some functional analyses have extended this approach to other professions which are linked to corporate structures such as those of engineering and science in highly developed capitalist societies. The proponents of trait analysis would argue that the new professions have maintained the distinctive attributes of a traditional profession.

The first model lacks an explicit relationship to any social theory. Its proponents have simply signalled that there are certain characteristics which distinguish a profession from other kinds of occupation, and that certain professional occupations are constituted by their very characteristics. This could be labelled as the tautological model.

The functionalist perspective, assumes the same point of view. However, it does extend the idea that professional characteristics exist, to the conclusion that the professions uses these characteristics to satisfy some social need.

I. THE ATTRIBUTES APPROACH

Despite the fact that most of the authors who represent this perspective have never been able to agree on the attributes which best define a profession, Millerson¹ has identified at least six elements which are the most frequently cited. These are the following:

1. Professions claim to have a systematic theory to support their knowledge.
2. Every profession requires training at a high educational level.
3. Every professional is compelled to undergo an authorisation procedure by the professional community (i.e., the competency proof).
4. Professionals have an organisation of their own.
5. Professional conduct must adhere to an ethical code which governs behaviour, as well as the professional culture as a whole.
6. Professional services are altruistic by definition.

It is clear that all these characteristics have to be critically analysed. Millerson demonstrates that analysts have often elicited them from the statements of members of a profession. Similarly, he asserts that these statements are spontaneous. The speakers have not critically examined the implications of their own words. In this way, the self-characterisations produced by the members of professions have become neutral elements in sociological analyses.

Furthermore, the analysis of attributes tends to assume the existence of an "ideal type" or "archetype" of the profession. However, the categories used have been drawn from the analysis of a very small number (typically those known as the liberal professions). In addition they include elements which have only been shown to exist geographically in the United States or perhaps in some Saxon European countries, and historically at a specific moment during the development of the professions.²

Another problem is that no theoretical effort has been devoted to analysing the relationships between these characteristics. This, therefore made impossible to answer certain questions. Is there any relationship between the authority of the profession and the possession of theoretical knowledge?. Between its organisation and its ethical code? Between ethics, professional skills and knowledge?

The existence of each one of the characteristics of a profession may be open to several interpretations, i. e., prolonged training may be considered imperative to improve the education of the future professional, or, to improve the service he or she provides. Or, it may have no relationship with educational requirements, as Max Weber points out. It may be linked with the desire to limit the supply of candidates for certain positions and

the perpetuation of the monopoly of those who already have their certificate. Or, prolonged training may be accounted for by the need to concentrate within a single structure (i.e. the university) the production of knowledge as well as the production of the producers of knowledge. Thus it is way of controlling the theoretical basis of professional practice. This is an important stage in the process of acquiring control over a professional field .

Other characteristics may be submitted to similar criticism. This is, for example, the case of the professional's altruism. This characteristic refers to the fact that the remuneration professionals received in exchange of their services are not guided by profit but by their own conscience. However, other perspectives, such as historical analysis, have shown that the professions can be considered as the product of industrial expansion and as commodities subject to the profit motive. Modern professions were organised as a consequence of new opportunities that arose to make an income and obtain profits. A grosso modo they took part in the struggle to capture and control the new markets, which appeared during the expansion of the field of activities of the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie during the 17th century. The demand for professional organisations and the search for professional monopolies also emerged from these processes

Modern professions prospered as a result of the efforts of their middle-class members, who fought against the market monopolies and the concentration of power of their aristocratic predecessors. Thus, the new middle-class professionals were able to legitimate the strategic resource of their organisation. This was the distinctive knowledge they could claim as the basis for the control of their occupation.³

The use of the attributes approach shows the same disadvantages. These is the imposition of an ideal, abstract model on the analysis of a specific historical process. Therefore, it is not surprising that the transformation of an occupation into a profession is thought to entail the following steps:

1. The emergence of the occupation as a full-time task.
2. The establishment of high-level studies.
3. The foundation of a professional association.
4. The appearance of political restlessness, effective enough to lead to the acknowledgement and legal protection of the association.
5. The adoption of a formal code of professional ethics.

This ideal model facilitates the arrangement of different professions -or occupations which hope to become professions-, along a continuum. The professions that have historically undergone all these steps, can legitimately claim to be called professions and enjoy the privileges derived from that claim. The others, those which have not attained a full measure of institutionalisation, can be included at some place along the continuum and will continue to struggle to complete the cycle. In this way, the problem of analysing the social obstacles that the process implies, as well as the problem of explaining why some occupations acquire a greater hierarchy than others in any cultural

and time context, are eliminated. In the same way, the central problem of the relationship between the "necessary" steps for the professionalization of an occupation and the role of government and the productive apparatus in the achievement of those aspirations, is omitted. This approach therefore does not pay any attention to the relationships which necessarily exists both with power and with the productive structure which results in the maintenance of a hierarchical structure for the social division of labour. Obviously, any criticism of the existing division of labour is also eliminated.

To conclude, this approach assumes that the inherent qualities of an occupational activity determine in an autonomous manner the way in which professions carry out their function. Any reference to the influence of other factors is eliminated. The existence of powerful and weak professional groups, the participation of government, commercial enterprises and academic institutions in the definition and legitimisation of professions is ignored.

This "inherence" thesis obscures the fact that professions are not a type of occupation different from others. They are specific ways of controlling occupations in which the professional ideology -for that is the level to which the analysis of attributes is reduced- plays an important role.

It can be said that the very concept of profession in the attributes approach, is equivalent to the ideology that certain dominant groups within the professions use to perpetuate themselves. This perpetuation is permitted by a mechanisms of ideological reproduction. This emphasises the distinction between expert and layman, between the dominant

groups and those who have a potential ability to innovate and criticise, but who lack exactly those "attributes" necessary to achieve social legitimacy.

On the other hand, the analysis of ideology must not be discarded. On the contrary, it is important because the theory of attributes does not provide a sufficient basis for sociological analysis. The social function of professions is made clearer by examining the role that ideology plays at significant moments of their reproduction as social practices.

II.THE FUNCTIONALIST APPROACH

The functionalist approach bases itself on to the attributes analysis to define a profession. Nevertheless, it puts emphasis on those attributes of the professions which have the greater functional relevance for the society. Thus, for example, Barber⁴ highlights the following four elements:

- a. A high level of general and systematised knowledge. The importance of this knowledge rests on the fact that it provides society with a source of control over nature and social processes.
- b. An orientation towards the public interest, which guarantees that the control over nature and society will not be used for the exclusive benefit of particular interests.
- c. A high level of self-policing as a result of the existence of an accepted code of practice. This attribute is essential, because it insures the existence of element a., and

places the professions in a prestigious and honourable situation that transcends merely individual interest.

d. A system of rewards which is not ruled only, by an interest in profit, which distinguishes professions from enterprises.

The functional attributes approach assumes that the knowledge applied by professionals has the same value for all social groups, and that all members of society value all professionals. Both these factors, therefore, places professionals in a honourable and prestigious position. All these assumptions have been widely criticised. The law, medical services and other professional activities have different meanings and are perceived differently by different strata in capitalist society (Wilding, 1982:85).

These contradictions in functionalism have been examined by Talcott Parsons⁵. In order to answer the criticisms of functionalist theses, Parsons proposes the existence of an intimate relationship between the professions and science. This relationship grants professions cognitive rationality and scientific neutrality. In other words, whether in relation to society or to an individual client, the professional founds his activities on the technical basis of his profession. He excludes any external or non technical consideration. Therefore his action is neutral with respect to any particular social group.

More recently, P. Halmos⁶ (Halmos, 1970) has posed once again the durkheimian idea of the ethics of the professional services.

According to Halmos, the service ethic pervades society as a whole, including private enterprises. For him, the existence of an ethical code for professions (which originated in medicine and law), is the most favourable way to produce a moral change in modern society.

Intimately linked with this position is the opinion that the bodies of intellectuals organised around professional requirements have operated as the best defence for the democratic system or, in its absence, as its strongest supporters.

In Durkheim's⁷ view, professions were elements of order which were decisive in attaining social stability (or organic solidarity). He suggested that professional organisations were a pre-condition for the achievement of consensus in modern industrial societies, and that the rupture of the traditional moral order could only be compensated by the constitution of moral communities based on occupational membership. In that moral environment, professions could perform the function of bringing cohesion to an unstable society.

Durkheim continues the argument, stating that professions constitute a force strong enough to put the public interest before the merely individual, which dominates capitalist industrial societies.

This position represents what we could call the liberal-democratic viewpoint on the role of modern intellectuals (the professionals) in society. Professions carry out the function of developing democracy and giving cohesion to contemporary society; at the same

time, their knowledge is rationally and independently employed in the civil society, and does not merge with social power.

Liberal theorists think that the positive attributes of professions derived from their independence from power. That is why bureaucracy and the industrial enterprise are seen as the major enemies of competent professional activity.

Few of the authors who defend professional ethics have realised the increasing linkage between professionals and the organisations which are supposed to be their principal enemies, and even fewer have elaborated proposals which would permit them to confront these new situations.

Weber and Parsons thought this process was inevitable and even desirable. According to Weber, bureaucratisation and professionalisation were simultaneous processes, if not the same process. Both are the result of an increasing secularisation and rationalisation of western society.

On the other hand, according to Parsons, the professional complex is:

"..the most important and biggest component of modern societies. This new complex is so important that it has displaced the state and, more recently, the capitalist economic organisation".

He goes on to say:

"Clearly, the ancient leadership used to lie in the dominant capitalist class...(However) the new leadership element is based on cultural criteria of legitimacy, more than on

criteria of political power or economic success... Leaders have now got to inspire both moral and intellectual authority, without ceasing to be, at the same time, pluralists as far as religion is concerned" (Parsons 1951: 230).

The authority held by the professions originates in the universities:

"This is the reason why the fundamental origin of the modern professional system resides in the close connection between academic professionals and certain types of pragmatic men. These last have undertaken the responsibility of a series of operative functions in society, on the basis of a specialised competence, rather than on the basis of a diffuse religious or ideological legitimisation" (Parsons 1951: 233).

On the other hand, the advocates of the theory of élite have argued that the fusion of knowledge and power has generated new types of technocratic professionals who are replacing the existing dominant classes. Unlike the liberal viewpoint, this second position, both functionalist and technocratic, draws its examples from engineering and science.

Other authors, like C. Wright Mills⁸, recognise the expansion and increasing importance of technocracy. Yet, liberal criticism has questioned the belief that the increasing expansion of professions would have the desired effects on democracy. On the contrary, these authors have demonstrated that liberal professions tend to submit more and more to the manipulation of industrial demiurges. According to Wright Mills:

"..the continuing expansion of professionals and the professionalisation of certain kinds of occupations have not led to the expansion of the educated liberal professions committed to service, stability and democracy, but have produced the outburst of experts and technocrats, men of a narrow specialisation and a still narrower view of the world" (Mills 1956: 124).

On the other hand, R. Merton⁹ has questioned the ability of engineers in human matters. Their extreme specialisation -says Merton- has led to an indoctrination characterised by an ethical sense of limited responsibilities.

In short, we could say that the analysis of the social function of professions has followed two different paths. The proponents of the first defend liberal positions and liberal professions. These are characterised as occupations which show autonomy, commitment to service and the defence of democracy. According to the alternative analysis professions are inevitably called on to perform a leading role because of the irreversible rationalising tendency of cultural and political processes in western society. These processes lead those in power to look for support in the scientific knowledge of reality. They also compel the leadership to depend on the legitimacy afforded by "cognitive rationality".

In both cases, although with a different emphasis, the professions have a pre-eminent place in the functionalist theory of society. Professions become pre-eminent because they adjust themselves to the kind of society within which they operate. They express the existing scientific values. They harmonise with the prevailing division of labour and with the transformations of power produced by modernisation and the increasing complexity of social structures.

III. PROFESSIONS AND NEW NEEDS OF EXPERTISE

On another social level, professions have become pre-eminent because of the expansion of the welfare services provided by the state with the advance of modernisation. Professions are indispensable in organising managing and mediating the services devised to solve social problems.

It is obvious that as they emerged as institutions professions wove their relationship with knowledge, the goods produced by this knowledge, the reproduction of their privileges and the exercise of power. This complex of relations is itself produced in various ways:

a. The importance that it has for social welfare makes professional work seem to be the expression of the state's concern about private problems which have become public issues (health, nutrition, housing, entertainment and such).

b. The education of professionals as experts legitimates their actions and, at the same time, it legitimates the state's action.

c. The professions provide employment for the middle classes; this allows them to enjoy certain levels of power, privilege and freedom.

All this means that professions have become a key social group for the functioning of capitalist societies. Professionals take part in:

- a. policy and administrative decisions
- b. the definition of problems and needs
- c. the assignment of resources
- d. centred services

Therefore, the work and the power of professionals is proportional to their ability to relate their expertise to the dominant values of society, and to their capacity to show that their efforts can help to maintain the existing social, political and economic order. In other words, professional status depends not so much on the autonomy of the professions (the liberal viewpoint). Rather, it depends on the professions' capacity to resolve society's problems by means of effective solutions.

This is precisely the ability in which universities train their professionals. The efficiency of this training constitutes the basis of the struggle between public and private universities. They compete for a status which their graduates can confer on them if these graduates satisfy demands of the different social groups.

Following Johnson¹⁰ I will argue that the evolution of professional needs in modern society has given way to a variety of forms of institutionalised control over the professions. Each form of control has consequences for their training.

Johnson distinguish at least three different forms:

1. One in which the producer defines the needs of the consumer and the manner in which these needs are to be catered for. This type is called **collegiate control** and is exemplified by the emergence of autonomous associations. One subtype of collegiate control will be that of professionalism. This will appear mainly in nineteenth century Britain, the United States and Mexico under the title of the liberal professions. Medicine and the law are the standard examples.

2. Forms of patronage, in which the consumer defines his own needs and the manner in which they are to be met. This type include both oligarchic and corporate control as well as some forms of communal control. Oligarchic control arises in those traditional societies where a patron or an oligarchy was the major consumer of various types of services and goods. **Corporate patronage** refers to the form of control over professional activities that comes from large corporate public or private organisations. Communal control appears, for example, in the modern forms of consumer organisations in which communities try to control the quality of the services.

3. A third form of control is called by Johnson the **mediative type**. Here a third party mediates in the relationship between the producer and the consumer, defining both the needs and the way in which the needs are met. Two typical forms appear in capitalist societies. First, there is the capitalist himself, the entrepreneur who intervenes between the producer and the consumer to rationalise production and regulate markets. Second, there is state mediation. A powerful centralised state intervenes between the producer

and the consumer, initially to define the needs, and later to define the way these needs will be met. This is the case of the welfare services provided by the state.

The impact of a system of control upon professional occupations varies both as a result of the prior historical development of the professions and the way training of the professions is carried on.

The following work is basically a description of the ways in which three of these ways to control the professions -professionalism, corporativism and state mediation- have influence the educational debate on higher education.

Professionalism is represented at the beginning of the 20th century by what I will call the liberal professions, at the National University. Its proponents were middle class professionals, who believed the mission of a university organised as independent faculties to be the transmission of free knowledge. Professional practices would be based on rational knowledge and professional ethics. This kind of professionalism is associated with an homogeneous community which has a relatively low degree of specialisation. His members have been recruited from similar social backgrounds, which allows them to share status, sense of identity and values. Their training institutions are characterised by vocational schools which are directly or effectively controlled by practitioners. Finally role-definitions and standards are maintained by a code of ethics. As Durkheim believes, justice, progress and health are the central values.

The major tensions for this group of professionals arise from their relationship to the revolutionary state, which was born out of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The state

considered these groups in the National University individualistic and egoistic. It was said that they only served the interests of industrialists, landowners and the Church. The state wanted professionals with a “national ideology” and a sense of communal service. It needed intellectual to impose its social project. However this group did not accept the state invitation until 1945. In the first chapter we analyse this confrontation, because it resulted in the formation of the first private institution in post-revolutionary Mexico: The Free School of Law. These events also explain the creation of the Instituto Politecnico Nacional (The National Polytechnic Institute). This institution was created by the state to educate the technicians that it needed. This form of mediative control will be examined later.

Corporate Patronage arises where a demand for professional services comes from a small, powerful, unitary clientele. Under these conditions, the technically based authority of a profession and social distance are at a minimum. Under patronage, recruitment is by sponsorship. Shared values and status are the basis of this sponsorship. Technical criteria are less important. Rather, the practitioner is expected to be socially acceptable. These characteristics help to explain the importance to the elite of having their own institutions of higher education. Secondly patronage is associated with fragmented, hierarchical, locally oriented professional groups. These identify with the corporation not with the “professional community”. Norms and values are defined as corporate expectations and their prestige is social rather than technical. Under these conditions knowledge tends to be particularistic or local. Basic research is associated with the application of knowledge to local needs. These elements form the basis of the arguments which the state uses to oppose the emergence of private institutions. They are also used by the public universities against the private ones. They form men of “narrow

view and narrower specialisation”, with no interests in wider perspectives or social problems.

Finally, mediation arises where the state attempts to remove from the consumer or producer the authority to determine the content of professional practice. The State is the most important employer of professional people. This form of control can be attained with a minimum control of professionalism. I will sustain that this is the case in Mexico after 1945, when the state and the professions came to an agreement. For the professions it represents the creation of a guaranteed “clientele”. State mediation will also tend to control recruitment by expanding academic channels into the occupation. As a result, state mediation has the effect of placing greater power in the hands of academic institutions such as universities and technical colleges, rather than leaving it in the control of the professionals themselves. On result of this is that it is difficult to balance the interests of state on the one hand and consumer needs on the other.

Ideologically, the state mediative type of control will stress social service rather than the personal orientation of professionalism. Therefore, professionals will be obliged to recognise the social and political consequences of their actions. This, in addition to the rejection of the private "corporate" oriented training, was the argument the state used in the case of the National University.

As it can be observed there are differences in the organisational and structural location of practitioners. These result in different attitudes to the professional community. However, another consequence is that there are variations in the types of knowledge

and ideology adopted by each educational institution. This resulted in variations in the types of professional profile which private or public institutions produce.

In recognition of this trends in modern societies, Johnson asserts that professions must find answers to a wide variety of problems put to them both by the state and the economic system itself. He argues that the evolution of the rôle of the professions has resulted in an institutionalised control over them. Moreover, each form of institutionalised control has consequences for the set of characteristics which define each kind of professional profile.

This approach has had the welcome effect of widening the way in which the professions are analysed. Trait analysis was an extremely restricted way of working. Other occupations (than medicine or law) became candidates for professional status and other routes towards this status were mapped out.

This approach has also thrown up other findings. For example, it seems that members of the professions are by no means a homogenous group. Their characteristics and behaviour vary according to the field in which they are engaged. A lot of disputes which have arisen about the professions and the apparent contradictions of different analysts, could be resolved by specifying the profession which is being discussed and the country. Generalisations can never hope to include all the characteristics of different groups.

These variations are still evident in the traditional professions. For example, doctors engaged in private practice represent the most typical model of that profession from the point of view of trait analysis. Nevertheless, other kind of medical practice exist. For

example, doctors engaged in public health are working in a n area which depends on state policies. There are also doctors who work in the pharmaceutical industry. Members of the profession are also teachers, researcher or administrators. These can hardly be said to conform to the typical model of a doctor described earlier. Hence, the importance of typifying different kinds of professional practice.

The assumption here, that I accept as basically correct, is that each type of professional training centre, contains a particular orientation towards the knowledge and skills required for the graduates of the professions thought in it.

My second assumption is that variations in the kinds of knowledge and ideology, adopted by the professional institutions result in variation in the professional profiles produced by these institutions.

My third assumption is that there are two axes of analysis which need to be taken into account in order to understand the conflict between the state and the universities over the education of the professions. The first axis consists of the sources of power: the state and capital. Second is the *raison d'être* of the professions themselves: the knowledge obtain in the universities.

The profession's only resource is their intellectual and technical capital. The university is the place of its transmission and reproduction. They have no other independent source of power. Thus, they are obliged to adapt themselves to the external conditions which capital and the state impose on them.

Moreover, Freidson states that:

“It is often the case that changes in the direction of the state bring policies connected with professional affairs, changes that can be quite drastic following a political revolution. However, these changes need not be, and are usually not in fact, based on substituting lay ideas for professional expertise. Instead they usually entail a shift in emphasis from one cognitive strand or school of thought within the legitimate body of professional ideas, to another...Such a shift cannot be said necessarily to weaken or desprofessionalize “a” profession so much as to weaken one of its segments” (Freidson 1994:38).

The state policies which most affect the professions are those which influence higher education. A clear example of this will be mentioned later when the creation (1936-1940) of the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN) by Cárdenas is examined. At that time the state considered that the so-called liberal professions (those which correspond to a conventional description of a traditional profession) had become useless for the purposes of the state. They were considered to be self-centred, elitist and lacking in social orientation. At this moment an attempt was made to close the National University. Simultaneously, the state created the Polytechnic to train the new kind of professional person considered by it to be useful for society and the state. These would come from the less privileged classes, have a technical orientation and be at the service of the state.

On the other hand, the characteristic shape of the professions trained in private higher education institutions was to be influence by the needs of capital, the market and, in general, the economy.

It is not my intention to analyse here any given profession and the way it may be differently shaped by the state or the economy, but to state that different segments of the professions compete for recognition and power in society, using the virtues of their different approaches to try to solve public or private problems. Institutions of higher education put into play through curricula and ideology different professional profiles which will compete in society.

The subject of this analysis is the way in which the institutions of higher education compete to have their teaching recognised. Given that in Mexico, the universities are the main resource of instruction. This analysis aims to show the dialectic conflict which arose around the definition of the professional profile when private higher education came into being.

¹Millerson, G. "Dilemmas of Professionalism" *New Society* No.4, June, 1964. Millerson identifies twenty three different elements in twenty two authors. Only six of them are repeated. Some of the best works dedicated to identifying these elements are: Freidson E. (Ed) The Professions and their Prospects, Sage, London, 1973 and Doctorine Together, Elsevier, 1975. Elliot, P. The Sociology of the Professions. Mac Millan, 1972. Esland, G Politics of Work and the occupations, Open University Press, 1976. Hughes, E.C. Professions Deadalus, Vol. 12, 1963. Jackson J.A. Professions and Professionalization, Cambridge University Press, 1970. Larson, M.S. The Rise of Professionalism University of California Press, 1977. Lieberman, J.K. The Tyranny of the Experts University of Chicago Press, 1970. Halmos P. (Ed). Professionalization and Social Change, Sociological Review Monograph 20, University of Keele, 1973. Moore, W. E. The Professions: Roles and Rules. Sage, 1969. Vollmer, H.M. & Mills, D.L. Professionalization. Prentice Hall, 1966

²The most important works include: Carr-Saunders, M & Wilson, P.A. The Professions, Oxford University Press, 1933. Parsons, T. "Professions" in Sill, D. L., (Comp), International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Mac Millan, 1968. Terence J. Johnson Professions and Power MacMillan, London, 1972. Millerson, Geoffrey The Qualifying Associations, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964. Sarfatti Larson, M. The Rise of Professionalism, University of California Press, Calif., 1977.

³Eliot Freidson, has proved that the term "profession" is linked to a particular period in history and to a limited number of nations. See: "The Theory of Professions: State of the Art" in Dingbell, Robert and Lewis Philip (Comps.) The Sociology of the Professions: Doctors Lawyers and Others. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1982. Freidson warns us to be careful because, even in those countries that are supposed to conform to the ideal model of a profession as a collectivity of independent individuals, autonomous, with real prestige in society, altruists, etc., as in Great Britain or the United States, this definition is not totally adequate. "The Changing Nature of Professional Control" in the Annual Review of Sociology 10, 1984.

A complete alternative vision of a profession is provided by A.G. Fielding and P. Portwood "Professions and the State: Towards a Typology of Bureaucratic Professions" in Sociological Review 28 (1), 1980.

In Mexico the subject has been studied by: Latapi, Pablo "Profesiones y Sociedad" en Perspectiva Universitaria, 1982. Isidoro del Camino y Jorge Muñoz "La enseñanza profesional en Mexico 1970" Revista del CEE 2 (3), 1972.

Rosenbleuth, Ingrid "Dependencia tecnológica e involución profesional: la industria y la ingeniería química en Mexico" *Relaciones, Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 1, 1980.. Guillermo Villaseñor " Una visión estructural de la institucion profesional" *Revista CEE* 8 (3), 1978.

⁴Barber, B. " Some Problems in the Sociology of the Professions" *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Autumn, 1963.

⁵Talcott Parsons. The Social System, Routledge an Kegan Paul, London, 1951. The Structure of Social Action. FreePress, New York, 1949.

⁶Halmos, P . The Personal Service Society Constable, London, 1970. and "Sociology and the Personal Service Society " in E. Freidson (ed.) The professions and their Prospects. Sage, London, 1973. See also. Halmos P. (Ed.) Professionalization and the Social Change Sociological Review Monograph 20. University of Keele, 1973.

⁷Durkheim, E. "The Social Context of Professionalizationin H.M. Vollmer & D.L. Mills Professionalization Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1966, and "Professional Ethics an Civil Morals" Introduction to The Social Division of Labour London, 1957.

⁸ C. W. Mills, White Collar New York, 1966.

⁹Merton Robert "The Machine, the Worker and the Engineer" in *Science* V, January, 1947. In the same tenor see Bell, Daniel The Coming of post-industrial Society Heinemann, 1974.

¹⁰Johnson, Terence. Professions and Power British Sociological Association, 1982

CHAPTER II

THE POWER QUESTION

If we avoid to approach professions as monolithic organisations, we could advance the hypothesis that in certain circumstances, certain segments of the professions can answer more appropriately than others to state demands.

On the other hand, we have seen that in some cases, these differences are determined by the type of professional training they receive in the different institutions of higher education, or by what Johnson calls the different types of professional control.

In fact I had put forward the hypothesis, that private higher education institutions had tried to differentiate their professional profiles from the dominant professional profiles imposed by the state through public education.

Following Freidson we can argument that:

“It is often the case that changes in the direction of the state bring changes in policies connected with professional affairs, changes that can be quite drastic following a political revolution.they usually entail a shift in emphasis from one cognitive strand or school of thought within the legitimate body of professional ideas to another...so much as to weaken one of its segments” (Freidson, 1994:38)

All these ideas allow me to advance the hypothesis that the conflict around the constitutions of the private universities, we are about to study, are related with state ambitions to control the professional profiles in the country.

To understand the process that were involved in this intention we must go beyond state policy expressed in discourse to the its implementation. To do so we must analyse the social agents involved in that implementation. This is the best way to understand state functioning beyond its formal façade. By using this method we will be able to understand the concrete circumstances under which each institution obtain its recognition from the state.

There is an extensive literature on state education policy and policy-making. Most of the historical writing about education however has focused on institutions rather than the social history of education. To understand the real process it is need to reconstruct the participation of the actors. It is necessary to consult texts on the history of educational policy, government educational acts and biographies of policy-making politicians.¹ Attention must be centred on the processes that generated the institutions of higher education and the recognition of all the agents involved: politicians, bureaucracies, local authorities, political parties and organised interest groups.

The traditional studies tend to ascribe perfect knowledge or conspirational intentions to the State. Things therefore occur in response to the wishes of governments and politicians, or in response to abstract technical considerations. These arguments tend

to exclude the complex relations that often lie behind a policy decision or a reform in legislation, not to mention the contradictory tendencies that exist in society and are allegedly to be satisfied by the educational system.

The analysis of conflicts, on the other hand, involves a critical approach to the legacy of the State and its educational policies. The various social interests represented in Mexican society must be examined as well as their effects on state policy.

The commonest approach is to continue to inhabit the world of the policy makers but with a critical eye. This kind of analyses tries to discover in the public debates an underlying logic. The focus is on what is hidden or implied. The most sophisticated variant of this approach is the work of Michel Foucault.² His subjects are not politicians, classes or social groups but "discourses" or "discursive practices" that have been socially constructed. Foucault is interested in the knowledge of policy-makers not because it is true but because it creates "regimes of truth". The problem is that the real forces that lie behind this discourse rarely appear in reality.

Other very influential sociological analyses in the last twenty years include the Marxist and neo-Marxist analyses of education. These studies concentrate mainly on the structures of domination. They do not look for experiences of the dominant or dominated experiences, but rather, for regulative structures. As Marxists, they are interested in the functions that education performed in the capitalist society in terms of a core premise: capital tends to reproduce itself structurally. The most influential

study of this kind is Althusser's account of how the schools act as "ideological apparatuses" and reproduce the capitalist relations of production.³

Others like Bowles and Gintis, in their classical book Schooling in Capitalist Society focus on schools in a way, which stresses the economic role of educational institutions. Schools replicate the conditions of capitalism.⁴ As influential as the work of Bowles and Gintis is the work of Pierre Bourdieu on social and cultural reproduction.⁵ He suggests that school reproduce the social relations of power while distributing cultural resources in an unequal way. Power is seen as operating from inside rather than from outside.

Another very influential approach to domination, is the work of Basil Bernstein. He argues that the school helps to maintain social inequality by institutionalising the cultural criteria of some segments of society. In other words Bernstein argues that the structuring of knowledge and symbols in the educational institutions are intimately related to the distribution of power and to the principles of social and cultural control in a society.⁶ If this is true we must expect to find a representation of power and control in the proponents of the different private institutions. Power is seen, in this approach, as control over strategic resources.

In that sense Gramsci's work continues to be an important source of conceptions and suggestions for thinking about political and pedagogic processes in society. Just as the construction of the private system of higher education cannot be understood

without understanding the conditions of policies, policies cannot be understood without the concept of hegemony.

The concept of hegemony in Gramsci is related to a new reading of the concept of the state. The state must not be considered as a political society, a dictatorship or a coercive apparatus. In other words, the state must be considered as a political system in equilibrium between political society and civil society. That is, the hegemony of a social group over the entire nation executed through the so-called private organisations: Churches, schools, unions, etc. Gramsci places hegemony at the centre of his analytical and practical vision of politics. Domination does not prevail, only in particular cases, what does exist is the ethical and moral direction of society, which provides cohesion and meaning.

Maintaining hegemony is an ongoing practice, which is carried out inside a civil society through its institutions. Civil society is basically an arena where different hegemonies are in conflict, and not only a reflection of the economic domination of a single class that controls the state. The erection of hegemony implies a pedagogical relationship between each one of its participants. This is the case in the modern state. The function of the modern state has been completely transformed. The state becomes an educator. What do we mean by educator? It means that hegemony is successfully constructed when it manages to create a "collective man", a social consent that fits the morality of the masses with economic needs. The agents of this process are what Gramsci calls the intellectuals.

Gramsci's concept of intellectuals is very well known in the sociological literature⁷, but once again, educational research has been conducted as if these functions were not the principal role that education fulfils in society, especially when we are talking about higher education. The function of the school is to organise the main formative objective of the state: the work out of the hegemonic consensus. But what we will try to establish is that in specific historical situations what society needs to obtain through education is extremely complex. Different needs may or must be served by the same set of institutions. There is a problem of satisfying different demands, which is resolved only by political negotiations. State agencies become the locus of this struggle between different classes, their factions and their agendas.

Gramsci's theory of hegemony maintains that civil society corresponds to the organisms called private, and "the hegemonic function corresponds precisely to those private organisms " (Gramsci 1963:30). The ideological function of private organisms in society includes at least three aspects: the elaboration of an ideology, its extension as a general world view and the ideological shaping of society, that is, the creation of those institutions that contain, produce and distribute the ideology, (educational institutions being perhaps, the most important of all, before the appearance of the mass media). The analysis of these private institutions, in our case, the private universities, helps us to understand the process of construction of hegemony. Following Gramsci's ideas hegemony is not static, it is a process. It is the historical process by which the dominant classes became dominant in their pursuit of

power...or the process by which the dominated classes became included in the hegemony of the dominant classes (Gramsci 1963:124).

At the beginning of our study the continuous presence of the state in the formation of private institutions of higher education became obvious. This was so important that it was necessary to go back, at least to the middle of the past century in order to examine it. The roots of the state's interest in fostering the development of the professions, and the conflicts this concern generated are to be found in the Mexican liberal tradition, which developed at that time. It may be said that if these antecedents were not taken into account an understanding of the problem would be almost impossible.

Other problem was the absence of reliable information. Most of the studies of higher education in Mexico do not include private education in their analysis⁸. Until recently as a result of the dominant ideology of a state-based and controlled economy and society, it seemed that private higher education was intended to survive invisibly.

It could be argued that forty years ago higher education in Mexico could be studied without any reference to the private sector. Until the 50's higher education consisted almost exclusively of public institutions. Contrary to what had happened after 1960 in many Latin-American countries, like Chile and Brazil for example, as Daniel Levy (Levy 1986) has shown, Mexican private education did not expand as much as public education. Its growth relative to the public sector did not begin until 1970. That is

why, before this time, to treat the private sector as marginal to educational policy and research may be justified.

In the second place, numbers were important, -private higher education has registered a growth of 1000% compared to 1950- but the lengthy debate, extending for almost over two centuries between public monopoly and private interest in the control of the higher educational system, reflects a wider concern about social consequences. It is what we can call a concern about the “moral” direction of society.⁹

Professional training at the university level has as one of its basic functions the transmission to its students of the generalised and systematic knowledge and ethics that constitute the basis of professional education and practice. In consequence we can argue that different orientations in training imply differences in the way universities, professions and social requirements are articulated with society. This statement allows us to discuss the significant relations between professional training, -public or private- and the structuring of a liberal-monopolist state such as the Mexican.¹⁰ Further more I will argue, that both sectors, public and private, are more easily will be better understood when viewed in relation to one another.

In the case of Mexico the processes through which the upper classes exert their hegemony over other social groups are difficult to fathom because the Mexican economic model emphasises, above all else, political stability and economic growth. By insuring political stability the state provides a secure and profitable environment

for private interests, By controlling the popular sectors, the state promotes policies that are very favourable to business. Yet, the state has often maintained the appearance of distance or even hostility to the private sector, beyond what the real degree of state-private conflict would suggest. In return for its privileges private enterprise is expected to produce the economic growth desired. Mexican development since 1945 is characterised by a state-private sector alliance that is deep, if largely undeclared. The problem that we will consider is the way these alliances have been arranged to satisfy the educational demands of the upper classes. First the provincial upper classes. In the case of the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara, the alliances represent mainly the commercial and middle classes. Second the Church or some sectors of it. Third the provincial industrial sector of the Northern State of Monterrey. These constitute our three case studies. Although these institutions have changed through time, they have given birth to different educational models of professional training, practice and social ubication of their graduates. The complex question, that we will try to answer through the analysis of case studies, is how these educational processes can be considered as part of the hegemonic process.

The institutions analysed here have their own characteristics and their creation has been the result of different social and regional circumstances. It is said that the Universidad Iberoamericana emerged as the clergy's response to the increasing secularisation of education and from their loss of power in the educational field. Yet, it is an educational alternative that has confronted strong opposition within the church itself at certain moments. The Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara (UAG)



(Autonomous University of Guadalajara) and the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM) (Technological Institute of Higher Education of Monterrey), on the other hand, were originally oriented towards the satisfaction of the demands of specific regional social groups. But circumstances have changed the directions of these projects. The UAG emerged as a local response to disputes between traditionally hostile sectors in the region. These were Catholic groups and commercial and agricultural sectors on the one hand and the central government of the years 1920-1940's on the other. This alliance yielded an educational conception that emphasises the liberal professional concept. In Johnson's terms, this is the collegiate type of professional control. (Johnson, 1981:45). The ITESM, which is also a product of the conflict with state educational policy, encouraged a technical education linked to the regional necessities of the capital. Another type of professionalism quite different from the liberal one was the result. Johnson calls this type patronage (Johnson, 1981:46).

Since the moment of their creation educational institutions in the private sector were oriented towards training professionals for the economic dominant sectors of society. Unlike public universities, they were not centres of research. They were not oriented towards producing professionals that were needed to fulfil bureaucratic positions or sustain state policies. Nor did private universities play an important role, as public universities did, as agents for the social mobility, which was one of the official aims of university expansion. Students in private institutions were basically those of the dominant social classes. Public institutions, were channels of mobility for lower and

middle urban and in some cases urban and rural working classes. Lastly, one more significant difference was that the private institutions, originally did not train the political elite, the bureaucracy or the professionals for the new state controlled industries.

It is not clear what were the intentions of the state in establishing such a control over private higher education institutions was. The post-revolutionary Constitution of 1917 established the state's commitment to free education for every citizen. This was a situation that gave the state great power over the content and ideology both of educational curricula and educational practice. Private educational institutions for historical reasons are rooted in firm and overt opposition to the state monopoly of education. In some cases the opposition had a religious basis. In others, a broader based opposition of state intervention not only in education, but also in other social and economic spheres is involved. Finally a third group, although against state intervention, had narrower objectives. They wish to create a "technical- managerial" type of education to fulfil the growing needs of private enterprise. Thus we will be dealing with three different strategies: the Catholic, which will be exemplified with La Universidad Iberoamericana, the regional with the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara, and the technocratic exemplified with the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores.

Private interests claimed the right to develop educational programs and practices in accordance with their own ideological interests, whether religious or embedded in a

human capital theory, strongly oriented to managerial needs. The analysis of the three “case studies” will show us the different social interests that constitute the private system and how they influence the development of the new professions.

To sum up, those private groups interested in education wished to create professional profiles ideologically and technically different from those of graduates of the public universities. As will be seen most of the debate about the state's control over higher education institutions has taken the form of a dispute about the nature and scope of these professional profiles.

II. THE CASES

The main private institutions were founded in the period between 1940-1950.

Founding of the principal institutions of higher Education 1940-1950.

Institution	Year
Universidad Autonoma de Guadalajara (UAG)	1935
Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA)	1943
Instituto Tecnologico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM)	1943
Instituto Tecnologico Autonomo de Mexico (ITAM)	1946

From 1950 to 1970 these institutions grew very slowly. However after 1968, it was argued that the student movement demonstrated that public education delivered

political indoctrination rather than education. Hence private higher education expanded all over the country. This did not only occur in those places where the bourgeoisie and other politically relevant groups held sway.¹¹

The next table shows the growth of private higher education enrolment in relation to national enrolment.

National and Private higher education enrolment

Year	Numbers	% national
1958	5971	8.6
1964	15074	13.5
1970	32160	13.7
1976	52166	10.5
1978	80109	12.4
1986	154862	18.8

Fuente: (Muñoz Izquierdo:1981) ANUIES, Anuario Estadístico:1986)

It will be shown that this growth was a response to the demand to establish ideologically differentiated institutions, and to give attention to specific class demands. Ideological differences were expressed in two different ways: as a religious demand and as a political and social demand for "democracy" against State intervention and control. Socially the programme of the private higher education institutions consisted of the selection of students, the reproduction of specific social codes and the rejection of massification. According to the arguments of the promoters of private education, after 1968, public higher education had become so massive, (as a consequence of populist state policies), that the quality of teaching had

diminished. The private higher educational system presented itself as an alternative to massification. A new system of institutions would be created that assured elite orientation. Instead of a political education they guaranteed technical fundamentals; instead of a critical education, they offer a real "education" according to the values of private entrepreneurship. In addition, they transmitted the message that the private system guarantees graduates employment if their cadres respond to the values and needs of the productive sectors¹².

This investigation will try to show that since the 19th century different social groups have been against the intervention of the State in education as well as in other spheres of social life. Their first argument was in favour ideological liberty. That is, they wished to teach religion in the schools and to guarantee the elitist orientation of higher education¹³.

Since the 19th century the debate about private education in Mexico, has taken different forms, but these debates have always played a very important role in the political alliances between social classes seeking to influence the direction state policy with regard to the educational system.

This conflict has always had a centre: the interest of those groups -clergy, middle class sectors, catholic professionals, liberal intellectuals, entrepreneurs- who wished to stop the creation of an educational monopoly under state control. For example there is an emphasis on the rights of families as against state policy; in the defence of

the rights of parents, educators and social groups to select the books that must be used in schools; in defence of liberty in the classroom; in the opposition to accepting the ideology imposed by the state upon the educational system, in defence of autonomy for public universities; in defence of the right to establish private institutions, etc.

The historical success of those different forces to open new "autonomous"¹⁴ spaces is what has given rise to the existence of what we now call the private system of education. So, the term private education refers to an education that, although open to every one who can afford it, is not governed by the state. Rather, different groups of the civil society establish and administer universities, and recruit students.¹⁵

The debate about private higher education has always been part of a larger dispute between the social classes and groups that make up Mexican society. However, within the debate, we can distinguish two strands of thought: the liberal and the statist.

The liberal tradition consists of those tendencies that since the inception of liberalism in the 19th century have expressed the following thesis:

1. The basic cell of society is the individual.
2. Society evolves in a linear direction toward progress.

3. The main function of the state is to be an arbiter between individuals and,

4. Society and its institutions, among them education, are products of the interests of those freely associated individuals.¹⁶

The statist tradition is a product of the revolutionary conflicts in Mexico. It sees the state as the prime mover in all social transformations. Its paradigm may be summarised as:

A. The State is the instrument for social change where civil society is weak.

B. The state has, as its principal function, the protection of the weaker elements of society: peasants and urban working class.

C. The state must intervene in all the areas where it may be necessary in order to consolidate the Nation.

D. The state does not deny the rights of the individual to act politically, but considers that he/she must express his/her demands in an organised and structured fashion.

E. Educational policy the state, as the representative of the Nation, must homogenise the population culturally and socially. That is, it must guarantee the

educational needs of the whole population and create the basis for the development of different productive forces.¹⁷

In Mexican history, the first group was represented by various sectors. These although sharing had very different amounts of political power. These were the Catholics, the liberal intellectuals and the right wing within the government. The anti-Catholic liberals represent the second group, the left wing within the revolutionary government, the populists and the Marxist left. The difficulties that this classification raises centre on the uncertainty that reigns when we try to assign these groups to a certain social class. However, broadly, we can say that those who take part in private educational projects identify with the interests of the bourgeoisie (defined as the economic dominant class). The bourgeoisie and high level churchmen, as well as some sectors of the middle classes formed an alliance against state intervention in education.

The present writer argues that since 1950 the character of the Mexican higher educational system is the product of the alliances and hostilities between these groups and the class interests they represent. The state, come to terms with the bourgeoisie, the church and some middle class intellectuals, and incorporated their preoccupation in the public mass education. This scenario left educational policy and curricula for their own class to the dominant class. The state meanwhile would provide opportunities for the middle and popular classes.

In Mexico, as in the U.S. and France as Bowles and Gintis¹⁸ and Pierre Bourdieu¹⁹ have shown respectively, that population becomes distributed within the educational system in groups, which correspond to their economic and cultural status or social class. I will argue, that although, these explanations tend to be true they prevent our observing the enormous variety of conflicts and alliances that make these categories social objects in constant transformation. In fact, the definition of the frontiers between groups is a recurrent problem for the formulation of educational policy. This is especially true when we confront the behaviour of the middle classes and the tendencies, which influence on the government.

The first group of private Mexican universities is the product of a consensus arrived at between conservative ideological tendencies, the state and the public educational system. After 1950 the system is seen as a balance between the government (public education) and the private groups, especially private entrepreneurs, the church and the critical liberal intelligentsia. Before 1950 there is a clear period in which there was no consensus at all. This is the period of the so-called "socialist education". During this period the government gave educational opportunities to those groups that had never had them before peasant and workers. Public education was militantly anti-religious, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. Private education, on the contrary, was militantly anti-statist, pro-capitalist and elitist.

This balance between the public and the private has had great significance for Mexican educational policies. Value orientations in Mexico always support public

education, and reject even the acceptance of a dual structure. Private education never gained legitimacy beyond the classes that support it. The result was that it sought to satisfy the educational demands of a restricted social group. However today, their interest has moved beyond. They wish to influence the formation of the national and regional political elite, not only the creation of the professional cadres required by their industrial, commercial and financial interests.

Although politics tends to polarise ideas, it is also a fact that at times, private ideals in educational policy have significantly converged with state educational priorities.

The question arises: why the debate between defenders of public and private higher education? What provoked hundred years of often-acrimonious discussion? And, What are the issues today?

We will sustain the hypothesis that, as some theories in the sociology of education have shown, the principle behind the debates about higher education is the issue of control over the formation of expertise knowledge in society.

Bernstein, makes a seminal suggestion: " How society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates educational knowledge which is considered to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of control" (Bernstein, 1971). The structure of cultural transmission, the relationship between power and

control, on the one hand, and the content of education, on the other, becomes the central issue in the study of educational processes.

