

**Teachers, the State and Professionalisation in Mexico**

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ABSTRACT.

TEACHERS, THE STATE AND PROFESSIONALISATION IN MEXICO.

This study is of two groups of teachers in Mexico: primary schools of the Secretariat of Public Education [SEP], and the National Autonomous University of Mexico [UNAM]. The thesis analyses the nature of their relationship with the State, especially in terms of how this has framed efforts to create a profession, and the reactions and resistance of teachers to various aspects of State control.

Chapters one and two analyse Mexican authoritarianism, and the professionalisation of teachers in terms of Mexico, but also a comparative motif is introduced by counterpointing the Argentinean and Peruvian contexts.

Chapter three deepens the analysis of Mexico showing how, in the inter-war period, the professionalism and professionalisation of teachers was affected by their social class origin, their training, the unions, and the styles of resistance which began to emerge.

Chapter four extends the analysis into the period 1941 to 1970 and argues that predominantly right wing government policies led to conflicts involving teachers and led to a

consolidation of their unions. The State responded by trying to extend its control which resulted in increasing resistance on the part of teachers.

Chapter five assesses the contemporary period, and the tensions between teachers, the government, and teachers' unions.

Chapter six provides a conclusion.

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## INTRODUCTION.

Teachers in any country are related to, and affected by, the political system in a variety of ways. What this thesis asks, at the simplest level, is how are Mexican teachers affected by the political system and social context of Mexico? Some of the ways in which teachers are affected - and how they have reacted - are traced in the main descriptive chapters - Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

However, this simple initial question conceals a number of obscurities. It is suggested here, and it will be argued in more detail later, that Mexico is an authoritarian State. Clarifying that concept and assessing the Mexican form of authoritarianism is the work of chapter one; and, there, a comparative counterpoint is used by looking at Argentina and Peru to clarify what is 'Mexican' about Mexican authoritarianism.

Similarly, the concept of teachers and a teaching 'profession' has often been reviewed (and it will be again in chapter two). But the more important question in chapter two is about teachers in the context of an authoritarian state. What are the particular pressures which are placed upon them

by Mexican authoritarianism? How has the wish to be considered 'professionals' affected their behaviour? What are the nature of their reactions to state power? Thus chapter two not only reviews concepts of a 'profession', but locates teachers within the Mexican authoritarian State in historical and contemporary contexts. Again, comparative counterpoint is used with Argentina and Peru to assess what is 'Mexican' in such processes.

The thesis focuses on a detailed exploration of the struggles of Mexican teachers, in the context of an authoritarian state, in the historical periods during the years 1920 to 1986.

In this period, the stress is on the position and reactions of two groups of teachers: those working in the primary schools of the Secretariat of Public Education (here after only referred as SEP), and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (here after only referred as UNAM). More importantly, these two groups of teachers are chosen partly because they were the main groups of teachers in historical terms. (Secondary school teachers did not emerge as a group until the 1930's). These two groups of teachers provide two extremes of analysis. There are sharp differences between

them in terms of their status in society, their basic employment conditions, their training and their style of their professional associations and unionism. They react and have reacted to the Mexican authoritarian State in very different ways and through different structures, though they have been subjected to some similar pressures.

These similar pressures came from a State which is authoritarian on the characteristics of centralized power, its inclusionary policies (1), and limited political pluralism (2). As will be analysed in some detail later, these aspects are evident in the nationalist ideology, the existence of a network of unions, federations and confederations incorporated in the dominant political party, and the power of the President over the system. These main characteristics emerged from the historical tradition of the XIX century liberal ideology, the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship, and the 1910 Revolution whose principles gained legal status with the 1917 National Constitution.

More formally, later, the analysis of Mexican authoritarianism will utilize the concepts worked out by Juan Linz (3) and Guillermo O'Donnell (4). These concepts will help to analyse the strategies and tactics used by the Mexican State in the operation of the authoritarianism.

The Mexican version of authoritarianism may be inelegantly summarised as "revolutionary-bureaucratic-corporativism". The tradition is 'revolutionary' because the state, which emerged from the 1910 Revolution, based its ideology on the revolutionary principles. The tradition became 'bureaucratic' due to the creation of large administrative structures whose main purpose was to support and give power to the state. The tradition is 'corporativist' because it incorporated the interest groups into the political arena of the country through the formation of unions, federations and confederations which were themselves included in one main political party. This party is a crucial social and political influence.