Following Bernstein, it may be said that it is not enough to state that social classes attempt to define education policies. The point should be to discover what it is about higher education that it's so important to them.

This scheme, although embedded in a more general theory of power, allows us show the kind of power that is involved in the confrontation between the state and social classes when each is resolved to define the educational content of private higher education. Likewise it will permit an analysis of the kind of power alliances and negotiations that take place within the evolving Mexican higher educational system.

The general theories about education emphasise the substantive function of higher education as it has been represented historically. Its role was to preparing professional and intellectual personnel for society. These models show different forms of controlling, what Bernstein calls expert knowledge: that is the practice of the profession.

In a recent book about the professions and the State in Mexico, Cleaves²⁰ studied the implications of the historical tendencies of the liberal professions for national politics. The professions, said the author, have not behaved in Mexico as they have done in other capitalist societies e.g. the United States or Great Britain, and this is so

essentially for four reasons. First and most important, the post-revolutionary Mexican State pre-existed the development of the professions. Therefore any claim to independence by the professions was excluded. The professions were incorporated into the state. Their existence will be permitted as long as they contribute to the consensus model for national development, which is determined by the politically dominant factions. Second, in contrast to what happened in other countries, the state became the main employer for most of the professionals in Mexico. This situation limits the autonomy of the professions and defines a very particular form of relationship that Cleaves calls: "bureaucratic" between the professions and their employer. Third, the professions in Mexico have very little autonomy because they do not create their own technologies. Finally, strong and autonomous professional associations do not exist in Mexico. Instead, many organisations compete for patronage and scarce state resources (Cleaves, 1982: 21-32).

The empirical as well as the theoretical studies of the professionals, give us an understanding of different professional profiles. These in turn are the result of the different forms of control over higher education, as well as the resistance of the Mexican state to transferring professional training institutions to civil society's private organisations. Although, as Cleaves demonstrates, the behaviour of the Mexican professions is not the same as those of other nations, they necessarily share two characteristics with professions elsewhere. Whatever the concept of professions that we use, it is clear that control of training means control of the ways in which knowledge will be applied to society. Second, there are a variety of ways in which

this process can be carried on. However, the possibility that the state might lose control over its principal source of qualified personnel is a decisive factor for the history of Mexican higher education. The State abrogated the right to control the formation of professionals, and any opposition to official policies and programs was seen as a threat to its very existence.

Although these were the intentions of the state, we will see that it does not always have the necessary consensus to impose its ideas. It has often been the public university itself, which has reacted against state policies. On other occasions it has been the state that has changed its alliances. It is proposed, here, to describe the complex process through which Mexican higher education has reached a new unstable balance between public and private institutions. What has happened is that educational values that were once seen as useful only for the economically dominant classes are seen today as useful for all higher education. There seems to be a new division of labour, in which public universities, while still producing professionals, have been mainly successful in producing technicians in one level, and specialised research on the other, while the private sector appears to concentrate on professional training.

The private-public distinction guides but does not limit this study and it must not divert our attention from the basic issues that shape the systemic relations between both types of education. The distinction is useful in order to recall aspects of public higher education and private education. For example while trying to explain the

growth of private higher education, the study signals the relationship to the unprecedented growth of public education. The latter has stimulated the former, as we will explain. But, there are other distinctions that seem to be more relevant, particularly, those referring to the formation of professionals.

The lengthy debate, expanding over two centuries between public and private interests over the control of the higher educational system reflects a wider concern for the social and moral direction of society, as Gramsci surely would have stated. In other words, this dichotomy and the ways it has been solved in each different society allows us to discuss, in empirical ways, an aspect of what we have called the problem of the ideological direction of society, or simply hegemony.

Thus, although we will return to the differences between these two sectors, the study will nevertheless produce some basic answers to important questions about private higher education in Mexico. The sectional differences proved to be decisive and produced contrasting as well overlapping answers to political, economic and social debates around the functions of privately trained professionals.²¹

¹ A bibliography of educational policy exists. However it is not relevant to this essay because it does not take into account either the process which generates professional training institutions or the agents involved in this process.

² From this author see Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, Allen Lane, 1977; The Birth of the Clinic: an Archeology of Medical Perception, Tavistock, London, 1971 History of Sexuality, Pantheon Books, 1978

³ Louis Althusser. Los Aparatos Ideológicos del Estado, Grijalbo, Mexico, 1970

⁴ S. Bowles & H. Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist Society. Basic Books, New York, 1976

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu. Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California, 1977. It is not possible to provide an account of someone as important as Pierre Bourdieu here, but it is important to remember that his thesis of social reproduction has been critically received for its reductionism. It must be said that this viewpoint was very influential in Latin America as well as in Europe, although it is not Bourdieu's major work.

⁶ Basil Bernstein. Class, Codes and Control vol.3, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975

⁷ Antonio Gramsci. Notas sobre la Política y sobre el Estado Juan Pablos Editores, Mexico, 1971. For Gramsci the intellectuals do not constitute an autonomous social group. Rather each social group belong to an essential function in the world of economic production, creates one or more groups of intellectuals that give it homogeneity and the consciousness of its own function. This affects not only the economic realm, but also the social and political realm". Gramsci Los Intelectuales. Col.Grijalbo 70, Mexico, 1970. In this sense all men are intellectuals but not all men fulfil the intellectual functions in society. Gramsci La Política y el Estado Moderno. Ed. SA, Barcelona, 1971. For a very good exposition of Gramsci's thought, see: Macciocchi, M.A. Gramsci y la Revolución de Occidente. Siglo XXI Eds., Mexico, 1975 y Mouffe, Chantal. Gramsci and Marxist Theory. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979. Also see Portelli, Hughes Gramsci y el Bloque Histórico Siglo XXI Editores, Mexico 1980.

⁸ A complete bibliography of higher education in Mexico will appear with this work. For a short review see

Asociación Mexicana de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior (ANUIES) Bibliografía comentada sobre Educación Superior, México, ANUIES, 1989

⁹ This concept is related with the ideas of Durkheim about the relevance of professions. Durkheim, E. Professional Ethics and Civic Morals. London, 1957

¹⁰ The Mexican State has been defined as authoritarian, tutelary or corporatist. However Pablo Gonzalez Casanova's term of Liberal-monopolist State is used here because it was thought that it fits the reality of Mexico. Following Gonzalez Casanova, this concept suggests the existence of formal groups that interact and compete in a market controlled by one main protagonist: the government. Gonzalez Casanova, P "México: el desarrollo más probable" en Gonzalez Casanova & Florescano, E (Comps) México Hoy. México, Siglo XXI Eds. 1979, pp. 405-419

¹¹ The private sector argues that private education differs from public education for the following reasons. It does not have a bureaucratic administration. Its ideology is formulated as a business ideology in which politics and technical skills are isolated from social determinations. It is efficient in terms of cost-benefit for the institution as well as for the individual. On the other hand public higher education is related to an ideology of "professionalism at the service of the people". It is seen as an educational process that allows social mobility. Osborn, Thomas. Higher Education in Mexico. history, growth and problems in a developing industrial society. Centre for Interamerican Studies, Texas, 1976

¹² For a complete argument see Chapter VI.

¹³ For a complete series of arguments and the relevant bibliography, see Chapter III.

¹⁴ Daniel C. Levy in Universidad y Gobierno en México. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1987, discusses in general terms the character of autonomy in the Mexican public universities. In other books, the author discusses the fine line that separates the public from the private sectors. In the Mexican educational debate autonomy was seen during a certain period (1929-1934) as privatisation of the public university. Even, the government accepts this point of view and removed the word "national" from the name of the university and cut off its subsidy. See Chapter IV.

¹⁵ IMESP "La Educación Superior Privada en México 1974-1979" and "La Educación Superior Privada en México 1980-1981", México 1979 and 1981.

16 See bibliography in chapters III, IV, V. For an analysis of liberalism in Mexico see Luis Gonzalez "El liberalismo triunfante" en Historia General de Mexico, Tomo 3, Colegio de Mexico, Mexico, 1976.

17 We are not speaking of the State as a social organisation, but of the statists as politically organised groups or parties that promote a political ideology that we call "statist" because they consider the state as the principal actor in society. In gramscian terms this translates into a certain type of relationship between state and society or, in other words between the public and private spheres. For a more complete discussion of this point see: Alan Hunt (Ed.) Marxism and Democracy, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1980.

18 Bowles and Gintis, Op. Cit.

19 Bordieu, Pierre Op. Cit.

20 Cleaves, C Op. Cit.

21 Patricia de Leonardo Op. Cit.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW

In this chapter I will examine the historical foundations of what, following the nomenclature devised by Mexican historians we can call "liberal educational discourse" in the 19th century, Mexico. This discourse is important because in spite of sometimes-severe historical dislocation and sometimes-chaotic social changes, it survive relatively intact until recent years. Indeed, one can almost say that it flourished.

The liberal educational discourse which developed in the nineteenth century not only survived but was to become a discourse adopted by the post-1910 Revolutionary state and supposedly served as a guide to the state's educational policies and practices again until very recent times. For that reason the present work must begin with an exploration of the liberal educational discourse because such an understanding will help us to understand the origins of the state attitude towards private education.

Hence, although we are dealing with a period in which private higher education, as such, had a minimal existence, the debates about the role of higher education during

the nineteenth century laid the intellectual foundations for the appearance, growth and acceptance by a state which was supposedly opposed to the private sector intruding upon education.

My tool of analysis in attempting to understand this extremely chaotic period is derived, in part, from the work of Gramsci. I will argue, based on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, that educational programmes are inseparable from political programmes, and each social class, fighting to establish and maintain its social hegemony at the same time as part of the process of securing and maintaining that hegemony must also attempt to impose its concept and practice of the role of the professional in society, its concept of education and hence their concepts of professional training.

The concept of hegemony also implies alliances between social groups. In this chapter I must therefore show the alliances between social groups who participate in the shaping of the reforms and the Constitutional and legal discourse which shaped the concept of professional education during the 19th century.

CHAPTER III

HIGHER EDUCATION DURING THE LIBERAL PERIOD

III. 1 The beginning of liberal education 1824-1857

First, it is necessary to examine the 19th century debates about education in order to grasp the basic disagreements. These were between religious and liberal groups, between those who favoured the presence or absence of the state and those who saw professionals as civil servants or as private practitioners. These themes are still present in the 20th century.

The process of decolonizing the country after independence and establishing a national identity defined the political and social setting in which liberal educational reform in the first half of the nineteenth century emerged¹. At the heart of the reform strategy lay the moral transformation of the nation. This would be a guarantee of the permanent character of changes at an institutional level and a defence against any threat of a return to the colonial situation.

It is difficult to analyse these debates only in terms of class interests. However it is equally difficult to deny that different class interests are behind the different positions. An example would be the polarisation of conservatives and liberals.

Nevertheless we can draw a much more complex picture if we look at the system of alliances. It is more enlightening, to analyse these debates and their consequences in terms of hegemony² rather than only in terms of the class struggle. This option can be justified in terms of the object of study itself.

When we speak of higher education we speak of the training of the intelligentsia. In Gramsci's terms those who are about to realise the function of intellectuals and specialists in society³. So the construction of the liberal educational discourse in the 19th century is mainly a debate about the place and function of professionals in society and the set of institutional arrangements that these would imply.⁴

For the liberal state in the Mexico of the 19th century, education was both a precondition for wresting power from the Church (the dominant educational institution in colonial times) and also to form an ideological foundation for the new independent state⁵. Educational reform is the result of the state's need to have a group of professionally formed men who could be trusted, with the management of national resources, business and the administration of the state.

It was only when the state recognised its need for professionals that the arguments over state control of higher education developed. Liberal governments decided to create new institutions to train professionals as they considered the university useless. Mexico lived without a University during most of the 19th century and the first decade of the twentieth. Not until 1910, was the idea of launching a modern

university put into effect. The absence of a national university was filled by the creation and, recreation, of a number of public and private institutions.⁶

At the beginning of the 19th century there are two protagonists: the Catholic Church and its supporters on one side and the movement, which came to be known as liberalism on the other.

Originally the Church was the primary source of education. The educational institutions founded, managed and controlled by the Catholic Church show a continuity of the colonial tradition of subordination and separation of “Mestizos” (children of Spanish father and Mexican mother born in Mexico) and Creoles (Spanish father and mother, born in Mexico) from the “Peninsulars” (both parents born in Spain).

The liberal state which was created through a series of sometimes contradictory movements which started in the 1830, considered that education should be organised according to principles of the Enlightenment. These included the idea that the nation should be composed of free citizens equal before the law, regardless of their racial origins.

However, the battle between the adherents of Catholicism and those who supported the ideas of the Enlightenment was a complicated one and was not necessarily concerned with religion as such. Indeed, religious discourse was a cover for social

disagreements. The confrontation between liberals and the Church was in fact focused on social issues. The liberals did not oppose Catholicism as a religion, but because of its institutional links with a particular socio-economic group.

Many historians have argued that for liberals education played a dominant role in policy. They saw it as an ideal instrument to propagate the ideas which emerged from the Independence movement. However, the structure of education including higher education, they had inherited from the colonial administration, was in the hands of the Catholic Church. If the liberals wished to create a new nation they had no choice but to consider creating new educational institutions.

Hence in the period that extended roughly from 1824 to 1867, education and the University, became the focus of complicated the role of disputes. The liberals considered the University to be a colonial institution which had done little or nothing to train socially useful citizens. As early as 1820, we find one of the principal liberal thinkers J.M.L.Mora expressing the view that the education provided by Catholic institutions:

“..falsifies and destroys the source of all the ideas that should constitute the positive man.” (Mora, J.M.L.,1948: 47).

One reason for the hostility to the University expressed by Mora was that it had supported the Royalist Party against the independence movement. However there were other more important underlying reasons for their hostility which led to, its

closure on several occasions between 1833 and 1865 (de Maria y Campos Alfonso,1980:19-33)

The chaotic process of decolonizing the country after independence and the equally chaotic attempts to establish a national identity are the backcloth against which the early liberal educational reforms, which began in 1833, were conceived.

Mora and others set themselves the task of creating institutions which would permanently change the intellectual climate. A return of the influence of the colonial power, or its ideological agent the Catholic Church would become impossible. As typical positivists they saw this as providing the means to bring about the country's moral transformation and at the same time guarantee its survival as a liberal state.

If these nineteenth century struggles over education are seen as the battle between competing social forces to secure their economic, social and cultural hegemony, we can begin to make some sense of them. Their aim was to create the cultural elements (the moral transformation), that would justify their perception of a new state and a liberal nation.

I use the term perception on purpose because it can hardly be said that Mexico was a nation at this time. What can be observed is the process through which new social attempted to create a unified nation⁷ in the image of their own ideals.

Before Gramsci most Marxists theorists concerned with the relation between social groups, the state and discourse tended to assume that economic factors played a dominant if not exclusive role in the construction and maintenance of power and its reproduction. However, according to Gramsci, hegemonic functions are not only economic. In fact they are not even basically economic. A group or a state cannot exert hegemonic power without possessing three key elements:

- A dominant ideology which tends to exclude other competing ideologies by establishing something akin to Bourdieu's "cultural arbitrary"
- Institutions capable of imposing and maintaining its *Weltanschauung*, and,
- The ideological or moral leadership of society. (Gramsci,1963:30)

Hence the essence of hegemonic domination is the possession of power over those institutions charged with social reproduction and social control. It has been subsequently argued that this process is, in part, achieved through the of institutions, whose role is to impart through the content of their curricula the rules of social control and reproduction.

In that sense educational institutions through their transmission of the rules underlying the symbolic and material values of a society play an important role in the maintenance of hegemony. As Bernstein and Young have maintained, the structuring

of knowledge itself, both visible and invisible, is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control through social apprenticeship. (Bernstein,1975:158). We have also learned that it is not only social division of labour that is preserved but also the symbolic or cultural capital (Roger Dale, et al.,1976:3).

Hence, the principles of control are communicated or transmitted through the educational process. Schools create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt and hence, crude mechanisms of domination.

In the nineteenth century Mexican context this can help us understand why both conservative and liberal groups tried to exert their authority through their different concepts of educational institutions rather than using the other force available: the army. It also explains why the battle over educational issues was at times conducted so forcefully.

Raymond Williams's development of Gramsci's concept of hegemony argues that the concept does not refer to abstract meanings, but rather to: "an organised assemblage of meaning and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are lived" (R. Williams,1975:202).

But these "lived" meanings take form and reproduce themselves in and through institutions. Educational institutions, as Bernstein maintains, are often the locus

where social knowledge and values are challenged and legitimated.
(Bernstein,1973:71-112)

The concept of hegemony also implies the negotiation of economic or class interests through the one body which allows this, the state. Therefore, gaining control over the socially and political institutions also means controlling what we can call the cultural tradition.

In this chapter these concepts are used to describe how the liberal and conservative factions, into which Mexican politics seemed to have congealed expressed their ideological differences through the metaphor of education and sought real political influence by trying to control educational institutions and practices. Their struggles over the definition and organisation of higher education help us to understand their attempts to gain power over society as a whole.

The primary objective of the Liberals was to create a modern nation that would compare favourably with Great Britain and the fledgling United States. In their eyes the former was the prime representative of economic progress and the latter of an exciting new political model. These once adapted to Mexican conditions, would allow their concept of economic, social and political freedom to flourish.

From the outset Liberal policy was aimed at the destruction of all forms of corporate power. This might be found in the state which still clung to the vestiges of its

colonial heritage, in the Catholic Church or in the economic monopolies which controlled much of industry and commerce. The destruction was necessary, they argued, in order to allow the economic and political evolution of "free men". These, through their quest for individual comfort and welfare, would also automatically produce collective well-being. As J.M.L. Mora⁸ maintained:

"Work, industry and riches are what make truly virtuous men and, by putting these in absolute independence from the rest, they shape that firmness and noble coinage of character which resists the oppressor and considers every song of seduction illusory." (Zea, 1963: 63)

Liberals assumed that if each Mexican had the means to be, in Adam Smith's terms, a rational economic being then social felicity and community responsibility would be encouraged. Thus, the new nation could be forged on a homogenous basis and social well-being could be achieved.

Hence, for the Liberals, the moral reform of society was an essential requirement for the creation of a national consciousness and education would have an enormous role to play in the formation of that consciousness. This would be achieved, through civic and political education. All citizens would be taught their economic and social rights and obligations, so that they should understand that the well-being of the community was commensurate with their own.

The other important aim in moral reform was the institutional, ideological, social and cultural decolonization of the country. From the liberal point of view the main

objective was to destroy the colonial corporate institutions particularly the economic ones. A spirit of liberty and individuality would then be disseminated among the social groups by appealing to nationalist sentiments.

Again J.M.L. Mora wrote:

"Once political independence from Spain is obtained, we must carry out a second revolution: the revolution of the mind, the revolution that will free the spirit from the customs and habits of the past and that will allow the population participate in progress. This second revolution has to begin with education". (Secular Schools,1948:31)

The aim of the liberals was the construction of a homogenous nation. This would lay the foundations of loyalty to the institutions which embodied the liberal concept of a well-ordered and functioning society. Education was the means to achieve these ends. Again, J.M.L. Mora clearly described the political problem involved in the transformation of education. For him, a liberal state must have a liberal education.

The state must accordingly:

"... improve the moral condition of the working class by destroying the clergy's monopolisation of public education, by making knowledge widely available and by encouraging a social conscience; by opening museums, schools of Fine Arts and Music and public libraries, and by creating the foundation for the teaching of Classical Literature, Science and Morals". (Secular Schools,1948:42)

In some ways Mora's choice of subjects is strange and not very different from that which the conservatives wished to teach, but his moral point was different. It is an

extension of the idea of duty preached by the conservatives. In their case, the emphasis was on the need to preserve the social order. For Mora the emphasis was on the need to put into action the ideas of the new science of economics.

For an important sector of the liberal group, the radicals, only state education could carry out the complex process specified by Mora. A hegemonic institution was needed to preside over the task. Hence a Liberal regime would use education as its vehicle to put into practice all the reforms demanded by Liberal ideology. In practical terms this set them on a collision course with the Catholic Church and its conservative allies.

The idea of a corporate society, formed, governed and maintained by privileged estates, appear to have been the essence of the conservative idea. This was naturally anathema to the liberal movement which had emerged as a result of the first wave of liberal reforms between 1780 and 1800.

An open and democratic society, in which every individual would have the same rights before the law, was the *raison d'être* of the independence movement. To abolish the power of the military, to confiscate the immense landholdings of the clergy and, to extend the rule of law, were their principal aims during the period.

The Liberals declared that their aim was free and open education, meaning that every one would be free to study and once accredited enter one of the professions.

However, until then a pre-requisite to studying for a profession was, in a literal translation "cleanliness of blood"- that is, racial purity. To contemporaries, being racially pure meant being Spanish. During the colonial period the Spanish insisted that certain professions could only be exercised by natives of the Peninsula, and other, less important, ones by Criollos and Mestizos. A law limiting access to professions was not based on economic status nor on ability but purely on race. Hence, Criollos and Mestizos were denied access to important state, religious and educational positions.

However the liberals used the term freedom with a restricted meaning. Freedom to train did not mean that education was free. It meant that students who had sufficient means could attend institutions which provided the relevant education. Freedom to teach did not mean that teaching would not be subject to state control. The state existed to guarantee freedom and had to control institutions providing training. Freedom for the professions did not mean that they could be self-regulating. On the contrary, as we will see later the Liberal state continued the tradition inherited from the Crown, that the professions existed, to provide services for the state and were therefore subject to strict control. Finally, freedom of thought and expression did not mean that anybody could teach anything. The liberals wished to restrict the right of the clergy to teach.

On the other hand, their aim was to allow the right to employment and movement for every citizen whose means allowed to study. It was concerned with the abolition of

caste impediments which impeded the free development of the economic system. That is, they wished to abolish all the restrictions based on blood, caste or place of birth to the practice of any profession.

Thus we can understand and the speed with which Gómez Farías pushed through the first educational reforms in 1833.

When Gómez Farías became Vice-president in 1833 a brief period of state sponsored changes designed to open up both the economy and society began. His aims were to do away with the Church's privileges, extend state control over the army and reorganise education at all levels. This latter included paying particular attention to the provision of basic instruction and popular education⁹.

Higher education constituted a thorny problem for the reformers. Although they recognised the importance of professionals, themselves for the most part having had professional training, for ideological reasons, considered it pernicious, and of little practical use for the liberal Republic. As we have seen this was due to the Catholic Church's near monopoly of higher education¹⁰ which many liberals rejected as a result of having been students at such institutions.

Liberals identified ideological indoctrination with the Catholic Church's role in limiting access to higher positions to the racially pure. Moreover they were unhappy with what they regarded as an antiquated curriculum consisting of canon law,

theology and a concept of medicine far from what they regarded as modern science. To obtain a degree, all candidates needed to be completely familiar with philosophy, theology and the arts. Hence, for Mora and Gomez Farias the existing institutions of higher education were irrelevant to the practical studies needed by their modern and progressive state. (Staples,1982:73)

Indeed, it was argued as follows:

“We can expect that sooner or later new professional options will be open to our young people. We can also expect that the government will do something about the uncontrolled production of priests, lawyers and doctors. We have nothing against them, but the government should know that the conscience money and health are not the only subjects of study” (Secular Schools,1948:119)

However, it is clear that there is something like a contradiction in the liberal programme. On the one hand, they wrote vehemently about the need to abolish institutions of higher education because they played no role in encouraging the formation of the liberal state. On the other, the new state required competently trained men who could manage the economy and serve as social and political buffers.

It may be worthwhile to pause for a moment here and consider the liberal position in a wider context. In some ways the liberal programme is similar to that presented by Bentham and the utilitarians and later modified by John Stuart Mill. However it must be noted that we are dealing with a society -Mexico- in which the battle for hegemony had not been decided.

If the landed interests in Britain are considered as the equivalent of the enormously powerful coalition of Church, monopolistic merchants, mine owners and landowners in Mexico (held together by traditional religion and belief in caste) we find that in Britain the landed interest were either in decline or allied themselves with liberal industrialists. In the end, the conservative forces in England accepted political and economic reforms. In Mexico the traditional forces not only did not accept the reforms but engaged in a series of civil wars to retain their position. To put it in another way the concept of hegemony permits us to see that liberal control was not effective until the middle of the nineteenth century (after the civil war and the French intervention). The Mexican, revolution for about 100 years was delayed by the stalemate between two versions of hegemony. What should have been a political revolution turned into an economic and social revolution.

Hence it is now possible to understand why no long-term resolution was possible. Higher education became deeply politicised and therefore a crucial dividing element between the liberals and conservatives. Given the extreme polarisation of the positions, it is perhaps possible to understand why liberal doctrine. The contradiction between the need to abolish the existing university and the need of the state to train civil servants and professionals which would work within the liberal framework was not one that could be easily resolved until the liberal hegemony was definitively established.

However, during the 19th century, there were occasional moves towards hegemony which owed their existence to the roles played by various individuals and groups. These actions were made possible by the fact that the central state was weak. Hence many of the regions with a sufficiently developed economy could develop programmes in line with the liberal thought.

One example would be the changes that were implemented in the Universidad de Michoacan (University of the State of Michoacan). Melchor Ocampo, then Governor of the State of Michoacán (1844-1850) undertook one of the most significant transformations of the old university of that period. He re-founded the formerly Catholic Universidad de San Nicolás (University of San Nicholas). In 1830, the San Nicholas offered a curriculum composed of Canon Law and Medicine. In 1844 it was secularised and its management was transferred to the State. One of the first reforms was the setting up of school of Engineering, Physics, Chemistry and Obstetrics. At the inauguration Melchor Ocampo declared that:

"The country needed a practical education to make agriculture, mining and transport prosper...applying scientific knowledge." (Castrejón and Pérez,1976:31).

The aim of the newly constituted university was stated as follows:

"We need to train public men who understand the situation of the state, who can manage the important business that is in its hands, and help to exploit the different natural resources of the country. We have mistakenly trained clergymen, lawyers and doctors who already have their own position in society. We need artists, engineers, technicians, farmers and teachers. Otherwise our schools will continue full of young

men wasting their time in speculative discussion; we need to understand more fully the natural sciences, political economy, administration, but our teachers still spend their time speculating about the origin and ubication of the soul..."(Memorias de Michoacan,1894:19)

Melchor Ocampo's reform represented the first institutional attempt to replace the scholastic model of curriculum organisation. As a good positivist he was naturally attracted to the French model of the organisation of professions. This (later in 1881, once the liberal hegemony was established) would become legally binding in all higher education.¹¹

Following Melchor Ocampo's innovations the National Congress in 1835, decided to close La Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal Pontifical University of México), and establish the Dirección General de Instrucción Pública (Office of Public Instruction) in its place, to manage all professional schools. They organised the professional schools into four major institutions each representing a different branch of knowledge:

1. Law and Literature at the Colegio de San Ildefonso.
2. Exact Sciences and Physics at the Palacio de Minería.
3. Medicine at the Colegio of San Juan de Letrán.
4. Archaeology and "Productos Naturales" (an archaic term for botanical species and their uses) in the Jardín Botánico (Botanical Garden) (Larry,1979:245) (Vázquez,1976: 26)

However, the existence of these institutions was extremely insecure. Those who were opposed to the state involvement in education were hostile to these innovations as well.

They refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the emerging liberal state that was born out of the war of Independence. They either had not supported independence or saw it as no more than legitimating their power. When given the opportunity they would move to abolish such innovations as the reconstitution of higher education.

The authority of the liberal independent state was not recognised by those who defended the re-establishment of a more conservative and traditional regime in Mexico. The liberal state was very insecure precisely because it could not establish permanent institutions. Conservative opposition often took the form of wars between the two political positions into which the Mexican oligarchy was divided.

Two potentially hegemonical powers were locked into a struggle which had no immediate resolution. During the period from the 1820's until well into the 1860's no solution seemed possible and the civil power often abdicated its role to the force nominally serving its interests -the army.

Indeed we find a classic case of a confirmation of Samuel Finer's theory that the army often takes power because of a vacuum of civil power. In Mexico, the oligarchy could not reach a compromise of any kind.

As Brading has pointed out, for the opponents of a liberal state, Mexico was a Spanish Mexico: Catholic and aristocratic. Their political program for Mexico would be the product of the collaboration between a learned interventionist administration and the traditional mining and mercantile Spanish elite. None of these groups was recognised as legitimate by the liberals. Hence there could be no negotiation only something like a fight to the finish. (Brading,1973: 173).

An equivalent situation would have been if the Tories (representing the old landed interests) had behind them the Church (a totally dominant symbolic authority and the largest landowner in the country) and had refused to accept the Great Reform Act of 1832. Britain would have been plunged into chaos and probably the military under Wellington or some such other leader would have tried to plug the gap. The result would have been unimaginable. Perhaps this metaphor can help the reader to understand the chaos of those years. The fight to the death of two totally distinct hegemonies led to a precipitous economic decline and tore apart the social fabric.

The principal opponents of the liberals, the conservative or interventionists, considered that Mexico was not ready to be an independent nation because it lacked a number of important elements.

Given the chaos of the years after independence and, in particular, after the fall of Iturbide's empire in 1834 these elements could only be provided by the intervention of an outside force. This would have to be powerful enough to overcome the

divisions which had torn the colonial state apart and prevented the formation of a new and viable nation.

As in the case of the liberals is difficult to know who these groups were. They were composed of sometimes-contradictory elements interested in a variety of ideological, religious, regional and economic causes. The most powerful economic groups were the owners of the mines and the merchant class. These strong supporters of the above views as they formed an oligarchy and were strongly corporatist in their organisation. Therefore they recoiled from the liberal concept of an open economy and strongly supported the idea of a strong intervention from outside to settle Mexico's problems.

Unlike the liberals, they considered the Church as the strongest possible agent of national unity. Because of its pervasiveness the Church alone was the only agent which could guarantee social reproduction.

Through the transmission of a moral cohesion, similar to a "collective conscience" in the terms of both Gramsci and Durkheim, could achieve national unity in a more coherent and less bloody form than the marauding bands of soldiers under leaders like Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana which claimed to represent the nation.

However despite their doubts about the use of the army they had little choice but to rely upon Santa Ana for the imposition of national unity until the intervention of the

French in 1861. Hence, we can understand why Santa Ana repealed the Liberal laws against the Church in 1844, re-established the University and further developed the General Direction of Public Instruction, founded by the Liberals.

In 1844, one of the first actions of Santa Ana, again in the presidency was to cancel Gómez Farias's liberal decrees, which affected educational practices and the Church's scholastic institutions. This once again allowed the Church exclusive control over the education of young people. Hence forth, education was to be overtly religious.

The only Liberal measure, which was retained, was that education could not be openly discriminatory. The native-born as well as the Spanish population would be admitted into institutions of higher education. Above all professional training was to be incorporated into the traditional scholastic scheme and the reforms which had introduced scientific ideas and methods were not jettisoned.

It was not until 1857 that the liberals had the opportunity to put into operation some of the reforms they had proposed almost thirty-five years previously. By then, a strong group of moderate liberals existed who realised that radical reform was impossible. Some concessions would have to be made if Mexico was going to survive the chaos that the wars over hegemonic control had led to. The turning point had been the intervention of the Americans in 1847 which led to their appropriating more than half of Mexico. The trauma caused by this event cannot be ~~under~~^{OVER}

estimated and led to some re-thinking on the part of the liberals.

This liberal group challenged the anticlericalism of the so-called radicals, who according to the moderates had polarised the country in a way that left profound hatreds. Potential allies who were willing to accept at least part of the liberal agenda had been alienated.

In the field of education a compromise began to emerge. The basis for the resolution of the conflict was to, establish a liberal state-run system of education throughout the Republic. However the existence of private educational institutions, which could be run by the Church or other private institutions would be permitted. Nevertheless, for the radical liberals state education continued to be an absolute necessity. At the Constitutional Congress of 1857, which was meant to celebrate the new liberal compromise with some of the more "enlightened" conservative forces, these contradictions were clearly evident.

Radicals would not accept that the Church would continue to play a role in education and be responsible for instilling that principles into its pupils that differed from those of the liberal state they sought to establish. This, they argued, would lead to continued chaos and civil war. It would be impossible to achieve social cohesion.

Moderates, on the other hand, maintained that educational freedom should depend on personal taste and parental choice. Against those who feared that the Church would

return to Fernando Soto -a moderate liberal- argued that in Mexico it was possible for religious and non-religious schools to coexist. There was nothing to fear because, in the end, the more realistic liberal doctrine would win out and the liberal state would easily extend its influence over the social groups controlled by the Church.

He stated:

"If there is anybody who fears that the Jesuits and clergymen will devote themselves to combating the principles of the people's sovereignty by teaching the divine right, they must recognise that no harm comes from this. The liberals, to be coherent with their principles, must not oppose Jesuit teaching, nor restrain a parent's freedom to look for teachers for his children. This fear will disappear with the presence of governmental schools". (Secular Schools, 1948:68-69)

The position taken by Soto and other moderate liberals became the basis for the third article of the new Constitution of 1857. It states simply that "Education will be *free*". This means, first that education can be either private or public. Secondly, anyone who wanted to study, regardless of their racial and social origin, could do so. Consistent with the liberal ideal there would be no monopoly of state education such as the radical liberals wanted.

The social benefits achieved as a result of these reforms were, however, very limited. The social reform of elementary education didn't reach most of the population. Indeed, the inability of the liberal state to put its reforms into practice led to their surrendering the management of education to a private company, the Lancastrian company. This was an English educational enterprise that was dedicated to the

education of the poor urban classes. Although it had good intentions its scope was always limited Regionalism and the inability to influence state institutions made its work all but impossible.

The newly sobered Liberals made great efforts to re-establish a viable system of higher education. Their aim was to create a system which would be more widely acceptable than before and hence immune to political change. Within these restrictions attempts were made to structure an educational alternative to that of the Catholic Church.

In the new system technical and scientific studies were organised to provide an alternative to the traditional University. However, the goal of replacing the old system with a new one based on academic achievement backed by the financial solvency of the student was more limited. Nevertheless the basis had been laid for the success of those social groups who needed professional training. The growth of the state required a high level of technical training and the evolution of society required better medical and social services.

This led to the growth of the middle class from which many of the liberals had come. It was the continued expansion of this social group which was to play a large role in the formation of the educational system. Because this sector of society relied on cultural rather than physical capital the conditions under which the liberal model of university became hegemonic were gradually created.

For the moment the compromise of 1857 created the conditions middle class employment. Hence, these reforms laid the basis for the state's continuing involvement in education and professional training. But as with any compromise, as we will see in the concluding section of this chapter and subsequent chapters, it contained elements, which would make it difficult to maintain in the long term.

Although it was true that the conditions under which liberalism developed, prevented its consolidation through the establishment of institutions, it was also true that the struggle over education laid the ground for future accomplishments. The most important was the Constitution of 1857. This was the forging of a fragile consensus that was to establish the basis for the state growing involvement in professional training and higher education.

III. 2 Private Institutions

We have so far used the term "private education" to be synonymous with education sponsored by the Catholic Church. At the time there was no other private education. It must be stressed that liberal thought did not exclude the possibility of other types of private education. Indeed, a privately run secular school teaching the latest principles of science would have suited the economic side of their philosophy admirably. However, this idea would not have survived a climate where the necessity to establish their hegemony required the control and monitoring of educational institutions. Hence, there is a contradiction between the economic philosophy of

liberalism and its need for a social control strong enough to allow economic liberalism to flourish.

For that reason there were short-lived private secular institutions which paralleled the efforts of Melchor Ocampo. Indeed, many Catholic institutions seemed to have moved in the direction desired by the Liberals. That is, parallel to the social forces which affected education from outside, there was also a movement within resulting from the "logical" development of the field itself. That is, within the evolution of education we must take into account the "relative autonomy" of the field itself.

In the light of this, a certain picture of higher education emerges for the first half century after the independence movement.

By the end of the 18th century higher education, hitherto the exclusive domain of the Catholic Church, nevertheless experienced a wave of liberal ideas which was known as the "Mexican Enlightenment". The arrival of the philosophy of the Enlightenment gave rise to a cultural movement which, in turn, gave birth to institutions which grew up outside of and parallel to the official University. The growing liberalism of the Spanish Crown was matched by a cultural and scientific movement in which new institutions were created in response to the new doctrines.

Hence, we find the establishment of institutions like the Real Seminario de Minas (The Royal Seminary of Mines), La Real Academia de Cirugía (the Royal Academy

of Surgery), La Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos (the San Carlos Royal Academy of Fine Arts), El Jardín Botánico (the Botanical Garden), and some other practical schools that give expression to these new ideas.

Even the radical wing of the Catholic Church was not immune. Many Jesuit schools also encouraged the new cultural and scientific movement in the final years of the colony. Their founders saw the need for the Church to be able to deal effectively with the scientific revolution, particularly in the light of the French Revolution.

At the centre of this scientific movement lay the need for a scientific investigation of the resources of New Spain. The technicians who would undertake such investigations and subsequently exploit the resources needed to be trained.

The Real Semianrio de Minas and the Jardín Botánico were of particular importance in these endeavours. Those few but powerful groups involved in industrial processes, such as mining and its affiliated industries required more and better trained technicians than could be offered by the traditional university. There was a growing pressure to put scholastic dissertations on one side and develop new curricula to solve practical problems.

The Real Academia de Cirugía was intended to raise the status of surgery from butchery to that of a science. The Real Academia de la Nobles Rates de San Carlos was intended to imbue the professional groups with the latest discoveries of the

Enlightenment.

According to Eli de Gortari:

"...the Eighteenth century Mexican men of science were the outcome of a deep national need to attempt to make an inventory of Mexico's material and cultural riches" (Gortari,1963: 242)

But, in truth, it can be argued that the idea of "national need" could be reduced to the need of powerful groups. These consisted of the mining industries and certain professional groups which had emerged during the long period of economic prosperity which marked the second half of the 18th century in New Spain.

Hence, we can see that even in the closing days of the colonial period the authority of the Church was being challenged. This was with the tacit and sometimes open support of the relatively liberal representatives of the Crown who created new educational institutions designed to combat the "anachronism" of the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico) (Carreño, A.,1961).

Secularised intellectuals and scientists, as well a significant body of Jesuits who attempted to reform their institutions curricula, were forced to engaged in severe ideological confrontations against the consequences of scholasticism in education. In many cases, the only way forward, particularly in the area of primary education was

through the organisation of secular private schools. For example, the miners whose interests were otherwise with the conservative faction favoured pragmatically, schools in which practical training was provided. Given that, they could not count on the support of the colonial administration they themselves financed the Real Seminario de Minas (Royal Seminary of Mines), the private training and research institution which produced the best engineers in the colony.

The interest of these privately financed institutions is that they anticipated many ideas, which only appeared as a coherent pattern in the writings of the liberal innovators after Independence. They were based upon secular, practical and even nationalistic ideas.

During the second half of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, many religious institutions imparting higher education closed. Their place was taken by other secular institution. They tended to be called institutes of science and arts or scientific and literary institutes. They were founded in places as different as Oaxaca (1823), Chiapas (1820), Chihuahua (1827), Tlalpan (1827), Yucatán (1824) and the State of Mexico. (Talavera, A., 1973: 63).

Although sponsored by the Liberal governments, these efforts to create lay scientific and literary institutions never involved more than a very few. Those which survived and may be considered representative, were the result of the work of men of science. Many of them liberals themselves, they had been trained in the school of the

Enlightenment. They therefore sought to cultivate a science and technology based on experimental methods, as well as to form a national scientific culture.

At this time, the state was only interested in those professional activities that had some significance for public administration. On the other hand men of science were interested in founding universities as scientific institutions. Those who were members of the professions were interested in developing and consolidating what Freidson calls “occupational control” (Freidson,1994:61) over their practices, excluding state intervention from their training.

Here we find the first manifestation of a conflict that subsequently appeared with great frequency and in various guises in the debates about educational policy. It can be characterised as follows:

1. The state wanted to have professionals to meet its own practical and ideological needs.
2. The scientist wanted to create scientific institutions and universities.
3. The professionals wanted to be self-regulating, that is, independent of both the state and the university.

This three-sided debate was to become central to the history of Mexican education. These contradictions may be found at the origin of many secular private institutions. The orientation towards professional training might or might not coexist with an emphasis on the importance of the development of scientific tradition.

We also find here the origin of the contradictory thinking of liberal governments (in the 19th and the 20th centuries). They are uncertain of the function of public universities in society, and of what should be the relative responsibilities of state and private institutions in relation to professional training.

Despite liberal government initiatives to create institutions for a liberal society, the educational discourse of liberalism during the first half of the 19th century was mainly linked to the state need to produce civil and political servants.

Little concern is shown for the development of science or alternative paths towards the professions. For the government the problem was more of a moral and political order. However for the professionals themselves, it was forms of practice and the control of areas of knowledge, that were the central issues.

As we have seen J.M.L. Mora was one of the people who, most clearly perceived the usefulness of higher education for the purposes of building the liberal state. Its function, he thought, would be to train right-thinking civil servants. The government's educational institutions should be places:

"..where young people are enlightened and, by training them from the outset, would be suited to perform official charges" (Secular schools, 1948:83)

However, there wasn't a clear idea of the kind of professionals that should be produced, although the need to control professional practices was not in doubt. The immediate objective was to open the doors of higher education to the new social groups which supported the liberal state, particularly to the newly formed Mexican (not from peninsular) urban middle class. In addition higher education was to be organised not under dogmatic or clerical criteria, but rather under state criteria.

In reality, due to the precarious political and financial context of the liberal governments, it has been said that after 1847, private and not government investment was important in education (M. Robles 1977:47-48 and Larroyo 1973:210-253). As Isidro Castillo has pointed out:

"..the reaction not only did away with the government which had created the new institutions, but it abolished these as well because they were seen to be linked to deep changes in the social structure. But the liberal ideals generated, new and useful institutions, although most of them originated through the initiative of individuals". (Castillo, I, 1865:49).

According to M. Robles in all cases it was private investment that provided more resources to develop education in Mexico (M. Robles 1977:47), although, the relationship between economically powerful groups and private education cannot be established with many certainty during this period, because we lack information.

On the other hand, the low level of the institutions does not permit us to speak of a very effective relationship between education and the state. The independent origin of some institutions cannot be seriously linked to a private project of higher education, as it can be in the next century. It is mainly the effort of the existing professions to maintain their control over their knowledge and practice that helped to preserve higher education. Nevertheless it was in the sphere of higher education that professional private initiative had a larger scope.

Among the most important educational institutions that were kept in being and/or founded through private investment during this period the following can be mentioned:

- La Escuela de Medicina (School of Medicine), which functioned as a result of the efforts of the professionals who operated it.
- El Colegio Militar (Military College) founded in 1936 under the auspices of private groups.
- El Instituto de Estudios de Medicina, Farmacéutica y Obstetricia (Institute of Medicine, Pharmaceutics and Obstetric Studies), founded in Monterrey by José Eleuterio González, a local entrepreneur together with a group of professionals.
- La Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadísticas (the Mexican Society of

Geography and Statistics), founded in 1833 by intellectuals like Andres Quintana Roo, Joaquin Pesado, Jose Berbarido Couto, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Leopoldo Río de la Loza, Manuel Orozco y Berra, Francisco Pimentel among others, all of them dedicated to the study of national geography and natural resources.

- La Academia de la Lunge (Academy of Language), antecedent of the Academia Mexicana de la Lengua (Mexican Academy of Language).
- The Academy of San Juan de Letrán, named after the institution which gave it birth: the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán (Salazar 1968:18) whose aim was to mexicanize literature by emancipating Mexican literature from others and giving it a distinctive national character (Salazar,1968:21).
- Many of the Literary and Scientific Institutes that appeared through out Mexican territory were inspired and sustained by professionals and local intellectuals interested in the development of ideas.

The main characteristic of these institutions and of the University faculties that continued to function during the first half of the 19th century, may be found in their moderate liberal inspiration. This emphasised that education was an attribute of society and individuals, not of the state. For them, the political significance of their actions derived from the scientific and nationalist orientation of their institutions. Through this they confronted religious dogma more effectively than by direct

confrontation with the Church. As in Durkheim, the liberal professionals and scientists believed that the professions must operate independently of the state. They would be a moderating element in society bringing cohesion and stability, as well as prestige to the intellectuals themselves.

¹ Liberalism in Mexico, was born together with the nation. The latter used the former to construct its ideological basis. One and the other were projects with the same purposes: to found an independent nation. Liberalism became a popular movement and a political-ideological program sustained by a political bloc. Without these coincidences liberalism could not have had so much influence historically. This influence lasted the whole of the nineteenth century and is still evident in the twentieth. As a popular doctrine, liberalism implies optimism, faith in science and rationality, love of freedom, egalitarianism, solidarity, anti-racism, anti-clericalism and anti-authoritarianism. Its survival speaks of its efficacy. Liberalism has been various times triumphant in Mexican history: triumphant as an independence movement, which founded the Mexican Nation; triumphant as a political reaction against the traditional political actors: the Church and the army; triumphant against the ideas of a new foreign Empire; triumphant in the internal contradictions between conservatives and liberals and finally triumphant in its position on educational matters. To Jesus Reyes Heróles, one of the most important writers about liberalism in Mexico, the triumph of liberalism is located in its political strategy, which permitted both the defense of Mexico from foreign aggressions and its internal organization. Moreover the triumph of liberalism in Mexico is part of the universal liberal experience. In education, liberalism in Mexico meant:
- State participation in education

- Universal, free and compulsory education
- Secularism

The most relevant studies of Mexican Liberalism included:

Reyes Heróles, Jesús El Liberalismo Mexicano, (3 Vols.) Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, 1961

Villoro, Luis El Proceso Ideológico de la Revolución de Independencia, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, 1967

Sierra, Justo Obras Completas Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, 1953

Hale, Charles Mexican Liberalism 1821-1853, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1968

² Gramsci's concept of hegemony and its place in education has been developed, among others by: Entwistle, Harold Antonio Gramsci: conservative schooling for Radical Politics, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979; Broccoli, Angelo Antonio Gramsci y la educación como Hegemonía Ed. Nueva Imagen, México, 1977

³ Gramsci's concept of the intellectual has been developed in several places in The Manuscripts and a useful compilation is: Gramsci, Antonio Los intelectuales, Grijalbo, México, 1975. A complete discussion of Gramsci's ideas about intellectuals can be found in Vacca, Giuseppe El marxismo y los Intelectuales, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, México, 1984

⁴ It is very important to Gramscian argument as well as for historical justice, to emphasize that, both, the liberal and conservative factions were clear about the importance of education as an instrument of national identity and also as an ideological weapon at the service of class interests. Both, liberals and conservatives knew the importance of education as a molding force, as the basic instrument to create a national identity. Differences between them occur as to the goals of educational institutions. For the liberals education was an instrument which would create an independent nation and an independent individual. For the conservatives it was the means to maintain a religious and colonial corporate world. Both have their intellectual representatives. In Gramsci's terms what we see is the struggle between the traditional intellectuals, who represented a historical bloc, mainly the old landlords, the church and the colonial administration, and a new historical bloc formed by the bourgeoisie and the urban middle classes. Both tendencies carried on the struggle during more than half a century.

⁵ At the beginning of the independence period higher education consisted of the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico), San Pablo and San Ildefonso Colleges, religious seminaries, la Universidad de Guadalajara (University of Guadalajara), San Carlos, el Colegio de Minería (Mines College). All these institutions, except the Colegio de Minería were controlled by the Catholic Church, and were based on Catholic practices. The university was organized by grades: bachelor, license and Ph.D., and was oriented towards Theology.

Among these institutions, at the end of the colonial period, the seminaries were the most important, because they were the centers of innovative ideas and also because they were never closed. (Staples, Anne 1981: 150) The Royal and Pontifical University, in words of Justo Sierra did not open itself to the spirit of the time, and remained a conservative institution so that at the time of Independence it was already dead" (Sierra, Justo, 1948:456).

⁶ I am referring mainly to the Institutos de Ciencias y Artes (Science and Arts Institutes) that proliferated in the 19th century. These were inspired in a secular idea of teaching. Nevertheless they still maintain religious practices. But the important changes that they introduced were at the level of the subjects taught. The term "scientific and literary" institutes referred to the liberal idea that new subjects that gave a humanist formation to the students, should be introduced not only literature but all knowledge referring to humanities.

There are very few studies about the curricula of these institutions but there is some information in:

Staples Anne "Panorama Educativo al Comienzo de la vida Independiente" en Ensayos sobre la historia de la educación en México, El Colegio de México, México, 1981 pp. 115-171

Larroyo, Francisco Historia comparada de la educación en México Ed. Porrúa, México, 1973

⁷ For an analysis of the process of construction of the Mexican Nation see Brading, David Los orígenes del Nacionalismo Mexicano, SEP, México, 1973

⁸ J.M.L Mora is one, among many intellectuals of advanced ideas in nineteenth century Mexico. We have chosen him as because of his abundant writings on the role of education in the transformation of the nation. But it is very interesting to find so many writers on this subject in this period. Cfr. Reyes, Heróles. Op. Cit. All over Latin America, in this period a consensus about the origins of the region's problems existed: bad or non-existent education. There was a generation of thinkers in Latin America, such as Esteban Echeverría in Argentina, Francisco Bilbao in Chile or JML Mora in Mexico, who set themselves the goal of emancipating the Latin American Nations intellectually through education (Talavera,1973: 89)

⁹ The liberal reform of 1833 is very interesting, because Gómez Farias as Vice-president of Mexico and the head of liberalism at the time, understood that the struggle against the Church could not be successful unless there were measures to undermine its enormous economic power. So Gómez Parías, as well as JML Mora did not doubt that to suppress the Church's economic power was a condition sine qua non to eliminating its spiritual power. So, in 1833 they decided to make a complete reform: spiritual as well as material and military. (Talavera,1973:113-130).

¹⁰ The Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, was the first functioning university in the Americas (1553). The university was an institution dedicated both to clerical (the training of priests) and secular pursuits. It was supposed to give instruction both to the clergy and lay people in law and medicine basically. Hence its title of royal and pontifical. It dominates basically higher education in Mexico until the 17th century.

Steger, Hans A. La Universidad en el Desarrollo Social de América Latina Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1974

Gongora, Mario "Origins and Philosophy of Spanish American University" in J. Maier & R. Weatherheads The Latin American Universities University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1979

¹¹ The French model of professional studies, also known as Napoleonic model refers to the existence of state controlled universities for the training of professionals. (Steger,1974: 127)

CHAPTER IV

OVERVIEW

During this period great efforts were made by the government to solve educational problems. The struggle between conservatives and liberals, during the first half of the century, had led education to near paralysis as a result of the constant civil war. No government -liberal or conservative- remained in power for long and this created instability in all the institutions of society, including educational ones. If the government in turn was liberal it would close the pontifical university and all the institutions in the power of the Church. Instead, it would support professional institutions and scientific centres, as well as liberal ideas. On the other hand if the government was to be conservative it would re-open the pontifical university and the schools run by the Church and the religious orders.

At the end of the period it was founded the first National University. Although it last for few years before the Revolution started it created the basis of liberal view of the professions that had a great impact in the history of higher education in Mexico.

CHAPTER IV

JUAREZ, THE RESTORED REPUBLIC AND THE PORFIRIATE

1855-1910

The Second Empire (1864-1867) constituted the last conservative attempt to re-establish a foreign, aristocratic and Catholic government. In this period, the Jesuits, who had been expelled from Mexico in the 17th century, were allowed to enter the country again, and the Colegio de San Ildefonso was returned to their hands. In the interior, they had kept control of most of the colleges (Bravo, 1947:114-119).

On the other hand, the circumstances compelled most of the liberal institutions of higher education to suspend their activities. Maximilian himself, who paradoxically was a liberal, ratified the continued closure of the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México (Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico).

After the Republic was restored (1867-1869), the Secretary of Public Education, Antonio Martínez de Castro, in his presentation to the Union Congress, in March 1868, described the state of education in the country:

“When the government arrived in the Republic’s capital last July, all the colleges were disorganised. The carelessness of the so-called intervention government, the false ideas that it attempted to install during the so-called empire, and the difficult situation which Mexico was going through during the first six months of the year 1867, brought an end to secondary education; but although in a very miserable state,

some of the elementary schools remained. for this reason, it was indispensable to immediately reorganise whole sector. However the government limited itself to re-establishing the old colleges, naming directors, and ordering that the students continue courses... But the government still deemed it necessary to make a radical reform... (Martínez de Castro 1868 in Talavera,1973, vol. II: 185).

As the Secretary of Public Education pointed out, the new reform established a continuity with the liberal policy of 1833-34:

“Thirty four years ago Mexican advanced ideas first thought of reform in the important area of public education. He had noted: that the educational system adopted by the colleges was inadequate; that young people acquired only sketchy professional education; that as there were no specialists, it wasn't possible to delve deeply into any subject; that there was a lack of unity and, thus, of method; and that rivalries were created that reduced the students' capacity to profit from the classes.. With this plan (1833) the existing schools were destroyed, and special schools that introduced the study of sciences were organised. The idea which disappeared in 1833 was reborn in 1861. This plan of December 1867, is not very different from those of 1833 and 1861” (Talavera,1973: 190).

With the triumph of Benito Juárez in 1867, the reconstruction of institutions based on liberal concepts of society was again, possible. The liberals of this time were less fundamentalist. They gave priority to the solving of the country's difficulties, preferring political solution to principles. Although it was not easy, they tried to organise a consensus. This moderate political position was also reflected in the way the addressed educational problems.

In the educational reform of 1861, President Juárez abandoned the theme of moralisation, in order to focus attention on the training of professionals and technicians. In the areas of freedom of thought and of educational choice, Presidente

Juárez suggested a compromise with the private and conservative sectors. Thus, in his program of 1861, Juárez argued that:

“...academic freedom will be given to the family, the municipality, the state and the religious associations. In turn, the government will try to make elementary instruction widely available and improve higher education in all the professions. The schools of medicine, agriculture, arts and crafts, mining and business, as well as the academies of fine arts -which are in ruins and, some, totally destroyed- will receive all its attention...” (Monroy,1976:742).

Moreover the government will encourage the education of girls given its influence upon society. This has been completely abandoned by the Church and private interests. (Monroy,1976:743).

This government program found expression in the 1861 decree, which re-established the concept of academic freedom. The moderate liberals had been defending this idea since the beginning of the century. The decree however gave, at the same time, a more active role to the state. It determined that issues concerning public elementary, secondary and professional education would be in the hands of the Ministry of Justice and Public Education under the Law of Education. The state thus gained the right to control private education institutions. This right would subsequently be used to justify the inspection of private institutions and the control professional practice.

The decree states:

“If someone should attempt to be admitted to a professional examination without having taken a course in a national school, he should proceed to take examinations which would validate his knowledge of the subjects the chosen career includes. The new created Ministry of Justice and Public Education will be in charge of the examinations” (Vázquez,1976:46).

With the Triumph of the restored Republic (1867) the Church was rendered practically incapable of recovering the hegemonic role in education it had enjoyed during colonial times. This defeat was made worse by the failure of the Second Empire and by disentailment laws which deprived the Church, in a large measure, of its economic power. As Marta Robles has pointed out in her study of the period:

“(Religious) Teaching activities in higher education were almost totally abandoned. Religious leaders put their efforts in to monopolising elementary and secondary education with the object of retaining their hegemony over Mexican society” (Robles,1977:72).

But the fact is that in higher education, the dominance of the religious orders was replaced by that of the state. A new group of intellectuals appeared who inherited the idea that education could be the basis of a modern Nation¹. Under the influence of Positivism they reorganised higher education with state support.

In Mexico City a new Organic Law of Public Education of 1867², laid the basis for the reorganisation of higher education in the light of the liberal tradition and of Positivism.

One of the most relevant figures in this process was Gabino Barreda³, who in a speech in honor of Leopoldo Río de la Loza at the Asociación de Sociedades Científicas de México (Mexican Association of Scientific Societies), described in detail all that would have to be removed from higher education to make it a more coherent part of post-Reform Mexico. In the Instituto Alfonsino (Alfonsinian

Institute), a Jesuit school there already existed secondary studies that preceded the courses in Jurisprudence and Ecclesiastical Sciences. However, from the point of view of the positivists, the curriculum lacked: Chemistry, natural Sciences, Algebra and Trigonometry. Most of all, according to Lemoine, the positivists regretted the lack of History. (Lemoine,1970:38). This circumstances explains why with the exceptions of Political Economy and Physics, the subjects taught at religious school lagged behind the aims of the juarist reform.

In that same speech, Gabino Barreda criticises what he describes as the negative consequences of religious education in the years before the enactment of Reform legislation:

“His thirst for knowledge and his desire of a less limited future...led Río de la Loza to devote himself to professional studies, entering the Colegio of San Ildelfonso as an external student...He had a practical outlook and an intelligence directed towards applying knowledge. As a result, the sterile sophistries, of philosophical dispute couldn't arouse his enthusiasm or capture his attention...”(Lemoine,1970:27).

The new Law of Public Education called for transformations in the methods and content of education. These changes were so far-reaching that by 1869 theological, metaphysical and philosophical studies had been removed from the University (Lía García,1980:47)⁴

The new study programme was intended to be decentralised, with independent professional schools. Each one of these would teach a particular discipline, instead of

all studies being subordinated to theology as had been the case in the scholastic curricula. The new programme would be organised in the following way:

- Those for which secondary studies was a pre-requisite, such as The National School of Jurisprudence; the National School of Medicine; the National School of Engineering and the National School of Fine Arts.
- Those that did not require secondary level studies such as Commerce, Agriculture and Veterinary Science Arts and Crafts (García,1980:49-51).

This school reorganisation had a strong impact on Mexican cultural life, influencing educational policy in the Juarist and Porfirian periods (Raat,1975:14).

Porfirio Parra an intellectual representative of Positivism in Mexico, commented on the virtues of this philosophy for the Republic's aims:

“As a matter of fact, -he states- one of the great virtues of science is to unite the most diverse men through the hegemony of scientific laws. The Buddhist and the Moslem will never be able to agree about their religious dogmas, but when they cultivate science they understand each other more easily. They admit without difficulty both Pythagoras Theorem and the Law of Universal Gravity or the Laws of the Refraction or the patterns that govern supply and demand in the economic world” (Salazar,1968:58).

In conclusion, positivism was a valuable source of ideas in the ideological struggle the government waged against the conservative and clerical conceptions of education:

- Positivist education fitted perfectly the constitutional mandate that education should be secular. Secularisation, for the positivists was neutrality. The concept of the neutrality of science became an argument of real weight in combating the efforts to discredit liberal educational politics. In addition positivism became in Gramsci's terms a strong ideological argument in the formation of a new consensus. It won to the liberal cause those Catholic middle classes, that believed in and needed education, but did not wish to confront the Church.
- Its opposition to the teaching of abstract principles, that is, to Scholasticism, and the high priority put on the teaching science in schools, separated real knowledge from dogma which was left to private groups, that is the Churches.
- Scientific knowledge is sceptical of knowledge based on authority and not in experience. Hence, the elimination of the Church from state education.
- Positivism created the expectation that political criteria could be standardised through science which would free Mexico from future conflicts.
- Positivism guaranteed the practical use of knowledge⁵

These principles permitted the construction of a coherent educational discourse that could be harmonised with the government's educational laws, while articulating a set of concepts clearly opposed to and differentiated from ecclesiastic doctrine.

Positivism in Mexico, also had immediate political effects:

- It provided the government with a philosophical system that opposed Scholasticism.
- It trained a new generation of “practical men”.
- It contributed a new organisational model for the institutions of higher education distinct from the model prevailing during colonial times.
- Unlike private education, La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Secondary School) granted scholarships to poor students whose maintenance would become the State’s responsibility, giving this institution a much greater social significance.
- Unlike the plan of 1833, this later liberal program was much more important because it had a much firmer intellectual foundation.

The creation of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Secondary School) and the reforms made to the higher education system had important effects on its future graduates.

Although there is no reliable information available on the fate of all the new students, it may be said that the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria graduates no longer went into

an ecclesiastic career, Rather they turned to public office or to the liberal professions.

Lemoine comments on a fragment of the life of Fernández Leal:

“...(an engineer and astronomer) he encouraged the vocations of many students and later, opened the doors of Ministerio de Economía y Desarrollo (Ministry of Economic Development) to a good number of professionals who had been outstanding pupils of his in the classrooms of the old San Idelfonso” (Lemoine,1970:58).

The same could be said of teachers and students such as Díaz Covarrubias, Francisco Bulnes, Ignacio Ramírez, José María Bustamante, Eduardo Garay, and many others, who would come to form part of the Porfirian government (1876-1910), known as “the scientists”⁶

As Leopoldo Zea has argued the positivist reform create a new generation, which called itself liberal-conservative. Liberal by nature, conservative in its methods. They argued that Mexico also needed order to progress. “Order and Progress” would become the slogan of the Porfirian dictatorship after 1878.

They wanted liberty, but liberty was based on material development and this could only exist if the country chose the path of order. Material progress would be encouraged by the state bureaucracy. This new bureaucracy was constituted mainly by professionals, the majority of them lawyers. These men, slowly took control of the financial system, foreign investment and business that emerged under the protection of the dictatorship and became a very influent group.

Although, other professionals did not have so much influence as the "Scientists", education gained credibility as a mechanism of social mobility. However professional also became notorious for corruption and self-interest, something that will have enormous consequences, in the period after the Mexican revolution.

Nevertheless, the successes achieved during the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria's (National Secondary School) early years were not as lasting as its founders would have wished. Attacks against the institution and its curriculum became frequent and vicious. They came both from its traditional enemies and from moderate liberals. Later they were also joined by some former students of the same positivist school, now prominent public servants, as well as anarchists and socialists. Everybody considered positivism to be very dogmatic excluding humanities as well as moral elements in education. It was felt that Mexico needed new institutions which would permit the expression of other points of view.⁷

Whilst discussions centred on the content of public education, most professional training continued to take place at professional schools, whose autonomy was precarious. Nevertheless it seemed that training was not the main problem for the state. At this time the authority of the professions did not arise out of the control of specialised knowledge, as the attribute and functionalist theories would sustain, but from their social and intellectual status. In Gramscian terms, they were important because they performed "the function of intellectuals"⁸

In the population census of the time, most of the economically active population were labelled as professionals. The ones that we know now as professionals as opposed to artisans or merchants, then called were “liberal professionals”.

In 1910, the Nomenclatura de Ocupaciones para la Estadística de México states that, according to the information of the Secretaria de Fomento México recognised the following “liberal professions: _

- Cults: Catholic priests and other priests.
- Juridical: Lawyers, business men and notaries.
- Medical: doctors, homeopathic doctors, dentists, veterinarians, midwives.
- Others: teachers, journalists, writers, architects, engineers, painters, artists, chemists, actors and actresses, dancers, painters and music teachers.

(Nomenclatura de Ocupaciones para la Estadística,1910:12)

During this period 1867-1910, professionals formed an elite. In 1910, only 0.55% of the total population were registered as liberal professionals, but although they were an economic elite, by income, they suffered from a series of contradictions, which resulted in social criticism and distrust. Although, the country needed them, very few people were capable of paying their services. Consequently they were considered elitist. Also, given the economic and social situation in Mexico, there were very few

who could afford to pay the cost of professional studies. This situation made the State governments tend to close professional schools, because of their high costs and its low use.

Governments were not completely convinced of the usefulness of the liberal professions to society. They wanted to establish limitations on the so-called natural tendency of liberal professions to create monopolies. They concluded that the government -national or provincial- should control professional training and practice because the nation needed useful citizens, who could re-solve local problems. (López,1988:77)

The professions were forced to organise themselves in order to defend their position in society. Professional Associations were reinforced. Their principal task was to offer, what they called, practical courses to graduates from university. The aim of these courses was to give a public guarantee of the abilities of members, and to certify future professional practice. Moreover professionals proposed that certain professions should be considered as being in the public domain, so requiring a publicly recognised certificate of competence. However, they thought that the public certification for other professions was unjust and an infringement of individual freedom.

The idea seemed to distinguish between liberal professions and professions at the service of the state. This discussion lasted half a century until the warring parties came to a practical agreement. They would allow the free exercise of practically any

profession if its members permitted the certification process to be submitted to public scrutiny. In this way society was protected, but also the autonomy of the professions.

At the same time the state wanted to create new institutions of higher education to train state professionals, although with little success. This goal resulted in a permanent conflict between professionals, professional associations and the government, all of whom wished to monopolise certification. This is a particular case of the struggle over the ideological control of the professions, between those who advocate free enterprise and those who recognise the requirement of social control.(Dublan y Lozano,1904, Vol. 26:120)

In addition the existing professions played an important role in the political processes of the time: in the construction of the state. As we saw earlier the social function of the professions should not be confused with the function of the dominant class or the transmission of a dominant ideology. Their true importance, in the 19th century lay in their leading role in the new independent state. They adopted this role, not because their prosperity depended on it, nor because of their relations with the economically dominant elite, but because they belonged to a cultural elite. This allowed them to participate as “organic intellectuals” in the new liberal state. We cannot say for example that their expertise was indispensable, with the possible exception, of the lawyers who were required to write the new laws. In the new state there were, however doctors, philosophers and engineers, and their presence depends on their more general function as intellectuals, rather than their supposedly indispensable services as professionals (Gurvitch,1986:200).

The fact that lawyers were the most influential profession, allows us to demonstrate that the law was a profession that had defined its object of study clearly. It possessed a long tradition as an intellectual group and its members were well organised and the state needed its services urgently.

If we accept that the new hegemony was basically the domain of democratic methods, it is easy to understand why the activities of lawyers became so important. Lawyers, legislators, will quickly find a place in parliament, in the function of the different powers of the Republic, as well as in their classical function as arbiters. Lawyers were called upon to become the legislators of the Nation, the people's representatives the intermediaries between the peasants and power, power and foreign interests, and power and the economy⁹.

What the liberal state expected of professionals was to combat traditional intellectuals and institutions; to help in the functioning of the parliamentary regime and to elaborate a new national culture. In other words to work out a new ideology. At this time technical demands were at a minimum (Arce et al.:1986). This also explains the importance of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Secondary School).

Thus although the dispute between the private interests of the professions, and the public interests of the state persisted they were able to work together at least for a time united by common interests.

¹ For Leopoldo Zea, one of the best historians of liberalism in Mexico, the 1867 liberalism attached to the names of Benito Juárez, Melchor Ocampo, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and others represented the ideal of a social group capable of seeing beyond its particular class or group interests. I quote " ..A social group, in Europe or the United States, was able to transform its interests into the interest of the Nation. A social group that became the motor of progress and civilization. A group whose success and riches became a stimulus and not a limitation. A social group whose success is not based in its corporate or racial privileges, but in its capacity to generate wealth for the Nation". (Zea,1963:62-63). In other words, following Leopoldo Zea, 1867 liberalism aspired to create a national bourgeoisie, as the base for the existence of the Nation. If this argument is correct, as I think it is, Zea, as well as the liberals of the second half of the 19th century were in Gramsci's terms creating a historic bloc under the direction of the bourgeoisie. This process was interrupted by the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz after 1878. Arguments against and in favor of the dictatorship that lasted 30 years, appeared in Mexican historiography. However the most credible explanation of this period was that the liberals were trying to create a bourgeoisie, but that the economic conditions and the idea of corporate privileges stalled this process.

² On December 2, 1867 the new education law was published. This law totally re-organized education from elementary up to professional schools. The old liberal ideal of free and compulsory education reappeared. It applied to the whole system of education. The secondary schools were also reorganized and the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria was created (Secondary National School). The man behind this institution is Gabino Barreda.

³Gabino Barreda studied in Paris as a direct pupil of Comte. Once he had returned México in 1867, he was invited to participate in the educational reform. After that he founded the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Secondary School) that became the most important center of the diffusion of positivist ideas. Barreda Gabino Estudios México, 1941.

⁴Following A. Comte Mexican positivists speak of positivism as a philosophy based in the "positive sciences", whose truth, autonomous and partial, is the bass for a major synthesis of all knowledge because of the different phenomena they studied. These sciences were: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology and social physics, later called sociology. Gortari, Eli de La ciencia en la historia de México México 1963. Comte, A. Curso de Filosofía Postiva Ed. Porrúa, Ed. Porrúa, México, 1949

⁵This same argument is developed by Zea, Leopoldo Op. Cit SEP, México 1963; Raat, William SEP, México 1975; Ramirez, Santiago. UNAM, 1982

⁶ "Scientist" was a popular name given to the learned elite that worked in higher state posts during the Porfiriato

⁷ Zea, L. Op. Cit. pp. 117-157

⁸ Organic intellectual in Gramsci's theory means those intellectuals that function as agents of the "dominant class", or agents of "super-structure" or "representatives of the hegemony". Their functions are two: to develop social hegemony and political governments of society. In Gramsci's terms they acted to gain consensus. Gramsci, A. Los Intellectuals Col. 70, Grijalbo, México, 1975

⁹ Although, as I said before, there are not many studies about the professions, a good effort is Bazant, Milada " La República Restaurada y el Porfiriato" en Historia de las Profesiones en México. Op. Cit. 1982 pp. 131-22.

CHAPTER V

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the struggle between the newly established National University (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) and the state which was the product of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This new state emerged from the chaos of the Decena Trágica and became the "coordinator" of all economic and social activity during the presidency of Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928).

It was the struggle between the various social groups included within or excluded from the newly established hegemony which led to the foundation of the private institutions of higher education. The battle was between, a tradition of humanism and liberalism which was a continuation of one strand of 19th century liberal thought and the post-1910 concept of the state as the organisation responsible for social control.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION: EDUCATION AND THE OUTCOME OF STATE

CONTROL (1910-1940)

V. 1 INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter we described how a *modus vivendi* concerning education was reached between the conservative and liberal groups through the adoption of what we called the moderate liberal programme. We also pointed out that this situation was both contradictory and unstable. The role of the state as a guarantor of social peace and hence a consumer of the products of higher education contradicted the traditional liberal idea that education should be based upon what we now call free-market principles.

The more radical liberals and many moderate liberals had been alienated from the idea of the paternalistic state by the long tenure of Porfirio Diaz. Moreover, the large majority of Mexicans who were still peasants had been excluded from power. The discontent thus generated, was to result in the Mexican revolution. This destroyed the hard-worked compromise between the moderate liberals and the conservatives.

The ideological disagreements between the growing middle classes, the Catholic Church and the government resurfaced with the collapse of the Porfiriato and the reappearance of armed movements throughout the country.¹ The collapse of organised government affected each group considerably. During the revolution their very different ideologies re-emerged both as ways of defending their own interests and as attempts to establish a hegemony which the situation did not allow.

The Mexican Revolution has received any number of interpretations. This befits a series of events which have become an icon. The present set of institutional arrangements in Mexico may be justified or criticised in the light of one interpretation or other. However it is not my intention to present even a short account of the revolution here. That would require another book.

Nevertheless, it is important to clarify certain areas of the events of 1910 because the state which emerged from them was the result of an attempt to achieve several things at the same time:

(i) One aim was to establish the 80% of the population which, at the time, were agriculturists as a part of accepted society. Until the revolution they had been largely excluded. The peasants and the small number of urban workers created by the industrialisation of the country under the Porfiriato expected to benefit from their participation in the armed phase of the revolution. They constituted a new element to

which the state owed, in part, its legitimacy and one which had to be carefully controlled.

(ii) Continued industrial expansion would allow the incorporation into the economy of the peasants and urban workers as well as the members of the revolutionary armies

(iii) An end to the political anarchy could be achieved by the state through economic decisions and the creation of a political consensus. The latter would also lead to the incorporation of the liberals and moderate conservatives into the state.

(iv) The policy developed during the Porfiriato of providing state employment for the professional middle classes would continue.

(v) Industrialisation and the replacement by more productive industrial entrepreneurs of the landowners who had dominated Mexican society until the revolution.

The most intelligent of the revolutionaries like Obregon and his lieutenant Calles realised that the anarchy produced by the proliferation of regional revolutions within revolutions exacerbated the already unresolved struggle for hegemony between factions of the dominant classes and their allies. If Mexico was to survive this anarchy must be ended. However no one single group or even the alliance between moderate liberals and conservatives could aspire to hegemony.

In addition the 80% of the population which had been previously excluded from any role in the political process had now become very much involved. Therefore instruments were necessary to promote that hegemony and to create what Durkheim would have called a new form of mechanical solidarity. There were two such instruments.

Firstly, education was seen as a means of developing that solidarity through its message system. That, however, required state control of education. Secondly, (this only developed a full decade after state intervention in education) it was realised that a political instrument was needed which would guarantee a stable hegemony through a corporativist system. This, of course, was to be the party founded by Calles. Using a variety of different names it has continued to play this role until recent times.

However, our main concern here is education. Therefore, although we must contextualise the idea of education developed by the revolutionaries in order to understand it is not my purpose to write a history of contemporary Mexico.

Much has been written about the state's educational policy during this period, but almost nothing has been written about:

- The different oppositions to the state's educational policy, which existed in embryonic forms during the 19th century. I write "oppositions" because the opposition to the policies came from both conservatives and progressives.

- Private higher education as opposed to state-sponsored higher education.²
- The relationship of the professions to the state and its education policies and the ideas the professions had about the role that higher education should play in the training and certification of future generations of those entering them.

Briefly, the opposition to the state which emerged from the Revolution came basically from the economic classes allied to the Church, which had been their traditional mentor. This alliance was reinforced, for largely ideological reasons, by certain sectors of the urban middle classes which opposed the new state's sometimes rampant secularism. Moreover, although this sounds contradictory, they were also allied, at various moments with the groups of liberal intellectuals and professionals who dominated the new state-sponsored university. These unstable alliances can be explained if we look at the different needs of post-revolutionary society.

During this period (1910-1940) higher education was pulled in two directions. On the one hand the state desperately needed to train its ruling cadres. On the other hand the civil society was demanding two completely different policies:

- A liberal one, that defended academic freedom and the freedom of professions to be self-regulating and,

- A conservative one, that stressed the need to defend freedom of religious practice, freedom of expression, freedom to own property freedom of business and freedom to educate.

The first group was composed of academics, professionals and intellectuals largely of a middle-class origin who owed their advancement to the liberal educational programmes set in motion by Juarez's reforms. These had allowed them to accumulate the "cultural capital" which in turn had permitted them to enter the government and become professionals.

The second group was composed of the economically dominant groups and the Church. Their main demand was the freedom to educate. They were opposed to the revolutionary idea of the need for state intervention to regulate the class differences in society. This would result in their view, in a control over educational institutions which would undermine social freedom.

Successive governments until the 1940's stressed what they viewed as the obligation to provide the masses with free education. The argument was not yet based on the premises of human capital theory but in terms of a debt to the peasantry and the urban working class who had been the foot soldiers of the revolution and who constituted two important pillars of the new state.

As in the previous century, both liberals, and conservatives disagreed with the state's concept of free education. They felt not only that the masses would compete with them for the positions which they had hitherto regarded as their exclusive birthright, but also that the state had taken it upon itself to decide what was to be taught in schools. The state saw the school as a crucial element in its struggle to establish its hegemony. Indeed, this was really the central point of the debate.³

The opposition to the state's education programme was to be found in two very different institutions: the National University (what was to become the UNAM) and later in those still-evolving spaces which were to become the new private universities.

The histories of some of these institutions will be seen in chapter six. At the present I will limit myself to describing the events of this period. These consisted of a conflict between the proponents of the different models of higher education, that resulted, in the long run, in the creation of private institutions.

The period from 1910-1940 presents us with a very confused situation. Whilst we are describing the actions of very few participants (because university numbers were still very small) the group possessed an importance out of proportion to its numbers. Whilst in Britain the economic and social elite was quite homogeneous and we tend to hear of its black sheep who were to constitute the elite of the Labour party, in Mexico we find no such homogeneity. The difference between an undergraduate

Richard Crossman and Edward Heath is almost non-existent compared to the distance between someone supporting the new state-sponsored social compromise, a traditional liberal and a traditional Catholic.

This polarisation made for a constantly shifting pattern of alliances, betrayals and reconstituted alliances. The patterns of the various coalitions changed so rapidly that one is almost compelled to attribute the ideas and actions of such groups to individuals as for example, Enrique Krauze in his studies of the intellectual elite who emerged in the first and second decade of the Mexican Revolution⁴.

Hence, what we find from about 1910 until well into the 1930's are endless conflicts, strikes, newly emerging political groupings, and very confusing alliances. The criss-crossing alliances between the Church and the dominant economic groups on the one hand and, the intellectual members of the middle class on the other presents us with a very complex picture.

The identification of these groups is made all the more complicated because of their tendency to give themselves names similar to political groups in Europe whilst their own ideas were often light years away from the European groups whose ideas and actions they claimed to echo and/or represent. Despite or, perhaps, because of the complexity of the relations among the actors, the demands for free education that emerged were presented by each group for different and sometimes antithetical reasons. The participants although varying greatly in their intentions, eventually

coincided. However, I will subdivide the presentation of these events into various sections. To observe three groups in depth within the same time frame will allow us to observe the same historical process from different perspectives.

The newly organised state wanted trained personnel who were not only skilled in their work but who also accepted their role as professionals in the development of the new consensus. This consensus was finally to become crystallised in the single ruling political party.

However, there was considerable opposition to the programme the new state set for itself. Therefore I must analyse what can best be described as the intellectual and middle-class reaction both to the state's educational programme and to its involvement in the training of professionals.

“Intellectuals” here means the small but influential body of thinkers who were descendants of both the liberals and the radical middle class thinkers. The middle class was greatly expanded as result of the development of the social division of labour during the years of economic expansion. This boom had however ended with the collapse of the Porfiriato in 1910. So, after the revolution both middle class groups benefited from the re-founding of the National University first by Justo Sierra and later by Jose Vasconcelos. The latter was the focal figure for both groups.

The National University was extremely important to all shades of opinion in both groups. It was the institution which would train professionals and thus permit the middle class to pass on its "cultural capital" to its progeny. Secondly it was seen as the guardian of the sacred scrolls of both liberal professionalism and political liberalism. Unlike European countries where the universities have never occupied such a prominent role in modern times in Mexico the University was a crucial institution. Who it trained and what they could aspire to were key political issues.

We can best understand how these groups operated and disentangle their complex relationship with the state by describing the vicissitudes of the National University. The new state university was a crucial institution to all competing social groups because through it the complex relationship of the professions to the state was to be defined. It was during this period a fragile and unstable institution. Not only the state and middle classes but also the Catholic Church sought to influence its development.

As we have seen the Church acted as the educator of the traditional economically dominant classes. These had opposed the enlarged liberal state and were to oppose even more strongly the much stronger state which emerged from the revolution of 1910. The Church and the dominant economic interests were to play an important role in the establishment of private education.

However what also emerges from our investigation is that the anti-clerical middle class which earned its livelihood by liberal professional activities also helped to

create the conditions for the growth of private higher education. At this time these two groups were apparently opposed to each other but their simultaneous lobbying, was to force the state to allow the setting up of private higher education. In exchange, the state its was permitted to establish its own school for professional technological study.

A further element was the enormous expansion of the professional middle class both in the capital and in the provinces. We saw evidence of their growth in the previous chapter and their tentative movements towards the creation of a "culture" for their reproduction. They had not yet managed to become a force on the political scene because they were not only divided ideologically but, to a large extent, dependent upon the state. They are probably best described in Gramscian terms as a group in constitution. Not yet even an embryonic hegemonical class they were still finding their way. They were too dependent upon the state to be able to find an autonomous political role in the way that people from similar backgrounds had done in England and France.

In these countries by the turn of the century a the liberal democratic state had come into being. This happened in England between the last of the reform bills in the 1880's and Lloyd George's reforms as chancellor. In France it look place with the reforms of the radicals during the first decade of the new century. In Mexico the bases for a social revolution led by the middle classes simply did not exist. The country was heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. The only possible unifying

factor from the Porfiriato onwards was the army given that the Church was unable to fulfil that role. The most the middle classes could achieve was to receive more recognition by the state. This would permit them to aspire to manage the institutions charged with the role of providing professional education. Hence they could secure their children future through the continued accumulation of "cultural capital".

V. 2 The state and education: state priorities and the University

The growth of the professions in the 20th century was very much more rapid than at any time during the 19th century. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was not only a political movement, but also an important step towards of new kind of social structure which was to have professionalism as its cornerstone. The revolution was also a social movement that led to a reconstitution of the political elite by admitting members of the middle class who had hitherto been excluded from power but who exercised social control as a result of the expansion of the Porfiriato state. The economic growth during the previous thirty years and the changes in the social division of labour required a greater number of people with professional training. However these people had been denied to exercise either their professions or their potential power effectively. The porfiriato had been suspicious of the professions. Its approach to their education had been chaotic. This social group's expectations had been increasing. All these were important factors their support of Madero's revolution for they thought it would result in a recognition of their skills and abilities and a movement towards greater democratisation.

These elements which directly influenced the development of the professional sector were compounded by a number of factors which came into play after the revolution and served to heighten their expectations and their certainty in their "calling": economic growth, a movement towards entry into international markets, scientific development and what the state sponsoring agencies called modernisation. Without discussing these changes further - which would again lead us into a discussion about the relationship between social growth and political change which is not our theme. I will concentrate on the results these changes had on the development of the system of higher education. These were the move towards the foundation of private universities, the state's increasing control over professional activities and the relation of both state and private education professional training.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, when the National University was founded in 1910 its principal catalyser, Justo Sierra, wrote about the need for autonomy in the development of its activities⁵. His concept of autonomy did not independence from the state. As he wrote quite succinctly, independence, ". . . would be to create a state within the state".(Sierra, J.,1948,Vol.VII:557) These words were a harbinger of what would be the major issue for the university for at least thirty years after the revolution. The possibility that the state might lose control of the university was no more acceptable to the new state than it had been to the Porfiriato. The new still relatively weak state required the absolute loyalty of its servants. It needed to keep a watchful eye over the opposition that might emerge from professionally trained

people. This could only be done through its control over those organisations responsible for their training - a control which even extended to the curriculum and the need to redefine the professional as a servant of the new revolutionary state. The state's insistence on such control was not something that the liberal professions could support. As we will see this goes a long way towards explaining their opposition to such measures and their wish to exercise control over their own professions. This issue became one of the principal causes of contention during the next few decades. The battles over autonomy and were over the freedom to set up private institutions to compete with the state institutions were fierce.⁶ But they can be best understood by taking into account the need of the professions to have power over their own organisation.

The National University, was one of the last educational innovations of the Porfiriato. Its founder, a consummate positivist, or "científico" as enlightened liberals in Diaz's governments were called, Sierra emphasised that it was imperative to provide a high quality training by setting up highly professional schools. As with his other proposed educational reforms Sierra looked both to Europe and the United States for models. Going against liberal tradition he chose to call the institution a University.

Nevertheless Sierra's concept of the university was different from that denounced by his liberal forefathers. He argued that the new university was to represent the nation and. It should give a humanist rather than a religious bias to the training of the professions in his view. Whereas many of the professional schools we listed in the

previous chapters, regarded education as little more than the simple transmission of a traditional practice the National University would contextualise professional training by a mixture of humanism and nationalism. Indeed, for Sierra the two were almost one and the same. He was highly critical of the way in which existing institutions for training professionals seemed to teach the basic elements of the "craft", to use Weber's terminology, forgetting that professions were also a "calling". Sierra, in many ways anticipating what Robert Hutchins was later to write using the University of Chicago as a model, contrasted the practice of these institutions with his idea that the university should be a centre for the constant renewal of the culture as a whole. Moreover professional education in the university should produce a highly literate and cultured population.(Sierra, J.,1948, Vol.VII:576)

Sierra criticised the way in which each professional school thought of its discipline as being separate from a general or universal world view. Behind these criticism was the modern idea of a university as a centre of a constantly renewed culture professional education as an organic part of it. ⁷

According to Sierra, the existing professional schools were isolated from each other and followed their own rules. They would therefore have to be integrated into a larger cultural unit: the university⁸ if they were to produce the kinds of enlightened professionals required by modern society. (Sierra, J.,1948:Vol.VII; De María y Campos,1975:66-97). His proposal for establishing a new university was based upon two assumptions:

(i) That the university must be a state university rather than a private university and,

(ii) That it must be autonomous from the state.⁹

It made perfect sense for Sierra to stress the idea of the national university being the property of the state because in his view the state existed to serve society. Thus its institutions were likewise social servants and there was no problem in arguing that they should operate autonomously. To later generations the idea of a state university and an autonomous university were to become contradictory. Indeed, after the revolution the twin notions of autonomy and state control were to lead to thirty years of intense conflict.

This educational debate can be divided into two fairly distinct periods:

1. The first period lasted from about 1910 to 1940. During this time the state defined its role as a provider of professional training so that it set up its own centres of higher education. During this period we find new careers being set up as well as the founding of the Polytechnic.

2. The second period lasted from about 1940 to 1970 during which time the National University was fully supported by the government. It became the academic model for other universities through out the country and the leading educator of the professions.

Many of the leading revolutionaries of 1910 ostensibly disliked the university and the professional class. Their contempt in no small measure stemmed from their concern about the deep and seemingly unbridgeable gap between the ignorant and poor majority most of whom lived a hand-to-mouth existence in rural areas and the small elite of privileged professionals. The latter had hitherto had exclusive access to higher education, and did not provide services for the "oppressed classes". The actions of the and positivists who had filled the most important ministerial posts during the Porfiriato had produced an image of the professional classes as corrupt and anti-revolutionary.

During the first years after the revolution, the following criticism was almost universally made by the leading proponents of the revolution:

"... professionals are dedicated to serving entrepreneurs, landowners and the clergy, hence they are the intellectuals of the enemies of progress" (Bremauntz,1946:403-404)

or :

"...as university knowledge has not been used adequately and has not had a social orientation, they the professionals have become the employees of the privileged classes."(Bassols,1964:433-434).

Middle-class professionals were divided in their loyalties. Professionals who held public positions supported the idea that the state should be above all an organisation

which held the society together. In Gramscian terms given that no social group could achieve a hegemony for a sufficiently long period of time to initiate policies and to see them through the role of the state became one of creating that hegemony through its encouragement of different groups to coalesce their interests. Behind the state lay the party which was organised on a sectorial basis to promote that unity. Those who acted for that unity were the professionals who worked for the state. This obviously set them up against other professionals who were not involved in the newly created consensus. These were the liberal professions who operated independently of the state and who, following the long-established philosophy of the 19th century liberals were against state intervention. This meant that they were also against the state having a role in education. We can see this clearly in the position adopted by the doctors and lawyers who worked privately or for corporations.

Consequently, two different ideas about professional training emerged out of the revolution: One set itself the task of controlling professional ethics and professional training through state institutions supposedly acting for the good of the country as a whole. The other defended the autonomy of professionals.¹⁰ and the idea that the good of one was the good of all.

Jose Vasconcelos¹¹, first revolutionary Rector of the Universidad Nacional understood this criticism and sought to surmount it by securing a privileged position within the dominant social groups for the University. He knew that the university could not progress unless it demonstrated its utility to these sectors. It also had to

demonstrate how it could provide properly trained cadres for the growing state machinery as well as to provide the state with the information it required to work effectively. Nevertheless he also realised that it was indispensable to secure the support of the liberally minded intellectuals for the university to function and, introduce needed changes in the curricula for professional training. In his view the university had to prove its revolutionary commitment by participating in the economic reconstruction of the country and in the organisation of the state. Therefore, he argued that a new culture was needed which would combine a revolutionary commitment to popular needs with the commitment to excellence of intellectuals and professionals. By accepting state control he provided with excellent prospects and later, as Calles argued, also through the party.

Vasconcelos's own trajectory is a good example of a 1920's version of an organic intellectual seen as a cultural missionary (Vasconcelos,1975). For the short period of time he was rector (1920-1921) it seemed possible that the state and the university might reach a *modus vivendi*. However the possibility this harmonious relation disappeared, in the confrontation between those who wanted to work for the revolution and those who defended liberal practices.

By 1929 Vasconcelos' attempted compromise appeared to have collapsed within the university. The middle class attached to the state and the middle class opposed to it began a long period of struggle to which no solution was visible. It was felt that the university's continued resistance to commit itself to government demands could not

be directly overcome. For that reason the state decided upon a new policy of granting autonomy to the university provided that it no longer engaged in politics and threatened the state's hegemony. At the same time separate institutions for the training of professionals outside the university. Autonomy came in 1929 and was reconfirmed in more precise terms in 1933.