The party was created in 1929 (5) as the National Revolutionary Party [PNR], became the Party of the Mexican Revolution [PRM] in 1934, and the Revolutionary Institutional Party (here after only referred as PRI) in 1943. It has represented in Mexico a major apparatus of State control of the popular classes (6).

Thus overall, the thesis is concerned with efforts by the Mexican State to control two groups of teachers, and their varied reactions to the authoritarianism of the State, partly

in relation to aspirations towards professional status, and ideas held about professions. However, this analysis is rooted in the development of the Mexican social and economic context over time, the changing conditions of Mexican teachers and the political processes and arenas in which the State and teachers interact. A comparative counterpoint is sought, in refining the concepts of authoritarianism and profession, by brief comparison with Argentina and Peru. Thereafter, the entire emphasis of the thesis is on Mexico and the struggles of its teachers for social, professional and political space.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES.

- 1) INCLUSIONARY POLICIES, this is a concept taken from Juan Linz which refers to the organization of the interest groups (workers, peasants, bureaucracy, and business) into unions, federations, and confederations, and from here to include them into the political arena of the country.
- 2) LIMITED POLITICAL PLURALISM, refers as defined by Juan Linz, to the implementation of policies which restrict the participation of the interest groups in the political

- process of a country. LINZ, Juan J., "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in) GREENSTEIN, Fred I. & POLSBY, Nelson W., HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Vol. 3 Macropolitical Theory, Welsey Publications Co., Reading, Massachussets, 1975, p. 266.
- 3) LINZ, Juan J., "An Authoritarian Regime, Spain" (in) ALLARDT, Erik & LITTUNEN, Yrjo (Eds.), CLEAVAGES, IDEOLOGIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, Westermarck Society, Helsinki, 1964. LINZ, Juan J., "Regimes Autoritarios" ["Authoritarian Regimes"] (in) PINHEIRO, Paulo, O ESTADO AUTORITARIO E OS MOVIMIENTOS POPULARES [AUTHORITARIAN STATE AND POPULAR MOVEMENTS], Conferencia Sobre Historia E Ciencias Sociais, UNICAMP, Editora Paz E Terra, Rio de Janeiro, 1980.
- 4) O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM. STUDIES IN SOUTH AMERICAN POLITICS, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1973. O'DONNELL, Guillermo, 1966-1973 EL ESTADO BUROCRATICO AUTORITARIO [1966-1973 THE BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIAN STATE], Editorial de Belgrano, Buenos Aires, 1982.
- 5) The official political party was created in 1929 by Plutarco Elias Calles in an attempt to retain power. The first name given was National Revolutionary Party



[PNR] to conform with the ideology of the 1910 Revolution as well as unify the ex-revolutionary leaders. In 1934 the party changed its name for the Party of the Mexican Revolution [PRM] and modified its principles to be related with the populist and corporativist ideologies of the new governments. Four sectors were included in the Party: peasants, labour workers, the military, and the 'popular'. The military sector was later on assimilated by the 'popular', but never had the strength of the other members of this sector. The new name, Revolutionary Institutional Party [PRI], represented the ideology and organization of the party.

- 6) POPULAR CLASSES, is the concept used in the thesis to refer to peasants and workers based on the concept used by Juan Linz in his analysis of "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in) HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, Op. Cit., p. 266.

## CHAPTER 1.

### MEXICAN AUTHORITARIANISM: A CHARACTERISATION, AND A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE WITH ARGENTINA AND PERU.

Authoritarianism in Mexico is a major theme in the history of the country and in its daily life. Political life in Mexico has always been "conducted not only within an authoritarian political system but also within an authoritarian tradition that transcends the nation's experience of revolutionary transformation" (1). This contemporary statement affirms the tradition: in spite of democratic pronouncements by many Mexican governments, authoritarianism remains a major influence.

The purposes of this chapter are to clarify the concept of authoritarianism; to provide an account of the social context of Mexico in such a way as to provide an understanding of how authoritarian structures were established and are maintained; and to contrast Mexican forms of authoritarianism with those of two other Latin American countries.

In other words, the chapter carries out two major tasks. First, it provides a self-conscious treatment of the concept of authoritarianism, and secondly, it tries to locate the

particular formation of Mexican authoritarianism in its domestic social context, partly by use of comparative counterpoint.

The argument of the chapter is that the form of Mexican authoritarianism has taken shape in the last ninety or so years (i.e. at least since 1910) and has combined a revolutionary rhetoric with strong institutional patterns of centralized State control. The sub-argument of the chapter is that by now the particular forms of authoritarianism in Mexico have taken on a unique configuration, both in relation to the social class structures of Mexico itself, and in relation to other forms of Latin American authoritarianism notably in Argentina and Peru.

The implicit long term agenda of the chapter is to clarify a major concept and to locate authoritarianism in its Mexican formation before attention is turned to two groups of teachers within those structures (the work of Chapters 3, 4 and 5). The explicit immediate agenda of the chapter - its substructure - is in three parts.

Firstly an initial synoptic definition of authoritarianism is offered. This tentative definition is then tested and

extended against the specialist literature - the models worked out by Juan Linz and Guillermo O'Donnell. The second part of the chapter analyses aspects of both historical and contemporary Mexican society against the definition of authoritarianism and authoritarian regimes developed in the first section. In turn - and again seeking a location of the Mexican authoritarian experience - in the third part of the chapter, a study of the authoritarianism of Argentina and Peru will highlight the elements identifying Mexican authoritarianism, as compared to that of the two others.

#### AUTHORITARIANISM AS A CONCEPT.

Terms such as 'authoritarianism' (2) (or totalitarianism) are frequently given emotional and pejorative meanings in ordinary discourse. No such emotional or pejorative meanings are intended in this thesis. There is a literature on such concepts within political science, and in what follows, an initial view of authoritarianism is refined using that literature.

This thesis initially suggests that whereas in a totalitarian state the government is imposed on the people often by force, often by one man, supported by a few loyal

followers who have major influence over all the sub-systems in the country (3), authoritarianism depends on a wider public acceptance of the ruling power with a wider participation in more numerous political sub-systems (4).

It is suggested that this wider acceptance of the ruler and the system will legitimise the authoritarian regime and make it appear to emanate from the will of the people. It is initially argued that in an authoritarian system, opposition is likely to be only nominal, and policies such as populism and corporativism are allowed to cover up the State's monopolistic control. Thus, it is being suggested that an authoritarian system may stress, as the official ideology, democratic principles which inform its political structure. In practical terms, however, the system may also use the power of the State in ways which are sometimes violent and autocratic. This is because its main interest is to offer a democratic image, but not to put into practice the democratic principles proclaimed in legislation, or ideology.

This initial statement, offered in the form of an argument, about nature of authoritarianism may now be reviewed against the views of two specialists in authoritarianism, Juan Linz and Guillermo O'Donnell. Juan Linz (5) in defining

authoritarianism, stresses the idea of limited political pluralism, and Guillermo O'Donnell (6) introduces the concept of bureaucratic-authoritarian states.

Linz is considered one of the pioneers in the study of authoritarianism, and some of the elements identified by him are useful, it will be suggested, for a study of the Mexican case. Thus this model is analysed first; and then the work of O'Donnell. O'Donnell uses some of Linz categories, but the particular perspectives identified by O'Donnell are also relevant for the analysis carried out in this thesis.

#### **Limited Political Pluralism.**

Juan Linz classifies authoritarian countries through their political systems by focusing on three criteria. The criteria are the structure of the national political regime; the class and sectoral composition of the dominant political coalition; and thirdly, the crucial policies adopted by the government. He considers that authoritarian systems are those political systems in which the structure is one of a "limited non responsible political pluralism without elaborate and guiding ideology, but with distinctive mentalities...", and in which a leader or occasionally a small group exercises power within

formally ill-defined limits but actually quite predictable ones" (7).

Linz expands this idea by adding that sometimes in the development of the authoritarian systems, some extensive political involvement takes place within the nation but it is usually curtailed once the need for it is no longer felt by the government. (e.g. throughout Mexican history there are many examples of power being granted to unions and then gradually withdrawn and eroded (8)).

Linz also analyses the different levels of participation of different social classes in the political affairs of a country. He emphasises two main aspects in identifying authoritarian regimes: limited political pluralism, and levels of political mobilization. For Linz, limited pluralism works through official recognition of political groups as political actors. It can be "implemented more or less effectively, (or) confined to strictly political groups or extended to interest groups" (9). Whether the pluralism is widely or narrowly interpreted determines the political mobility of the members of the administration.

When pluralism becomes more limited, individuals or groups lose their power: "it is the rulers who ultimately define

which groups they will allow to exist and under what conditions" (10). Some authoritarian regimes try to establish the democratic nature of their constitution by organizing regular elections, and creating sub-systems which in reality have little authority. (This thesis later gives examples of this kind).

The degree of political mobilization and the opportunities of participation available to citizens result from the extent of participation which the regime allows. Linz points out, "effective mobilization, particularly through a single political party and its mass organization would be perceived as a threat by the other components of the limited pluralism typically the army, the bureaucracy, the churches or the interest groups" (11).