The university could no longer call itself a national university because it was no longer the state institution charged with professional training. Through a combination of educational decentralisation and the establishment of alternative institutions the government was able to lay train professionals in a manner tailored to its needs. This, in turn, meant that it could exert new forms of professional control without the interference of the university. The state now combined the role of educator with that of being the main employer of those trained in those institutions. This allowed the state to satisfy its own need for experts with the right social and political attitudes. These it came increasingly to be seen, could only be produced within an institution like the state run university first proposed by Justo Sierra.¹² at the beginning of the century.

V. 3 The University professionalism, the expanded middle classes and their demands

Some thing which must be taken into account is the fact that most intellectuals had reacted strongly against the violence aroused by the Revolution. They had become

very wary of the peasant and urban working-class movements. They saw the sudden and violent incursion of the majority as a threat against intelligence and the "noble labour of the spirit". Hence, some of the state's highest officials were in open opposition to the state itself. Amongst these we find Antonio Caso who played an important role in the setting up of the National University but was also an active participant in the Partido Reelectionista (Reelectionist Party). Others include Ezequiel A. Chavez, Alfonso Reyes and Nemesio García Naranjo who collaborated with the government of Victoriano Huerta which ousted Madero through a coup d'etat (Guevara,1979:4).

This group which believed in the traditional liberal education programme and stressed the measures enacted by the Constitution of 1857 set itself the task of ousting the state from the University and putting an end to its influence in higher education. For that reason they introduced the idea of a university autonomous not only from the state but also from any other pressure which might inhibit independent thinking. No group, in their view, could or should intervene in the University.

Guevara points out that:

"In this controversy the university leaders argued in favour of spiritualist doctrines. Spiritualism contradicted the populist political discourse of the revolutionary where of national economic development and attention to material needs the popular masses were given priority" (Guevara,1979:6).

Although there were ideological differences amongst university intellectuals, there was wide agreement about the new concept of autonomy interpreted as academic freedom and the need for its defence.

In 1937 Samuel Ramos one of the few university staff who dared to mention the works of Marx wrote that "with the revolution the spirit of disillusion" dominated academic thinking (Ramos,1943:203). It was, he argued, the logical result of the intelligentsia's inability to understand the people who had been enfranchised by the revolution. (Quintanilla,1985: 25-53)

Indeed, the then university authorities (1929-1935) managed successfully to maintain the ideological patterns that had dominated the university before the revolution. It was as if the revolution had never occurred. Any ideas close to the ideologies which emerged from the revolution whether populism or certain tendencies of Marxism were not permitted. The dominating schools of thought reflected the ideas of Nietzsche, Bergson and Spengler together with the Italian sociology of elites represented by Pareto and Mosca.¹³ (Guevara,1979:27) The absence of materialist philosophy and economics was a symptom of the control that Caso and others maintained within the university.

We can now begin to understand how the new educational proposals made by the revolutionary state forced the liberal and Catholics into a tactical alliance to resist the state's power. Hence the perceived danger that the state would impose socialism as the official doctrine in education as in 1936 led to a two-pronged campaign against the legislation. Alfonso Caso promptly denounced the danger this entailed for the university. It would lead to the suppression of academic freedom and, therefore, in

his view, nullify the possibility of artistic and scientific creativity in the very institution which was supposed to provide. The state's intention to establish schools for the training of technologists and scientists to take charge of industrial production was regarded with suspicion. It was denounced as the setting up of schools to prepare for the administration of a future socialist (i.e. totalitarian) state¹⁴ (Caso-Lombardo,1957:23). Caso's outspoken views were echoed and indeed amplified by the Catholics (Caso-Lombardo,1957:23). The state justified its proposals by pointing out that they were necessary for the economic and social transformations the country required.¹⁵ These declarations emphasised a marked ideological difference and were a fundamental attack on the traditional exercise of professions, as private monopolies incapable of satisfying national needs.

This hostile feeling towards the European and Anglo Saxon view of the professions was clearly expressed by then secretary of state for education, Ezequiel Padilla, when he spoke of the need for university autonomy before the Congress. So that the hostility of the state maybe appreciated I quote him at length:

“And if I state to you that the intellectual classes have always been divorced from the interests of the people and the revolutionary masses, I am saying something that is not unknown to you...In so far as the university is a set of professional schools, the professional spirit must prevail, and the latter is characterised by a logical egotism. The pupil who is learning a profession is not disinterested. He is not the luminous *alma mater* discovering new truths. The student who studies a profession has the ardent desire to find a weapon to aid him in the struggle to make a living where he will have to survive in the employment market. What he is impatiently waiting for is to finish his career so that he can go out to the public arena and enrich himself; and this sole fact, this sole spirit is undermining the moral level of the professions...the university students of Mexico live, from the time that they enter the University, until

they leave it, ignorant of the tremendous needs, agitation, and defects of their own country..." (Ezequiel Padilla in Guevara,1979:18).

This view of the liberal professions was one that was widely shared in the new party.

As governor of the state of Michoacán, in 1932 the future president Lázaro Cárdenas¹⁶expressed these same feelings towards the private practice of the professions:

"In Mexico, due to the organic deficiencies of the Republic's university, conflicts and separations have emerged between the dynamic and creative temperament of the people and the evil and egotism of the learned classes, mainly because the working classes lack the economic ability to direct their children towards the university classrooms. As a general rule, the former are individuals who, due to their comfortable situation do have access to them. However they are ignorant of the social realities of our economic life. Therefore, it is urgent to give support to those systems that open access to the university for the workers' children...to the socialisation of the professions, which will broaden. The outlook of their members in order to put their talent, capacity and technique, to work for the welfare of public services and humanity, without detriment to their person." (Report to the Congress of the State of Michoacan at the conclusion of the constitutional period of 1928-1932 (Cárdenas,1972:215).

Those political and intellectual tendencies were expressed again in 1933, when the Congress of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR), (The National revolutionary Party), the dominant political party born out of the revolutionary movement, agreed to request the Legislative House to reform Article III, of the Constitution. They wanted to replace the passages calling for the secularisation of schooling and substitute for them an explicit that socialism should be the basis of education from the primary school to the universit

The debate became a real confrontation in 1936. This was the date the state imposed socialist doctrine in education, in an attempt to resolve the problems arising from the University's refusal to cooperate with it.

Traditional liberals, Catholics and the liberal professions united in a second movement to extend the concept of University autonomy. This time the objective was to exempt the university from having to accept any acts which affected its self-government. Significantly, the National University or rather the strong alliance of forces behind it won. The result was absolute and total autonomy. The PNR, the embodiment of the revolutionary state was not strong enough to impose its will on the combined forces allied against it. The resulting separation between university and state was to remain largely intact until the 1940's. At that time a realignment of social groups was to lead to a further change in higher education.

V. 4 The Church, its adherents and the University against the state

The Church and the conservative social groups were active in organising the fight against what Calles called the need for a "socialist" education. Most university intellectuals disagreed about the policies. However they objected even more to the government's political methods. The university became probably the only active centre, of a coherent opposition to government policy. It permitted the alliance between secular and Catholic liberals. Their banner was one of university autonomy. However behind this struggle lay the hostility that the professional middle class had

for a whole range of state policies. The struggle within the university was both an extension of and a metaphor for a wider rejection of other kinds of state intervention.

The basis of this rejection goes back to the ideology of 19th century moderate liberalism. Such views found their expression in a proposal for autonomy as early as 1912, only two years after the university was founded. Prominent educationalists who were part of Madero's government and partially responsible for its education policies like Félix María Palavicini made the suggestion¹⁷ (Palavicini,1937:99).

Government attacks and the hostility of Pino Suarez, Madero's vice-president who wanted to close both the university and the Escuela de Altos Estudios (School of Higher Studies) as useless and counterrevolutionary provided a context which made autonomy seem important.

Palavicini, like Bulnes before him, argued that the university should remain open but independent from all politics and political movements. He and others argued that:

“..without the university's complete independence the improvement of education in the country is unthinkable.” (Palavicini,1937:109).

He argued that the university should be "free" so that it would not become a slave to politics, that is, the servant of the state. The state should disentangle itself from any responsibility in the University. It should both concede to it and defend its right to

posses it.¹⁸ Palavicini's position was strongly attacked within the cabinet and led to his resignation. Another similar proposal made by Ezequiel Chavez in 1914 ended with much the same result.(Ezequiel A. Chavez,1974:71).

Despite the state's rejection of autonomy the intellectual climate of the time favoured it strongly. 1917 was the year in which the more moderate elements of the revolution triumphed over the radical wing led by Francisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata. The long process of constructing a corporatist state began. At this moment a prominent group of young intellectuals again requested that the university be granted full autonomy. There were several important differences between Palavicini and these group. Their social origins were different and the historical content had changed. They were all children of the professional middle class who owed their education to the reforms of the Porfiriato. They regarded the university as one of the few solid bulwarks for the defence of liberal and democratic socialist ideals. They saw it as an institution which could guarantee the formation of a culturally aware body of professional intellectuals who would provide the future leadership of the country. Many were committed to greater social equality but of the kind which is led by a socially aware elite.

In some ways they were the equivalent of the young intellectuals who went up to Oxford in the 1920's and 1930's and were to provide the leadership of the Labour Party. Harold Wilson, Roy Jenkins, Richard Crossman, Douglas Jay etc., had a strong social commitment but nonetheless just as strong a loyalty to an elite and

elite-forming institution. They did not only wished to protect this but they thought of returning to it in their dotage. However, unlike the Labour intellectuals the rising young Mexican intellectuals of the post-revolutionary period were more wary of the state. This was not only because of its past also but because of the enormous influence of the bevy of almost-illiterate army generals spawned by the revolution. They disliked violence and they were afraid of what the uneducated masses released by the revolution and provided with a socialising leadership could do. The children of the generation who attacked the university now defended it even against the political group which had allowed them to accumulate their "cultural capital". Hence their version of university autonomy was somewhat different from that of Palivinci and certainly from that of the Catholic Church.

Among them were: Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Manuel Gómez Morín, Alberto Vázquez del Mercado, Antonio Castro, Teófilo Olea y Leyva and Alfredo Caso.¹⁹ These same young men were, in many cases, to become leading university administrators and in some cases rectors (Azuela, 1980:114). They presented the cause of autonomy in traditional liberal terms and they secured the support of the university but, significantly, not of the secretary of state for education, Ezekiel Padilla.

The fact that they had a hearing at all demonstrated the power of the new middle class which had filled the vacuum left by the "científicos" of the fallen Porfiriato. It must be remembered that the congress was busy with more important matters such as

economic reconstruction and land distribution. It had to devise measures to cope with the severe economic and social dislocation of the previous seven years in which it is estimated that about 1,000,000 or 6% of the population died. Indeed, the debate generated more controversy than the economical and social reforms aimed at curbing the radical agrarians who were threatening the still fragile revolutionary state. The students not only obtained a hearing in the congress but their proposal aroused considerable acrimony. Their power was such that they received the support of a group called the Labour Constitutional Party. Their proposal was defeated by 92 to 82. (Azuela,1980:115).

In 1929 the issue of autonomy was raised again but by a much wider grouping. For the first time traditional liberals and Catholics united to push the issue of university autonomy forward. Each acted, for different reasons. The general objective of this odd alliance of convenience was to challenge the authoritarian, corrupt and anti-democratic methods of the successive "caudillos of the Revolution". Carranza, Obregón, Calles and their successors had found only one way to impose their decisions upon society: violence. Differentiating themselves from to what they defined as the "terrorist state" they saw their own movement as pacific, being based upon civil government (Skirius,1978:55). These "democratic" and legalistic ideas attracted a good proportion of liberal as well as Catholic students. Opposition to violence was a reaction against the methods used by Plutarco Elias Calles during his presidency (1924-1928). His target was the Catholic Church. The result, in 1928 was

practically a civil war particularly in the countryside. This was called the Cristiada.
(Meyer,1976)

In 1929 a strike at the Escuela Libre de Derecho (Free School of Law) (Mendieta y Nuñez,1956:218), quickly spread to other faculties. It only ended when the interim president Ortiz Rubio, himself a graduate of the Free School of Law, granted the university a limited version of autonomy. The chief proponents of the reform were students and the reason for their success was that they were able to forge an unlikely alliance between Catholics, liberals and even some of the active socialist groups. The alliance was too strong for the state to resist.

This alliance reached its high point during the presidential campaign of 1929. José Vasconcelos, ex-rector of the university (1919-1921) and ex-secretary of state for education organised a campaign based on an alliance of these dissident groups. His platform consisted only of a strong moral denouncement of the PNR-led regime expressing the indignation of a number of groups:

1. The urban middle classes, mainly from the areas where the Cristiada was strong;
2. The portion of the population strongly influenced by Catholicism;
3. Large numbers of young people.

His attacks on the corruption and the "deviations" of the revolution found an echo in these groups. For some it was a moral crusade to restore lost or threatened values: religious freedom or the need for a "spiritual revolution".

In particular Catholic groups found in Vasconcelos a candidate who best expressed their beliefs and interests. He argued that Mexico had to have an authentically Mexican educational system. Catholic schools would have absolute freedom to fight against the influence of Protestant schools, and "...unlimited religious freedom should be defended in and outside schools..." (Skirius,1978:113). Indeed, Vasconcelos went one step further and strongly defended the idea that private schools should be allowed:

"...Vasconcelos lamented that culture and instruction were considered luxury articles, while the Mexican budget continued financing, the army and the bureaucrats. Vasconcelos confronted a Mexico, where teachers were the last ones to be paid, budgets for education were reduced and the state insisted on putting an end to private education " (Skirius,1978:117).

According to Skirius, Vasconcelos' strongly pro-religious discourse was an important element in uniting the groups of students who supported his candidacy. Indeed, the basic theme of the students campaign for Vasconcelos was "democracy and morality". Pani, one of the large numbers of university-based intellectuals who supported Vasconcelos wrote that the electoral campaign marked the entry of students to the public arena as a movement in favour of democracy. They had hitherto directed their attention only to the university issues (Pani,1936:37). The

Vasconcelist movement solidified various organisations which had different aims around the defence of the liberal idea of society.

Another example of how the intellectual elite acted during this period may be seen in Antonio Caso's defence of the university autonomy. From 1912, Caso had been one of the most representative voices of the liberal intellectuals inside and outside the university. For him, as for all the supporters of autonomy, intellectual creation required freedom of speech and action. The university should be, therefore a "community of cultures" that allowed the free discussion of ideas. Caso incarnated the historic spirit of the academics who had resisted every attempt to impose dogma of any kind on the university:

"...the imposition of a philosophical creed on education...was the danger which threatened higher education, specially the UNAM...That peril was subsequently incarnated by an intellectually bankrupt form of Positivism, Marxism, Thomism, Neokantianism...All of them had a sectarian, dogmatic spirit...all of them claimed to have the monopoly of truth. This is the same attitude of the present government with its socialist doctrine..." (Caso,1971:170)

Caso's attitude towards the "socialists" was fundamentally different from his views of the Catholics. He opposed those like Lombardo Toledano then leader of the University, whom he called socialist fundamentalists. Indeed, he was involved in an important public debate with him at the first University congress held in 1933. Here he attacked what he regarded as the socialists' mission to put an end to academic freedom. However, he had almost nothing to say about Catholic dogma and their sometimes brutal activities within the university. Indeed, he maintained a diplomatic

silence when at the conclusion of the conference the Catholics decided to expel the socialists from the university by force. The Union Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos (National Union of Catholic Students), after passing motions of no confidence in Lombardo Toledano turned to violent action. The Catholic organisations seized the administrative centre of the University, expelled Toledano and his partisans and physically took control of the university.

These same groups of Catholics and liberal intellectuals, cooperate with other Catholic and conservative organisations. The Confederacion Nacional de Estudiantes (National Student Confederation) at a national level, and the Federacion de Estudiantes Universitarios (Federation of University Students) in Mexico City, organised the resistance to the socialists and tried to provide protection for private schools (Ocaranza,1943). In fact the private universities which were created in the period 1930-1950 were set up with the full assistance of the National University which was now controlled by this alliance of convenience between Catholics and liberals.²⁰

V. 4. 1 The re-emergence of religious conflict

We have already mentioned the religious civil war which took place during the years of Calles' tenure of office (1924-1929), the Cristiad. Relations between the Catholic Church and the State which had been unproblematic during the Porfiriato suddenly erupted with a great deal of violence.

The conflict, as Meyer argues, involved a spectrum of different religious and regional interests. However its causes also varied from region to region. Education was one important issue and the Catholic Church used the educational institutions in which it had influence to attack the state.

For the Catholics the revolution of 1910 created a system of education which effectively destroyed the possibilities of providing anything like a religious education even for those who wanted it. For Cristiad leaders like Capistrana Garza, a radical defender of the Catholic-sponsored organisation called the Mexican Youth (ACJM), the very character of the Revolution justified the Catholics' belligerence. He wrote that:

"The Revolution, which is nothing but unmasked liberalism, sectarianism in all its crudeness; the revolution which is only, to sum up, the State without God, came to shatter the peoples's spirits so brutally, carry barbarically to tyranny to extremes, and in a such a hateful way tried to destroy the Church, whose virile strength and Christian spirit...sprang up again inspired with love of God..."(Fascius,1963:193).

Despite its strongly populist rhetoric and its origin in the peasant and urban working-class movements the revolutionary state managed to alienate many of its own followers because of the strong positions it took against religion. The peasantry, particularly in the west, remained largely Catholic and the Church and other organisations played upon their religiosity encouraging them to attack and destroy schools and other symbols of the "satanic" government's power. The revival of the conflicts between Church and state which had plagued successive governments throughout the 19th century until Porfirio Diaz's regime arrived at an unspoken

compromise between Church and state was destroyed. As a result, the hegemony of the still fragile revolutionary state was threatened.

In order to protect its waning power in its last days the Porfiriato turned a blind eye to the re-emergence of a vigorous Catholic movement. This had focused its attention on the defence of the Church's possessions and the development of a wide social programme. The movement responded to the Church's social concerns, that grew from the Rerum Novarum papal encyclical of 1881. A series of Catholic Congresses held in Puebla (1903), Morelia (1904), Guadalajara (1906) and Oaxaca (1909) became important forums for discussing issues like academic freedom and the consolidation of the Catholic unions within the corporate and mutualist labour movement. These gave rise to the (Asociaciones de Obreros Guadalupanos (Associations of Guadalupan Workers) and support for the idea of the defence of private property. The Church anticipated the fall of the regime and it sought to ensure its own participation in the elections which would follow. (Fascius,1963:21).

The Mexican Youth Movement (ACJM), earlier the Circulo Catolico Nacional (The National Catholic Organisation in 1911) was created to forward the clergy's new aspirations. Its members subsequently created the Partido Catolico Nacional (National Catholic Party) authorised by president Díaz. It was even used by him as part of his balancing act which maintained him in power.

The Partido Nacional Católico's political platform is best summarised by its motto: "God, Fatherland and Liberty". The platform itself consisted of the following elements: the demand for a religious reform which would restore the position of the Catholic Church, the presence of religious education in existing educational institutions, and reforms that would re-establish religious and academic freedom.

The party's importance was clearly demonstrated in the results it achieved in the legislative and governmental elections during the Maderist period (1910). It managed to elect 29 congressmen, out of 60, 4 senators and 3 governors. It also, strongly, supported Madero's campaign for the presidency and his subsequent period of office.

It is evident that the Revolution had irrevocably changed the social order that the Catholic Church had strongly supported during the Porfiriato. This had allowed the Catholic Church to flourish by destroying the old hacienda system upon which some 80% of the working population had hitherto depended. It had also created more spaces for the liberal professions and their allies to act. The slow and steady progress made by the Catholic Church in its silent conquest of social and political spaces during the Porfiriato, and in the organisation of its members, was to be severely undermined by the agrarian and working-class radicalism expressed by many revolutionary leaders. This radicalism found its political expression in the Constitution of 1917.

The Constitution of 1917 considerably restricted the Church's space for political manoeuvre by banning its involvement in either politics or education. The revolutionaries were convinced that they had to halt the Church's activities not only in the educational sphere, but also, in the political sphere. Hence the 1917 Constitution restricted more forcibly than the 1857 Constitution the Church's field of action, especially in education.

V. 4. 2 The Church and its allies

The response of the Catholic Church to the increasing secularisation of the state was both immediate and inventive. After the enactment of the 1917 Constitution, relations between Church and state deteriorated rapidly and the Catholic groups grew increasingly belligerent because of the State's secular orientation. In order to avoid the ban on the involvement of religious organisations in political activities, groups like Catholic Social Action turned themselves into lay organisations. However, such groups were never really out of the Church's control as Mabry states:

"Denied political participation, and feeling threatened by the Constitution's anticlerical dispositions, the Church responded by creating and expanding its network of lay associations" (Mabry,1973:18).

Accordingly the following organisations appeared:

In 1917 the Union de Padres de Familia (Union of Heads of Family) was created to fight against anticlerical education. In 1919 Father Méndez Medina founded the

Social Secretariat, in order to promote the Catholic reform movement's ideology. In 1920 the Confederación de Asociaciones Católicas de México (Confederation of Catholic Associations of Mexico) was born to co-ordinate the groups which encouraged Catholic reform.

Subsequently, the secretariat created a network of Catholic unions. These were La Union Social de Mujeres (The Social Union of Women) and the union of rural workers, the Federacion de Sindicatos (Federation of Unions) of various states (Michoacán and Jalisco) and in 1922 the Federacion Católica Nacional del Trabajo (National Catholic Federation of Labour). In 1925 the Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa (National Defence League of Religious Freedom) was founded to co-ordinate laymen's activities when the Church could no longer act openly.

The success enjoyed by these Catholic secular associations was mixed. For example, they achieved little through the networks of peasant unions and organisations. However, they were relatively more successful in establishing middle-class organisations in the principal urban areas such as like the capital, Guadalajara, Puebla and, to a lesser degree, cities like Veracruz, Durango and Mérida. Both the political strength of these latter middle class organisations and also their longevity were greater.

There are several reasons for these mixed results. The Catholic activists came mainly from the urban middle and upper classes. In addition the Catholic hierarchy resided

in the cathedral cities. However, perhaps the most important was that the alliances between these groups and the business leaders could only be forged in urban centres.

In 1920, Mexico was still overwhelmingly rural. The occupational structure reflected a provincial life centred around the market town. The capital and the newly emerging centres of industrial production were much less important. Industrialisation and urbanisation were no more than glimmers on the horizon. Hence the traditional social groups regarded higher education as an exclusive right of the urban professional classes.

Nevertheless the traditional upper class in Mexico, still lived in a world of semi-feudal and semi-capitalist relations of production. It was incapable of understanding the need to expand education, both in numbers and in quality. They persisted in believing that the only purpose of higher education was to produce a "finished" gentleman firmly ensconced in traditional Catholic moral attitudes and practices. The idea of a higher education dedicated to training professionals with loyalty only to their own expertise was anathema. To produce them in great numbers for service to a State to which they were hostile would have seemed absurd. Therefore, they were hostile to expansion. Their aim, unchanged since the 19th century was to maintain the established institutions and to preserve what remained of the ecclesiastical monopoly of education.

The traditional upper classes were Catholic and much of the clergy either came from or was maintained economically by such families. Whilst the main reason for the Catholic Church's hostility to the revolutionary state's education programme was because it ruled out their participation in educational institutions the fact that they could no longer officially even provide an education for the traditional upper classes increased its resentment. This, therefore, explains their strong support for those secular Catholic organisations which argued strongly for the need to defend academic freedom and the autonomy of the university.

Obviously, in education the Catholic Church, could count on the unflinching support of both the traditional upper classes and a large section of the urban middle class. This alliance also united in resistance to state populism and socialism when tried to take away its last social and political power: from the Church.

However the alliance never had a programme which could have represented an alternative to that of the revolutionary state. Its members could not agree about any thing except their opposition to the terms on the Constitution's clauses on education:

"The exercise of education is free; but it shall be secular in the official educational institutions, and secular and free in the higher elementary institutions. Elementary educational institutions will be subject to official programmes and inspection."
(Constitution Mexicana,1917)

In fact, because of the Church's in-conformity with the Constitution of 1917 the anti-religious flavour of the relevant clause was strengthened until in 1934 it stated that

all education must be socialist. It could be argued that its transformation was due more to the government's irritation with the Catholic Church its refusal to compromise with the Church and its secular associations than from any desire to eliminate religious education.

Indeed the State's economic policy could hardly be distinguished from that of any other capitalist economy except for its nationalism and commitment to the idea that the state should provide a social context for finance to capitalist enterprises. Moreover, it might be argued that one of the principal aims of the Obregón and Calles governments was to use economic growth as a means of providing lucrative positions for retired members of the officer class. In that way, they would no longer constitute a threat to the state. The government's main concern vis-a-vis the Catholic Church was to put a stop to its increasing involvement in politics and hence to any threat it might pose to the new hegemony. However, in the event, this confrontation could only be resolved by force of arms hence the Cristiada.

The Cristiada's originate in a conflict over schooling. However it turned into a more serious conflict between Church and State over economic policy (Meyer,1976 and Raby,1974). Raby points out that these two elements were interwoven and that it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the clerical opposition and the economic opposition to the new state (Raby,1974:193).

As Bremauntz and Vázquez have argued at no time during the governments of Carranza, Obregón, or even the supposedly strongly anti-clerical Calles (1917-1933) was Article 3 of the constitution ever applied. In other words the revolutionary governments like the Porfiriato before them tacitly accepted the "right" of the Church to educate. As Bremauntz has pointed out even as late as 1933, after the government had supposedly triumphed over the armed opposition of the Church a blind eye was turned to violations of Article 3. Schools continued to be in the hands of religious orders.

Hence we should not be surprised that many private schools in operation around 1930 were founded by religious orders. In order to hide their Catholic origin, in many cases already existing Catholic schools merely altered their names. Even so, many of them continued to be called by their original names despite the law: Asilo de Nuestra Señora de la Luz, Colegio de María Auxiliadora (name changed to the Instituto Moderno), Colegio de San Rafael (name changed to Colegio Victoria), Colegio de Santa María (name altered to the Colegio Franco), Colegio Tereseano (name changed to the Academia Inglesa), Colegio del Verbo Encarnado (name changed to Jeanne Chezard) (Bremauntz,1943:119-129). We also find a number schools founded by private individuals but really funded by religious groups, such as the Particular Gratuito para Niños, of San Jacinto; the Cristobal Colón; the Escuela Franco Inglesa and others (Bremauntz,1943:119-129).

Evidently, the abolition of the constitutional articles which affected the Church, among these Article 3, constituted the political expression of a deeper struggle to orient the transformation the country.

Despite the privileges private religious schools enjoyed, the anti-religious social atmosphere was expressed with great vigour in many spheres: among teachers and labour unions, political and social organisations. Rius Fascius in his book *La Juventud Católica y la Revolución* (The Catholic Youth and the Revolution), describes in detail the endless sequels of street riots between socialists and Christians, at the time. Typical events were the closure of churches, huge demonstrations, the raising of flags in churches and public places, and bombings. At a more level the Catholic students' centre was assaulted by members of the CGT during a demonstration in May 1, 1922, with three catholic dead; the church La Soledad was attacked and this unleashed a great wave of catholic protests; and finally the assassination of president Obregón for which a Catholic was responsible. The situation reached the point where the student and Catholic organisations formed permanent guards at the Temple of Guadalupe in order to protect their most venerated image, the symbol of the Mexican catholic nationality.

Two tendencies should be noted here. On the one hand the Church wanted to maintain its influence in education, but on the other hand it was influenced by the international Catholic movement, especially Catholic Action (Mabry,1973:190). This organisation was attempting to resume something from the growing secularisation of

modern societies. Given the strength of the socialist movement, the Church modified its traditional position of opposing social changes. Hence forth it would look for a transformation in consonance with Catholic doctrine.

According by in 1917 the Union de Padres de Familia (Union of Heads of Family) was formed to fight against anticlerical education. In 1919 Father Méndez Medina founded the Social Secretariat, to promote the ideology of Catholic reform. In 1920 the Confederación de Asociaciones Catolicas de México (Confederation of Catholic Associations of Mexico) was born to co-ordinate the groups who encouraged Catholic reform.

How can we explain the Church resentment?

Many of the causes lie in the actions of the Secretaria de Educacion Publica (Ministry of Education): the program of teacher training which had as its aim to take education to the people, the deployment of teachers, cultural missionaries, etc. throughout the country, the development of teachers capable of reflecting on their profession. All these actions were developed with a clear anti-clerical aim. An this gave to the feeling that the government wanted to put an end to religion.

The content of the new education, also showed a hostile attitude towards religious ideas. The administration of president Calles was particularly anticlerical. (Alvear Acevedo,1973:214).

Through legal action, Catholic groups organised activities to demand the abolition of Article 3. They collected signatures for a petition to Congress mounted advertising and agitation campaigns, and organised demands from private schools through the Union de Colegios Mexicanos (Union of Mexican Schools). Letters were sent to Congress from professional associations. All this apparently without success.

Events took a serious turn with the Episcopate's famous declaration in 1926. Catholics were to initiate a legal struggle for the reform of those articles that discriminated against the Church. The government responded by issuing a series of laws such as: the Reglamento Provisional de Escuelas Particulares (Provisional Regulations for Private Schools), which specified that no minister of any cult could head a school, the Reglamento de Inspeccion y Vigilancia de las Escuelas Particulares (Regulations for the Inspection and Vigilance of Private Schools) (1926); the Reform to the Penal Code in matters of cult (1926) and the Regulatory Law of Article 130 (January 1927).

Catholic associations took shelter within certain institutions or retreated to the provinces to continue the struggle against the government. This confrontation was aggravated by the increasing power "Marxists" had achieved within the government.

The clerical thought that the University would be a refuge against attack by the government and also a place where the opposition could reorganise its forces before

going on to the offensive again. The Church hierarchy, oriented their attacks against the new government on the "spiritual" terrain. The University provided ideal conditions for this.

The political reorientation of at the university was also encouraged by the fact that many of the members of these lay catholic organisations had, graduated from the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Preparatory School), or from the different faculties. Meyer, mentions among the founders of the League, lawyers, engineers, doctors, public-servants, churchmen as the heads of the league... and, students” (Meyer,1976:93).

V. 4. 4 The Clergy and its influence among University students

From its foundation the goal of the ACJM (Mexican Catholic Youth Association) was to act, at all levels of the educational system. They argued that the consequences of so many years of positivist education on the religious beliefs of young people had to be counteracted. Nationalism and religion were twin ideals that had been forgotten and should be revived to bring about the spiritual conquest of Mexico. The Scientific Institute, better known as Mascarones, founded by the Jesuits in 1900 became the centre of the anti-positivist struggle. Many of the leading figures in banking commerce and industry were products of the Mascarones. (Gutierrez Casillas,1975:137).

Catholic students also studied in state run institutions such as the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria and complained that they were harassed because of their religious beliefs. The Universidad Iberoamericana, UIA (Iberoamerican University) which, was to become one of the first private Catholic universities in Mexico. Ledesma, who was to become the historian wrote that:

"In the heart of the ENP a group of Catholic students, irritated because of the aggressions they suffered for their beliefs decided to reunite their private school mates form a group to defend academic freedom against government legislation." (Ledesma,1981:135)

The agenda established by Bernardo Bergoend the founder of the ACJM set as one of its principal objectives the selection and training of an elite to provide the basis of an alternative hegemonic class to run the country. This organisation was la Liga de Estudiantes Católicos (Catholic Students League) (Fascius,1972:107). These activities, co-ordinated by the Jesuits, culminated in 1926 with the foundation at a national level, of the Confederación de Estudiantes Católicos (Catholic Students Confederation), which in 1930 became the Union Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos (UNEC) (National Union of Catholic Students), whose successive directors were Ramón Martínez Silva, Jaime Castiello, Julio Vertiz and Enrique Torroella, all of them Jesuits. By that date that group's aim was to prevent Marxism from establishing roots in the National University (Ledesma,1981:151). The UNEC 's strategy was to occupy positions of importance administrative boards and student associations. This change of direction resulted from a change of objectives. The new goals were the result of the changes in the political struggle the famous Caso-

Lombardo debate and the fight over the content of education, as well as the defence of university autonomy.

The UNEC's intention was to co-ordinate the activities of the students in here class interests, and Catholic principles coincided. Its objectives were:

1. To encourage the study of humanities in order to counteract the study of historical materialism.
2. To oppose nationalism and loyalty to the state.
3. To encourage a specifically Catholic culture.
4. To train professionals imbued with Catholic ethics. (UNEC, Declaracion de Principios,1928:35)

Bergoend clearly stated that the aim of the Union was to establish organisations in all the educational institutions of the country. A key part of his programme was to set up outreach organisation to the existing universities to accomplish these tasks:

". . .to found what is known as university extension, in the state capitals where the professional spirit of its partners, true bulwarks of social defence, will develop." (Bergoend in R. Fascius,1972: 109).

The Catholics were fearful of a hegemonic totalitarian State. Therefore they were advocates of freedom of belief and association. The irony is that they were the groups who organised themselves with military precision. They placed their agents throughout the educational system and carefully selected members of the traditional and newer elite whom they thought would forward their views. Meanwhile the supposedly totalitarian socialists had little or no organisation.

The groups throughout the country would either provide the basis for a political challenge to the state or, at any rate constitute a firm political base to give the Catholics a chance of modifying government policy. The groups began to organise discussion groups which quickly became centres for political training for the elite.

"The school-circle of religious, social, civic and professional training. Here in four words, we have the whole program of the circle of studies. It is intended to form intellects, not abstract thinkers but practical men . . . to govern this country".

(Bergoend in Fascius,1972:154).

Bergoend's system of university extension and circles was organised around a group within each university faculty. As some organisations or study circles already existed they were quickly incorporated into the new organisation. Such was the case of the Centro Bios for medical students and the Berzelius Instituto (Berzelius Institute), for chemistry students, both founded in Mascarones. By 1927 similar associations had been set up in the Faculties of Literature and Engineering. In 1928 Bergoend himself

founded the Centro Lex (Lex Centre), for law students. Finally, in 1934 many of these organisations were absorbed into the Centro Cultural Universitario (University Cultural Centre) which constituted a university within the university. This Centro Cultural Universitario was to become the first private Catholic University - the Universidad Iberoamericana.

The form of organisation based upon tight discipline is closer to the early Bolshevik organisations than anything organised by the Catholics within the university. The students of private schools were the first to be politically proselytised and incorporated into the ACJM. In quick succession the following organisations were affiliated or organised: the Centro Union of former students of the French Marist schools in 1919 ; the Círculo de la Colonia Roma (Circle of The Barrio Roma) with boys from the School of the Congregation of Marist Brothers of Tacubaya; the Alberto de Num Circle, from the School of The St. Vincent de Paul Fathers of Tacubaya ; the García Moreno Circle); and another group from the Academia del Sagrado Corazon de Maristas (Marist Academy of the Sacred Heart), in the barrio of Santa María la Rivera.

As we mentioned earlier the university autonomy granted in 1929 was only partial.

In his justification of the new law President Rubio stated that:

“...it is indispensable that, though autonomous, the University should continue to be a National University and, therefore, a state institution, in the sense that it should respond to the state's ideals” (Law 1929)

An that:

“...the autonomy today established will receive the careful vigilance of public opinion, those who suffered in the Revolution and the of government” (Justification of the passing of a law of July 10, 1929).

The University did not obtain total autonomy from the state until 1933. For the liberals and the Catholic members of the UNEC, the decision to grant total autonomy represented a victory over the state and its doctrines. They felt that they had succeeded in freeing the university from the danger of Marxism as represented by Bassols, Lombardo Toledano and Roberto Medellín, amongst others.

The rector during this period (1933-1934) was Manuel Gómez Morín, "prestigious for his modern ideas in banking, industry and commerce" (Silva Herzog,1974:72).

The euphoria which reigned at his inauguration seemed to suggest the possibility of privatising the National University. Silva Herzog maintains that:

"It was thought that the University would be financed by contributions from banking, industry and commerce. In sum, the business class . . . considering the relations and influence of the brilliant new rector plus the 600,000 pesos derived from the interests of ten million pesos deposited in the Bank of Mexico, thought that the benefit would again go to the 'industrial classes' ” (Herzog,1974:72).

However, neither the banks nor the business community responded to the University's call and the next rector, Ocaranza, was forced to appeal once again to the government for financial assistance. This failure meant that the university had failed

to liberate itself from the state as paymaster. Real autonomy had not yet been attained.

Despite all this, something was gained. It was something that would become a controversial factor later on. The University had preserved:

"... The monopoly of the education of the professions and the option of deciding about different ways of financing all its cultural and educational activity " (Pinto Mazal,1974:21).

The Catholic groups had much wider ambitions than reforming the university and ridding it of what they thought was socialism. Their ambitions took a political form: "...to put an end to socialist measures in general" (Mabry,1973:31).

In 1939 they formed the Partido de Accion Nacional, PAN as an opposition party to fight against the corporatist state. A brief analysis of the PAN's founding membership allows us to see how important professionals and university staff were in its organisation. The National University and the PAN provided them with a platform during the 1940's through which they were able to publicise their educational ideas. Their continued presence in the National University meant that they eliminated its embryonic opposition to private universities.

According to Mabry, two groups were involved in the setting up of the PAN: on the one hand professionals, intellectuals and UNEC members, who had battled against socialism in the University on the other and private industrial and banking groups.

Indeed, students from the Law School made up 31% of the party's national committee. Amongst the members of the newly created PAN we find the ex-rectors of the National University Ezequiel A. Chávez and Fernando Ocaranza; the ex-deans Mauricio Campos and Trinidad García, and intellectuals like Agustín Aragón, Dr. Bernardo Gasteløen, Jesøes Guiza and Nemesio García Naranjo. We find organisations like the Frente Nacional de Profesionistas e Intelectuales (National Professionals and Intellectuals Front) that fought against the socialist education programme. There were political administrators like Manuel Brulla, Toribio Ezequiel Obregón, Aquiles Elorduy and Miguel Robles, who had been Ferrent supporters of the liberal Francisco Madero. (Mabry,1973:34-35).

The battle for control over the training of professionals led to a three-pronged approach. Given the refusal of private groups to finance university activities the state once again took control of the university. The solution of the problem of who was to train professionals, how they were to be trained and how they were to be certified. Remained unresolved. Private groups, as we will see, decided to set up their own institutions. Meanwhile the state persisted with its idea of establishing its own technological higher education. This led to the foundation of the Politecnico Nacional. The university insisted on its exclusive right to provide training for the liberal professions. In the next chapter we will concentrate on the controversies around these different points of view, those of:

- (i) The national university;
- (ii) The state; and,

(iii) The very disparate private groups who were to establish their own institutions.

¹ Cosío Villegas Historia Moderna de México (5 Volumes) Ed. Hermes, México, 1955. Most the interpretations of the Mexican revolution tend to emphasise the creation of a revolutionary government as a representative of the popular power. This is the establishment version of history. I prefer the more recent interpretations that suggest that the popular movement (particularly the peasant movement) was, in the long run defeated. Hence the post-revolutionary governments were a continuity of the liberal project of the 19th century, in the ideological field, although based on a new class alliance that included the entrepreneurial classes, the middle classes and the urban working classes. For this interpretation see: Cordova, Arnaldo La Ideología de la Revolución Mexicana, Ed. Nueva Imagen, México, 1974 or Cordova, A & Gilli, A Interpretaciones de la Revolución Mexicana Ed. Nueva Imagen, México, 1979; Aguilar C., Hector La frontera nómada: Sonora y la Revolución Mexicana, Siglo XXI Eds. México, 1977; Warman, Arturo ..Y venimos a contradecir, Nueva Imagen, México 1979; Krauze, Enrique Los Caudillos culturales de la revolución Mexicana, Siglo XXI Eds. , México, 1976.

² Cfr. Note 1 in chapter I.

³ Although class privileges were mentioned during the period, the criticisms of the liberals as well as the conservatives were mainly centred on the problem of autonomy and the authority to determine the content of education, not on the social inequality that higher education reproduced. This problem has not so far been noted in studies of the period. Hitherto these studies have been centred on the ethical aspects of education or on the social compromises, it involved. However if we observe the internal structures of the educational institutions, or the comparison of different institutions such as the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional, the basis of the problem was the control of knowledge and not the ethics of the professions, as the New Sociology of Education has proved.

⁴ Krauze, Enrique Caciques Intelectuales de la revolución Mexicana, Siglo XIX Eds. México, 1986

⁵ Sierra Justo " El gobierno y la Universidad" en Pinto Mazal La autonomía Universitaria UNAM, México, 1974.

⁶ As I mentioned in the first chapter of this work, in the case of Mexico the professions cannot be understood without taking into account of the state. As Peter S. Cleaves argues (Cleaves, 1985:21-32) the consolidation of the post-revolutionary government excluded the claims of the professions to independence. This is only partially true. The State and the professions reconciled their differences in the university. The university would become a space in which state's needs were satisfied by the production of professionals through the complex mechanisms of subsidy and autonomy.

⁷ Sierra, Justo Op. Cit. 1948 Vol. VII: 576-586

⁸ Sierra, Justo Op. Cit. 1948 Vol VII pp. 587-590. For an analysis of Sierra's position see: de María y Campos, A. 1975, Op. Cit. pp. 66-97

⁹ These contradictions were observed by Pinto Mazal, J Op. Cit. 1974; Hurtado Marquez, Eugenio La Universidad Autónoma 1929-1944, UNAM, México, 1976 and Levy, Daniel "La autonomía universitaria" Revista Mexicana de Historia 1986 pp. 153-174.

¹⁰ It is interesting that the conflict was expressed in terms of the control of the professional's ethics. If we go back to the first chapter we can see that ethics is an important argument used by professions to establish their autonomy. Thus the conflict in Mexico was not trivial. It went to the heart of the arguments. This debate was as important as the debate about the content of education. However it was ideologically and politically more important, because the state always sought specialised advice elsewhere instead of confronting the university. Nevertheless, ethically the revolutionary government felt that it had gained sufficient moral status, as representative of the masses, to be able to demand a social compromise the professionals. Thus the problem was presented as an alternative between an ethics of service to the poor or an ethics of self interest. In this debate the professions won. Mexico could never satisfy the need for agronomists, veterinarians or doctors or teachers to live in the rural areas. Liberal professionals were basically urban. They never accepted that the needs of the poor peasants should be met. An intermediate solution to this problem was to be given by José Vasconcelos who was the first Rector after the revolution.

¹¹ José Vasconcelos is one of the most important and representative intellectual figures of the Mexican revolution. He was one of the few middle class intellectuals that had defended the Mexican revolutionary movement from the beginning. This put him in a privileged position in educational matters. He became the first Rector of the Universidad Nacional de México when it was re-opened after the revolution. As Rector he was the first to suggest that the university must reach out to the people. He initiated Las Misiones Culturales (Cultural Missions) whose objective was to put university students and intellectuals in contact with the common people through a programme of conferences, outreach programmes and mobile libraries. He is the author of many books about Mexican history and politics characterised by an acerbic tone. See his autobiography: Vasconcelos, José Ulises Criollo, Lecturas Mexicanas, SEP, México, 1982.