In some regimes, such as the Mexican, (as sketched later in detail in this thesis) the apparatus of the state has created a political party which incorporates the popular classes and the bureaucracy (12), in order to consolidate alliances with and to limit the participation of the church, the bourgeoisie (13), and the military. In Mexico, the military reinforces and sustains the power of the administration and is characterised by a high degree of loyalty to the state which



in turn makes concessions in the form of very good salaries to the military (14). Some of the members of the military hierarchy also move to occupy important political posts. Therefore, they do not aspire to challenge the power of the government because they consider themselves its pillars. This is where Mexico differs from other Latin American countries who have had virtual military dictatorships, with the army dictating its own terms as if to a puppet state. (The case of Onganía's Argentina, and Odria's Peru will be analysed later in this chapter.)

Within his definition of authoritarianism as a political system with limited political pluralism and with low or non-mobilization of the social classes, Linz identifies four (15) basic types, one of which is not dealt with here (16). First he identifies 'organic statism' which is the deliberate selection and cultivation, by the state, of certain groups as participants in the political process of the country. These groups are sometimes incorporated into the political arena of the country (e.g. Mexico) through unions linked with the official political party. Other examples, the most representative, are the populist regimes in South America such as Vargas' in Brazil, and Peron's in Argentina.

Second, 'bureaucratic-military-technocratic' regimes, according to Juan Linz, are identified as those which have a coalition dominated, but not exclusively controlled, by army officers and bureaucrats. These groups, simultaneously, control the government and exclude or include other groups without any commitment to a specific ideology, and do not create or allow a single majority party to play a dominant role. An example of this type of authoritarian regime is found, according to Linz, in some of the countries of Eastern Europe (17).

Third, 'mobilizational authoritarian regimes' are those which, according to Linz, attempt to mobilize citizens into well defined and more or less limited channels created by the political leadership. Linz divides this type into three sub-categories (18). He adds that all these types of authoritarianism are not permanent. They are subject to internal changes which could modify their varieties of 'limited pluralism' and even favour the mobility of the members of some of the social classes (19). Guillermo O'Donnell adds conceptual refinement to the Linz typology (and acknowledges his debt to it (20)).

## **Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism, Basic Concepts.**

Guillermo O'Donnell's work is mainly based on the cases of Argentina and to a lesser extent, Brazil. O'Donnell invents the term 'bureaucratic-authoritarianism' and argues that "the term 'bureaucratic' suggests the crucial features that are specific to the authoritarian systems of many countries aiming at 'modernization'" (21). These systems are characterised by a strong class stratification, and by the control exerted by the government through the 'encapsulation' (see below) of the social classes. Other characteristics include the power of the technocrats to play a pivotal role in the government both through the private and public sectors.

Such regimes will develop, according to O'Donnell, a range of crises (22). These crises do not develop individually but in combination, and represent the disillusion of the popular classes (i.e. workers, peasants, and lower middle classes) who see their interests nullified by oppression from the bureaucratic and military groups as well as the bourgeoisie (23).

The responses available to the State, according to O'Donnell, are limited. On the one hand, the social and

political situation is structured to avoid participation by the working or popular classes. However, their disillusion is dangerous. Thus in such situations the popular classes are mobilized by the rulers "into active involvement in the regime and its organizations" (24), but in a form which O'Donnell terms 'encapsulation'.

Encapsulation means that, in principle the popular classes are included in politics and officially recognised by the State (as in the case of Mexico). However this incorporation into politics - in ways that keep them under State control - makes them ineffective.

He gives an example of the case of the Argentine urban working class and some members of the lower middle class (25) previously used as a pressure group, who were later blocked from participation (26). In this case the government used a variety of methods of coercion to control the access of leaders, representing the different social classes, to the structure of power. Some excluded sectors did, however, retain the capacity to press the government for the satisfaction of their demands (27).

Thus for O'Donnell 'encapsulation' means a limiting of the political power of potentially disruptive groups by giving them an official role and voice in national political affairs. However the way in which this is done is by 'incorporation': these groups are selected by the government itself, and are melded into existing levels of political activation previously established by the regime. This means that the 'exclusion' or 'inclusion' of popular classes depends directly on the state's interests and not on the political motivation of these groups (28). Their subsequent political activity is very much a consequence of the level of political consciousness that each of them is able to develop (29) within the existing class structure (30).