¹² For a complete legal and historical account of the different attempts to attain autonomy in the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México between 1929 to 1944 when a definitive Organic Law was agreed between university and the state, see: Pinto Mazal, J La autonomía universitaria (Antología) UNAM, México, 1974 y Hurtado Márquez. E La Universidad Autónoma 1929-1944, UNAM, México, 1976

¹³ The intellectual atmosphere of the period, inside and outside the university can be found in Ramos, Samuel Historia de la filosofía en México Imprenta Universitaria, 1943

¹⁴ Caso accepted that a University subsidised by the people could only justify its existence if the professionals it produced returned benefits to society through social activity. However the professional needed to certify his technical competence. If the professional degrees it issues do not give this security, the University would not have accomplished its function. Moreover these functions can only be guaranteed by the existence of university autonomy. Caso, Alfonso " Los fines de la Universidad" en Pinto Mazal La autonomía Universitaria, UNAM, México, 1974. At this moment Caso represented the ideas of the student movement of the period. Later, in 1944, Caso would become Rector of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. This was the period in which the university and the state would reach a new political compromise. This gave the University autonomy over the content of higher education in exchange for the recognition of the need to form political cadres for the state. On the other side it was Lombardo Toledano one of the most important socialist thinkers of the period, who defended not only the need for a university at the service of the people, but also, the need for a socialist orientation in education. Later he became the leader of one of the most influential workers' confederations of Mexico. His thesis were developed in: Toledano, Lombardo El problema de la educación en México: puntos de vista y proposiciones del Comité de Educación de la Confederación Obrera Mexicana, Editorial Cultura, México, 1924

¹⁵ As we saw this has been the argument used by the Mexican state against the university since the 19th century, but it became more bitter after the revolutionary movement. de María y Campos, Alfonso Estudio histórico-jurídico de la Universidad Nacional (1881-1929), UNAM, México, 1975

¹⁶ As we will see later Lázaro Cárdenas, as president of Mexico in 1934-1940, would be a strong opponent of the traditional liberal position. The fragment here quoted is only a fraction of what he wrote about the place of professionals in society. For a general discussion of the socialist education in Mexico see: Cárdenas, Lázaro Obras Completas, Vol. 5 Ed. Porrúa, México 1960. Bremauntz, Alberto. La educación socialista en México, Imprenta Rivadeneyra, México, 1949; Shulgovski, V Esencia social de la política del gobierno de Cardenas V: la escuela socialista en México, Imprenta Buelna, México 1936; Vazques, Josefina "La educación socialista en los años treinta" en *Historia Mexicana* No. 71, Enero-Marzo, 1969. Bassols, Narciso Obras, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1964, Medin, Tzvi Ideología y praxis política de Lázaro Cárdenas, SigloXXI Eds. ,México, 1974; Garcia Cantú, Gastón El socialismo en México. Ediciones Era, México 1969

¹⁷ Palavicini, Félix "Proyecto de LEY PARA LA AUTONOMIA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD" EN PINTO MAZAL OP. CIT. PP.55-62

¹⁸ Chávez, Ezequiel " Proyecto de Ley de Independencia de la Universidad Nacional de México. in Pinto Mazal Op. Cit. pp. 671-75

¹⁹ For a complete biography of the so-called "Seven wise men" see Krauze Los Caciques Culturales de la Revolucion Mexicana, México, Siglo XXI Eds., 1976.

²⁰Guevara Niebla goes further and suggests that the incorporation rules were tried to help those institutions that wanted to escape from state control. (Guevara,1990: 46)

CHAPTER VI

OVERVIEW

Having looked at the groups which competed for educational hegemony and their social context, we can now look at the reasons for the establishment of private universities. We have seen the continued opposition of the state to the professions exercising control over themselves (the Weberian model). However the state needed to develop a corps of professionals for its own service. These factors laid the grounds upon which even many state-minded liberals would not oppose the foundation of private education. The state realised that education was one of the few areas where it could not exert its hegemony. For economic and political reasons it would have to leave a space for the opposition to operate. In this way the state continued to justify its existence by being the only body which could secure social peace and economic growth. It was no longer opposed the setting up of private institutions so long as it could continue to exercise control over its own institutions.

Hence in Chapter VI we focus specifically on the paradox that although the state established a hegemony in education the new Constitution of 1917, simultaneously gave rise to a controlled private higher education system.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEGITIMATION OF HIGHER PRIVATE EDUCATION

VI.1 The period of "National Unity"

The dispute over the socialist basis of Article 3 of the constitution began even before its enactment in 1934. Once socialist education was established as a constitutional principle (1936), successive ministers of education went to great lengths to define its content and to provide it with a working definition. They also applied the law in all its restricting aspects, particularly in regard to the control of private education and to the exclusion of the clergy from education at any level.¹

The Catholics and the liberals united in their opposition to state control over education. As we have seen, this gave rise to a right-wing political movement (the Partido de Acción Nacional -PAN- founded in 1939) organised to combat socialist education and historical materialism as a philosophical and social doctrine². Their aim was also to influence the government to adopt more liberal policies in the economy. In addition the university liberals went on strike to prevent the implementation of the decree in higher education.³

According to Britton the so-called socialist education policy was of very short duration, lasting no more than two years, from 1934 to 1936. (Britton,1976:14-30). From that date on -he notes- a series of criticisms arose even within the groups which would now be called the political left and which for a variety of reasons wished to modify the policy. Especially active was Lombardo Toledano, leader of the university Left⁴.

The different interpretations of the meaning of socialist education, led to many problems with teachers. These did not understand the policies. They were further confused by the tendency to issue contradictory guidelines at short notice. Finally this led to the authorities formulating a law that, it was hoped, would define more precisely the scope of socialist education. However the new regulations issued in 1939 far from appeasing the regime's opponents unleashed a new wave of protest.

In fact the rewritten law seemed to be more radical than the one it replaced. Socialist education was now conceived to be an instrument of social transformation. It proposed the training of :

"...the new generations for the advent of a system in which the means of production would belong to society... and it would continue to be "anti-religious and cooperativist" (Raby,1974:38-39).

By 1939 there was a strong reaction on the part of the middle class against what the Church and traditional liberal leaders called "communist domination". Those

opposed to socialist education, and the moves towards greater social equality cooperativism began to organise massive acts of protest against the new regulations. This opposition led, as we have seen, to the organisation of the PAN and included what were to become satellite organisations such as the Asociación Nacional de Maestros Independientes (National Association of Independent Teachers) and the Union de Padres de Familia (Parents' Union). La Union de Padres de Familia was responsible for the organisation of some of the largest protest demonstrations. What united these disparate groups in addition to their anti-socialism and anti-communism, were: the defence of academic freedom, a total rejection of state monopolisation of education and the demand that parents should have the right to educate their children as they chose.⁵

The violence generated by the socialist decrees in education, spread, especially in the rural areas. This was a factor that induced the government to reduce the scope of the measure.⁶ From 1939 to 1940, the Secretaria de Educación (SEP) (Minister of Education) ordered rural teachers to limit their activities to educational and economic enterprises and develop social activities with "...discretion and absolute prudence, avoiding unnecessary extremes" (Britton, 1976:32). Even leftist teachers and workers' organisations discouraged teachers from engaging in activities other than educational ones.

This situation prompted president Avila Camacho's (1940-1946) government, to make significant modifications in the law, to reduce its compulsory application in

schools, and to maintain a less radical posture in all aspects of public life including education.⁷

Historians like Luis Medina have argued that whilst the new political alliances brought about by opposition to the policies of the Cárdenas government (which tried to extend the concept of socialist education) were not enough to offer a viable alternative in political terms they were nonetheless sufficiently influential to change the policies of the government elected in 1940. The ruling party decided that it could not continue with the policies which had alienated the professional middle class: the massive redistribution of land, the nationalisation of resources, the establishment of the supposedly collectivised system of agricultural production (the ejido) etc. The battles over education and professional training were really metaphors for the larger more serious economic battles. Whilst many of the policies enacted by the Cárdenas government were never wholeheartedly put into effect and probably never intended to be put into practice the regime which had been transforming itself from a military to a civilian government could not work effectively without the acquiescence of the middle class professionals. Indeed, they reacted more negatively to the style of the Cárdenas government with its massive mobilisation of workers and peasants than to any of its actions.(Medina,1978:123)

Our purpose is to not discuss the change in direction and style after Cárdenas left power in 1940 but only the modifications that were made in education and professional training. The new government presided over by the Catholic Manuel

Avila Camacho (1940-1946) set about making significant modifications to the law. Its compulsory application in all schools was minimised, the University was allowed more autonomy and in general, a less radical posture became the rule in all aspects of public life (Medina,1978:105-135).

Unlike the Cárdenas period, with its massive participation and a high degree class organisation and open conflict the Avila Camacho administration was characterised by of conciliation and bargaining. In essence, this redefined the state as a political arbiter which would attempt to resolve conflicts. The single political party was divided into groups such as peasants, workers, the middle class, etc., Its purpose was to resolve problems, and divide the spoils before ideological conflict could become political conflict. In other words although the state was no longer explicitly interventionist it still had a rôle in resolving conflicts. It had become a corporate state (Medina,1978:123).

As we will see this was to have an enormous effect upon the relationship between the state and the professional classes. It was to redefine their rôle and give them, in some cases, significant power both in the state and in party.⁸

Hence, during the period 1940-1946 so-called "class struggle" ceased to be considered the motor of economic and social development. As a way of combining increasing productivity by promoting greater social equality it was abandoned. The supposedly less provocative slogan of "national unity", took its place. This was

understood to mean fostering co-operative relations between social classes in order to cope with the supposedly difficult situation brought on by World War II.

The new policy both offered new openings to the professional middle class and also marked a rhetorical rapprochement between the state and the business community. It was believed that the situation created by the war could hasten the pace of industrialisation and the regime sought an alliance with industrialists based upon state subsidies. This new emphasis represented an attempt to unite a divided Mexico through the good offices of a hegemonical party which incorporated all sectors. These would include those who had been direct beneficiaries of Cárdenas' policies: peasants favoured by the land reform and skilled and organised workers. However it would now also include businessmen, large landowners, and the middle classes and, as we will see, even those groups with a strong Catholic tradition.⁹

To do all this the state had to modify its educational policies and give up its monopoly of education. However, it was willing to do so because it had managed to achieve what seemed to be a workable hegemony incorporating the active elements of all social groups. It would no longer need to shape educational policy by itself.¹⁰

The group composed of businessmen, landowners and the professional middle classes were now able to make certain limited demands, upon the state in return for their submission. Whilst they revived the old slogans of economic liberalism and liberal democracy in order to pressure the state into abandoning the populist policy of the Cárdenas period they abandoned their support of their more extreme allies.

What we can classify as the extreme right (the Sinarquistas), on the other hand, started a violent offensive against the participation of the trade unions in the new system. They particularly attacked Vicente Lombardo Toledano, formerly dean of the university and at that time head of the Confederación Mexicana de Trabajadores (CTM) (Mexican Confederation of Labour) and one of the principal ideologues of the left. They advocated a return to "free enterprise" and continued to be hostile to state interference. However the majority of the business community had now abandoned an explicit hostility to this as part of their limited acceptance of the Avila Camacho settlement.

The middle-classes and, more noticeably the educated middle class, provided many of the new opposition leaders.¹¹ Their common cause, in addition to economic liberalism was the need for what they called a "liberal" education based upon a systematic opposition to the 1934 socialist reform. They were particularly hostile to the emphasis on a technical education at the service of the state in place of the liberal professional and humanist education which they preferred.¹²

Whilst the conditions generated by World War II favoured a discourse of national unity, the wish to avoid the social conflict which marked the years of Calles and Cárdenas and a fear of instability strengthened the call for "national unity" among wide sectors of society. It was accepted by many official leaders of the political right and left. Moreover their willingness to be incorporated into the new hegemonic decision making process of party and state brought about the conditions for its

success. Indeed, it could be argued that some of the measures implemented during the Cárdenas administration, such as the state's expropriation of the oil industry, actually helped to consolidate this new unity. They provided the government with a new prestige amongst the more nationalistic middle classes and a much enhanced role in the direction of national affairs. Under Avila Camacho these functions were strengthened and utilised to create a new class alliance.¹³

The meaning of this alliance was clearly highlighted in President Avila Camacho's eloquent speech at the CTM's Second National Congress. The type of democracy that would govern the country was defined as :

"..guiding class struggle to the heart of freedom and law... with the government's role as an arbiter so that differences between private and public interests do not create injustice and destroy national union".(Medina,1978:152)

The President also requested from the workers a spirit of sacrifice and unity to achieve the level of economic development the country required to solve its problems.

The Avila Camacho government was able to negotiate an agreement known as the "workers pact", endorsed by the CTM. The agreement included the following commitments: the end of interunion struggle, the abolition of strikes, the setting up of state-run conciliatory bodies to mediate conflicts, the reduction of the cost of living and the creation of a National Workers Council (Medina,1978:135).

The new policy of the government intervening as an arbitrator in trade-union affairs also represented a guarantee for the businessmen that the labour movement would act within the limits specified by the pact; that is, workers would postpone their demands until the country reached a sufficient level of economic development. It also meant that the trade-union movement had accepted that it must play its part in protecting national industry if the economy was to grow. The pact was the first in a long series of agreements which consolidated the party and the state as guarantors of economic and social peace without their intervening unduly into the affairs of the business community. It was therefore commonly known as the period of "state protectionism".

Camacho immediately took into account the views of the middle class. He openly declared himself to be the first Catholic president of post-revolutionary Mexico and promoted mechanisms to tone down Article 3 of the Constitution. This permitted all the different social sectors to put forward their views on educational policy including private interests and the Church.

Ideologically, national unity, played a fundamental role in education.¹⁴ It permitted the structuring of an educational discourse around the concepts of "the Mexican", "solidarity", "national unity", "love of Homeland and national traditions" as against other foreign doctrines, i.e. communism (Vazquez,1976:198-199).

Donald J. Mabry emphasises that the common factor uniting conservatives and Catholics at that time was the fear of socialism, more than the anticlericalism of the left (Mabry,1973:27). Although this was clearly true for middle-class conservatives, it was also true for the government, which, began a policy of re-conciliation with those sectors. Socialist education while still mandatory suffered a weakening of its initial impulse, as shown by J.A. Britton. (Britton,1976:7-28).

An anti-Communist witch hunt broke out both against government groups and opposition parties. Cardenist institutions became targets of attack. Examples were: the Rural Credit Bank, where 90% of its personnel were said to be communist sympathisers and the Ministry of Education, led by Sanchez Ponton, who was forced to resign as a result of accusations, that he was procommunist. This was also the case of the Secretary of Communications. Teachers unions and other working class organisations, were also subject to these accusations. Obviously the Communist Party received the strongest attacks. Its traditional enemies: the clergy, the PAN and the Right, as well as important sectors of the government did not lose their opportunity to try to weaken it.

The basic accusations were always the same: the demagogy of their social policies and the argument that their theses were based on "exotic" doctrines whose consequences would be social confrontation and political instability. The communists were also accused of anti-patriotic activities contrary to Mexico's international commitments.¹⁵

This sexennial period was therefore that of the government's rapprochement with the conservative (including the Catholic) and business sectors. This policy of the toleration of sectors which had shown strong opposition to Cárdenas' regime, brought as consequence a reorganisation of the existing social alliances. A hegemonic dominion of the upper class and its middle class allies was established at the expense of the working class and peasant sectors.

VI. 2 Educational Consequences

No were was the new compromise between the traditional opposition and the government more noticeable than in the changes in educational policy. For the sake of "national unity" and the new alliance substantial modifications Article 3 of the constitution (Socialist Education) were made. First there was a modification of the laws governing education and finally, in 1945, Article 3 itself was reformed.

Hence the principle social consequences of the new hegemony in the field of education were:

1. The deletion of the concept of socialist education from the Constitution.
2. An end to the control of left-wing educators and ideologists in the teachers movement and the Ministry of Education (SEP).

3. The private sector and the Catholic Church once again have a strong influence on educational policy.

4. A redirection of educational policy toward the urban middle class and away from the rural sector.

5. This meant that more emphasis would be placed on professional education and less on popular education.

6. A reduction of public expenditure on education.

These factors taken together signified a global reorientation of the role of education in society, and a new form of relationship among the different social groups that participated in it.

There were, even more significant changes. A private network of education had been founded. Beyond that, a new conception of the place of education in the country's social and political life was being put forward. To achieve the purpose of national unity, education as a controversial issue had to be removed from the social agenda. It had no longer to occupy a pivotal position in the ideological debate. To this end the government had to delete the term "socialist education" from the Constitution or re-contextualise it in such a way as to make it innocuous. Avila Camacho's policy was to try to please both groups by revising the article in such a way that it would appear

to be both socialist and anti-socialist. however beyond this cosmetic change the new consensus also required a much more important concession. Education was no longer a¹⁶responsibility only of the government. The responsibility for education was increasingly to be seen as a personal one.

On December 26, 1941, a law was passed by Congress that amended Article 3 of the Constitution. The modification not only went against the spirit of the previous version of the article but, in certain aspects, contradicted it.

The most important aspects of the new law were: an explicit reduction of the anti-Church flavour of the previous law; a reduction of the emphasis upon state control of education and a new interpretation of the role of education in relation to social change. Without completely abandoning its socialist dimension, the amendment introduced new elements for its interpretation, more in line with the government's new orientation. It states that:

"The education the state imparts at any of its levels (primary, secondary or higher education) and types (basic, secondary, higher, technical or teachers education), in compliance with Constitutional ruling will be socialist" (Laws and Decrees 1930-1970, 1975:242).

The socialist statement remains but its content changes radically. The content of education will be now in terms of class conciliation, harmony and social solidarity, as is stated in the following clauses:

"State education will be based on the following principles:

1. It will encourage the complete cultural development of the students in an atmosphere of harmony; particularly in the physical, intellectual, moral, aesthetic, civic, military, economic and social aspects as well as in the training for profitable labour in collective benefit;
2. In harmony with the Constitution and within its principles and rules, especially those concerning the country's social, economic and political organisation, it will work to form and affirm among the students concepts and sentiments of solidarity and pre-eminence of collective interests over private or individual ones, with the purpose of diminishing the economic and social inequalities.
3. Through the curricula and school practices, education will contribute to develop and consolidate the national unity, excluding all sectarian, political and social influence contrary or alien to the country and affirm among the students the love of the homeland and of the national traditions, democratic conviction and human fraternity..." (Laws and Decrees 1930-1970, 1975:243-245)

Though the law maintains the original objective of education as a means to bring about a significant social transformation its purpose has subtly shifted to that of building a democratic society and no longer a socialist society in which the means of production would be socialised.

In the new law, the instrumental character of education, focused on a specific goal, would be abandoned, in order to make it an end in itself and an objective of individual development. It was precisely that modification, promoted by the conservative groups, which determined that education in the hands of the state would lose much of the social character it had had in earlier periods.

The introduction of these new concepts conferred to the educational system the role of promoting "social mobility", whose effects would not remain circumscribed to a

judgement of the conscious and political intention or to its social ends and the means to achieve them, but rather to a judgement of the capability and freedom of the individuals to climb the different steps of the educational pyramid, that is, a judgement of a "personal victory".

With respect to the attempt to diminish its anti-religious character the law was very clear. In the text's exposition of motives it was expressed that:

"No free interpretation of Article 3 should be done here; it confers public education is obligation to combat fanaticism and prejudices, that could derive in an anti-religious character. Fanaticism should be understood as the excessive attachment to religious beliefs or opinions. Public education must combat fanaticism and prejudices insofar as it cultivates scientific methods. Therefore, it can not be anti-religious." (Laws and Decrees 1930-1970, 1975:240).

Another important aspect was introduced: the participation of private individuals and the family in education. The law established that the state should seek a closer and wider collaboration with the private enterprise in recognising the convenience for the country that individuals impart education. On the other hand, the state accepted that, divorcing the school from home is contrary to the good ends of education. It is the family's obligation to carry out the fundamental mission which corresponds to it in the educational labour.

The IV fragment of the 1941 Organic Law established that the government should stimulate and assist, within its possibilities, private individuals engaged in education in any of its forms as established in the Constitution; assistance could be of

subvention or subsidy type in exchange for services, as the regulations determine.(Laws and Decreed 1930-1970, 1975:265)

Along with these legal measures, the government carried out a number of no less important political initiatives whose purpose was to expand social consensus: first with teachers, subsequently with parents and Catholic opposition, and finally with the conservative Right, guaranteeing them certain freedom of action in education in the frame of a "pluralist" democratic society.

In 1945, even deeper changes were passed by the Chambers: the constitutional reform of the Article 3, which occurred during Jaime Torres Bodet's administration as Minister of Education (1945-1946). Torres Bodet was a person of strong liberal convictions as could be seen in his acceptance speech: "The freedom of belief is an indispensable and vital principle of democracy" (Bodet,1969:22).

Since he assumed the post, he devoted himself to prepare the path for a reform oriented by the principles of education for social peace, democracy and social justice.

All references to the socialist regime, aspired to previously, were eliminated from the law's new text, focusing educational labour on the individual. The final text was written as follows:

“The education imparted by the state to the federation or the municipalities (county)

will work to develop integral human faculties in an harmonious way and will encourage, at the same time, love for the homeland and a conscience of solidarity in independence and justice..."(Official Diary of December 30, 1946).

If the end was to gain consensus, a reform of such nature couldn't be accepted so easily. It had to be presented in some way that it didn't appear as a direct concession to the Right, although that was the case.

Consensus could be achieved on the basis of the following agreements among the Right and the moderate Leftist: this new consensus- stated the government- didn't mean that school would be free, without the state control. It meant that the establishment of private schools would be subject to the state's supervision. The object was to avoid, for the sake of national unity, the re-initiation of a social conflict in a moment as decisive as war times, that demanded from Mexico, new international compromises and the need to modernise the country.

Although, for conservative sectors in general the reform brought many benefits they were not completely satisfied. Alvear Acevedo, a conservative historian, said that the problem that this new orientation raised was still the control by the state.

He argued that:

"...maintaining the dominion in the hands of the government, in such terms that private persons or institutions could only educate as long as the state authorised them, giving them the corresponding authenticity, with the relevant note that it would always be feasible for that state to remove not only the authorisation but also the acknowledgement of the studies already made" (Acevedo,1973:270)

In spite of these criticisms, the new law, although confirming the state's monopoly of education, nonetheless required a closer co-operation between the state and the private sector, contributions that were made effective and larger in Torres Bodet's period.¹⁷

The central argument for this opening the door for the private sector to set up its own educational institutions was a financial one based upon the view that there were insufficient public funds to satisfy the educational demands of the country. Yet, with few exceptions, private initiative and the clergy contributed very little or nothing to meet the working and popular classes educational requirements. They rather contributed to satisfy the demand of certain social groups: middle and upper classes, particularly in the case of higher education¹⁸. There is some reason to doubt this argument because as we will see education's part of public expenditure declined significantly between the period of socialist education and the free enterprise regime of Miguel Alemán in 1946.

Another reason to cast some doubt on this argument was that with very few exceptions, private enterprise and the Catholic Church were concerned with educating a high fee-paying educational elite and contributed very little or nothing to meeting the increased demands of the working and popular classes for even the most basic forms of education. However, they argued that by contributing to satisfying the demand of what they considered to be the most important social groups: the middle and upper classes they were releasing pressure on the state so that it could provide a

basic education for the most needy. This argument too must be investigated more thoroughly since:

- (1) the state still reduced its educational spending in real terms by about 50% and,
- (2) Many officials were attracted to the possibility of a new elite system of education to guarantee the "cultural capital" of their progeny.

VI. 3 The debate over professional leadership

As early as Cárdenas' period as president a vigorous debate was initiated on what role the professional would play in society. The wish for rapid industrialisation and the crisis over the nationalisation of the oil industry showed how much well-trained technicians and administrators were required. We saw that part of Cárdenas' response was the setting up of the IPN. But this did not resolve what continued to be an expanding problem. The advent of the World War II brought home the need to provide for an independent and industrialisation. Adequately trained professionals were needed to construct a new social division of labour.

Both right and left shared the idea that industrialisation was not in itself enough to resolve Mexico's problems. Education must also contribute to laying the basis for a new society. The difficulty lay in the fact that there was still no agreement about professional education. One group emphasised the need for state control. The other

group wanted a free market in education with the professions managing. Their own education and certification.

Issues such as industrialisation, the role of the state, and the country's transformation to a civilian-led regime were extremely complex and difficult to disentangle from each other. Industry's need for specialised personnel gave a new twist to the battle for the control over education. For the first time private industry required technicians and administrators. Industrialists were dissatisfied by the near monopoly of the IPN over the production of technicians whose training, in addition, fitted them primarily for service to the state. Thus they advocated a form of education which would produce people with the attitudes and motivations appropriate to working in the private sector. In other words there was now a competition for professionals between the state apparatus, commerce, services, banking and industry. Given this demand the professionals once again made dear their desire to take control of their own education.

From the time of the Porfiriato, a good technical and professional education had been the priority of the state in higher education. In the first years after the revolution, a number of technical institutions were created or built up out of smaller institutions. This process culminated in 1935 with the creation of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

Before the creation of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional, technical education, had existed at secondary level, basically to train workers in specific tasks. However it was disorganised and, in the 1930's, the state still had serious doubts about whether technical and university graduates had equivalent qualifications.¹⁹

A legislative commission concluded its analysis by stating:

“ the difference between university and technical education is that the former is oriented to practical activities and improvements of production while the latter trains a “learned man”, interested in "human phenomena". (López,1975:120)

In order to provide an example they argued that:

“ Electricity can be studied in a university way, i.e. the history of electricity, or in a technical way: the uses of electricity” (López,1975:20).

These simplistic concepts were, nevertheless, the starting point of later developments. Firstly, they helped to define university training as useless and impractical, having no relation to the transformation of the physical world. Secondly, they determined that technical education should be controlled by the state. Thirdly, they stated that higher education should not be exclusively university. Finally, the discussion opened the debate about professional training being controlled by the state, or any other social interests. The University was defined as a centre for the recreation of knowledge as part of a free professional practice (liberal practice).

Nevertheless, the rapid expansion of the Instituto Politecnico Nacional threatened the hegemony of professional training help by the University. Presidente Cárdenas in September 1940, stated that:

“The function of the IPN in the productive and educative life of Mexico has been of enormous relevance. It is the major institution for the training of the new professionals who contribute to the development of the country. Its prestige and efficiency have already drawn to it many students who would otherwise have chosen the liberal professions”.(López,1975:30).

This speech was an attempt to dispel the growing distrust of the private sector in the quality of the IPN's graduates. It was not only the quality of teaching, but also “revolutionary ideology” which they questioned.

On the other hand we have seen that after the autonomy movements of 1929 and 1933 the National university lost its national and state character. It was not until 1945 that this was restored. This, taken together with its newly granted autonomy, led to the emergence of a so-called "new university". Its first rector was Alfonso Caso, and it would be apolitical, decentralised, and professional, in line with middle class interests. Meanwhile the state would continue to produce technicians at the Instituto Politécnico Nacional²⁰ (National Polytechnic Institute).

This reconciliation was a symptom of the period of "national unity". Linking the University and the state again, was an attempt to seek an alliance with liberal academics in order to meet demand for professionals.²¹ This process found its legal

expression in 1945 in the organic law of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.²²

The new arrangement resulted in the creation of new social networks with a particular University bias. Although technical education had been the government's priority, it recognised that it could not, abandon the rest of professional training. At the beginning of 1940, when it was clear that the revolutionary ideology had begun to decay, hostility towards the public university also began to diminish. This coincided with a new attention to middle class demands by the government. If the government had established new relations with the Universidad Nacional (National University) its aim was to give public universities the capacity to absorb the demand for education expressed by the middle classes. Thus the liberal professions extended their power with the development of a strong middle-class, and in relation with internal differentiation.

The replacement of the military leadership by civilians began with Cárdenas and was continued during the years of Avila Camacho. Between 1945-1955 a new political elite which had received professional training in post-Revolutionary institutions began to displace the old revolutionary military elite that had governed Mexico since 1910. This new elite strongly favoured the idea of national unity. Avila Camacho was to be the last military president of Mexico.

The new professional elite began to take care of state business. Opinions about this change varied. Some saw the transition as a new start. In this reading, professionals were the group most likely to guarantee a lawful regime. Others still saw the professionals as members of a "privileged class", and hence enemies of the working class. In fact the state and the country needed their services. The re-conciliation of the state and the National University had opened the door to a civil government staffed by professionals educated in the University.²³

Nevertheless the demand for another kind of professional educated private universities was still present. Private universities staked their claim to train the children of the upper class for occupations in the business sector.

The national university was now all but free of government political interference. Nevertheless the private sector felt that the UNAM which emphasised the humanities could not provide the technical education required by industry. They were also suspicious of the attitudes and commitment of its graduates. The alternative, the Instituto Politecnico Nacional, although oriented towards industry, was seen as producing professionals with a strong socialist and/or statist commitment.

In summary, the presidential period (1940-1946) witnessed the reorganisation of higher education. There was a liberal model oriented towards state needs (The UNAM) and a technical alternative (IPN). Private, universities, were founded.

Specific university networks were created within the civil society. The middle classes found their place at the National University. Here they would obtain a "cultural capital" of degree certificates prestige and status, as well as acceptance, in state projects. The working class and the lower middle class found in the Polytechnic a way out towards well paid posts in industry. However they could not compete in prestige with the liberal professionals of the UNAM. The higher sectors of society would found their own institutions. Their *raison d'être* would be other a higher standard of technical education or the need to instil the idea of Catholic service.

VI. 4 Private interests in higher education

Manuel Gómez Morín the entrepreneur, politician and academic was one of the spokesmen of the private sector on educational matters. He believed that the nation had arrived at a situation of chaos. The responsibility for this lay with Cardenas and his predecessors, the so-called by Krauze "the revolutionary caudillos" (Krauze,1976). He argued that the country required a complete reorganisation. Higher education would pursue that end.²⁴

He did not think anyone would disagree with him. nevertheless fundamental objections soon arose stemming not so much from the rationalising vision but from his anti-popular stance which implied the ideology of meritocracy a.²⁵

National freedom -remarked Gómez Morín- would not be possible without the organisation of educated groups. The revolution had taken a path not to democracy, but to state and domination. This was incompatible with the ideal of man's "spiritual freedom".

The role of a professional educated in autonomous and private institutions, was to contribute to the task of the rationalisation of society. The academic freedom he had sought in the 1930's, as rector of the Universidad Nacional (National University), was now the objective at a national level (Robles,1977:171). Professionals, should lead the country. By means of apolitical, rational action. This would be a democratic alternative to the situation created by the "caudillos". Perhaps Gómez Morín was the clearest exponent of a view of education understood as a neutral activity, guided not by private interests but rather by technical and intellectual reason.²⁶

Morín placed great value on the technical and administrative formation of professionals, because of the guarantees that reason and knowledge provide. What distinguishes him from the "liberal" discourse of the National University was that he argued that the role of education is to reunite technical and rational procedures with true freedom. This in turn could only be achieved without government interference.

These concepts served not only as the basis of his criticism of the existing liberal university, but also as the basis for the establishment of a technical education subordinated to a moral criteria of unselfish service.

• The existing university stated Morín:

"...suffered from three main faults: first, because it was technically backward; second, because it was oriented towards traditional activities, thus neglecting many of the technical functions that modern society needs third, because many students are more interested in using their technical knowledge to obtain money than to provide service" (Gómez Morín,1927:109).

His vision of the task of the university was expressed in terms of "no to positivism or even to pragmatism. There is another path: that of technique. A technique that should overcome the great perils of the time: positivist scientificism, romanticism and vague mysticism."(Gómez Morín,1927:32)

Catholics, too had not lost hope of founding their own universities to guarantee the moral education of the professionals. With Avila Camacho in the presidency and Brito Foucher and Oswaldo Robles in the University's rectorship -the latter founder of the Union Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos (UNEC) (National Union of Catholic Students), a Catholic secular organisation- this possibility began to take shape. Although Catholic groups had participated in the student movement of 1929 and 1933, and had successfully counteracted Marxist influence the Catholic hierarchy was not satisfied. A true Catholic university did not yet exist.

Catholics also felt that university autonomy had resulted from an alliance of the state with liberal intellectuals commanded by Alfonso Caso (Ledesma,1981:189). Thus, although university autonomy was considered a triumph, the ideals of university

humanism so dear to the Catholics, were still not fulfilled.

This position is stated by Ledesma in the following way:

“Having that considers man as a mere factor in the process of production at the service of the state, we must mention another form of camouflaged materialism which is more frequent; that the selection criteria in education should aim at producing results in terms of money, commodity and power...university humanism, has an advantage over any other kind there is no complete erudition without theology and, consequently, without theology the university is incomplete...(Ledesma,1981:156).

However, the Jesuits did not deny the need for professionals, although they argued that they could not do their work properly armed only with science. More was required to provide a direction to society: spiritual attitude. The Jesuit ideology of humanism synthesised this program in the following terms:

“Western culture, such as is taught the in prestigious university centres of Europe should be united to the sane modernity and the great practical sense of the North American university. The tradition of Greek-Latin classicism...and the interests of our epoch has given rise to the Catholic idea of a modern university (Ortiz Monasterio in Ledesma,1981:158).

That humanist university, was already blossoming in the UNEC (National Union of Catholic Students) and the Centro Cultural Universitario (CCU) Cultural University Centre: La Universidad Iberoamericana.

A moment of transition had arrived. Controversies within the Church are witnesses to the new uncertainty. The ACJM, the UNEC, Catholic Action and the Company of

Jesus fought for the leadership of the student movement. The Jesuits, who finally won held that:

"...the UNEC should not practise politics nor interfere in the university ...in a time of distension and pacification of the religious conflict, they understood that it was necessary to go farther... and founded a Christian University " (Ledesma,1981:165).

However the Jesuits did not overlook less celestial goals and declared without hesitation that their aim was to train the country's social elite.

This educational project, like any other was the result of an ambition to influence society. A new model of Christian society, could not function without a new model of Christian.

Hence, in addition to the University of Guadalajara already mentioned, there were two conservative projects at the beginning of the 1940's that aspired to train professional elite. All were based on the idea of moral orientation. However, in two cases the morality is supposedly based on rational decisions prompted by knowledge, and, in the other we are faced with the concept of a Christian morality.

It is a difficult to separate private education which is Christian from that which is not, as it is to separate Church interests from those of the entrepreneurial sectors. However it should be noted that the latter were alienated by the priority that the Catholic leaders gave to the religious struggle over the defence of private property.

Donald Mabry states that the unification of both discourses came about during the period of national unity. As this moment the entrepreneurial sectors moved away from the liberal discourse, which at one time had been unified around Gómez Morín's "modernising" educational discourse, to join a basically political and educational religious discourse.²⁷

In every case, of private education formed the country's future elite, and professionalism. Except for the Cardenist polytechnic project there was no proposal. Each university program was supported by economic or cultural elite to satisfy the needs of different social classes.

VI. 5 Expansion of the private higher education system

Private primary and secondary schools, legally or illegally had never ceased to operate, although before Avila Camacho's administration they were under state supervision and control. Inspectors frequently denounced their irregularities (Bremauntz, 1943), so that they were never able to feel sure. This is the case of the Instituto Patria, which was frequently closed and reopened under different names. It was opened for the first time in 1931 and was closed by the government in 1932. It reappeared under the name of the Instituto de Ciencias y Letras (Sciences and Literary Institute) in 1933. Closed again, it reappeared under the name of the Institute of Bachilleres. Finally, it was reopened again under the name of the Instituto Patria.

During this period, a law of 1941 and later the Constitution itself granted private schools some guarantees. These were subsequently strengthened by Avila Camacho's policy.

J. A. Britton documents the notable fact that, in the years from 1935 to 1940:

"..show very little evidence that any public supervision had been done in private schools". (Britton,1976:14).

The same author gives evidence for the existence of private schools in Mexico City, in which a clear decrease beginning in 1935 and a strong increase beginning in 1939 can be observed:

Year	Number of Private Schools	Year	Number of Private Schools
1934	158	1938	77
1935	53	1939	109
1936	74	1940	122
1937	61		

(Britton,1976:15)

The three years Torres Bodet spent as secretary of Public Education show little private investment in education. This was a constant government request, because it lacked sufficient funds to solve all educational problems (Medina,1978:359). Previously, the government had asked private enterprise to participate in the program to construct the buildings to house education. They did not answer that call either.

The same may be said regarding private secondary schools, although these, thanks to Bassols' initiatives were under higher government control.

The SEP's 1940 Yearbook lists 32 secondary schools directed by the SEP, with 11,200 pupils. However the largest expansion had been carried out in the private schools under government supervision. In 1931 every private secondary institution operated independently. In 1940, 84, with 7,273 students, were incorporated into the government system. In his last period with the SEP, Vázquez Vela incorporated 116 private secondary schools with a total population of 18,493 pupils (Britton,1976:80).

This increase was probably related to two other circumstances. The general orientation of the economy had resulted in the development of industry and a rapid increase in urban growth. Moreover this urban expansion was accompanied by the development of a powerful middle class, for whom good secondary and higher education was a priority.

Industry complained that government technical education had not managed to produce educational curricula which satisfied the needs of the economy's private sector. According to an article by Gabriel Cousin, published in *El Nacional* and quoted by Britton, the industrialists thought that there was a lack of :

" sufficient co-ordination between schools and industry to provide the private sector

with the type of technicians it required. Moreover, technical schools had to balance their student population to prevent an excess of trained workers". (Britton,1976:69).

The elitist educational position with its characteristic inability to acknowledge the benefits of having a well trained working class, were then part of the discourse of the Mexican entrepreneurial class.

But the difference between the SEP and the private sector was not one of coordination, but rather of conception. As we have mentioned during the Cardenas administration (1936-1940), the SEP had aspired to provide technical training for the lower class. The Polytechnic was the largest educational enterprise to have that aim. For the government, technical education was not only training, but also a way to combat conservative and liberal social values. Professionals with a nationalist orientation. The economic benefits were also taken into account. It was thought, not without reason, that the working class's technical training would increase productivity.

The ideological orientation of the technical school became a point of conflict between private sector, professionals and government. Professionals wished to defend their privileges. The Asociacion Mexicana de Arquitectos (Mexican Architects Association) and the Centro Nacional de Ingenieros (National Centre of Engineers) along with private entrepreneurs opposed the of the Polytechnic. They argued that it would jeopardise their labour market. They claimed that technical areas were already over-populated and that the economy could not absorb any more

engineers (SEP Yearbook 1934, in Britton,1976:72).

The opening up of Avila Camacho's regime towards private higher education allowed creation of universities and training centres. Industry could thus educate its own professionals. At the same time, higher education for the working class was cancelled. The state would increase its influence within the National University. Polytechnic education was relatively neglected and became dominated by intellectual fashions whose origin was the University.

The educational budget diminished from 12.6% of the Net National Product in the Cardenist period to 10.2% with Avila Camacho and 8.3% in Miguel Alemán's (1946-1952) sexennial period (Robles,1977:181). This reduction was used to justify private participation in the field.

As Isidro Castillo pointed out the state began to provide an unlimited number of licences to open private schools. Both Mexican religious orders and those from abroad like the Salesians were involved. This latter order had an ample concept of what a school could be. Not merely the classroom but the workshop and the social centre were included in its projects. These had enabled it to set up successful institutions in many countries which were beginning to develop economically and socially. (Castillo,1968: 421-430).

Indeed, given the vastly increased birth rate, organisations wishing to open private schools no longer had to base their arguments on ideology. The state was so hard pressed to provide sufficient classrooms that it actively welcomed the participation of the private sector. The school age population had outstripped any possibility of providing education for all children. Hence:

" Opportunities to create private schools remained open and were legalised de facto "
(Castillo,1968:42-430)

V. 6 Conclusions

The period between the granting of University autonomy (1929) and the 1940's marks the attempts by the state to constitute a hegemony by forcing very different social groups to work together. This was successful not inside but outside the established institutional framework. The government then adopted a policy of a blind eye to the activities of those social groups which had been hostile to the revolution. Hence there was a creeping privatisation of education together with increased independence of the professions. But they would not allow complete freedom either to these private institutions or to the professions. Why? Because the hegemony was still too fragile and depended upon implicit rather than explicit alliances. As long as the state acted as a distributor, that is as a corporatist state differences of interest could be suspended. When the state began to abandon that role because social control does not allow economic growth and initiative then the alliances began to unravel. This also affected the modus vivendi concerning

education and the professions as we will see in the final chapter.

Consequently, the university monopoly of professional education was broken. The idea of university as the sole source of degrees and curricula came to an end.

¹ Although much was said both against and in favour of socialist education, today there are many doubts about exactly what it meant. Contemporary historians tend to think that the idea was never clearly defined except in the sense of the incorporation of the working classes into the school system. It would seem that an immanent idea of socialism was dominant in it. This meant that only the presence of the working classes in schools could give them their revolutionary or socialist character. For further information about this period see: Guevara, 1980:7; Bremauntz, 1943:55-93; Raby, 1974:35-100.; Britton, 1976:7-24 ; Garcia Cantú, G. 1969.

² Donald Mabry, one of the main analysts of the PAN, sees this party as an alliance of forces united to combat Cárdenas' reformist regime. They were also united-said Mabry- by the fear of socialism and the possible radicalisation of Cárdenas regime. To Mabry PAN militants were mainly Catholics (Mabry, 1973:16) Other scholars, like Jaime Gonzales and Alicia Ramirez maintain that the PAN was mainly a "Bankers Club", representing financial interests (Gonzalez, J & Ramirez, A, 1979:103). Between these two positions is another. Robert Lux sees the PAN as a political alternative dominated by the middle class. (Lux Robert, 1967:78-79) fourth argument sees the PAN as a the culmination of the Catholic Church's actions to recover the terrain lost in the XIXth century and the revolutionary movement of 1910. Nevertheless -concludes Romero- Accion Nacional is all these and more. It is a complex ideological alliance of all those affected by the Cardenist reforms. (Romero, J.J., El partido Acción Nacional en el sistema político mexicano , Tesis, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México, 1983:1)

³ Ever since the Cárdenas period there has been a confusion about the limits of Article 3. Autonomous universities interpreted it as if it only applied to the education controlled by the state. This would limit it to basic and Secondary education. Nevertheless the conflict this time was not against the state but within the National University. It arose between those who defended the idea that higher education had to be socialist and those called "humanist" who defended autonomy against any political doctrine. This was the origin of a famous debate Caso-Lombardo Idealismo vs. Materilismo Dialectico. Ediciones Lombardo, México 1975.

⁴ For an analysis of the evolution of the term socialist among the Left see: Guevara, G La educación socialista en México (1934-1945). México, SEP, Biblioteca Pedagógica-El Caballito, 1985

⁵See Castillo, Isidro. México y su revolucion educativa México, Ed. Pax-México, 1965

⁶Before the revolution, as David Brady put it, education was a service for the urban middle class and the rich. There was a demand for education from the end of the XIXth century, but not until Cárdenas is this demand heard. Rural education was the most outstanding campaign of the Cardenist regime. For its success rural teachers had to educate not only children but also their parents and the political authorities. The Catholic Church and the landowners presented these actions as anticlerical and organised very strong opposition to them. This confrontation radicalised the countryside. As a result the teacher acquired duties which went a lot further than education. He became the rural representative for land petitions, for justice and other activities. There was a consequent radicalisation of the rural teachers. This is what David Raby calls "the heroic period of rural teaching". (Raby,1974: 37-66)

⁷ Medina ,L. Op. Cit., pp.105-135

⁸For Peter Cleaves, this stage signified a more corporatist character for the professions, instead of a greater autonomy, as in previous years. Cleaves believes that, in a sense, the Mexican liberal professions were incapable of subsist the control of the state. Thus what we have, after the period of "national unity" is a group of professions whose actions, to be successful have to be oriented towards the state. (Cleaves,1985:186-187)

⁹Basically, there was no strong opposition to the industrialisation of the country. Consequently, this was a rapid process that increased the economic power of industrial groups as well as the power of the urban middle classes. For an account of this process see: Contreras, Ariel México 1940: industrialización y crisis política México, Siglo XXI Eds.

¹⁰We will see later in this chapter the characteristics of the different models of education that were discussed in the private sector.

¹¹ Robert Lux, suggests this interpretation because the PAN was founded by university men, intellectuals such as Gómez Morin, concerned about the problems of México. Romero Op. Cit. pp. 23

¹²The hostility towards the Instituto Politécnico Nacional remained for many years after the Cardenas period. The National University insisted that the professionals formed in that institution were not really professionals, and denied them academic recognition. For an account of this debate see: Leon López, E., El Instituto Politécnico Nacional: Origen y evolución histórica México, SEP, 1975 y Mendoza, Avila, E., La educación tecnológica en México, México, IPN, 1980

¹³ This new alliance marked the transition from a fundamentally rural society to an urban and industrial one. For further information see: Branderburg, F. The making of modern México Englewood Cliffs N. J., Prentice Hall, 1964; Wilkie, James, The Mexican Revolution. Federal expenditure and social change since 1910. Berkeley, 1967.

¹⁴In educational terms this change was very significant, because education was given a new function in society, which became the basic for class reconciliation. Education is not a means to differentiate classes and to promote class struggle. On the contrary education has to be seen as a means for social mobility. This concept was very common in the post war period and gave birth to new forms of education as Karabel and Halsey point. (Karabel and Halsey,1977)

¹⁵ Campa, Valentin Historia del partido comunista mexicano, México, Ediciones del Partido Comunista, 1966.

¹⁶ See note 15 above

¹⁷Salana, F, Cardiel, R Bolaños, R Historia de la Educación Pública en México Tomo II, México, SEP-80, 1982 pp. 360-403.

¹⁸ Contrary to public higher education, private institutions established their social, ideological and economic identity from the beginning. All these characteristics were united in the high cost of private higher education.