Domestically, O'Donnell argues that, in bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes, domination implies the cancellation of channels of access to government and therefore a lessening of the representation of the popular classes in the political arena of the country. Access to power is limited to the elite of the large organizations (often the armed forces) and powerful state-owned and private enterprises (31).

These refinements in the discussion of the concepts of authoritarianism provided by Juan Linz and Guillermo O'Donnell now need consolidation.

It will be remembered that this section of the chapter began with a tentative definition of authoritarianism. The main points in that definition were: (a) that authoritarian regimes sought public acceptance and legitimacy by arranging for a controlled but fairly wide participation of a number of sub-groups or interest groups in the political process; (b) that this 'democratic' image would often be buttressed by an official ideology (e.g. of revolutionary purpose); but, in fact, (c) those forms of populism and popular participation would obscure the realpolitik of the monopoly of force and power by the State - which would be used if necessary.

This definition was then tested against the specialist literature provided by Linz and O'Donnell.

What Linz and O'Donnell offer is a more sophisticated view about processes of political control in authoritarian regimes. In particular they develop a view of the balance of power in authoritarian regimes. Notably, (a) they stress the way in which the State has its focus of power in the support of a limited number of groups (e.g. probably a combination of the army, the church, the administrative bureaucracy, and the bourgeoisie); but (b) they stress the way the State mobilizes and demobilizes the actual participation of the working or

popular classes in politics by processes of 'encapsulation' and 'incorporation', within a concept (via Linz) of the 'organic state'. In these processes (c) severe social class stratification is an important part of the social context, including clear definition of political, economic, and technocratic elite positions, though this will probably co-exist with (d) formal mechanisms for the holding of political elections.

Clearly, then, within such a concept of, and within the social process of, authoritarian regimes, struggles for social and political space will be an important characteristic. Later, the attention of this thesis will turn to the struggles for social, professional, and political space and position undertaken by two groups of Mexican teachers. But first, it is necessary to put this relatively abstract definition of authoritarianism and authoritarian regimes against an interpretation of the social and historical context (Mexico) in which those struggles of teachers took place.

#### MEXICAN AUTHORITARIANISM.

A careful study of authoritarianism in Mexico sensibly requires both an historical location, and a study of the contemporary situation. The historical location is undertaken

first. In general, Mexican authoritarianism experienced a series of important transformations which gave it particular characteristics. Thus authoritarianism in Mexico has always depended on "the ability of political institutions to mobilize the support of the masses... (and) to legitimize... rule... through coercion of the mass electorate..." (32). Thus in spite of the nineteenth century liberal ideology and the 1857 Constitution which highlighted secularism and destroyed the wealth and power of the church, dictatorship continued until 1910 after which the country was never able to establish any government which was not to a major extent authoritarian.

#### **Historical Analysis.**

To understand why Mexico is still an authoritarian state, it is important to note the authoritarian elements in its beginnings. These were so strong under the rule of the nineteenth century governments and the dictatorship of Diaz that the 1910 Revolution only succeeded in overthrowing one autocrat and replacing him by a group of authoritarians. Thus "the Revolution did not end the authoritarian regime. Rather it merely adapted it to suit the 'new' ruling elite" (33). The changes brought about by the revolutionary struggle legitimated, in principle, the existence of the popular



classes. Thus, following the categories of Juan Linz and Guillermo O'Donnell, the Mexican political system became pluralistic and inclusionary.

In practical terms, the achievements were affected by the class origin of the leaders of the 1910 revolution. They were members of the middle class and were known as the 'Northern Dynasty' (34) because Francisco I. Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Alvaro Obregon, and Plutarco Elias Calles were from the northern state of Coahuila, and dominated the political life of the country for a quarter of a century. They maintained a strong hold over the popular classes and stabilised the country by forcefully keeping the opposition in check and breaking its leadership.

The argument of the thesis here is that, in practical terms, the class division of society was not terminated: the political and economic benefits of the revolution only favoured "a reorganization of intra-elite interests" (35). The political and economic elites tried to unite the population by playing on traditional values, ideologies of nationalism, populism, and corporativism, which legitimised their power. Thus post-revolutionary governments (after 1910), in reality, were not able to break with strong political model of the dictatorship and its vices.

The political and economic elites had inherited the ideological values of the liberal Constitution of 1857. Nineteenth century liberal ideology in Mexico was based on the ideas of Jose Maria Luis Mora, Melchor Ocampo, Gomez Farias, Ignacio Ramirez, and Guillermo Prieto, among others (36). The main results of the ideas of these liberals were evident in the policies establishing: the separation of the church and the State - the church should not interfere in the political and economic affairs of the country; the secularization of society; and the nationalization of church property (37).

In relation to education, the liberal ideas were officially established in the 1857 National Constitution: "teaching is free, and the law will determine which professions need a certificate for their practice" (38). The secularism and liberal ideology of this constitution later inspired the National Constitution of 1917 which stressed a secular State, and opposed the devolution of responsibility for education to the church.

The opposition of the liberals to the intervention of the church in education and its power brought discontent between them and the bourgeoisie which gave the church its full

support. Confrontations were rife between the different factions vying for power and domination in the newly independent country and were reinforced by the conflict between church and state, in which conservatives and liberals participated (39). The conservatives intended to retain their domination over the economic, political, and social affairs of the country through a European style monarchy. Thus their efforts were directed towards the imposition of a regime where the popular classes would have a negligible level of participation, or would be totally excluded from political life (40).

The liberals intended to build a national economy for the benefit of all including the "mestizos" (41) who were middle class members suffering repression and unfair treatment at the hands of the bourgeoisie and the creoles. This liberalisation, of short existence, occurred during the period known as the 'Reform' (42) and was the first ever attempt at 'Mexicanization'. The liberals intended to give the popular classes political rights and recognised them as Mexican citizens.

In 1857 the "liberal" faction controlled the country for a while under President Benito Juarez. In that period the

liberal National Constitution of 1857 established the separation of church and state: church lands and wealth were confiscated and education was secularised. Though these intended measures were to benefit the popular classes, those who benefitted most from them "were the new professionals, those who were forming the backbone of the liberal movement" (43). The wealth fell into the hands of a very small minority of the bourgeoisie, who became the owners of the large "latifundios" (44) into which the country was divided.

From 1867 to the Presidency of Porfirio Diaz in 1876 the struggle continued between the Conservatives and Liberals. Within the Liberal group, a struggle arose between 'radicals' and 'moderates' (45). These were part of factions defending the interests of their own social class. The inclusion and exclusion of the popular classes was considered more important by the 'radicals' than by the 'moderates'. The 'radicals' sought to bring about political and social awareness among peasants and workers, and, to some extent, succeeded in doing so. This was because 'radicals' supported the full separation of church and State as well as the complete non-intervention of the church in education, and the freedom of teaching. The 'moderates', on the other hand, were in favour of the non-intervention of the church in State affairs, but did not

support freedom of teaching because it allowed the development of elements which might destroy such freedom (46).

When Diaz took office, he was supported by the liberal bourgeoisie, mostly the 'moderates'. For thirty years, Porfirio Diaz managed to establish a pattern of rule which was crucial in the political development of Mexico: the state took a more lenient view of the church, allowing it more status and power than it had under the National Constitution of 1857. The political and economic elites gained power and prestige, and the country developed economically at the expense of the working and lower middle classes whose constitutional rights were forgotten (47). Peasants and workers were exploited as they had been before the revolution, in fact their status was no better than that of feudal serfs (48). Thus the structure of the national political regime was based on the power of the dominant group which curtailed any participation of the popular classes.

Thus Porfirio Diaz succeeded in imposing a pattern of authoritarian rulership of diversified characteristics; some elements came from the past, namely the Spanish colonization, others from European models, such as the positivism of Comte, and others emanated from his charismatic personality as well

as his paternalistic attitudes towards the popular classes. (These classes were apparently politically influential since elections took place regularly; but the only presidential candidate was Porfirio Diaz himself).

The importance of the Diaz regime, according to Lorenzo Meyer (49), and to Jose Luis Reyna (50) lies in the fact that it coloured Mexican policy for the next few decades. Diaz constructed his own style of authoritarianism, copied and improved upon by post-revolutionary governments. Thus Mexican authoritarianism oddly enough was affected by a political liberal ideology, prevalent in the middle of the nineteenth century, which was adopted to reinforce a dictatorship.

The Porfirio Diaz regime established the domination of a small land owning elite in what became an autocratic system with limited pluralism where the economic and political benefits went to members of various elite groups. The popular classes were denied the opportunity of participation in the affairs of the country, and their living conditions worsened (51). This made them in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, 'backward' and uncivilized savages difficult or even impossible to redeem (52). The gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' in society could not be bridged.

Even the middle classes suffered from lack of participation in the political affairs of the country, in this thirty year period, with wealth being accumulated only by the political and economic elites. Although the middle classes had access to education, they had no political status or level of participation (53). Hence the revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship had an intellectual origin, within the dissatisfied middle classes (54) who led peasants and workers in the armed revolt in 1910.