¹⁹ This difficulty was based on the arguments used by liberal professions of the National University to discredit technical education.

²⁰While the National University reconciled itself with the state, the Instituto Politécnico Nacional was

financially abandoned and later re-organised on the lines of the liberal professions. See León, E., Op. Cit., pp.125

21 "Two historical factors combined to favour the reconciliation between the National University and the state. The first one was, the re-orientation of national development after 1940. This consisted of the adoption of a new model of development based in the increased participation of private enterprise. Industrialisation and foreign capital was the basis of this strategy which aimed at creating a market economy under the guidance of the state. The second factor was World War II, and the new hegemonic discourse based on the need for "national Unity". (Guevara,1990:55)

22 The implicit aims of the new Organic Law were to recover the technical character of university studies and to abandon the political debates that had dominated the university since the beginning of the XXth century. See Genesis de la Ley Orgánica de la Universidad Autónoma de México México, UNAM, 1980

23 Many have written about the pre-eminence of public University graduates in the political elite of México after 1945. One of the best known is Camp, Roderic La formación de un gobernante en México México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981.

24 Gómez Morín was called the "wise", because as rector of the National University as well as the representative of a certain position the PAN, he always defended "practical reason" against the irrational principles. (Memorias del Pan ,1978:35)

25 But in his view this is a mistaken interpretation of the position of the professional in Mexico

26 Gómez Morín's discourse is very close to what we have called the "liberal-democratic discourse" represented by Durkheim and after by Parsons. Like Durkheim, he believed that professions were elements of order which were decisive in social stability. Professions were a pr-condition to achieving a consensus in modern industrial societies in so far as they constituted a moral community based on rationality and technical skills. Thus they could put the public interest first. Morín believed that their professionalism guaranteed rationality and independence from social power (Gomez Morín,1927:27). It is also interesting to notice that Gómez Morín had a vision of the professions based as much on their technical as their moral authority.

27 At this moment the entrepreneurial and the Catholic discourse unite to become the expression of upper social class ideology.

CHAPTER VII

OVERVIEW

In this chapter I explore the different historical processes that gave birth to the present day institutions of private higher education. I have selected three case studies that represent three different historical configurations of the discourses of the private sector which we have seen in the previous chapters.

These institutions allow us to distinguish the social and power agents that lay behind the foundation of each one. The way in which each institution is the product of specific power arrangements and adductive discourses will be describe.

The institutions are presented in the chronological order of their foundation. The first (1935) private university in pos-revolutionary Mexico, was a regional university (UAG). It is regional in the sense that, although its origin lies in national events, it is more related in time and space to a Mexico where provincial life is still very important. Guadalajara is a region in which Catholicism and socialism took their more extreme forms in the realm of education, during the post-revolution era .

The second and third cases, although contemporary, represent two other projects. The Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA), represented the Catholic option in education

after the attempt to eliminate it in the post- Revolution years. The other, El Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM), also represented a regional alternative. However this was a regional alternative born in the most important industrial region of Mexico. In other words it represented an alternative for the industrial sectors of society.

Following our hypothesis, that the training of the professions will vary as a result of the historical context and the social and power interests of the training institutions controlled, we hope to prove that history is relevant in the sense that it permits to discover the interests of the agents behind each educational project. Having established the type of alliances that govern each institution it is possible to deduce what kind of professional training will be offered. At the same time the kind of professional training given should explain whether the state opposes or supports these institutions.

Although the three institutions selected for this study are more or less contemporary, certain differences in the context between 1935 and 1943 will explain the ease or difficulty of their creation as well as some differences in their functioning. Nevertheless their most outstanding common feature, is that, despite differences in ideology and organisation all three universities represented a certain type of professional training: the one we have called "corporate patronage".

The "corporate patronage" form of professionalism arises when the effective demand for professional services comes from a small, powerful, unitary clientele. As we mentioned in chapter II, where these conditions prevail, the technically based authority of a profession and the social distance are at minimum. Technical criteria are not crucial for evaluation, but rather shared values and status. The practitioner is expected to be technically trained but he must also be socially acceptable. If we look at the arguments given by the social groups behind the foundation of these three universities, we find that social and ideological rather than technical arguments determined their resistance to graduates of the UNAM and the IPN.

Although technical skill would become an important argument later, when these institutions were founded the arguments against the political and ideological orientation of public institutions weighed heavily. These arguments re-appear each time the private sector grows, as we will see when we examine the period 1968. The growth of Mexico private universities slowed down after their initial spurt and did not reach a new peak until 1970.

Comparing the three we find that besides Catholicism, they are united by their social class orientation, their conservative ideology, and the economic support given by business. Nevertheless it will be observed that if at one level of analysis we can talk of a similar model, the "corporate patronage" type of professionalism, at another differences appear: the characteristics of a particular region, the type of business

community that supported them as well as the ideological and educative discourses that founded them. All these factors gave a distinct stamp to each institution.

The UAG, was founded, as Levy said, in the first place to stake a claim for academic freedom, rather than to extend the influence of the private sector. At the beginning it also defended the "liberal" type of professionalism. Although sponsored at the beginning by liberal professionals and middle class sectors, the UAG would later stand for something more- a network of conservative social and political values (Levy, 1986:119). Although it did not receive huge business support, it managed to put together a group of conservative regional interests that supported it in its fight against the revolutionary project.

The Iberoamericana University (UIA), on the other hand, is a Catholic university, that could only come into existence after the Church-state conflict had diminished. Like the UAG it was created to counteract what was seen as the politicisation of the UNAM. However, unlike the UAG it was created under UNAM sponsorship and received important financial support from the Catholic sector of the industrial world.

Lastly, the ITESM, created in the same year as the UIA, is the most "technically" oriented of the three . Business in the nation's industrial centre wanted well-trained but also politically reliable graduates for its development. Regional interests played an important role, but the ITESM, unlike the UAG or the UIA grew with a tacit

agreement of the state as part of the broad state-private sphere alliance formed after 1940.

As in all complex socio-historical processes the network of private institutions of higher education is *sui generis*. Their emergence, was the result of different social and regional circumstances, and their evolution took on different forms which we will analyse in the next chapter. For example the Universidad Iberoamericana was in theory the clergy's response to the increasing secularisation of education and their resulting loss of power in the educational field. Yet, it is an educational project that has confronted strong opposition within the Church itself. The contradiction between its ideals and the need to live in the real world have caused it problems.

It is also important to note that projects differ from region to region. An example could be the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara (UAG) (Autonomous University of Guadalajara) and the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM) (Technological Institute of Higher Education of Monterrey). Both are oriented towards the satisfaction of the demands of specific social groups, but their history and social characteristics have made them quite different. The UAG emerged as the local response to a struggle against the state in the years 1920-1940 by traditionally confronted sectors in the region: Catholic groups and commercial and agricultural sectors, against the state of the years 1920-1940's. This alliance yielded an educational conception that combined liberal notions of professional practices with a strong "service" ideology of Christian extraction. The ITESM on the other

hand, also a product of the conflict with state educational policy and with the National University, fostered an education of a technical and scientific nature, linked to the capital's regional necessities.

Nevertheless these three institutions, needed to define their idea of the role of education in society into a pedagogical system that would characterise them in the educational "market". In fact, until they adjusted themselves to supplying a certain market in which could their graduates could be placed, these institutions trained a very small sector of the upper classes.

Its foundation, after a reconciliation with the state did not represented a threat anymore to the state training public universities. Once the state ideological orientation changed from a "popular" or "socialist" policy to a clear state capitalist model of development the existence a private institutions of higher education did not affect the growth and privileged position of public education. Only years later, the existence of private higher education institutions became a real competitive model vis a vis public education.

In the next chapter the of foundation of each institution will be described. This should be understood within the context of the made the Mexican state during the period of the Second World War, when it deactivated the more radical measures of the Cardenist government. In this first period of private higher education, although there has been a change in policy, this did not really represent an alternative

professional training. An exception might be found in the area of ideological orientation and in the "patronage professionalism" that theoretically guaranteed control through social origin.

A note should be included here on the meaning of "patronage". Besides the element of a minimum social distance an economy in which large corporations are the main source of recruitment for professionals is also needed. That is, the concentration of economic power brings about the concentration of professional services. Given the development of the Mexican economy in the 40's and 50's it can hardly be said that Mexico had such an economic structure. Hence the thesis that the defence of elite education was the basis of the conflict with the state can be maintained, with the concept of patronage as a general trend instead of as a model to be adhered to at all cost. Tendencies in professionalism will be dealt with in the conclusions. The historical elements that appeared to form the basis of a model of professional training different from the state model will be analysed.

CHAPTER VII

CASE STUDIES

VII. 1 LA UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE GUADALAJARA

VII. 1. 1 A brief History

The Autonomous University of Guadalajara may be considered the first private university of contemporary Mexico. It was born in 1935 as a result of a secession of teachers and students from the Universidad de Guadalajara (University of Guadalajara). These supported by the economic elite and the local clergy, rejected the educational policies of the post-revolutionary regime. It is very interesting to point out that the first private university was founded in a region that was traditionally opposed to the centre, but above all, traditionally dominated by the clergy. (Fábregas, 1979, and Meyer, 1976).

The University of Guadalajara was founded in 1935 while José Guadalupe Zuno Hernández was governor of the State of Jalisco. In the 1935's, under pressure from a later governor, the University put aside the socialist reforms. This resulted from a debate between those who supported the socialist reform and those who opposed

them¹. As a result of the debate another university was founded, La Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara. This was the first private institution created in this period.

Internal contradictions in the staff of the Universidad de Guadalajara were openly revealed for the first time at the First Congress of Mexican University Teachers held in the city of Toluca in 1933. The central theme of the Congress was: "The ideological position of the university to contemporary problems and the social relevance of the university in today's world." The resolutions of the Congress aroused considerable controversy. The result was a serious confrontation between the National University and the state over autonomy and socialist education.² At the Congress, the University of Guadalajara was represented by those who defended the socialist position. However after the Congress, this position provoked a strong reaction in Guadalajara. Academic staff and representatives of the local community opposed to the Cardenist programme formed a common front. .

Strong attacks were made on to what was called the Marxist university. Local newspapers, particularly the influential newspaper *El Informador* in its editorial section advice their readers about the perils of a socialist university:

"Our readers should be acquainted with what occurred at the University Congress held in Toluca City a short time ago and with the results of the meeting, not all of which could have been predicted. Some resolutions of the Congress were so absurd and subversive that the most outstanding delegates immediately protested against them". (*El Informador*, Guadalajara on October 4, 1933)

Attacks from local newspapers continued with increasing hysteria, to the point where a political uprising was being visualised. Here we reproduce a part of an article from *El Informador*, which may be taken as typical of the point of view of the most reactionary groups of the State of Jalisco:

“Our Constitution is capitalist. It sanctions and guarantees the right to individual private property as well as the making of profits. The Mexican Government has the obligation to guarantee the Constitution. It is thereforeIt is worth emphasizing that a year after they themselves rejected the Third Article of the Constitution -which consecrates socialist education-, the government has the obligation to limit the communist impulses of scholars, who want to overthrow the Constitution, the government itself, its guardian. " (*El Informador*, November 7, 1933).

The rector of the University of Guadalajara, Manuel Díaz de León, announced a few days after the Congress, that the university authorities were preparing to take measures to implement the ideology that had been confirmed at the University Congress. He was clearly referring to socialist education. As a consequence a large number of teachers refused to give classes.(UAG Actas del Consejo,1933:137-138)

By then, the movement in favour of university autonomy had triumphed in Mexico. It was not long before the new rector, Manuel Gómez Morín mounted a crusade in defence of academic freedom.³ The effects of these events were soon visible in many parts of the country. In Guadalajara, as in other universities in Mexico, university teachers and scholars organised to fight for university autonomy. This was understood, mainly, as academic and research freedom.⁴

The most important expression of this movement in Guadalajara was a strike organised by high school and Law School students. Their objective: to disavow the rector and repudiate Marxist ideology. The rector, on the other hand, didn't hesitate to declare that the strikers were boys "stirred up by people of clerical and communist filiation". The movement led to the closing of the university in November 1933 (Guevara,1990:41-51).

Despite these drastic measures, the movement continued. For the governor, as for the rector there was no doubt that the clergy and local people opposed to the ideology of the revolution were behind these riots. The situation reached the point where president Calles, who shared the point of view of the governor and the rector, was called in. During the conflict the governor ratified his duty to support a higher education, in line with the political and moral demands of the epoch.

The tension did not wane. In 1934, the conflict between the university and the state re-emerged on a nation-wide basis. Scholars tried to prevent the university from being included in the reform of the Third Constitutional Article. A campaign against socialist education and against changes in the Article was begun.

The Student Federation of Jalisco (Federación de estudiantes de Jalisco) issued a declaration against the reform. The arguments were well-known and coincided with those expressed by Catholics and conservatives. They said:

"What is really behind reforms to the Constitution is the subordination of every individual initiative for the benefit of the state. The destruction of the individual, of his organisations and groups, is the necessary goal of the present policy of the State". (González,w/d:37).

The students from the Federation of Jalisco (FEUJ), also argued that socialism was incapable of becoming a didactic method. They held that:

"Socialism is a philosophy that explains social facts and the economic phenomena in a determined way, but it can never be conceived of as a didactic method. To do this, it should present, for critical analysis a system of principles, from which all the sciences, from the most elementary to the most complicated, can be explained" (FEUJ,1934:15).

Meanwhile the University of Coahuila, the University of Monterrey and the University of Puebla joined in these expressions of discontent and made demands for autonomy. All of them were headed by their respective Parents Association, who wished to include pre-university education in the protest.

In Jalisco another riot led to a second closing of the University of Guadalajara in 1934. It may be observed how the opposing positions had now become irreconcilable. The Government declared that:

"...the university will be closed in order to formulate the plans and programs of Socialist Higher Education to which in future, it must conform" (González, w/d: 41).

The opposition raised the flag of university autonomy in response.

As in every debate regarding higher education, the professions and their social function were at the centre of the controversy. Thus in the governor's report it was stressed that the central objective of university reorganisation was to transform the university from an institution that trained privileged professionals, into one that would train professionals with a social conscience. Social conscience was understood as at the service of the state and of the Revolution.

In the light of this the Student Federation of Jalisco requested permission to found a new university. Permission was denied, but the break was made possible by the UNAM which validated their study. Autonomous institutions could thus be formed which resulted in the de facto creation of the UAG. These were: the Autonomous Faculty of Jurisprudence, the Autonomous Faculty of Engineering, the Autonomous High School and the Autonomous Faculty of Medicine and of Chemical Sciences.

In 1935 the National University declared the High Schools, the Faculty of Jurisprudence and the Faculty of Medicine incorporated, and reiterated its determination to defend university autonomy. Thus the National Autonomous University of Guadalajara was born.(UAG,1985:12)⁵

VII. 1. 2 Universidad Autonoma de Guadalajara: Educational Philosophy

To the state, the importance of a university like the UAG lay in the fact that if it managed to become a strong political and a cultural centre it could jeopardise the state's unstable hegemony.

Culturally the UAG was the bulwark of a whole conservative ideology, because it inherited a regional culture of a strong Catholic and reactionary tradition. In the struggle against socialism, it was seized by ultra-reactionary sectors of the Church. Moreover a genuinely Fascist movement, the group called the "tecos" (owls), formed in the core of the ACJM.⁶ Meyer comments that: "the tactics propitiated by the Jesuits (infiltration, secrecy and violence) were rendered counterproductive when control could not be maintained. Therefore, the "tecos" of Guadalajara, destined by some Jesuits to "save the University from socialism", promptly became Fascists and anti-Semites. Meanwhile they had taken possession of the UAG". (Meyer,1981:15).

The university contributed to the reproduction of another extremely conservative discourse. This had the family as the centre of social life and the defence of a morality based on the separation of sexes. Order, devotion to a cause, and respect for authority were the rule of conduct among the students.

In politics Fascism and the most violent forms of dictatorship, such as that of Somoza were defended even though as an institution it should have been apolitical and a-confessional.

According to its founders:

"...it has no lucrative purposes, nor does it receive subsidies or economic assistance from the state or from any religious organism. Its studies are incorporated with those of the National Autonomous University of Mexico and have absolute national and international validity. The Federal Government and the state grant it absolute respect and freedom. It has important support from the community, which encourages it and contributes towards sustaining some of the programs of academic excellence and social service " (UAG's Information Catalogue,1981).

It declared itself: apolitical, a-confessional, a follower of the principles of academic freedom and university autonomy. But the argument used to justify the existence of the new institution was that its professional orientation would be defined by the needs of the private sector not the state.

In its constitutional papers it was declared that:

“The Autonomous University of Guadalajara, conscious that the rapid advances of science and technology make the need to acquire new and more profound understanding in all fields of knowledge more urgent, has established new professional careers to allow young people to educate themselves in such a way that can become successful professional people, within the complex society in which they will have to live” (Principios,1940:6).

Conservative and against the state, the UAG bases its creed on the defence of the individual. His "complete" development is the maximum educational ideal. Their point of view is that:

“Mexico is a developing nation where a delayed industrialising process is taking place. National development depends, fundamentally, on individual development, which is based on education. This individual development can never be obtained if it is controlled by the state” (Principios,1940:11).

From the point of view of the sociology of education, they hold, a-critically, that there is a direct relation between education and economic growth. Thus their "developmental" orientation. To them the development of a higher education system precedes economic development, because any model of social, economic or cultural improvement inevitably demands ideas, inventions and techniques as part of the system, and development will not be possible without a multitude of scientists, artists, technicians and intellectuals, which are generated only by higher education (Garibay,1957:235).

When we say a-critically, we are referring to the fact that the UAG, despite its declarations, has contributed very little to the scientific production of the country, and even less in technology and culture. Its basic careers and their content were not different from those taught at the National University. They were basically those called the "liberal professions", medicine, law and architecture. (Gil,1975:38)

Also in an a-critical way they held that private enterprise plays a fundamental role in economic growth, as it not only pursues profit but also to provide goods and services useful for society. In their Principles, one of the most important ideological expressions of the UAG, it is stated that:

“In our economic and social system, private enterprise plays a fundamental role as a creator of wealth for the society of which it is a part. Its main objective is to serve society by supplying a useful product or service. A social group whose only end is to obtain profit is inconceivable. The administration of a company must try to see that the product fulfils the needs for which it was created, that it has an accessible price, and that its quality is in relation to both conditions". (Principios,1940:17).

Here is where professionals and the university have an impact. From the point of view of a professional an enterprise must a make profit compatible with a reasonable price and the satisfaction of the social needs. Evidently, social change is conceived as having an eminently technical character. Therefore, the university's principal aim is to serve enterprises, which in turn serve society. This is characterised as an "entrepreneurial" ideology.⁷

Evidently, the UAG's promoters counted with support from a considerable group of professors and students. The rapidity with which the faculties started working proves this; and the documents tell, the teachers began their classes without charging fees.

Local financial support was soon available. Almost from the beginning, the National Autonomous University of Guadalajara received help from wealthy capitalists like: Ernesto Robles León, President of Bacardí Company; Carlos Ballesteros, President

of Mexicana de Aviación Company and the Leñero brothers, one of whom was the President of the Association of Coconut Producers (Garibay,1957:239).

Later, the UAG formed a Board of Directors, with thirty members practically all businessmen, who gave financial support to the University. Among these people were: José Represas, President of Nestle Committee; Agustín Legorreta, the Bank of México; Manuel Espinosa Iglesias (Bancomer); Dr. José Luis Curiel; Gustavo González Garza; Francisco Javier Sauza, Tequila Sauza Company; the architects Fontané and Corona; and Salvador López Chávez, owner of Canadá Shoes (Garibay,1957:241).

They also received support from certain foundations for special programs, such as, the OAS, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Jenkins Foundation and the Bank of Mexico (Garay,1990:65).

VII. 1. 3 Current Academic Structure

La Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara, in its origin was divided into three areas from which the different schools, faculties and institutes are administered. These areas were:

The Health Sciences Area.

The Science, Technology and Intermediate Education Area.

The Humanities and Social Sciences Area.

Graduate Studies on Education and University Exchange.

Sandwich Courses and Retraining.

There was also a Ph.D. and a Masters degree in:

Educational Administration

And a

Masters in Chemical Sciences and Biomedical Sciences.

Nowadays its has twenty thousand students, distributed in three high schools and fifteen professional schools that offer more than forty-four undergraduate careers and more than twenty post-graduate qualifications at the level of specialities, masters or Ph.D.

VII. 1. 4 Professional profile and social link.

A look at the professional profiles provided by the institution permit us to make some general remarks about the formation of professionals at the UAG. These should however be complemented with a more developed analysis of curricula and professional practice. Nevertheless, the university's entrepreneurial and development oriented ideology is clear enough. However, professional skills as such do not seem to constitute a sufficient indicator of training moulded to industry's needs. It is the close links at other levels- mainly of public relations- that suggest that the union

between the university and industry may have an educational, rather than an ideological sustenance.

The Autonomous University of Guadalajara does not claim to have instituted new teaching methods as the Tecnológico de Monterrey or the Universidad Iberoamericana have done. Rather it is characterised by a solid relationship with private enterprise and it reports that this relationship has been very efficient. In its texts, the following facts are underlined:

“The local Chamber of Commerce encourages academic competitions so that institutional quality is measured by the degree of placement of former students on the job market” (Camara de Comercio,1967:13)

According to reports produced by ANUIES researchers:

“In some areas like Medicine, Engineering and Administration, students are already employed with good salaries even before they graduate. The students of Chemical Sciences are already hired in their last years. It can be affirmed that approximately 85% of the graduates from the UAG already have a job, due, in part, to the University’s Placement Office which is in direct contact with the hiring enterprises.” (ANUIES, 1980)

In 1974 the university created the Continuous Education Division (EDUCAN), which covered the areas of Health, Humanities and Social Sciences and Science and Technology. Additionally, it organised training courses in the development and planning of human resources and in the field of administration and economics. The

objective was to unite the university, the government and private investment to train human resources.

The EDUCAN service included consultative councils made of distinguished specialists. The first one was the Instituto de Desarrollo Empresarial y Administrativo, IDEA (Institute of Business and Administration Development), created to offer courses and seminars in the field of administration, such as the training and updating of private enterprise and public sector executives. It also maintained permanent contacts with the private sectors for the design of the programs that suit their needs.

The Consultative Council was also responsible for providing the university community with the point of view of private enterprise and the experience of businessmen. It also encouraged business development.

Another similar centre was the CIDI. This, together with the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios de Negocios, CIEN (Centre for Business Research and Studies), was devoted to carrying out studies on the solvency and credit eligibility of the population and marketing through opinion and marketing polls. A whole range of activities which encouraged the entrepreneurial spirit was organised in collaboration with private industry. Its objective was pedagogical. The CIDI, in order to offer its services, utilised the USG's laboratories, which at the same time supported small and

medium sized industries. Most of these activities took place in the USG's facilities on the lake of Chapala in a pleasant, relaxed and comfortable environment.

These activities were in fact a source of financing, along with a way of acquiring prestige and a political statement of solidarity with the private sector, for whom these university services were organised and to whom the University was indebted.

Therefore, simultaneously the University has preserved a traditional view of the practice of the liberal professions, such as medicine, and a technocratic view of other careers such as administration, psychology or law.

VII. 2 UNIVERSIDAD IBEROAMERICANA

VII. 2. 1 A Brief History

The foundation of the Iberoamericana University was the result of, both the existence of favourable conditions in the country, and efforts to construct a wider Catholic educational project. The latter was based on Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri* (the struggle against the lay school) and *Gravissimum Educationis* Momentum of Pope Pius XII (Loza Macías, w/d).

This project was initiated in Mexico by Cardinal Miguel Darío Miranda y Gómez head of the Acción Católica Mexicana (Mexican Catholic Action). It consisted of the following features:

1. A study of the social matter.
2. A university to educate the future leaders of the country.
3. A Christian university project. (Ledesma,1981:121).

The idea of founding a Catholic university has existed for a long time. Ever since the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico had been closed in the previous century the ambitions of Mexican Catholics' had been to found a new one. The Jesuits were particularly interested in the project. Nevertheless, although they had been historically linked to education they were not only order interested. Others such as the Dominican, the Salesian and Lasallist orders had been active in this sector. The aims of these groups varied. Of all of them only the Lasallists founded a private university. However we shall not take it into account here because it was created much later than the other three, as a response to very different circumstances.

The Church's social aim was to influence young elite members towards being good Christians, especially the highly qualified. Traditionally this has been the Jesuits' strategy.

The discourse used is a synthesis of Catholic aims and Mexican prejudices. From the cultural stand point the project of a Christian university is subsumed in Mexicans search for a national identity. Their interpretation of national identity is "Iberoamericanism" (hence the name of the university), understood as the fusion of the Indian and Hispanic elements in a national culture once the country was evangelised. In fact, the effect of their ideas was to oppose them both to Mexico's independence and to its national project. They do not understand that Mexican anti-hispanicism was really anti-colonialism. They simply interpreted it as xenophobia. They also opposed "Indigenism" as a cultural policy of the Revolution, as well as the Revolution itself.⁸

In the national context, their ideals were shared only by the more conservative wing of Catholicism and pro-imperialist. Although in the Forties these were benefiting from the government's opening towards religion, by then imperialism had become irrelevant although the alliances that had once supported it as an alternative cultural project remained intact.⁹

Avila Camacho's orientation towards capitalism gave more weight to alliances between Catholics and conservative business groups. These now aimed not only at the defence of religion, but also, at the formation of a new ruling elite in the country that would replace the revolutionaries. In these projects they always turned to the traditional educators: the Jesuits. This situation that ensured them political support from certain capitalists to carry out their projects, as well as financial support.¹⁰

As some scholars¹¹ of the UIA affirm, the impulse to found a Catholic university derived from the Centro Cultural Universitario (CCU) (Cultural University Centre), from which the Iberoamericana University would later emerge. The CCU was the result of the transition of the Catholic Students National Union, from an organism of political militancy to an academic organisation. It was Father Torroella S.J. who carried it out. The problem they faced was the absence of official recognition of their academic activities.

Events at the National University offered them a very favourable situation. In 1942, elections were being held for rector. Mariano Azuela and Rodolfo Britto Foucher, ex-dean of the School of Jurisprudence, labelled a conservative candidates (Silva Herzog, 1978: 79). This situation, as we will see later benefited the Catholic project of a university.

Brito Foucher had shown sympathy for Catholic aims and had thus formed an excellent relationship with the Catholic students. It seems, although the evidence for this is still uncertain, that they supported his candidacy decisively (Ledesma, 1981: 167).

As might be expected these was a quid pro quo. Rector Brito Foucher assured the Jesuits that there would be no problem with official recognition of their academic programmes, if they should decide to found a university. This was very important

because, the National University held the monopoly of recognition of other study programmes.

The rector, thought it was incomprehensible that in a largely Catholic country, the existence of Catholic universities was not allowed. He had observed on his trips to the United States that the Catholics, although a minority there, were able to have their own universities. Moreover, the presence of additional high level universities would lead to sane competition that would in the end benefit the National University.

Thus rector Brito Foucher appointed well-known Catholics to his administration and encouraged the Jesuits to found a Catholic university.

Ledesma relates the details of this initiative:

“Brito, after a prolonged resistance, persuaded Doctor Oswaldo Robles (founder of UNEC), Ph.D. in Philosophy and an outstanding Mexican psychologist, to take charge of Philosophy and Literature and of the Office of Scholar Services (which dealt with the recognition of professional studies). Brito recalled that Doctor Robles and his pupil José Luis Curiel (a philosopher who held a prominent post in the directorate of student associations) were Catholics and had his highest trust. He commented that one day he summoned them both for a private talk, in which he explained the reason for their appointment. Through them, he wanted to invite the Mexican Catholics to found two universities, one for women and another one for men. His position was that although the Mexican Constitution forbids the Churches and its ministers to participate in primary, elementary and secondary education, as well as teacher and workers training it did not forbid the Church from participating in higher education. The founding of two Catholic universities would not therefore be contrary to the Constitution” (Brito Foucher 1968 in Ledesma,1981:167-168).

When Robles and Curiel returned they informed him that the university for women would be founded at the already existing Colegio Motolinia. However they said that the people they had talked to about the men's university thought the project was premature, since the religious conflict had only recently finished. They considered it advisable to avoid a confrontation with the state. However Father Torroella, leader of the UNEC at the time agreed with Brito Foucher (Ledesma,1981: 168).

In those days Brito Foucher often saw Father Enrique Torroella, whom he had known as a student at the National Jurisprudence School. On one occasion Brito Foucher explained to Father Torroella that he was disillusioned with the Catholics. He had invited them to open a dialogue with him. Although he was not himself a Catholic, he was well disposed towards them and believed in religious freedom. He had invited the Catholics to found a University for men and assured them that the study programme would be recognised. Nevertheless the Catholics had declined his offer and this he found very disillusioning. Father Torroella went to consult his superiors. He came back with the reply that, although the Jesuits did not underestimate the magnitude of the project they were willing to undertake it in the service of the Church in Mexico. (Brito, F. in Ledesma,1981:169-170).

Given all this help the university was inaugurated with one single faculty: the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature which the Jesuits believed, synthesised the highest concepts of a university, although it could not yet be called a university, because that would required more faculties.

This first project included the following objectives: first to disseminate Jesuit educational theory and, secondly, to combat the predominant philosophies of the time: Marxism, Neokantianism and Existentialism.

The Iberoamericana University was constituted under that name in September 1954, upon the transformation of the CCU (Centro Cultural Universitario) into a Civil Association (UIAC). It's first president was Dr. Crescencio Ballesteros.

The Iberoamericana University did not experience a real expansion until the construction of its new facilities in Churubusco in the year 1963. Previously, the disciplines taught were disseminated in different buildings throughout the city.

Apparently, financing during that first period depended on private donations and fees and perhaps the civil associations. However there is not much information available in this respect. It is well known that some installations were donated by Catholic charities and other were borrowed from private schools such as the Franco Español or the Grosso College.

The "anguish" caused by the lack of installations was not relieved until 1956 when a group of Catholic businessmen who "understood" this problem, demonstrated their "social responsibility and their interest in serving the country", by creating the Development of Research and Higher Culture AC (FICSAC) (Meneses,1979:40).

Thanks to their financial support, the UIA acquired a university campus. Later, in 1963, the UIA and FICSAC signed an agreement through which FICSAC's board to be united with member of the UIA's Board of Governors. It assumed the direction and management of the UIA without contest from the institution and obliterating academic independence according to ex-rector Meneses. (Meneses,1979:43)

Although still theoretically autonomous, since the arrival of the private investment degrees oriented towards practical skills and producing staff for private enterprise, have been created (See table 1). Nevertheless, it is also true that the UIA has not abandoned courses oriented towards Catholic interests social science degrees and post-graduate work in religious sciences, which would seem to have little to do with entrepreneurial interests.

The Iberoamerican University, like every other private university of any importance, has obtained assistance for specific projects from different enterprises and foundations. The list includes: Olivetti Mexicana S.A., the Mary Street Jenkins Foundation with donated a Chemistry Laboratory, given to the UIA by Manuel Espinosa Iglesias, one of the most important bankers in México and president of this Foundation, and a television laboratory for Information Science and skills also donated by Espinosa Iglesias.

TABLE I
Institutional Growth and the development of degree courses
FIRST PERIOD (1943-1954) CENTRO CULTURAL UNIVERSITARIO

YEAR	CAREER
1943	Philosophy and Literature
1945	Chemistry Engineering, Chemistry Q.F.B
1947	Spanish Literature
1948	Aesthetic Courses
1950	Psychology School
1952	Law School
1953	Arts History Industrial Relations Catholic Culture Courses Psychiatry (Postgraduate) Psychological Orientation

SECOND PERIOD (1954-1970)

1955	Architecture
1956	Industrial Design Plastic Arts Engineering
1957	Business Administration History
1960	Social Anthropology Information Techniques and Sciences

1964	Social and Political Sciences Accountancy
1970	Post-Graduate Courses in: The Social Science Institute The Humanist Research Institute Physics Mathematics Religious Sciences

THE THIRD PERIOD (1970) DEPARTMENTALISATION

With the process of departmentalisation, the UIA abandoned the structure by faculties in order to adopt the divisional system.
Currently the degrees are grouped in five divisions:

THE ARTS DIVISION:

The Architecture and Urbanism Department.
The Arts Department.
The Industrial and Graphic Design Department.

THE ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES DIVISION:

The Department of Administration (Business Administration and Industrial Relations).
The Accounting Department .
The Economics Department (only of service).

THE ENGINEERING AND SCIENCES DIVISION:

The Civil Engineering Department.
The Electric and Mechanical Engineering Department.
The Chemical Engineering and Science Department.
The Physics Department.
The Mathematics Department.
The Nutrition Department (Technology).

HUMAN SCIENCES DIVISION:

The Anthropology Department.

The Communication Department.
The Law Department.
The Human Development Department.
The Psychology Department.
The Humanities Division
The Religious Sciences Department.
The Philosophy Department.
The History Department.
The Literature Department.

CENTRES

The Centre of Christian Inspiration.
The Centre of Social Justice.
The Centre of Academic Excellence.
The Centre of Design and Cultural Documentation.
The Centre of Human Integration.
The Centre of Calculus.

Some of the above degree courses were recognised by the National University as was the law demanded after 1945. However others were independent, that is they worked without any recognition from the national university, because conditions at the National University and in the country had changed. This meant that they were not legal. Nevertheless the business community recognised them.

The search for new ways to organise the curriculum and the existence of independent degree courses like Industrial Design and others emphasised the university's search for other types of recognition than that provided by the UNAM.

After some refusals the Iberoamerican University was granted independent recognition by the Minister of Education instead of being obliged to conform to the mandate of the National University. This allowed the university to plan study

programmes in its way, and also to confer its degrees without seeking approval elsewhere.

The UIA's board had long waited for the desincorporation from the UNAM in order to be able to reorganise its curricular structure without being limited by the UNAM

The UIA began to live a completely new phase in its development as an innovative university. It developed a departmentalisation and curricular design based on interdiscipline (Table 1:Third Period).

VII. 2. 2 The Iberoamerican university: educational philosophy

In the institution's body of principles, called social humanism, there are two tendencies which have dominated two historical moments. One runs from the foundation until 1970, and the other from then onwards.

Since its origin the UIA's educational ideal has been "Christian service". It is literally stated that: "The UIA does not aim to form egotistic men who seek science and technique only to be able to climb to privileged situations of personal advantage. It tries to form genuine men of service..." (Meneses,1979:53).

But this same author comments that the institution's real emphasis was on an education, of extreme professionalization in order to form a ruling class as was pro-

posed by Father Bergoend in the forties. During its first years religious and professional education were much emphasised, while research and the solving of national problems were not.

This emphasis was later criticised by members of the university and its negative aspects were analysed by Rector Meneses in a lecture on the UIA's process of departmentalisation, presented in a Forum on University Alternatives, in 1979. He said:

“The Commission (of reform) concluded, first, that the university had, until then, been reproducing the existing culture, whereas the Body of Principles demanded its modification; second, that, following the Mexican university tradition, it had insisted on an formation of extreme profesionalization and third, that the academic aspect would not reach a high level until it was linked to the realities of life in the country's”. (Meneses,1979:70).

The Iberoamerican university (UIA) emerged with the aim of preserving what for the clergy and, in particular for the Jesuits, were the Catholic and national, human and Christian values. Those values, contained in the UIA's founding documents, evolved into a theory and an educational practice whose ultimate goal would be to preserve and recreate "Christian culture".

The principal documents upon which this analysis is based are: the Body of Principles (Ideario), documents for internal distribution in the University and the work of Ernesto Meneses S.J., whose title is “La Universidad Iberoamericana en el contexto de la educación superior contemporánea”. These documents were written in

the Sixties, once the UIA had been consolidated as a university, and was able to offer a considerable number of disciplines to a great many students. Nevertheless their authors state that they expressed the ideals that the institution pursued from the outset.

Ernesto Meneses, (Rector of the UIA 1969-1975), taking his cue from the Body of Principles, pointed out that the Iberoamericana University was an institution of Catholic character, which is not the same than saying a confessional university. According to the author the difference lies in the fact that a confessional institution is structured around the principles of Catholic doctrine, while a university of Catholic inspiration thrives on the doctrine without been tied to its structure. This connection is expressed by the defence of certain values and traditions; but above all by members' activity, which reflects their personal motivations in their personal relations. In attitudes, in conduct toward pupils, without a conscious relationship to any official ideology the teacher possesses academic freedom.

Officially of Christian inspiration the values that inspired the university are transmitted to the culture it will defend. This culture is summarised as follows:

1. Respect for the human being.
2. Social justice, particularly, for the less favoured.
3. An open atmosphere in the discussion of the important matters of human life.

4. A special sensibility for dealing with ethical, sociological and political matters.
5. The formation of a democratic community.
6. Knowledge of the religious sciences (Meneses,1979:169).

Each of these characteristics expressed the set of values which guide the Iberoamerican University. Without them it would be impossible to speak of a University of Christian inspiration.

On other hand, the transcendental values are:

Freedom
Pluralism.
Humanism.
Democracy.
Interdisciplinarity.
Academic excellence (Meneses,1979:184).

Upon analysing the educational content of these cultural values we obtain a more detailed view of concepts the institution attempts to transmit to its pupils. These have constituted the backbone of the traditional debate over lay and public education. We shall comment on some of them in more detail: Pluralism, Humanism and Democracy.

Pluralism. To the lay conception of pluralism, the Catholic educators oppose the notion of transcendental truth. According to Meneses:

“The UIA rejects Pluralism because in accepting the existence of different doctrines it sacrifices the search for absolute truth and treats all convictions as if they were equally valid.” (Meneses,1979:171).

From the Catholic point of view lay institutions by their very statutes reject the idea of a system of absolute values. Therefore, many points of view can co-exist. As the institutions themselves lack a value system, members of the academic community are not required to be committed to one. In the search for truth in these institutions, the search is predominant. Decisions and the commitment to truths about man's nature, destiny, values, rights and obligations, differ. Ordinarily, choice follows the search for truth: but the (lay) institutions, fostering different values, in fact, refuse to choose. (Meneses,1979:171).

Humanism. As with all universities the objective of Iberoamerican is to train professionals. However it also supposedly seeks to produce humane graduates. Humanism refers both to a type of education, oriented to the study of humanities as well to the supposedly civilising effect it produces (an unfashionable idea in the post-Anschwitz world). This notion sums up the Jesuit tradition in education. Humanities are taught in the whole university, as a cultural option but not as a component of the different professional careers we must therefore imagine that “humanism” as practised the IAU is a rather empty concept.

Democracy. They oppose their concept of democracy to the liberal one. Liberal democracy: holds that all men are equal and many therefore have equal participation.

The Jesuits practise a democracy which they call "organic". Each individual has a specific responsibility and this is seen in the service he renders to the community. Business and businessmen produce and distribute goods and services, that are socially useful. Thus they provide incomes and confer a certain degree of stability and continuity to the community. The labour force, for its part is made up of workers to whom their superiors assign specific tasks. Hence each participant has a particular responsibility and democracy is able to exist.

This concept of democracy also sheds light on the notions of political participation and community service that emerge from this philosophy. Political action consists of participating "professionally" in solving social problems, through professional organisations and other intermediate bodies. The purpose of this is to demand effective respect for civil rights, and encourage the exercise of free association and other rights within the frame-work of "organic" democracy.(Meneses,1979:213)

In social service, things are not much different. Before the 1970 reforms, social service was presented only as part of a responsible professional practice. It was not therefore an activity expressly designed to reward the community with services, as in public universities. This implied that the professional is a service provider alone, with a specific responsibility and service ("organic" democracy") He would not therefore question the scope of the services he provides nor whom they benefits .

VII. 2. 3 From Aspiration to Reality

Between the university's body of principles and their implementation, lies the political sphere (the church before the state) on the one hand and the structural restrictions (access, selection, pupil's social class and financing) that Jesuit practice has imposed on the other. The UIA educational policy is oriented towards the training of ruling cadres capable of projecting a "Christian culture". However, this orientation was subsequently modified, to accommodate the demands imposed by private financing. The result was an education for ruling upper class professionals, together with an ideological option for the Catholic sector.

Theoretically, the Iberoamerican University is open (another form of service) to any individual who has enough intelligence to obtain a degree. But in fact, a strict screening process is enforced. Being private, the UIA fees are extremely high: and only a small part of the population is in a position to pay them. According to a study carried out by the Department of Educational Research of the Polytechnic in Mexico, the socio-economic characteristics of the UIA's students places them among the three highest socio-economic categories in the country. That is: owners of the means of production and managers of the labour process and, thirdly professionals and technicians. (Bernal y Rodríguez, 1981:54-57).

A second screening mechanism is ideological. In line with the principles in force until the Seventies, the student who enrolled at the UIA knew that he or she would receive a Christian formation, and accepted the fact.

This state of things was widely criticised during the Sixties, by dissident Jesuits, who headed an avant-garde movement within the Church, that was more in line with new Vatican mandates, although it was seen as extremely radical by the local hierarchy. These criticisms led to the UIA's transformation into a modern "departmentalised" university with a strong orientation towards social service.¹² (Estudio de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús, 1969:630)

An article by Jean Meyer, shows the internal contradictions of the Catholic Church during the Sixties (Meyer, 1985:21). In general, after World War II the ecclesiastical hierarchy tried to find a place for the Church in the post war context. They did this essentially by increasing secularisation and responding to demands for social equality. The Church then began to consider a social role for itself. The answer came in 1962 at the Council for the Theology of Development. One of the most important conclusions was that the Church should get closer to those groups who would suffer the most from development. The Mexican clergy resisted these changes. The Jesuits, on the contrary, received them with enthusiasm.

In education, this new policy found expression in the need to revise the situation of the Catholic educational centres in México. El Centro de Estudios Educativos (CCE)

(Centre of Educational Studies), was founded in 1963 for that purpose. The CEE produced an important document that is essential for the understanding of the role of the Jesuits' in education. We are referring to the three volumes en-titled: Estudio de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús en Mexico, cited earlier.

Among their conclusions (1968) is the suggestion that the Society of Jesus should abandon the education of the elite, "its protector and traditional client". The resolution was supported by The Father General Arrupe and by Archbishop Miranda of México City (Meyer,1981:17).

A significant result was the closing of the secondary School "Colegio Patria", paradigm of Jesuit upper class elitist education, whose resources would be channelled to the needy. These resources would be used to establish an educational organisation called Fomento Cultural y Educativo A.C. (Cultural and Educational Development A.C.), that would be financed by: 1. The proceeds from the sale of the Patria Institute; 2. The Contributions of domestic and foreign charitable foundations; 3. Certain services, such as publications and courses. The work of the Cultural and Educational Development organisation would henceforth be directed to the really marginalized of México City such as those in Ajusco and in Netzahualcoyotl (Gutierrez. Casillas in Meyer,1983:23).

At this point, a group of radical Jesuits appeared, known as the 'prophets', convinced not only of the need for change, but also that the change had to be towards socialism. Their radical position provoked a confrontation with the Mexican episcopacy.

Their judgement was not much different from the CEE's. What was the Company doing in schools founded to train professionals for private enterprises? Why is it accepting private investment?. Could a university that honestly wanted social change exist while it depends on private investment patronage?

In general, the Jesuits as a result of the CEE study, acknowledged the need for educational change, as defined by Paul Freire (CEE,1968:637).

From this context emerged the proposals for transformation, such as the departmentalisation attempted at the Iberoamericana in 1970. Although these proposals did not attempt to solve the problems of social inequality they tried to answer certain social demands particularly the need professionals with a Catholic spirit of service.

Jesuit schools could not act independently of the business sector, as Meyer points out:

"The imperial family", one of the most prominent industrial and banking groups in Mexico, decided to expel the Jesuits from the IAU and from the Technological University (Tecnológico) as a result of the "class betrayal" (Meyer,1981:17).

Reactions of this kind, among them threats to suspend financial support to the university, were a consequence of the radicalisation.

As a result the country's newspapers began to say that the time had come to emancipate the UIA from the group of businessmen who administered it. Bulletins appeared within the University that demanded the ousting of the ruling bankers and industrialists from the Board of Governors. Rector Meneses commented that:

“As was expected, the news reached the ears of the members of FICSA's Board of Governors, who demanded explanations from the UIA authorities concerning the criticisms made by the students”.(Meneses,1979:234)

In August of that year, Mr. Riveroll, the Board representative before the university senate announced that the Board would be dissolved.

It is interesting, at this point to consider the rector's reflections, since they are revealing about his ties with the University's financial backers. The rector wondered about the reasons that lay behind the dissolution, and pointed out:

“One factor might be Distrust, due to the radical tendencies of Jesuits in Monterrey and even in the capital?. Another could be the Resentment of members of the Board of Governors for being displaced from the direction of a project in which they had invested a lot of effort and money. A third factor might be uncertainty over the path the university might take” (Meneses,1979:253).

What these commentaries reveal is the Board's capacity to interfere in university affairs. It is obvious that the changes brought about in the Iberoamerican were never meant to be so radical.

Finally the radical Jesuits were expelled from the university and from the Company and a new structure was found for the study programme. This would allow a more scientific and less explicitly ideological approach to reality from an interdisciplinary perspective. A new structure was also to be given to social service so that the student would more effectively be able to face the reality of the marginalised.

It was then that the university acquired the academic structure which characterises it today, with a new set of norms: the University's Body of Principles (1969), the process of departmentalisation (1970) and, particularly, the attainment of autonomy as a result of recognition by the SEP (1973).

Departmentalisation and organisational reform were established with the idea of achieving an academic organisation which would at the same time reduce the emphasis put on professional¹³ skills, and increase the academic quality of studies. Thus the curricula would be allowed the flexibility to be able to combine academic formation with humanism.

The departmental model is based on a specific field of knowledge (Humanities, Sciences, Economics, etc.) The tasks of teaching, research and administration are

structured around this. In the traditional model of faculties and schools these same tasks are organised independently in each faculty or school depending on the degree courses offered.

At the UIA the department is conceived as the basic academic unit which consists of a community of professors and researchers responsible for a specialised field of knowledge throughout the whole university. The subjects become the axis of the organisations rather than the degree courses. Teachers, students and material resources are assigned on a subject basis. The departments organise the teaching of their subjects to all the students. The students, instead of enrolling in a career and finding a pre-established subject block, apply to study subjects and thus, gradually define their own curriculum. The body of professors is also organised on the basis of departments. Each professor according to his speciality, is a member of a department but teaches heterogeneous groups of students according to their professional interests.¹⁴

The objective of changing to the departmental model, was more than simple innovation:

"... the aim of departmentalisation was to go beyond the departmental system proper to reach goals such as increased academic excellence..., by updating knowledge permanently and, hence, increasing the academic level". (Furlan,1972:45)

The departmental modality was also attractive because it offered economic benefits.

It allowed the optimisation of material and human resources by:

“...eliminating the duplication of academic and administrative functions; avoiding teaching courses to reduced groups of students, and avoiding the unnecessary proliferation and multiplication of courses that would be taught indifferent degrees under different names, with the same content” (Furlan,172:63).

The departmentalisation that began in 1971 was strengthened with the introduction of the flexible curriculum and finally both crystallised in the 1974 academic reform.

From this gradual process of change the UIA's current structure consisting of five departments finally emerged. These are: The Arts Division, the Science and Engineering Division, the Humanities Division, the Human Sciences Division and the Economic-Administrative Sciences Division. Although group careers continued to exist in the different Divisions, their content as well as their curricula had changed.

The implementation has faced multiple difficulties. As Rector Meneses explained, departmentalisation has not been carried out in full. Nevertheless the Universidad Iberoamericana can said to be the first to introduce this trend in education.

VII. 3 INSTITUTO TECNOLÓGICO DE ESTUDIOS SUPERIORES DE MONTERREY

VII. 3.1 Brief History

Compared with the UAG, the Technological Institute (ITESM) emerged in quite different circumstances. It was founded in 1943 as a Civil Association called “Enseñanza e Investigación Superior A. C.” (Higher Education and Research), at a time when the alliance between the state and industrialists had been firmly established. For this reason, the ITESM was able to avoid the conflict with the state's pre-1940 educational policy the UAG. The project did not conflict with the state's interests.

The ITESM was initially planned as a regional institution, but with time it has become an integral part of the national private educational system, especially since the 1970s.

The project emerged at a time when a new future seemed possible. World War II had opened up new alternatives for industrial development in Mexico, which the government and the industrial sectors were ready to take advantage of.

The need to train high and medium level professional people to support the great leap towards industrial development was obvious. The institution's biographers state:

“...a group of industrialists headed by Don Eugenio Garza Sada, facing the challenge of the difficult situation that the tense environment of World War II represented, accepted the task of training professionals, competent and with a spirit of service, to give impulse to our homeland's economic development” (ITESM,1982:47).

There is not much information concerning the factors which influenced the project's birth. Some authors consider the Jesuit's vocation as the “natural” educators of this class to be most important. Other sources suggest that the idea represented the technocratic project Gómez Morín had dreamed about for the National University. It seems that both elements were present. On the one hand, there was a wish to produce graduates with ethical convictions and on the other these was a desire to endow the institution with new power, direction and organisation: knowledge, science and technique respectively.

The original founders of "Higher Education and Research, CA" were: Architect Agustín Basave, Rodolfo Barragán, José Benítez, Andrés Chapa, Bernardo Elosúa, Juan S. Farías, Rómulo Garza, Eugenio Garza Sada, Roberto Garza Sada, Virgilio Garza (Jr.), Roberto Guajardo Suárez, Jesús J. Llaguno, Alejandro Guajardo, José G. Martínez, Ricardo Quiróz, Jorge Rivero, Antonio L. Rodriguez, Joel Rocha, Andrés G. Sada, Roberto G. Sada, Diego G. Sada, Hernán Sada Gómez, Ignacio A. Santo, Doctor Miguel Vera, all of them businessmen with connections in industry, banking and commerce. The strong presence of empresarios from Monterrey in the

management and financing of the Tecnológico de Monterrey' not only stamped it with an entrepreneurial ideology, but also facilitated harmony between its activities and their class needs. The association was managed by a Board of Directors which consisted of a president; eleven senior members; two deputy members; two security committees; and forty-nine active partners. Most of them were members of the local economically dominant class.

The Tecnológico de Monterrey began its activities with two schools of higher education. These were the School of Industrial Engineering and the School of Accounting. In addition there was a High School and a Technical School with evening courses. According to its founders, the project's goal was to train technicians to satisfy the requirements of the expected industrial growth. Only years later did they decide to consolidate it as an institution to remedy the deficiencies in the official schools for professionals. They were reorganised by the SEP under the name of the "Free University School" ("Escuela Libre Universitaria") in 1952.

The widening of the institution's aims from being only a centre of technical education to being one of academic excellence was linked to two factors. The first, was the increase in the political strength of the Monterrey Group in its quest for hegemony in national politics. The second was a parallel increase in its critical view of the government and official institutions, supposedly invaded by every conceivable evil: liberalism, bureaucratisation, communism, the presence of all sorts of ideologies

alien to Mexican tradition and, in addition, an inability to face the problems brought about by the country's growth.

In a text celebrating the Institute's 25th anniversary, the project's main goals were made clear:

"The purpose was to operate a private educational institution 1) of the highest academic level, 2) to contribute to the fostering of science, technology and national culture, 3) to preserve the traditional values of the nation' and, 4) to assist in the training of professionals who, through their preparation in discipline and study, would put a high value on their own personal dignity, as well as of that of the family and have a clear sense of social responsibility" (Exactec,1973:12).

In their desire to educate a new kind of professional, the founders of the Institute reveal how much their hierarchical notions of society and work -that mould their idea of how to train professionals and middle level technicians- were interwoven. They saw that "...Mexico lives an accelerated process of industrialisation. The manufacturing centres are developing at an increasing pace so that the educational sector must grow at a similar rate. Every day the need for professionals is more urgent. However the need for middle level technicians is also increasing perhaps more so" (ITESM,1982:45).

Nowadays this discourse no longer differs from the modern state's. In the 1930's, when Cárdenas spoke about the necessity for technical education. It was a policy which aimed at a clear including the masses in the education system and of reinforcing the power of the state as their representative. Technicians were to be

worker' children with a revolutionary ideology. However the new private discourse, that has influence many educational spheres, private and governmental, is much more technocratic and apolitical. The central difference still lies in the goal of forming leading cadres for the two dominant social spheres: the state and private enterprise. However the idea of training leaders for the working class has been forgotten.

VII. 3. 2 ITESM Professional Profile

An analysis of the founding documents of the ITESM, (1952) explains the degree courses and shows the aims of the institution which were based on the following elements:

1. A marked emphasis on the preparation of the future professional in areas of administration whatever the field of study. The objective is to emphasise the leadership role of future graduates.
2. The insistence on optimising the benefits of the enterprise, without ever questioning the enterprise's social function. Evidently, untrammelled capitalism is the only real option for the country.
3. Humanities and social sciences, are reduced to instruments capable of solving the conflicts between workers and employers, but deprived of their critical capacities. For instance, the economist "is a specialist in handling the principles and models of

the law of supply and demand...", or the lawyer "is a professional oriented towards the exercise of pleading on behalf of enterprises..." (ITESM, 1952: 25).

4. Unlike the UAG, the Tecnológico de Monterrey in its curriculum emphasises its entrepreneurial orientation. In engineering, the design of industrial plant, the selection of technology, the application of industrial techniques for solving planning problems and the programming and control of industries are to be found, as would be expected. However the administration and organisation of productive processes are also emphasised. This is relevant because the administration of the productive process requires a complete compromise with the profit making and exploitative aspects of industry.

5. The notorious lacunas in the curricula are, studies oriented towards solving the problems of the working classes. There is a total absence of concern in Industrial Engineering for the design of rural industries, organised by peasants. Likewise, the administration of community landholding (ejido) small enterprises or alternative technologies for small communal groups is conspicuous by its absence. It is said of public accountants, that: "Their activity consists of designing, processing and generating financial information, as well as the analysis and verification (auditing) of such information in order to facilitate decision-taking for its different users (stockholders, investors, trainers, banks)..." (ITESM, 1982:32).

6. Even in the industrial area proper, there is no specific area oriented toward solving the country's technological dependence. We may therefore conclude that the emphasis placed upon administrative aspects, responds to the acceptance of a dependent development model (Nuncio,1982).

VII. 3. 3 The ITESM's Growth and Relations with the Business Community.

The ITESM's expansion following the student movement of 1968, that shook all higher education was quite significant. The goal was to provide an alternative to public education in cities which had a solid and well organised entrepreneurial community. The strategy has resulted in impressive growth during recent years.

The Criteria for enlarging the installations and opening branches elsewhere in Mexico stated as follows:

“Taking risks is growing and growth is necessary. But it is essential that the risks be calculated and their effects considered. Disordered growth leads institutions towards organisational disaster and prevents the achievement of objectives, making the work of the organisers futile...The project initiated in 1943, with a small group of students and teachers, soon became an established alternative in national education (Panorama,1978:34).

At the beginning of the 1960s, expansion seemed to be the next step. Two alternatives were envisaged: to grow in Monterrey or take ITESM's experience to other cities. The risks were studied, the markets were explored, the possible consequences were analysed and the second alternative was selected. It was decided

to extend the Technologic operations to those cities in which the conditions seemed more promising and in which there existed a demand for academic excellence (ITESM,1982:12).

Jesús Oviedo Avendaño, the director of the Puebla Campus in 1970 expressed himself in the following terms regarding the work of the ITESM:

“The work of “The ITESM's has been very beneficial for this region (Puebla). Today we can see results that yesterday could not have been contemplated. And we have proven that the Technological is a school with a great social presence whose benefits are reaped not only locally in Monterrey but in the whole of Mexico” (Oviedo,1970:3).

Branches were established in cities considered centres of industrial and commercial development, as well as generally in urban areas. Marketing studies were carried out and local business groups were consulted about local demand and potential for expansion.

In all cases where branches were established, the owner was a Civil Association (AC), formed by local businessmen to whom "ITESM's trade mark was sold". Thus, the creation of each foreign unit of the Technological of Monterrey has been possible thanks to the enthusiasm of each region's businessmen. These organise the civil association, which becomes the governing body of the branch as well as the owner of the real estate and other assets. These associations, through an agreement, entrust the academic administration of the branch to the Technological of Monterrey... This

system permits the businessmen from each region to be committed to the national education process. They are able to witness how their own children and those of their fellow citizens remain within a family atmosphere, and do not leave their region, whose development will be in their hands later (Exatec,1973:34). New institutions have been created at a rate of almost two per year. The following table shows this growth rate.

VII. 3. 4 Academic Organisation

As in almost every modern institution of higher education, in the ITESM, faculties as units of organisation have disappeared. Nowadays divisions group the degree courses into fields of knowledge. Besides three Ph.D.s, the ITESM has four divisions:

The Administration and Social Sciences Division
The Sciences and Humanities Division
The Agriculture and Marine Division.
The Engineering and Architecture Sciences Division.

According to the ANUIES study quoted below, 23% of the student population of the System of private Higher Education, is to be found in the engineering degree courses. However, there are variations in geographical distribution. Two thirds are located in other states. Of the 15,550 future engineers, 34.3% enrolled in the year 76-77 in one single institution, the ITESM, thus producing a concentration in this area of knowledge (ANUIES,1978:65).

The research that is carried out at the ITESM covers many areas of specialisation and a wide variety of subjects. Examples may be found in the following list: the utilisation of citric pulp and hen droppings to fatten up bullocks. The nourishment of dairy cows; chemical studies of maize tendrils the construction of germinating boxes for the production of in vitro embryos; studies of the physical and chemical properties of the soil of certain areas of the State of Nuevo León; the utilisation of copper sulphate in the vaccination of pigs, as a substitute for vaccination; the cultivation of a new variety of mutating midget maize.

The Agriculture and Marine Sciences Division, one of the longest established has research programs in: maize, small cereals, sunflowers, horticulture, the management of pastures and the production of seasonal forage, bovine cattle, caprine cattle, the control of plagues and plant illnesses and rural development.

In the area of Sciences and Humanities, the studies of the Chemistry Department are important. It is worth mentioning the research of doctor Xorje Alejandro Domínguez such as: that of forty seven medicinal wild plants toxic for cattle, in the states of the north of Mexico; the industrial use of native plants of the desert zones; the Comparison of citotoxic substances of vegetable origin with those of Mexican plants used to treat cancer and the compounds extracted from these; the Chemical aspects of the medicinal plants of Nuevo León and the north of Mexico.

In every case the regional orientation of the research, should be noted. The solving of local problems is a priority.

In addition the orientation of investigation towards the agriculture and marine areas can be seen together with the relative unimportance of investigation in Engineering which is focused on national matters, such as the need to substitute the industrial devices and processes which are imported.

The bias given to the training of engineers, where administrative skills have more weight than the production of knowledge and technology, is the consequence of a certain model of development increasing dependency on multinational corporations. This type of development tailors technological training towards the technology of imports (Nationalización de la Banca, 1983:63).

Although service to communal lands (ejidos) is mentioned, the approach of the research does not really permit the investigation of any issue of importance to the peasants or workers.

Education is one of the spheres where the Tecnológico de Monterrey shows concern for research and for the establishment of more advanced teaching systems and educational technology. Among other innovations introduced are: the employment of full-time teachers, the semestral system, training programs for reaches, a personalised

system of instruction, and a project called "Year 2000", that consists of encouraging the students to found business as part of their curricula studies.

VII. 5 Private-public distinctiveness

During the public university turmoil of the 1930's the first private university was created (Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara), although its professional studies were not recognised until later, and there were no others until the revolution became "institutionalised" in the 1950's. Private institutions grew, but the public sector did not stagnate. There was also a remarkable expansion of the UNAM, the Politécnico, and especially of the state system. However, the public sector copied, the UNAM model of professionalisation. This public growth was spectacular in the 1970's. Curiously, we find that public sector growth stimulated private sector growth. The Private sector grew in response to what was perceived as public sector politicisation, deterioration, change of class orientation and style of professional training. Three basic variables contributed to establishing and, lending philosophical support to the private network of higher education: social class, religion and economics.

The above descriptions of individual private institutions should not obscure the presence of general determinants which affected them as a group. As has been mentioned, all were political alternatives to the public sector, and all are oriented towards private enterprise. The description given necessarily emphasises particular circumstances although these could be interpreted more generally as economic-

religious or social-economic or social-economic-religious factors. The categories used are in fact interwoven, but for the sake of description they given an emphasis which permits us to see them in insulation.

Social Class. All three institutions emphasise, explicit or implicitly, their preoccupation for the professional education of the children of the elite. The UAG, the first private university was born in clear opposition to the regime's effort to impose socialist education. It demanded autonomy supposedly as the necessary basis for academic freedom. In fact, it probably represented something more: a network of secular conservative social and political values that could be introduced in professional training so as to guarantee that professionals would identify with the conservative regional private sector and not state socialist policies.

Religion. The Iberoamericana the first and still the most prominent university with a religious identity, also social class. However its principal Function is to act as the religious alternative that emerged to counteract socialist ideas in the 1930's . It was also the Church's substitution of the pontifical university that it had never been able to re-establish.

Economics. The most important private university in Mexico is the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de México. Political and social class conservatism figured in its founding, but economics was the foremost determinant. Businesses in the nation's industrial centre wanted well trained and reliable graduates

from useful fields of study. The ITESM adopted the Massachusetts model. And, as with the UAG, regionalism also played an important role. Although the ITESM has campuses outside Monterey they establish a norm: to create campuses in those places where the economic elite are ready to identify themselves with the creation of a regional technological university. So class and economic interest are put together in the founding of the ITESM. Unlike the UAG and the Iberoamericana, it did not receive support from the Universidad Nacional, but from the state. ITESM grew with at least the tacit compliance of the state as part of the broad state-private sphere alliance formed by 1945, in the "National Unity" epoch.

Although it is too early to reach any conclusions about the meaning of the type of professionalism which I have called "patronage" following Johnson's characterisation, advanced by these institutions, it is important to remark that at their origin there is a clear opposition to the agreements reached between the public university and the state in different moments of the history of their relationship. The UAG acted against so-called socialist education. The UIA acted to reinstall the ethical values in the concept of freedom. The ITESM was a reaction against the extreme "liberal professionalism" and the leftist political ideologies promoted by the public system of higher education. In other words they acted against the idea that all forms of education must conform to the official criteria of what constitutes a profession.

To sum up we are faced with the fact that there are a number of different points of view and forms of praxis aspiring to be called professions, no one of which may be thought to be better grounded than the others. Some are more practical than others and this characteristic is related to their attachment to positions in which it is possible to exercise substantial political and economic power. At present Mexican society is confronted with different types of professional training and there is a discussion about whether public or private is better. I will come back to this discussion in the conclusions.

¹Zuno, J. G. Mis días como gobernador de Jalisco. Jalisco 1937

² This discussion have to be referred to the new autonomous status gained by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in 1933, that inspired other universities to follow this path. Hurtado, 1976

³ The demand for academic freedom articulated what Mabry called the lay tendency of the Partido de Acción Nacional, founded by Gomez Morín and conformed mainly by professionals, ex-functionaires and intellectuals tide to Gomez Morín since he was Dean of the National University. (Mabry, 1973: 16)

⁴ It is very important to keep in mind that at this moment the organization of the universities in Mexico was fundamentally based in what is called liberal practice. It means that teachers were mainly professionals that as a factor of interests or status taught at the university, transmitting mainly their concept of a liberal professional practice. The circle was completed in this sense. There were very few full time teachers. That is way we will found in some historical sources the idea that the autonomy movement was promoted by professional. This idea is mainly correct. although we have chosen the complex web of political and ideological interests that lay behind the autonomous movements in the country.

⁵ We most remember that the UNAM was the only institution in Mexico that could certify other institutions studies. But as we said before, at this moment the UNAM was the main institution that defended the academic freedom and was autonomous, it decided to accept the UAG's demand to be recognized as an Autonomous institution too. So the state of Jalisco remained with to universities The Universidad de Guadalajara (UdG) that remained as a public university and the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara (UAG) that initiated its live as a private institution.

⁶La ACJM, following Mabry analysis of the constitution of the PAN, at that time, represented the Catholic wing of the middle and upper classes motivated by religious arguments to save the Catholic values in society. (Mabry, 1973:18)

⁷ As mentioned before the UAG was born mainly with the assistance of liberal professionals, but soon they need financial support. This kind of discourse was oriented to obtain this support, and proved to be fruitful years later when local entrepreneurs give their financial support to the institution. Osborn Op. Cit. pp. 79

⁸ Since the 19th century there existed in Mexico these two cultural tendencies. Iberoamericanism has been related to the conservative movement, that in name of the "tradition" did not accept the Mexican institutions created since the Independence, less those created by the Mexican revolution. Garcia Cantu, Op. Cit. pp. 148

⁹ In the educational terrain the Mexican revolution maintain that education can not continue to be a privilege of the upper classes. It was its ambition to offer education to all. They believed that the place of each sector of the society should be modified by the instruction they received. The idea of changing the social order was to be denied by the conservatives, specially in those arguments that favor the Indian integration of the national society. For further information see Zea, 1963 Op. Cit. pp. 27.

¹⁰ A complete account of the Jesuits educational activity in Mexico is found in: Estudio de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús en México, 3vols. México, CEE, 1969

¹¹As I mentioned at the beginning of this work, there are very few written sources about the history and evolution of the private institutions. Nevertheless the UIA has an official biographer, who was also Dean of the university. There are also two more studies about the university. One the just mentioned study about the Copañía de Jesús, 1979 and the other Jose Outon La Universidad Iberoamericana tesis, UIA, Mexico, 1986.

¹² During the 60's in most Latin American countries emerged the movement called the Theology of Liberation. In Mexico this movements had different echoes, but a very important groups of the Compañía de Jesús were prominent in this process of criticism and activism against the conservative concepts of the catholic Church Hierarchy. In the field of education they criticise actively the social class orientation of the schools, as well as the Universidad Iberoamericana ruled by the Company. (Estudio de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús, 1979)

¹³ Here again when they speak of professionalization tendencies they are referring to what is known as liberal professions training, such as that given at the public university. Interdisciplinarity uncovers the ideal of a more technical, modern, related and adequate professional training to a corporative practice that is expected from their graduates in the business community.

¹⁴ This model has been incorporated today to new created public universities, such as the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, but emphasis is put somewhere else. In public universities departmentalization has been the argument to better structure research, as the basis of the kind of professional training required in a modern society. This can not be said by private universities, because they lay far away from research in relation to the public universities.

CHAPTER VIII

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse in greater depth the most important aspects of the growth of private higher education from 1950 until the end of the 1980's in the light of the arguments presented in the previous chapters. Hence, I will examine not only the social and economic effects of expansion but I will also look briefly at the development of the degree courses offered by these universities, and the elements that appeared for the characterisation of new types of professionals

As data collection for this period is more reliable than for earlier periods and slowly private higher education has revived its interest for researchers and, as a greater number of researchers have done considerable efforts to unearth statistical data referred to private higher education, an overview of the growth and characteristics of the private system of higher education will be presented. In this final chapter, private higher education will again be considered in relation to the conflict over the alternatives for professional training.

The most salient feature of this period: the emergence of an complementary system of higher education -an alliance between private higher education and public education offered by the Mexican State- can be placed in context and analysed.

CHAPTER VIII

PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM GROWTH

Daniel Levy, who deals with the development of private higher education in Latin America has developed a useful historical categorisation to contextualise and compared the growth of private institutions of higher education in Latin America. He argues that there have been three "waves" of growth of private higher education¹.

Levy discusses the growth of the private sector and its influence on the public sector, and suggests that the former has had an enormous effect on the latter, in the Mexican case. This is so much the case that in the literature on education as Levy points out, the public Universities are referred to as if they were the only ones which existed. This is partly the result of the relatively slow growth of the private universities before the 1950s. During this same period, public universities were in a dominant position. Another factor that determined the absence of studies about private higher education, was the tendency of scholars to view the private institutions more as schools of higher education than as universities. This was the result of their almost total lack of research facilities and postgraduate work.

Nevertheless, the recognition of growing presence of private higher education institutions in the national contexts has reinforced new directions in educational

research that included private institutions of education. Although it is still common to find that most of the studies tend to include private institutions always in relation with public ones. The discussion is if they are separate networks or they form a systems with different functions².

The definition is important, because the definition chosen determine whether the model used will be a system or a set of networks. If the former, the system must be characterised and its relationships established. Moreover it must establish the different functions performed by each type of university - public or private- in the system.

Levy considers that the two sectors conform a system. Their distinctive characteristics are established as a result of investigating their origins, growth, financing and management. Nevertheless, this comparative analysis does not consider the creation of new types of professional training as a distinctive part of the system. It is centre mainly in the organisational characteristics of private education that challenged the public Universities.

Levy's hypothesis - which is consistent with that of the present thesis- is that private Universities have in the twentieth century, evolved as part of a continuing dialogue/ conflict with the State. This has happened precisely because the difference between the two groups of institutions is meaningful . Not without reason does Levy give his book the title Higher Education and the State in Latin America: private challenges to

the public domain. Taking this idea as his starting point, Levy offers us a historical analysis of the successive “waves” of growth of private higher education. He does this with the aim of distinguishing its characteristics and goals. This analysis is, in turn, used to contrast private with public higher education in three aspects: finances, organisation and function.

Levy reaches the conclusion that the differences between the two groups of institutions are important. Moreover he states that within the region as a whole, Mexico possesses the clearest model of a separation between public and private higher education (based in the internal organisational analysis).

Although Levy’s analysis is highly suggestive, the hypothesis put forward in this investigation is that the emergence of the private Universities and their competition with the public ones, is the result of a campaign whose basis are the competition of the dominant economic groups, in every realm of society to gain the hegemony in society. Its ambitions have widened beyond the aims which existed at the foundation of private institutions. The present writer also maintains that the private educational sector needs the public sector in order to continue existing in terms of the division of labour that was established historically among them. This state of affairs has already been analysed along this manuscript, but it will become clearer in the present chapter, when we observe the performance of the different types of professionals in the economic and political development of contemporary Mexico that, although, the separation among public and private higher education institutions persists,

differences in the type of professionalism proposed has proved correct in the light of the Gramscian hypothesis about the relevance of education for hegemonic processes in Mexican society.

The author of this work considers that the creation of new professional profiles, are important results viewed historically, fundamentally, because this new situation of competition involved the redefinition of what could constitute the ends of higher education in contemporary Mexico and its consequences for its future development.

A key problem in the relationship of the professions with society is the definition about the epistemological framework within which the professionals could work. The possibility- offered by private higher education- of redefining the approach to social problems in terms of “technical solutions” implicit in the new kinds of professionals trained in those institutions, had implied changes in their position in the market and in their relations to power, as well as, different orientations of the educational institutions that conform the system.³

The idea of different “waves” of creation of private higher education institutions, proposed by Levy, also proved useful for the analysis of the Mexican case, compared with the Latin American process, although it needed certain modifications, that were made explicit along this work.

The first wave (catholic-elitist), or what Levy calls the Catholic reaction can be characterised as being the one in which the Church was the major force behind the creation of Latin America's first private universities, although not in Mexico. Until the 1930's, there were still few Catholic-sponsored institutions of higher education because Catholic universities could only emerge when their conservative supporters were strong. Moreover, the liberals, for a variety of reasons have to be ready to accept their presence. The attitude of the State was strongly against private institutions until 1945. It is true that the period was dominated by the religious controversy, but it is also true that in Mexico, unlike Latin American, the first private higher education institution was not Catholic. The emergence of the secular Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara has already been described.

The second wave, called by Levy elitist-secular, in Latin America is overwhelmingly secular. As the confrontation between the state and the Catholic Church diminished, the impulse to found Catholic universities also diminished, although new ones appeared, as we will see later. The important change in this period, is that, whether religious or not, the basic motivation for founding private institutions, was to preserve class privileges. This was coupled with modernisation or an economic motivation but religious factors were less important.

The debate about the type of professional training growth institutions country, was needed to be negotiated with private enterprise. In this respect it is necessary to emphasise that private investment has never covered the national educational

"deficiency" in terms of the needs of indigenous, rural or popular education. Rather it has acted almost exclusively to satisfy the demand of the members of its own class an in their own terms.⁴

At the meeting of ANUIES held in 1979, the representative of the Iberoamerican University state that private universities should be considered when carrying out national planning. Moreover these institutions should make greater efforts to increase their participation in this kind of reunion. He made clear that the only condition for their participation was that their educational philosophy be respected.

Despite the good intentions of those in private education, it is impossible to ignore the pressures to which they are subjected by their sponsors: industrialists and bankers.

As we have proved the strong nationalist tradition of public education of the years between 1930-1940, has prevented the direct participation of private investment in the planning of education, despite the efforts which have been made since Véjar Vázquez and Torres Bodet. The latter, in his second period as secretary of Education declared that:

“The Department of Industrial Research of the Bank of Mexico collaborated in the eleven year plan: but, in general terms, the permanent planning of objectives has not been established between the Ministry (of Education) on the one side and the country's economic sectors or trade unions on the other". (Muñoz Izquierdo-Ulloa,1966:15).

In particular the industrial sectors have put pressure on the government with the aim of participating in the planning of technical and higher education. Their argument is that they know better than anybody the necessities of the productive sector.

The underlying hypothesis in their economist vision of education is that the planning must be based on the close relation existing (or which ought to exist) between professional training and job.

The first serious attempt to permit them to participate was during Torres Bodet's period in charge of the Ministry of Education. On that occasion the excessive interference of the State in educational matters came under criticism. They pointed out:

“Perhaps the policy followed by the Ministry of Education (SEP) in the months since the beginning of the project has had the effect of making the industrial sector lose sight of the potential fruitfulness of their original invitation. The SEP has tended, during this time, to collect resources from business in order to establish institutions with a distinctly public aspect. What they should have done was to encourage business to set up its own training institutions, under the legal supervision of the State”. (Muñoz Izquierdo-Ulloa,1966:18).

This is the reason that businessmen consider that if they finance training centres, they should determine what is taught in them. They, after all, know what skills they need.

The State might - indeed does - establish centres which are not link to any particular business.

Businessmen's second demand is that the quality of education be improved. They consider primary education to be the foundation for a good technical education (a theme they feel they can speak upon with more authority). They say:

"The Primary school must form habits of honesty, order, dedication and discipline. It must include basic attitudes of seriousness in work, and of responsibility; feelings of respect, of consideration for others, of human solidarity and dignity together with principles of public morality. The lack of these habits, attitudes, feelings and principles among the personnel employed in industry would be a hindrance for our economic development. These attitudes also serve to form the good consumer, allowing the expansion of markets and providing social stability." (CCE,1980:31)

In order to achieve these objectives private enterprise proposes to solve problems such as: quality of education, school desertion, the high teacher-pupil ratio, the poor systems of evaluation and the lack of morality of some teachers.

Businessmen emphasise this last aspect particularly:

"...the qualitative deficiencies of education and the ideology of some teachers - perhaps developed by agitators in Teacher Training Colleges- seriously affect the national interest and also, business interests" (CCE,1980:60).

Hence the importance this sector confers on its participation in Teacher Training.

Finally they request that social peace and harmony be emphasised in the curriculum, and they condemn any agitation that tends to revive historical controversies and any measure that leads to the suppression of spiritual freedom.

In later documents, produced by the Consejo Coordinador Empresarial, (CCE) (Businessmen's Co-ordinating Council) in 1980, as a response to the new government's request for the businessmen's collaboration in national education, we find the same ideas: spiritual liberty, defence of religion, the demand for autonomy, free choice of textbooks, technical education in the hands of industry, etceteras. Some new ideas are incorporated, to do with an increase in efficiency as in adult education.

In another study, carried out by Gómez Izquierdo and Ulloa, titled La Educación en el Desarrollo Económico Nacional, 1964, (Education in National Economic Development) some of the conditions which the industrialists have put forward as a requirement for collaborating with the government in the development of education are analysed. One such is to participate in the national bodies which plan education. This is based on the recognition that until now they have been unable to see economic development and education as a whole and, thus, establish their responsibilities in the field.

Among the prevailing values that the school should convey, the following stand out:

- The necessity of an education for freedom and in freedom; this means religious freedom, educational freedom, political freedom, economic freedom, etceteras.

Freedom also implies the recognition of the overriding right of the parents to educate their children according to their own principles.

- To put an end to the State's educational monopoly.
- To defend freedom of teaching and the choice of textbooks.
- To forbid universities to be turned into recruiting centres for radical political movements (as in the cases of Guerrero, Puebla and Sinaloa).
- To liberate students from prejudices against free enterprise. Rather encourage them to believe in it... otherwise there would be no work for the students that graduate. This is a veiled threat not to hire graduates from public universities.

The document also discusses the knowledge and skills that higher level of education should provide the student with. These are the following:

- A wide recent knowledge of the basic areas of his profession.
- Knowledge of the socio-economic background.
- Administrative knowledge, even though it is not his speciality.
- Administrative skills such as motivation, communication, decision-taking, leadership, etceteras.
- The speciality must be by levels with several possible options of work available to the student when he finishes it.
- Creativity.

- Capacity for work.
- A wide general knowledge.
- To eliminate legal and political obstacles for the opening of educational centres, since without the participation of private investment it is impossible to cut down the educational deficit. Special emphasis is given to creating favourable legal conditions for the opening of private Teachers' Training Colleges.
- Treasury support: scholarships, subsidies, projects of participation, with business, a modification of the tax law so as to be able to claim tax deductions for donations to educational institutions.
- The confirmation that Private higher education in Mexico has become very important within the national higher education system.

The discourse goes beyond the limits of a particular sector and becomes a project for the nation. It is also said that universities should reduce their enrolments, adapt to the needs of the process of production and abandon political positions considered partisan and dogmatic. In very few places is it said that there is an urgent need of reforming the productive apparatus.⁵

Up to now businessmen have not made any innovative statement on educational matters in spite of increased interest on the part of the State. On the contrary, in recent documents we may observe the great conservatism of private industry. Private investment has responded to these summonses to a productivist education. They do not taken into account a humanist vision of training or the creation of scientific

knowledge. All these characteristics limit the participation of private education to limited social groups with a common ideology. Nevertheless it is clear that the influence of this discourse may be detected not only in the institutions of education but also in the spread of an ideology and a set of alliances that penetrate deeply into social relations.

However there is still a third wave of growth that Levy labelled the non-elite reaction. The non-elite reaction, according to Levy (Levy,1986:59), has its roots largely in the growth of population, secondary education, and the demand for higher education. Here again private growth is shaped by the state's response to the increasing demand. But here the state tried to protect the public sector. In those places where the state has restrained public growth, as in Brazil, the private sector becomes the larger sector. However in those places where the state allows unprecedented public expansion, as in the case of Mexico, it still falls short of the rise in demand. This situation gives birth to a third kind of private institution. Moreover, non-elite growth is a response to private elite universities. By definition the elite institutions can not accommodate excess demand.

Although Mexico has experienced these three kinds of wave, it is characterised by the fact that the third wave has developed very slowly. Therefore a bipolar system oriented towards the upper and upper middle classes in the case of private institutions, and to the middle and lower class in the case of public universities has developed.

Unlike Levy's third- non-elitist demand- wave, in Mexico another phenomenon has occurred. Instead of the growth of new secular institutions oriented towards absorbing the demand, what we have is the unprecedented growth of the old private institutions on a regional basis. This development, which reach a pick in the 1970s, has been interpreted mostly as an unwillingness of the upper middle and middle classes to entrust the training of professionals to public universities because of the low perceived performance of the public institutions.⁶

Table I describes the way this third wave appear and develop in Mexico. The third wave can be better characterised as the geographical expansion of the already existing network of private higher education, and the appearance a few non-elite institutions.

Table I
GROWTH OF THE PRIVATE EDUCATION SYSTEM

LESS THAN 200 STUDENTS

1970-1977	1977-1986
	ITESM (SALTILLO)
	ITESM (COAHUILA)
	ITESM (IRAPUATO)
	ITESM (HIDALGO)
	ITESM (SAN LUIS POTOSI)
	ITESM (MAZATLAN)
ND	ITESM (ZACATECAS)
	ITESM (SINAOA)
	ITESM (GUAYMAS)

ITESM (TAMPICO)
 UNIVERSIDAD CENTRO DE MÉXICO
 UNIVERSIDAD PANAMERICANA
 U.IBEROAMERICANA DEL GOLFO

BETWEN 200 Y 999 STUDENTS

1970-1977	1977-1986
UNIVERSIDAD LATINA	UNIVERSIDAD LATINA A.C.
U. INTERCONTINENTAL*	UNIVERSIDAD LATINOAMERICANA
U. LATINOAMERICANA	ITESM (LAGUNA)
UNIVERSIDAD TEPEYAC*	ITESM (SALTILLO)
U. DE LAS AMERICAS (PUEBLA)	ITESM (TOLUCA)
U. AUTONOMA DEL NORTE*	U. IBEROAMERICANA (LAGUNA)
	U. DE LAS AMERICAS (D.F)
	U. ANAHUAC DEL SUR
	U. IBEROAMERICANA (LEON)
	ITESM (MORELOS)
	ITESM(HERMOSILLO)
	ITESM (OBREGON)

BETWEEN 1,000 Y 4,999 STUDENTS

1970-1977	1977-1986
UNIVERSIDAD DE MONTERREY	UNIVERSIDAD DE MONTERREY
U.POPULAR AUTONOMA DE PUEBLA	U.POPULAR AUTONOMA D PUEBLA
U.REGIOMONTANA*	ITESM(ESTADO DE MEXICO)
U.DEL VALLE DEL ANAHUAC	U.AUTONOMA DEL NORTE
UNIVERSIDAD ANAHUAC	U.REGIONAL DEL SURESTE
INSTITUTO TEC.AUTONOMO MEXICO	ITESM (QUERETARO)
	INSTITUTO TEC.AUTONOMO MEXICO
	U.MEX-AMERICANA DEL NORTE
	UNIVERSIDAD DEL NORESTE
	U. CRIDSTOBAL COLON
	UNIVERSIDAD TEPEYAC

BETWEEN 5,000 AND 7,999 STUDENTS

1970-1977	1977-1986
U.IBEROAMERICANA*	UNIVERSIDAD LASALLE*
UNIVERSIDAD LASALLE	UNIVERSIDAD ANAHUAC
ITESM (MONTERREY)*	U.REGIOMONTANA
U.AUTONOMA DE GUADALAJARA	U. DE LAS AMERICAS (PUEBLA)
	U. DEL VALLE DE MEXICO

MORE THAN 8,000 STUDENTS

1970-1977	1977-1986
	U.IBEROAMERICANA
	U.AUTONOMA DE GUADALAJARA
	ITESM (MONTERREY)

SOURCE: ANUIES, ANUARIO ESTADISTICO 1986

Although data is poor, if we examine what has happened since the second wave, it might be possible to argue that the private sector is only fulfilling its role as an educator of the elite. The evidence shows that, in fact, it retains these traditional clients. However, it has, simultaneously, proved attractive to upper and middle class groups, who traditionally would have gone to public institutions. This was true, especially since 1968, as seen in Table II. Growth of enrolment in higher private education is constant and permanent in private institutions since 1970.

TABLE II
Development of Private Education in Mexico (1940-1978)

YEAR	ELEMENTARY EDUCATION % OF TOTAL	SECONDARY EDUCATION % OF TOTAL	HIGHER EDUCATION %OF TOTAL
1940	150,752 (7.1%)	8,469 (31.5%)	nd-
1946	211,958 (7.8%)	13,470 (36.6%)	nd-

1956	257,303 (7.8%)	nd-	nd-
1958	397,921 (8.7%)	48,834 (31.5%)	nd-
1964	648,768 (9.4%)	196,925 (37.8%)	26,574 (25.5%)
1970	721,713 (7.8%)	310,204 (28.1%)	76,917 (27.5%)
1976	615,985 (5.4%)	490,505 (25.8%)	142,764 (23.5%)
1978	624,732 (4.9%)	541,734 (25.8%)	185,522 (25.8%)

SOURCE: (MUÑOZ IZQUIERDO 1981: PART III)

I have intended to prove, that since 1950, the strategy of growth was based in an ideological discourse that lied behind the fight for hegemony after the revolutionary movement. But, after 1940, the private institutions no longer had to make use of a “defence of democracy” discourse or to defend religious liberties (thought they did not abandon them either). This period was the conciliation period. In 1970 they intended a new and sophisticated discourse, openly technocratic and a-political. This was intended to discredit public higher education by suggesting that what the country needed was an alternative to politicised, non-technical, and ideologically oriented public education. In the discourse, quality⁷ was understood to be service to private enterprise. Publicly trained professionals, it was argued, were liberal professionals or professionals at the service of the state. This gave them the kind of professional attitude unsuited to the needs of private enterprise.

Particularly, after the events of 1968, the economic elite developed this new discourse together with the political practices that it implied. They became adept through their accumulated experiences at articulating an ever more belligerent set of arguments against state interference in education. The supposed inability of public

education to transmit the values needed for the development of private enterprise in a modern education system and to satisfy the increasing demands of quality higher education were, apparently, the two principal areas of problem⁸.

With the discourse that "...We want education, not politics. We want graduates and professionals to carry out particular tasks, not demagoguery" (Enterprise,1969:23), private higher institutions had managed to extend their area of influence towards sectors that found their arguments convincing and saw in them a possibility of social mobility.

It is true that the government's inability to control the 1968 student movement deeply alarmed the Mexican dominant groups. As Guevara pointed out:

"One of (the effects) was the acknowledgement in private circles that the student movement of 1968 was an irrevocable testimony of the failure of the nation's educational institutions. They had failed in their function of imposing the frame of values of the adult world, as well as those of private enterprise among the new generations."(Guevara,1981:11).

There was, so much a reform that would restore the school its original capacity of integration of national and modern values in education, they argued.

A second effect was the revival of the attempt to separate education and politics. The new approach to this problem avoided confronting the old religious discourse. Freedom of conscience was replaced, by a "modern" discourse that opposed a

"demagogic" (political) education of bad quality to an efficient a-political education. A distorted political conflict and its history would be replaced by technical efficiency. Technique would solve all demands independently of whether the student was a businessman or a peasant.

The projection of this ideology, as Guevara pointed out:

"... generated a gradual disparagement of the public university as an educational institution". (Guevara,1981:13).

During Echeverria's government (1970-1976) the state attempted a political reconciliation with intellectuals by, among other things, a new expansion of public higher education. Both higher efficiency and a closer relationship with the productive apparatus were among the explicit aims of this expansion⁹.

Muñoz Izquierdo suggests that for private education, the linking of education with the productive apparatus and the local attachment area was indeed very important. This can be seen in the history of the ITESM. However, the evolution of an ideology which would correspond to the existing form of production is at least as important. This was an entrepreneurial ideology, which denied the state's right to impose a particularly ideology on society through the educational system as well as criticise the intervention of the state in the economy and the way in which the Mexican State has manage public affairs. In the end, the government's desire for political stability which permitted the development of private enterprise played into the hands of the private sector. Businessmen demanded the possibility to educate the professionals

they needed, without consideration either of national needs or of the needs of the poor. (Muñoz Izquierdo,1981:21)

Although, the basis of the private network of education that covered the entire spectrum from elementary to university level originated under favourable political and economic conditions during the so-called period of “national unity” and increasing industrialisation of the country between 1940-60, economic dominant sector demand a more intervention and autonomy in higher education. The urban and industrial development of the following years and the political and educational events of the years 1960-70 gave a new impulse to their discourse and we witness a new growth and diversification of private institutions. As may be seen in Table I, private higher education grew at an spectacular rate, although it kept its percentage in the same proportion in relation to national enrolment.

On the other hand, until the sixties graduates of private secondary institutions had to opt mainly for a public institution of higher education. However since 1968, they have favoured the private alternatives. This proves that the private alternative in higher education has been accepted by large number of people, as well as the fact that with the creation of more private higher education institutions the systemic relation between elementary and higher education became completed.

Levy’s argument is that the second wave of private growth is oriented towards satisfying the demand of the elite and a third wave comes to satisfy the growing

demand for education in other sector of society, is confirmed although with the changes mentioned above: in the Mexican case, instead of witness a diversification of institutions to satisfy the demand, the same private institutions of the first and second waves, growth on a regional basis and the sectors incorporate where the upper and middle classes. Unfortunately only a small amount of data exists about students origin. Little work has been done in this area but the available information seems to confirm this idea. (Muñoz Izquierdo,1981; Berruecos et al.,1978; Ibarrola,1981; Ziccardi, s/f)

Between 1950 and 1970, Mexico almost doubled its population. Consequently there was an increase for higher education. This was evidently going to affect the state's finances. The number of students in the 15 to 29 age group increased by 23 % between 1950 and 1960, from 7.3 millions to approximately 9 millions. Between 1970 and 1980, this group rose to 12.4 millions, which represents a 38% increase.