With the triumph of the revolution the middle classes were able to participate in the political life of the country as well as to gain access to economic activities. Thus the middle classes were activated and mobilized, but not the popular classes. This was in spite of the agrarian reforms of the post-revolutionary governments which allowed peasants to own land, but a considerable number of them did not obtain any benefits (55).

The immediate effects of this historical period in Mexican history were to institutionalise the limited political pluralism of the Mexican political system. In O'Donnell terms, channels of access to government were blocked (56).

The overall effects of the period were however massive. Lorenzo Meyer has argued that "the Mexican Revolution did not destroy the authoritarian nature of Mexican political life, it modernized it" (57). Elements of the dictatorship were adopted and transformed by the post-revolutionary governments.

Meyer identifies four permanent consequences for the Mexican State which were inherited from the Diaz style of ruling. First a tradition was established of lack of competition in the electoral process which was the result of the domination exerted by Porfirio Diaz in the elections (58). (Any other functionaries such as State governors, representatives or senators only held office if they were nominated by the President.) Second, the tradition of centralization of the political system was confirmed during the Diaz dictatorship. There was a seizure of executive power, which left Congress and the Supreme Court with no capacity for action. These bodies were reduced to the role of approving the President's policies (59). The administration was centralized in Mexico City contrary to the regulations of the 1857 National Constitution which had established the state governments as autonomous members of the federation (60). Third, the tradition of the cult of personality was established at this time, and was evident in the power which Porfirio Diaz held



during his dictatorship: "the power of the State was his power" (61). He became leader for life and developed a paternalistic attitude towards the bureaucracy and the rest of society. He assumed the appearance of an honest incorruptible leader, but his ministers and other members of the government were to some extent corrupt (62). Nominated by the President, it was in their interest to remain loyal to him.

Fourth, a tradition of the integration of the political and economic elite was established during the Diaz government. The political elite and the economic elite united and formed a closed community which shared political power and wealth (63). Access to both was only reached by members through internal mobility, such as family alliances or intermarriages, which excluded members of other classes. This was especially true of the middle classes who had access neither to political nor to economic power except in very rare cases.

As a consequence of the Diaz period, authoritarianism in Mexico was confirmed and tended to contradict the political pluralism implied in the liberal ideology of the middle of the nineteenth century, and the separation of the church and the state. The 1917 Constitution established these

principles. In reality centralization of the political system in the executive, domination of the elections by the elite in power, and integration of the political and economic elites prevented any sharing of power.

Although the popular classes, who fought in the Revolution, had their rights recognised by law, they were effectively excluded from power - except on the terms which governments developed in the post-revolutionary period. Paradoxically, however, the invocation of a 'revolutionary ideology' has been frequent in the contemporary period.

It is to this contemporary period, and to the contemporary forms of authoritarianism in Mexico that attention now turns.

#### **The Contemporary Mexican Situation.**

It is the argument of this section that the historical patterns of Mexican authoritarianism, identified at the end of the last sub-section, have been extended and refined.

In particular, there has been the further development, or creation, of: centralization of power; domination by one political party with strong political discipline imposed on

servants of the State and the careful incorporation of the popular classes into the political arena through unions, federations, and/or confederations; and limited pluralism of the business interests groups.

This section will review each of these in some detail, but amid the details of the treatment, it is important to keep in mind the strategic point of the analysis: each phenomenon represents some closure of social and political space around the interests of a particular group (e.g. the executive) or a social class. With each closure of social and political space, the difficulties of other groups (e.g. professional groups) or other social classes, in finding room for an expression of their own interests, are diminished. Thus the question guiding the section is this: what are the ways in which the Mexican State (through centralization of executive power, political 'encapsulation' of interest or class groups) has closed down arenas for action and avenues of complaint of groups of its citizens? (Later, in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, the answer to this question is picked up in terms of the struggles of teachers to create social, professional and political space for themselves).

## Centralization of Power in the Executive.

The power, held by the executive which constitutionally should be shared by the judicial and legislative bodies, is in reality centred on the figure of the President of the Republic. The National Constitution in Article 89 establishes that the President is concerned with: the elaboration and implementation of laws, nomination or dismissal of secretaries of state and other members of the government, election of the magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice, and nomination of the heads of the armed forces (64). The President also exerts direct command over the military and the federal police, as well as the police of the Federal District, and is the head of the official party, the PRI.