In 1970, 3% of this group entered higher education and a growth of 5% to 6% was projected for 1980, which meant that by 1980 the number of students in universities would have doubled.

This increase in demand resulted in what might have seemed improbable in 1970: the development of new private institutions to cover the excess of demand for public sector places. But the demand covered was those social groups that can afford to pay the high fees charged by private higher education institutions.

II.

It is interesting to analyse the types of degree courses in the private education system to see whether they correspond or not with their educational discourse.

**TABLE III
ENROLMENT DISTRIBUTION**

SECTOR	PRIVATE	%	PUBLIC	%	TOTAL	%
Commerce & Adms.	23,351	30.0	61,886	14.0	85,237	16.3
Communication	2,364	3.0	3,531	0.8	5,895	1.1
Economy	1,772	2.3	15,348	3.5	17,120	3.3
Social Sciences	5,958	7.7	29,859	6.7	35,187	6.9
Law	4,747	6.1	49,371	11.1	54,118	10.4
Humanities	987	1.3	10,975	2.5	11,962	2.3
Education	941	1.2	3,203	0.7	4,144	0.8
Medicine	15,135	19.5	104,386	23.5	119,522	22.9
Experimental Science	119	0.2	1,555	0.4	1,674	0.3
Veterinary	630	0.8	13,771	3.1	14,401	2.8
Agricultural Science	3,192	4.1	26,776	6.0	29,968	5.7
Exact Sciences	1,009	1.3	20,802	4.7	21,811	4.2
Engineering	12,893	16.5	81,068	18.3	93,961	18.0
Architecture	11,687	6.0	21,029	4.7	25,716	4.8
TOTAL	77,786	100.0	443,560	100.0	521,346	100.0

Source: Levy, 1986:156

From table III it can be observed that private higher education institutions have a large number of students in commerce and administration (30%). Administration, in this case is oriented towards the needs of private enterprise. However all the degree

courses include a high percentage of administrative techniques. Other areas of importance in private higher education are: medicine (19.5%) and engineering (16.6%). The Private sector shows the same tendencies as the public sector with regard to higher enrolments. Only in Communication (3.0%) and Education (1.2%), does the private sector have higher percentages of students than the public one.

Table III shows that the highest percentages of students in the institutions of private higher education are concentrated in the same courses as the students in public Universities. There are Administration (Business Administration and Public Accountants), Engineering, Medicine, Law and Architecture.

We could have suppose that this impressive growth and critical discourse could have bring together changes in the structure of the educational orientation of degree courses in private higher education. However, in a sense this has not been proves to be true. Private higher education have not modified, substantially, the tendencies observed in the system as a whole, as it shown in Table III.

In a recent book David Lorey give a complete and very accurate analysis that explains these, apparently contradictory, trends. Lorey's analysis reinforce the argument that if differences are not based in the dominant careers offered either by public or private institutions. Then they must be based in the need to attend to differentiate graduates for the market.¹⁰

The Mexican public university has been accused of being unable to educate the professionals that the Mexican economy needs, both in specific fields and at different levels of expertise. The common perception, especially after 1968, has been that the Mexican universities produce too many graduates in the “traditional” fields of knowledge, (too many lawyers and very few engineers and scientists), and very few graduates of high quality. By 1960, such criticism became central to the perception of a “university crisis”. By 1970 voices in both public and private sectors were calling for closer alignment between the university and the needs of the economy.

Very few voices defended public universities, but Lorey will sustain that is someone is to be blame it is not the university but the economy. In fact, he will argued, in favour of the public universities, showing the public university has coupled satisfactory with the demands of the economy since 1929.

The main problem poses to the university is that the economic sector demanded very few professionals¹¹. It has demanded mainly technicians. Public universities had produced both types of persons: professionals and technicians. But, in so far as professionals posts are very restricted, the professional market has become very competitive. Here is, precisely where private institutions tend to compete with the public ones, arguing that they can produce the professional the private sector needs.

Lorey`s work is conclusive in this sense. After an exhaustive analysis of the relation between economic development and university performance since 1929, he arrives to the following conclusions

“ ..while we see a basic confluence of the demands of economic development and the role played by the university, we see also an increasing social strain expressed in the market for professional skills. The economy did not provide upward mobility into professional strata as fast as university enrolment grew. As a result, the university system developed increasingly distinct public and private components in order to allocate ever larger numbers of aspirants between available professional and technician positions” (Lorey,1994: 47).

In this sense my argument is reinforced. Ideological discourse is needed to justify the control over the small market for professionals that the private sector demand. In this small sector they are more interested in professional with an ideological competence, than in the problem of their technical competence. That is why, although the fields of knowledge that the private higher education sector has developed are as “traditional” as those developed in public higher education, private sector insists in the failure of public higher education. In reality, the difference between both sector is expressed in the type of professional profile - mediative or patronage, as we had labelled them- implemented by each sector.

As Bourdieu has argue in *Distinction* (Bourdieu,1982), social groups tend to develop or use new social markers to constantly re-establish, re-define and defend relative social positions in society, in other words, to differentiate themselves. In this case those social groups need to defend their "cultural capital", to use another Bourdieu`s concepts, using a variety of different institutions, with a variety of ideological

positions as their support in order to defend their position within the hierarchy of the changing social division of labour. The patronage professional profile, as defined by Johnson, (Johnson,1981) required new types of professional training. We thus, move from public to private institutions as constituting the bodies which provide such distinctive training.

In this work I have tried to argue that private higher education institutions have tended to build both a different formal and hidden ideology, with the clear intention to maintain and reproduce their discourse about the superior quality of their professional training programmes, when compared to public institutions, in terms of the perceived need of the private sector. Graduates of the private universities are supposed to be different at least for three different reasons:

- Their professional skills are more clearly related to the modern sector of the economy. This view is present in the managerial orientation of education within such institutions.
- The organisation of professional curricula are based on technical and not political criteria.
- Private education provides its students with a system of professional ethics based on the concepts of modern democracy, justice and managerial efficiency rather than on service to the state.

These arguments allow to question the traditional concept of professional used in the functionalist or attributive orientations. As I have tried to show, in Mexico professionals are defined by his/her education rather than by their membership to a free or professional association or their professional skill and/or autonomous techniques. Professions in an underdeveloped economy, as in the case of Mexico, stresses origin of professional training as the basic argument to judge or select professionals and to define their attributes.

Hence, my conclusion is, that in so far as the concept of professional and professionalism is basically rooted, in the Mexican case, in the process of education, the historical changes on the concept of professional and professionalization are related to the structure of the educational system (from a monopolistic one to a bipolar one). Internal changes of the different institutions in charge of training professionals (private or public) are related with the need to obtain a distinctive profile in face of an small market for professionals.

III.

In the last two chapters I have traced the development of the private higher education institutions which largely came into existence in the 1940's to train the offspring of the economic elite. By the 1980's their role had significantly increased and they had developed an heralded influence on the entire systems of higher education. Between 1940 and 1980, private higher education had evolved into a new and dominant model

for professional training both in terms of its intrinsic educational characteristics and in terms of the type of power relations and control of knowledge its graduates were expected to fulfil in society.

These intrinsic characteristics, as well as, the historical process that partially explains how they developed, allowed us to suggest, at least, two very different conclusions: one is concerned with new possible relations between graduates of private higher education and changes in the political, economic and social relations of education to society. The other refers to the new internal structure of the educational system as such.

I would like to look further in this argument in, at least three areas in which private training programs can influence changes in the economic, political and social relations of education to society through different mechanism, being the most relevant the following three:

- The segmentation of professional markets.
- The formation of new political and elite.
- The re-definition of social needs.

III a. Segmentation of professional markets

Recent studies concerned with the behaviour of professional in the economy have shown that education is a pre-requirement for having access to the top hierarchies in the professional labour markets, although it has its limits as a mechanism for social and occupational mobility (Ibarrola,1981). Muñoz Izquierdo, demonstrates that, if we look at managerial occupations, the general ideological orientation of the person is more important than his/her technical abilities (Muñoz I,1974). Recently Llamas work pointed in the same direction (Llamas,1990)

If it is true that higher education is indispensable to these selected groups to gain access to the highest positions in the division of labour, it is not longer true that they need to attend what was regarded as the premier institutions: UNAM or IPN, as it happened until 1950. Certificates and titles from private institutions now have greater importance than the public ones, on the bases that they guarantee the ideological orientation of their graduates. Levy (Levy,1986) makes a number of similar arguments. Private institutions of higher education, in his view, provide a new type of legitimisation for the economic elite, as well for the growing middle classes.

So, following these arguments we can conclude, that private higher education institutions in the last twenty have impacted professional educational discourse, changing its values, symbols and beliefs; that is changing the professional culture through the promoting a new kind of ideology, more than in a new technical expertise or field of expertise.

Llamas Huitrón work, *Educación y Mercados de Trabajo en México* (Education and Labour Market in Mexico) supports the hypothesis, that employment, in the industrial sector is determined by educational level, among other variables such as social class, sex, profession, age and civil status (Llamas,1989). We must consider the more specific aspects of the hypothesis referring to the type of higher education training.

In the first place Llamas work is centred on the relations between income and education in a segmented labour market. Following his argument, we can say that although, the impact of changes on the level and quality of education upon income of each occupational group is common in all the segments of the market, its impact is bigger in the monopolist segment than in the competitive segment. This is based on the hypothesis that education is the principal factor in the allocation of jobs in each segment of the market and secondly in the existence of a structured market in which workers with better educational qualifications will receive higher incomes than those without them.

Following this argument, the author arrives at the following conclusions:

“Among executives and managers social mobility requires a professional title” (Llamas,1987:68)

“Such requirements are greater in the monopolistic segment of the market than in the competitive” (Llamas,1987: 73), and

“Requirements referred not only to levels of education but, also, to the institution where the person studied”. (Llamas,1987:82)

These conclusions find echo in other researches conducted in Mexico in the same field. (Carnoy,1967; Muñoz & Lobo,1974; Brooke,1978; Muñoz, Hernández & Rodriguez,1979; Ibarrola & Reynaga,1983; Lorey,1994). This could mean that segmentation of the educational supply coincides with segmentation of the occupational markets, and it can be shown that the private higher education institutions try to cater to the monopolistic segment of this market, while the public sector can satisfy the competitive segment.

The existence of such division can generate a boomerang effect for the prestige of those universities and could explain the fact that the middle class sector which traditionally went to public institutions is changing to a preference for the private sector. This tendency can be accounted for by the same theoretical framework because such individual expect to receive the best monetary yield for their investments in education (Llamas,1987:188).

III b. Private education and political elite

Technical expertise for productive needs does not exhaust the influence of private higher concepts of education. Private educational discourse show the pretension of extending their influence to create a different culture in the country and especially a

different political culture, that give place to a different state behaviour. Neo-liberal times have give place to an approximation of the state to private professional graduates.

Works, in functionalist tradition about the socialisation of political elite have been very influential in Mexico, such as Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba *The Civic Culture* (Almond & Verba,1963) or Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba *Political Culture and Political Development* (Pye & Verba,1965), in which political culture is defined as a common system of empirical belief, symbols and values that define the situation in which political action will take place (Pye & Verba,1965:513). The point here is that these common culture is not only a social coincidence but a product of similar education.

Following this author, we can state that, not a long time ago, one of the principal and distinguishing characteristics of the Mexican political elite was its possession of a degree from a public university or its equivalent, in a country where only three out of one hundred persons who complete secondary education successfully finish a career in higher education.

The works written by Roderic Camp, about the recruitment of the Mexican political elite demonstrates that, until 1975 most of those who occupies positions in the government were graduates of the UNAM and the greatest number of graduates where from the Medicine Faculty and the Law Faculty, followed in order by

Economics, Administration. From these trends Camp concludes that: "Education functions as a requirement for a successful political career and would become essential to those, men and women, who wish to be admitted in this selected group" (Camp,1981:448).

Political leaders belong to the minority of Mexicans who received higher education and some 80% of these possess a university degree. It has become much more common, in recent governments for its members to have been educated in private universities, if we compare them to pre-1975 administrations, in which a private degree was an exception. The trend towards members of the government possessing a first if not a post-graduate qualification has continued. What has changed is the universities they came from.

On the other hand, whilst Camp's works (Camp 1975, 1981) show that the majority of the political elite were graduates of the public sector, particularly from the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México, nevertheless, recent studies show that this is changing. In the official guide by the government "Who is Who in Government" (Mexico,1990), we note a greater number of names of graduates from national private institutions or with post-graduate studies in private overseas universities, than in the past.

Eduardo Gonzalez Laca (Gonzalez Laca,1984) computed the percentages of graduates from the UNAM who worked in the government. According to him some

52.31% studied in the UNAM and 48.8% out of these completed post-graduate studies in private institutions. Of those, 28.8% obtained a Masters Degree and 18.15% a Ph.D.. The preferred areas of study were economics, law and administration.

According with J.A. Pescador and C. Torres we found the following trends: private higher education institutions are in the process of becoming agencies with a greater impact on the political education of the political elite than the public institutions (Pescador, & Torres,1985:96). They suggest that such a profound change in the ideological perspectives of the political elite, would affect both the process of political socialisation of the governmental elite and the process of legitimisation, changing the traditional ideology and political practice inherited from the Mexican Revolution, which is in part a "service ethic", in favour of a new type of legitimisation, which the authors label "technical experience".

Certificates and titles from the private institutions now have greater importance than those from the public sector, especially in those areas of government which deal with financial matters (the treasury, the national bank, planning, budgeting, etc.). (Basañez,1987: 232).

Lorey's analysis also arrives at the same conclusion in recent periods. He states that during Carlos Salinas period as president of Mexico (1988-1994):

”..The public universities were the recipients of particularly strong criticism. Salinas’s Minister of Public Education, Ernesto Zedillo (later elected Mexico’s president for the 1994-100 term), publicly questioned the “viability and future” of the public university system, commenting that a crisis of “quality and pertinence” had led many Mexicans to favour private institutions” (Cordoba, A. in Lorey,1994: 17).

He stimulated selected private universities by various direct and indirect measures, including bringing a large number of privately educated professionals into his administration.

III c. Private education and the definition of social needs

Mediative or state control of professional training and employment removes from the producer or the consumer the authority to determine the content of the service given by a profession. On the other hand being the first agency of employment the state guaranteed the distribution, quality and characteristics of services such as health, nursing, housing, etc., in which neither professions nor consumers have a strong power. The consequence of this social form of control is the creation of a guaranteed clientele, that is the reduction of responsibility of professions towards consumers.

If we analyse the discourse of private higher education institutions, we would find that the idea is neither to guarantee the services to a clientele nor to train for the service of the state, but towards an industrial employer, who would define the needs. This situation can open, theoretically, a new kind of professionalism, which could help to come to an end with the control of the state over public higher education institutions, and, to give conceptual sustenance to the kind of professional trained in private higher education institutions. We will arrive at what Johnson call "patronage" forms of control. Fully developed institutions of patronage arise where consumers have the capacity to define their own needs and the manner in which those needs are catered for. In such cases members of an occupation have neither nor final responsibility for their services; ultimate authority in the assessment of process and product lies with the patron or patrons (Johnson,1981:65). This kind of control gives greater power to the consumer of the service, but it can not help to give professional criteria in the formulation and resolution of the clients needs, although various types of consumers control can give rise to various forms of professional organisation.

Patronage type of professional control leads to the appearance of new kinds of professional practices, but the conditions by definition are such that the authority and autonomy based in technical knowledge, which is supposed to be the essence of a traditionally defined profession are greatly restricted. Given this situation we can begin to understand the educational discourse of private institutions which calls for training a "technically adequate and administrative capable person", but specially ideologically compatible with the needs and discourse of private enterprise.

As Johnson has pointed out, in the "patronage" system, recruitment is based on shared values and status, as cited Mexican studies, quoted above have shown. Technical competence is not the sole or even the major criterion of evaluation and for selection. This means, Johnson argues, that a small, servicing elite of practitioners share to some degree the social origins and characteristics of those who use their services (Johnson,1981:67). The prestige of these groups is socially rather than technically defined. The presence of this selected group fragments the supposed solidarity and unity of an occupation - supposedly another of the key elements in the traditional definition of what constitutes a profession and how it fits into and operates within a society- creating a hierarchy of its members selected by the competitive ideology of large scale private enterprises whilst at the same time giving to the employees the illusion of possible social mobility to the top positions within the enterprise.

The private system of higher education rationalises and capitalises on this system by stressing how its systems of knowledge, organisation, practices and types of degrees are superior to those of the public universities in terms of its adapting to private enterprise needs.

Another characteristic of this new kind of professionalism is that private university graduates are trained to accept that the pursuit of basic knowledge must always be a reflection of the specific need of the patron, and not as the theorists of professions

have maintained in any way related or subject to the judgement of their peers. The major criterion for large-scale industry is always the need to apply any knowledge to the patrons needs. The educational consequence for the training of this kind of professional is that graduates are expected to deal with problems within the set procedures of their employers and not to deal with other problems that they as individual member of a profession see.

It is clear that this new orientation severely modifies the liberal professions view of ethical responsibility. In other words it creates a situation in which professionals are not expected to look beyond the immediate consequences of their action because such is now the sole responsibility of their patron. It can be argue that private educational institutions owe part of their current success by restricting graduates to what we can call instrumental thinking rather than an approach in which they try to suggest how to resolve problems in reference to the supposed ethics underlying their practices.

Finally, another consequence of the development of this new kind of professionalism -what we can call "restricted professionalism", using Bernstein's concept of restricted as a metaphor- is that context-free knowledge is less important than context-bound knowledge which by definition is applicable to the current practical need of the corporation. Hence, there are probably three immediate results which themselves requires further research.

Private universities in order to survive must modify the professional ethic and teach something that looks at first glance like a "restricted code". The essence of a restricted code is a disarticulation between the knowledge an individual possesses and the knowledge a system requires. This could mean that the individuals creativity is restricted.

¹ Levy, D. Op Cit. 1986

² The present writer, felt obliged to develop a typology of the public and private in an earlier study de Leonardo Patricia. Op Cit. 1987. In that work I create as first typology, that differentiated them from public ones, based in their historical origins. Private higher institutions of higher education where classified as: secular (UAG), Catholic (UIA) and Technical (ITESM).

³ Raymond Williams analysis of the appearance of different cultural practices resulted very suggestive. It would also be possible to analyse the process of professionalisation in the private Universities in terms of the appearance of new social groups which are fighting for the social control of different fields of knowledge. The present author would agree with Raymond Williams when he characterises these as emergent, dominant and traditional professional practices, each linked to a different kind of institution. Williams, Raymod Marxismo y Literatura. De. Peninsula, Barcelona, España 1977 pp. 143-150

⁴ See, for example, "El sector educativo debe preparar cuadros tènicos acorde con las necesidades del país: CANACINTRA", Unomásuno, June 26, 1987, pp. 4

⁵ This comment is pertinent, in the sense that although there are many studies about the Mexican universities, very few, as we mentioned in the introduction of this work paid serious attention to the relation of university and the economic system. In this sense Lorey's book The rise of Professions in Twentieth-century Mexico, Statistical Abstract of Latin America, Supplement Series, Vol. 12, UCLA, Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996, is very illuminating. The book is completely deboted to analyse the relation between university graduates and occupational change since 1929.

One of his main conclusion is that Mexican university has not failed in producing the graduates (in number and quality) that the Mexican economy has needed. "Contrary to the generally accepted wisdom, the equation works the other way around: the Mexican economy has been unable to provide enough professional-level jobs for university graduates since at least the late 1950". (Lorey, 1994: 28)

⁶ The critics to Mexican public universities has been growing for not producing the graduates that economy needed, to the point to produce the picture of a severe crisis.

See, for example:

Branderburg, Frank The Making of Modern Mexico, Prentice-Hall, Eaglewoods, California, 1964, pp. 240-241.

Pescador, Jose angel "El balance de la educaci3n superior en el sexenio 1976-1982" in *Perspectivas de la Educaci3n Superior en Mexico*, UAP, Puebla, 1984, pp. 41-87

Cline, Howard, Mexico: Revolution to Evolution, 1940-1960, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963.

Latap1, Pablo, Analisis de un sexenio de educaci3n en M3xico, 1970-1976, Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1980.

McGinn, Noel and Susan L. Street, Higher Education Policies in Mexico, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 1980.

Public universities had defended themselves, in terms of its fortress: research. In recent years, it has become a commonplace to hear that the *raison d'être* of public Universities is high level investigation. This is, of course, true in some extent. Nevertheless, to choose this as their defining characteristic would be misleading. In fact, professional education has been that major success of Mexican universities since 1929. At present they tend to minimise, or even deny completely, the importance of professional training. Given this situation, private Universities have moved in to take their place. This is particularly true for both types of professional training: liberal or mediative, as well as for those newer professions associated with the new technologies of communication, computing and administration.

This new processes redefine the frontier between different fields of knowledge. To a large extent, this is precisely what the private institutions of higher education wanted.

⁷ The prove that the private discourse was ideological is that it is not based in an objective measures like those used in contemporary studies. For example, one common scale to gauge quality at the university level is that based in the following item: 1. per-student expenditure; 2. teacher-student ratios; and 3. ratios of full-time faculty to teaching staff hired on an hourly basis. See for example Coombs, Philip H., et al. A Strategy to Improve the Quality of Mexican Higher Education, SEP/Fondo de Cultura Econ3mica, M3xico, 1992

⁸ As we mentioned earlier, Lorey analysis arguments the other way around: " Because it cannot shape the job market for professionals, the university has had to adapt itself to a historical reality of increasingly scarce opportunities for graduates in relative terms"(Lorey,1994:28).. and concludes that .. "The data developed here reveal a complex relationship between the Mexican university system and the process of economic development after 1929. On the whole, the data indicate that the university system produces graduates and egresados in general areas and specific fields of study that corresponded to the economy's needs for expertise. The same basic correspondence is apparent with respect to the levels of expertise needed by the economy and different levels of university training. Over time the economy exerted a greater relative demand for technicians than for professionals. In response the universities produced ever larger numbers of egresados, a large percentage of whom would not continue on to the degree stage but would sill technician-level job openings.

But while we see a basic confluence of the demands of economic development and the role played by the university, we see also an increasing social strain expressed in the market for professional strata as fast as university enrollment grew. As a result, the university system developed increasingly distinct public and private components in order to allocate ever larger numbers of aspirants between available professional and technician positions. Public universities performed the

additional function of providing social status and keeping alive the revolutionary goal of widespread mobility into the middle class” (Lorey,1994:50)

⁹ See Latapí, Pablo Análisis de un sexenio de Educación en México. 1970-1976. Ed. Nueva Imágen, México, 1976 and Fuentes Molinar, Olac. Educación y Política en México. Ed. Nueva Imágen, México, 1983.

¹⁰ Lorey, Op Cit. pp. 28

¹¹ Three are the main reasons for this behavior of the market: First, employment opportunities for professionals were restricted by historically high levels of protection of Mexican industry. Second, importation of capital goods and thus technology for industrial expansion, also restricted employment for professionals. An a third factor which affected the employment of professionals after late 1950s was the pattern of government employment of university graduates. See Cleaves, Peter S. Las profesiones y el Estado: el caso de México. El Colegio de México, México, 1989 and Lorey Op. Cit. pp. 39-44

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

I.

The main interest guiding this study was to find an explanation for the way in which the main institutions of private higher education in Mexico have evolved, from the 19th. Century up to the present day. Emphasis has been laid on what the majority of studies on the subject in Mexico have omitted, which is to focus on the debate about the formation of professionals, together with the implicit socio-cultural and political processes.

However, we should also mention that although they depend eventually on the political and social movements of society, the professions also owe an important number of their characteristics to the management of their own resources: expertise, knowledge and skill also play a role in shaping a profession's position in the political economy¹.

It is generally accepted that there is more than one way to acquire the knowledge, skills and values that are deemed necessary in a professional. Secondly, in Mexico, any such way or guidance is produced or reproduced mainly within the institutions of higher education themselves. These different tendencies have been called 'professional profiles'.

In this study I analyse the way in which the institutions of higher education compete for the recognition of the instruction they provide. Since the main source of resources for the professions are the universities, I have try to show the conflicting dialectics which have arisen relating to the definition of these professional profiles, at different points in the history of Mexico, at the time of the creation of some of the most important private institutions of higher education.

II.

Throughout the discussion about the tendencies in higher education in Mexico - both public and private - we find that what has been in question is the nature of the professional cadres in society. Obviously, this debate has evolved within the broader framework of discussion of a national project and the role played by education within these processes. In fact, in many modern debates about higher education this tendency constantly appear and, indeed, nowadays, it has become indispensable in order to justify educational models in relation to the national models for social and economic development in the short, medium and long terms.

A few years back, public university in Mexico had as its main function the formation of professional cadres, although, at the same time it developed towards research. However, the latter activity was sustained almost entirely by a handful of intellectuals and scientists, unconnected with the main interests of the government: that the university should provide professionals for the service of the state and its programmes for development. This has been the principal feature in the evolution of higher education in Mexico during the last eighty years, as has been proved by David Lorey. (Lorey,1994).

As we saw in chapter V, following the Revolution of 1910-1920, the government attempted to close down the National University considering it to be un-reformable and worthless for purposes of national and state development. They considered that the liberal-humanist form of education, inherited from the 19th. Century, was incompatible with the ideals of radical social reform undertaken by the Revolution and the intellectuals who supported it were very distant from the popular masses. In other words, to the new leaders of the state the main interests of graduates from the National University were merely of personal benefit and enrichment, without any social conscience. They were an elite.

As a result of these conflicts the University closed its doors many times throughout the century, it even acquired its original autonomy through a government act attempting to free itself from responsibility and not in recognition of its principles.

At that time, the Mexican state founded another parallel institution, for the express purpose of training its own professionals: the Instituto Politecnico Nacional. The separation of the university and the state lasted until about the mid forties, when a new social pact once again united the public university with the state.

In chapters V, Vi and VII it is explained that the resistance of the state to the foundation of private universities is related to political struggles, broader than educational ones, and that part of the government's opposition to the existence of these private institutions has been the rejection of the professional ideology as expressed by the private enterprise sector and the clergy, and their resistance to collaborating with the social and educational plans of the state.

These sectors of society claimed the right to direct the formation of their professionals according to the ideology and needs of the business sector and /or the need to impart religious guidance, basically Catholic, to the professionals. Out of this situation of conflict the first private institutions for higher education arose. By analysing specific cases, I have showed the social interests that finally established the system of private higher education in Mexico.

By analysing these conflicts I have been able to identify the elements in play in this process. These conflicts have not been exclusive to Mexico. We can see how

this same conflicts existed, throughout this century, in all the debates about education in the various countries of Latin America (Levy,1986:26-65).

A permanent tension has existed between what is defined as necessary from the point of view of different sectors of society, and what the universities actually do. The public system is subject to this tension, since it is financed by national resources. The private system seemed to be exempt from this public judgement up until recently. However, this is changing. Just as the private system of education has grown, so has it begun to be an object of interest for society and for social analysts.

In this work I have maintained that these tensions are related to the perception as to the character of professionals who are formed in the institutions of higher learning - private or public. I have tried to demonstrate that these conflicts are closely connected to the construction of a hegemony in the sense Gramsci uses of this concept.

I also maintain that this tension surrounding the highly relevant role that these educational institutions play in the make up of this hegemony, is sufficient explanation of the evolution and characteristics of the system of higher education.

Through this tension of social forces we have been able to understand the creation of new institutions - both public and private - and the orientation and

characteristics of the various models of higher education, which have arisen throughout our history.

The main part of this work has centred on understanding the social dynamics between the state and civil society regarding the function of higher education in society in Mexico throughout the present century. Within these dynamics I have emphasised the models for private education for several reasons:

1. In the first place, because upon revising the bibliography on the subject it became apparent that although we had ample bibliography about state higher education in Mexico, this was not the case regarding private higher education. In fact, it seemed that private education in Mexico did not exist at all. This absence caused my research interest to concentrate on this sector of the educational system.

2. Secondly, because the existence of strong conflicts with government interests allowed me to analyse the importance of power in the formation of professional profiles.

III.

As mentioned in chapter I, the majority of sociological analyses about professions tend to be carried out once the education has been completed. Education becomes

a necessary attribute for them to be taken into account, not as a means of defining the different types of professions.

It appears to be a generally accepted fact that the knowledge and values transmitted by educational institutions are not relevant to their definition. Professions are, mainly analysed outside the context of their formation. In contrast, in this study I have tried to demonstrate that each type of institution for higher education eventually produces a different type of professional profile, in terms of values and ideology.

An analysis in Gramscian terms imposes the need to identify the agents or actors who operate through the institutions. Following Parson we can accept that:

"A reasonable method of identifying the agents of formal knowledge in modern times in such a way as to be able to discern how they can gain the living that is necessary to allow them to serve as such agents, is to identify them as members of professions. Explicitly connected with the idea of profession is training in higher education, the institutions of which are, without doubt, the major source and role of agents of formal knowledge in all advanced societies" (Parsons,1969:15-18).

Therefore, if the institutions of higher education are responsible for forming the agents, it is logical to think that their power comes primarily from the institutions which have trained them.

Understanding this process has allowed me to answer the question as to why the state has shown such enormous interest in curbing the creation of private educational institutions.

Given that higher education in any society cannot be reduced merely to the transmission of skills, knowledge or techniques, but must include the characteristics or values which direct the teaching of the four relevant areas which make up the aforementioned characteristics of the professions in an statist society (Wilding,1982). So, the insertion of values, as well as knowledge and skills in the educational processes, which are features in the formation of a professional in every type of institution, justify the hypothesis that the power of the universities, both public and private, are proportionate to their capacity to relate the expert knowledge (the professions) to the dominant values of society, and secondly, to their capacity to demonstrate that their efforts can help to maintain and structure the existing social, political and economic order, in other words, to legitimise this alternative education.

Through the study of the development of private higher education in Mexico and the in-depth studies - case studies - I have tried to show the political efforts and concrete strategies used to achieve credibility and to legitimise the professionals who have graduated from said institutions in the eyes of the government and society.

The historical analysis has also allowed us to show that these definitions are dynamic and, unlike what functional theories maintain, or the 'attributes' approach, that the success of certain professionals in Mexico is not due exclusively to the fulfilment or not of certain internal attributes, but rather, it is related primarily with the way in which certain institutions of higher education fit into the educational and socio-political dynamics of society at any given moment.

In this way I have attempted to demonstrate, in Chapters III and IV, that a liberal profile of the professions, equivalent to the theoretical pronouncements of 'focus on attributes' did exist, albeit partially, in the 19th. century in Mexico, coinciding with national efforts to establish a liberal education, but once the dynamics of an interventionist state had been imposed, as was the case following the Mexican Revolution, the liberal professions lost their freedom in relation to the state, which established a bureaucracy of the professions centred on the state universities.

Unlike what may prevail in other parts of the world², in Mexico we find that there has not been one single concept of the professions, but rather that there have been several different options for professional education, the main features of which have been: on the one hand, the knowledge received in the universities and, on the other, the values transmitted by the different institutions.

Both knowledge and values come into play, but they will prove to be more or less successful according to their capacity to solve the problems which arise from the dominant tendencies in the state according to the moment in history.

III.

The revision of the conflicts which occurred as a result of the founding of each of the private universities which we have studied, led us to believe that these conflicts were a manifestation of the state's opposition to the professional characteristics with which the new private institutions tried to imbue their graduates. Apparently the state maintained that these characteristics were radically opposed to the needs of the nation for trained professionals, particularly after the Mexican Revolution. As we have seen, the state argued that it was opposed not only from a technical point of view, but also from an ideological and social one.

It appears that the professions and consequently those who form professionals, particularly the universities, are of special relevance to the functioning of the state. Their characteristics and how they fit into society, seem to be an indispensable element for the state.

According to Francisco Arce, in the chapter he writes on the expansion of the professions in Mexico between 1910 and 1945:

The Revolution of 1910 was not only directed towards a political transformation. It was also a great leap towards a new kind of modernity quite different from that which earlier theoreticians has predicted. The revolution was also a social upheaval which involved the replacement of the governing class and an increase in the expectations of all social classes with respect to the possibility of social mobility. These phenomena, given that Mexican society began a period of extraordinary economic growth, had a direct effect on the development of the professional sector.. University policy explains both the characteristics that professional studies acquired and the rivalry of these institutions with the state for the control of this politically decisive elite” (Arce et al.,1982:225)

But, what is it about the professions that makes them a politically decisive factor?

Why has the post-revolutionary state repeatedly attempted to prevent the creation of all universities which are not under its direct control? In the following chapters I shall try to answer these questions from the following perspectives: the theoretical studies made about the professions and the vision of state policy regarding centres for higher education.

The importance of these functions in modern society has been accepted by most sociology theorists, as has been shown in Chapters I and II. Nevertheless, vast differences exist in the theoretical proposals put forward to justify this assertion. Upon reviewing the theories on the professions we find that some are extremely abstract and a-historical (focus on attributes) and are of little use when confronted with the analyses of concrete historical cases. If we were to accept them we should find that the professions do not exist in Mexico. Others, without losing sight of the formal definition by attributes, have laid more emphasis on the attributes of professions which have the greater functional relevance for society (functional approach). Although limited by a too formal definition, which clashes

with specific historical cases in each country and each profession, this approach allows us to get closer to a study of the professions, not only of their internal features, but also of the institutions and the social determinants affecting them. However, given that one of the chief internal features of the professions, according to this approach, is that of their independence in face of the state, this subject, which claims elsewhere that the state is its chief source of power and authority, has often been excluded or overlooked as an important determinant for institutionalising the professions in a society.

In addition, a third point of view sustains that the constitution and evolution of the professions are closely tied to the evolution of the state for different reasons, as much for being independent as otherwise. This school of thought maintains that professional characteristics stem principally from a capacity to translate "political claims into expert solutions" and that their importance for the consolidation of the modern state lies in the possibility that professionals have of participating, at least, in the four relevant areas of public life: identifying and defining social problems and needs; decision taking or their legitimising by applying expertise; allocating and justifying the apportioning of resources; and attending to private problems which in the modern state have become public, such as health, nutrition, housing and recreation.(Wilding,1982)

However, to the more conservative theoreticians on the professions, the study of state policies may result in a contradiction, since autonomy in face of the state is

considered to be one of the most important features of the professions. This may be true of certain professions in some countries. In Mexico, state intervention is so pervasive and evident that it can hardly be considered.

It seems clear that in order to understand the conflict between the State and the universities regarding the formation of professionals, we should inevitably consider two main approaches to analysis. The first is the source of power. The second is the principal resource of the professions: the knowledge acquired in the institutions for higher education.

This is because the sole recourse the professions have is their dominion over a body of knowledge, and this knowledge has its main source and means of reproduction in the universities³. In any case the cultural capital belonging to the professions have no intrinsic economic resources, so that the professions are exposed to "external" conditions which are imposed on them by the fluctuations of the economic and political climate of the state.

Furthermore, Friedson maintains that:

"It is often the case that changes in the direction of the state bring policies connected with professional affairs, changes that can be quite drastic following a political revolution. However, these changes need not be, and are usually not in fact, based on subsisting lay ideas for professional expertise. Instead they usually entail a shift in emphasis from one cognitive strand or school of thought within the legitimate body of professional ideas, to another..... Such a shift cannot be said necessarily to weaken or de-professionalise "a" profession so much as to weaken one of its segments" (Freidson,1994:38).

It has not been my intention in this work to analyse any particular profession. Although as yet insufficient, a number of studies do exist which show how the different segments of a professions, which I have called professional profiles, compete for the recognition and power of society, lauding the benefits of their different approaches for the resolution of public and private problems. This demands are based, as we saw in chapter VII, on the ideological arguments of each institutions legitimate its place in society.

Government policies have, without a doubt, the greatest impact on the direction in which certain sectors of the professions develop. A clear example of this is the case of the creation of the Instituto Politecnico Nacional in the period of General Lázaro Cárdenas' presidency (1936-1940). At that time the Mexican government considered that the so-called liberal professions (those that corresponded to the descriptions of professions by focusing on attributes) were no longer useful to the state. They were considered useless, egotistical, elitist and lacking in any social contribution. At that point an attempt was made to close down the National University. At the same time , the state created another institution: the Instituto Politecnico Nacional, so as to lay emphasis on the new type of professionals that it considered useful to society and to the State. The new professionals would, above all, be drawn from the masses, the people, and would be oriented towards technical careers and service to the state.

On the other hand, the way in which financial capital is organised and concentrated, the organisation of the market and, in general, the way in which the economy and polity of the country works, as I have to prove in chapter VIII, also have an influence on the characteristics of the professions. This seems to be the case which justifies the claim that some private universities make for creating their own professional profiles. Some universities are created in response to the specific demands for professionals generated by private enterprise groups of the country.

IV.

Starting from Johnson's thesis which maintains that the professional needs of a society have given rise to a variety of forms of control over the formation and institutionalisation of professionals (Johnson,1981) we have been able to determine the existence of the different forms of institutionalisation which appear in Mexico: collegiate, mediative and patronage. In these categories we have seen how throughout the history of Mexico, each of these types of professional control has established its own space in society with relative competitiveness between them. On the other hand, the state has tried to establish a certain degree of control over each of these forms, at the same time as each professional category has tried to establish a certain degree of autonomy and independence in face of the state.

Nevertheless, what has made the analysis of these processes difficult is the lack of theories and methodology which include the dimensions of power in the constitution and exercise of the different types of professional training. The theories about the professions do not clearly distinguish the presence of these differences, which has given rise to generalisations out of context that cannot be applied when confronted by historical situations and the study of specific cases.

Many of the discussions mentioned at the start of this work have been unfruitful, in the sense that they did not take into account that the analysis of professions goes much further than the analysis of the enrolment in a profession, the prestige, the work conditions or the political and economic activities of corporate groups and professional associations, which only represent one variant of the form that the institutionalisation of the professions can take at different times and places. This is the case in the 'attribute' approach.

These topics are certainly important, but the importance of the professions within a society should be measured by a greater number of parameters, which extend even further than what the professionals think of themselves.

It has also become clear, drawing on the Mexican case, that the degree with which a state and its agents have control over the society and its institutions is relevant to the make up of the professions. Studies on the subject have demonstrated correctly that countries differ greatly in the degree of control that the state has over the

formation of professionals, and this situation considerably alters the extent of the power that the professions can attain and the particular way in which they relate to their society.

In the literature on the subject it is assumed that where a high degree of state intervention exists, the professions have limited possibilities of exercising autonomous power, since they cannot organise themselves as independent groups. Moreover, as in the case of Mexico, in these nations their power decreases, because the state and its agencies, particularly the state university, which establishes the standards required for access to the formation as a professional, it certifies its practice and the state employs the greatest number of professionals in the society. Nevertheless, even in extreme cases, the control over the most relevant elements which define a profession, that is, control over the knowledge and skills, lies in the hands of the members of that profession, and through the members of the professional schools.

Therefore, we can establish that in the cases where the state and its agencies exercise a high degree of control over professional training, as in the case of Mexico, the configuration of the different types of professionals is determined by two variables: the alliances that representatives of different social interest groups establish with the state, and the degree of autonomy that the educational institutions manage to exert in the formation.

In addition, the fact that one type of professional is predominant, does not mean that the others do not exist. This has been a very common mistake in analyses of the professions, which tend to generalise to the point where the dominant category at one time becomes absolute. In fact, what we have been able to observe in the present study, is that several types of professional formation can coexist⁴.

Another thing that became apparent during this study, is that from the point of view of analysing the influence of the state over the processes of professional training, it would seem that if we avoid studying the state as a formal monolith, and look beyond the surface to its internal organisation, as suggested by Gramsci, we can see complex forms that coexist, come into conflict and become dominant in the different forms of professional training at different moments in history.

So that we can state that compared with the approach 'by attributes' and the 'functional' approach, which tend to leave out considerations regarding power in the formation of the different processes of professional training, the proposed approach allows us to observe more clearly the fact that members of a profession do not constitute an aggregate homogeny.

On the contrary, the professions are made up of segments made different by the various features of their training, by different practices and pre-eminently by their relative cultural, political and economic alliances to society. These differences are also generally present in their original universities.

We should point out that these differences caused by the outer world (external factors) have been observed from a 'functional' approach, particularly by Parsons and Merton. However, talking about a university-industry complex, in which the professions in the United States are involved, as a fundamental difference from what the traditional professions with their high degree of autonomy were, did not allow Parsons to re-state the concept of a profession or to deal with new types of professions, but, on the contrary, led him to emphasise the most important characteristics of the professions in the face of attempts at external control: the autonomy of knowledge and the rationality of autonomous decisions. In this way functional analysis foresaw the notion of various types of institutional control over the professions, with different consequences in the forms of training, although the analysis was not taken to its final terms.

Given the differences to be found in the forms of institutional control over the professions, when we talk of the different forms of professional training are we dealing with the formation of different social categories or with segments within one same category?

We have said that in the case of the type called "collegiate control", the professions are defined by their autonomy, their self-controlled associations, their philanthropy and ethics, etc., and these correspond to what in Mexico are called the liberal professions, which were dominant in the 19th. century and the first half of the 20th. Century, while in the case called "corporate patronage control", we are

referring to the control that comes from a public or private organisation outside the control that the professionals themselves might have. This is something very similar to what Parsons calls the university-industry complex in the United States. We have also identified the type of control called "mediative", where a third party mediates the relationship between the producer of a service (a profession) and the consumer, defining both the needs as well as the way in which it is to be satisfied.

Apparently, each of these categories presents different forms of control over the professions and therefore we are dealing with different concepts, since the last two forms of control of the professions would make them lose their chief attributes, from a 'functional' perspective. However, I do not think this is the case and we can avoid this problem if we accept that the sole generic element of the professions is their capacity to perform certain types of work, which can be distinguished from any other type of occupation by the special character of the knowledge and skills required for its performance. To sum up, knowledge is a central element in the definition of modern professions, so that the universities are fundamental institutions in analysing them.

Nevertheless, given that knowledge is not the only element, we can think as Friedson does, that any profession will contain more than one tendency towards acquiring knowledge and derived skills, with different tendencies in theory and practice, which give rise to different specialisation and schools (Friedson,1994:41)

Furthermore, Friedson foresaw the idea that one particular body of specialised knowledge and skills can play an important role in the position that the different professions, or segments of them, can achieve within a political economy.

Therefore, if we accept that the most consistent elements defining any one profession are its knowledge and skills, which are not homogeneous and can vary according to the school they come from, it is also true that the political and economic elements, external to the process yet they can determine that, at a given moment, one segment of the profession can appear to be dominant. The first variable depends on the orientation of the professional schools and the second variable depends on the nature of the social alliances which define the character of the hegemony at any given time.

Just as during the first forty years of post-revolutionary Mexican history the dominant form was "mediative" control, established as the dominant form in the National University of Mexico, in the last forty years of this century, there has been a great increase in the number of private institutions based on the model of professionalism, which we have called "corporate patronage". In either model, in order for them to become dominant the ideology behind the discourse must be connected with the dominant powers and economic forces. This is the complex process in which we can observe the workings of the conflict to reach a consensus.

¹ Knowledge as such has not been taken as a variable for this analysis, not because it was irrelevant, on the contrary, but because as Freidson mentioned "“Formal knowledge is an instrument, a source for guiding or facilitating the exercise of power, but not power itself”. I also tried to avoid the perception that knowledge in itself is a system of domination controlled by power. I decided for a gramscian orientation , in which what is subject of power relation are the agents not knowledge as such.

² As I mentioned before, we will find differences depending of the grade of state control. In high statist societies certificates will be given by state universities, as in the Mexican case. Professional associations have very small representativeness, contrary to what happened in Anglo-Saxon countries, like in the United States, as proved by Freidson in Doctoring Together: A Study of Professional, 1980

³ This is so since the XII century. The first universities, such as Bologna were already professional universities. The relevance of university certification for professions is recognised in most of the theoretical approaches to the professions, as I mentioned in chapter I.

⁴ It is important to mention that the historical and theoretical approach of professional profiles used here does not implied a linear succession of professional types, in which the emergence of one type implies the disappearance of the other. It is more accurate to think in terms of the scheme proposed by Raymond Williams for the analysis of traditions, institutions and cultural formations. He introduces the concepts of dominant, residual and emergent practices to take into account the complex interrelations that occurred inside domination and beyond it.

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