Overall, then, there is a major focus of power in the central executive, in the form of the person and the office of the President. Criticism is very rare (65). This pattern of power has been termed 'patrimonial rulership' (66) or 'civil authoritarianism' (67). Cardoso, for example, has argued that the Mexican regime is "a type of civil authoritarianism... where the president has perhaps more power than any general, president of a military government, in the southern cone countries" (68).

The President of the Republic is in charge of the elaboration and implementation of laws (69). In spite of the members of the Congress having to approve them, "the great majority of the resolutions passed by the Legislature are still presented by the executive branch and the day that one of them is voted down is still in the future" (70).

The President has the power to adopt economic plans, therefore the Congress of the Union (both chambers) remains a nominal body which, in practice, holds very limited power to intervene in the passing of laws (71). The autonomy of the Secretariats, responsible for the design of the economic plans, is further limited by the President's power of veto over any of their initiatives.

The President elects the Secretaries and other members of State who are loyal to him and help to maintain stability. The important posts in the public sector are then occupied by those who manage to be recognised by the executive power, which also decides who will be excluded from the State hierarchy. Although nominations should be approved by the Congress, the decision of the President is final (72). Thus the Secretaries of State are typically loyal to the President. They take over some of his activities which gives them some

power and allows them some degree of autonomy (73). But this favours competition among them. The secretaries attempt to undermine one another's prestige vis-a-vis the President (74). Thus, to strengthen their negotiating position, they also create links with some members of the bourgeoisie who might become useful to them either during their office, or after this period ends.

The magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice also are selected by the President which gives him control over the operation of justice throughout the country (75). This leads to double standards in the application of the law, since those with more influence will be likely to be judged with less severity than those whom the President does not favour.

The monopoly of the means of coercion is evident in Mexico where the President is the head of the Armed Forces, and also appoints their members, who are given concessions in terms of salaries, services, and a certain degree of autonomy (76). In return, they are loyal to him, and maintain the stability of the country. Thus the President can use these forces for internal security without the approval of the Legislative or Judiciary powers, and State Governors. The President, in accordance to the National Constitution, is the one who decides on the mobilization of the army (77).

The centralization of power in the executive extends down to State level. In principle, every state in Mexico is an autonomous entity, but in practical terms, important decisions taken by the governors are made in close consultation either with the President or his Secretaries of State (78). When a governor does not respect this principle, and disagrees with the decisions adopted centrally, the reaction may be strong. It can lead to the dissolution of the local government, the dismissal from office of the governor and a block on all further promotion (79). In such cases there is no law to protect him. Everyone knows that "in a clash with the President, politicians and administrators have a lot to lose and very little to gain" (80).

This massive centralization of power makes the system of governance limited in who affects decisions (a form of 'limited pluralism' within the political elite). There is de facto control over the judiciary, the State governors and the Legislature, which creates a form of government that is fundamentally, in O'Donnell's terms, 'non-responsible'. The role of the Secretaries of State and other major bureaucrats gives the system of governance its characteristic of 'bureaucratic authoritarianism' (O'Donnell).

Within this general framing, despite elections every six years, authoritarianism continues as the dominant style of politics. In particular, the relation between the President's power and the political party of which he is head (the PRI) confirms this style.

A Mobilizing Dominant Political Party, the PRI, and the Incorporation of Classes.

The Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) has gathered together workers, peasants, civil servants and professionals under one umbrella. Historically, this was achieved initially in the period of Lazaro Cardenas' government (1934-1940), which was informed by socialist and populist ideals. The National Revolutionary Party [PNR] of 1929 changed its name - to capture support - to the Party of the Mexican Revolution [PRM] (81). The name reflected the revolutionary ideology of 1910 which tapped the ideas of socialism and nationalism current in 1929. Workers and peasants were promised, in law, the social benefits for which they had fought in the 1910 Revolution (82). Workers could openly exert their right to create unions and organise strikes in defence of their interests (83).



However, during the period of the Manuel Avila Camacho government (1940-1946), most of these guarantees were lost to the workers and peasants. As Robert Kaufman points out, "Mexico's leaders could ground their power in an aura of revolutionary legitimacy which was felt [sic] by the very groups that later became the "olvidados" [ the forgotten] of government policy, the peasantry, labour, and the urban poor" (84). With this polarization of power, the ruling elite increased the strength of the Mexican authoritarian State.

The right wing ideology of the Manuel Avila Camacho government favoured minority groups and curtailed the level of mobility gained by the popular classes who lost representation (85). More attention was given to urban areas as a result of the industrialization of the country. The middle classes benefitted, and their members were incorporated into the PRI.

The new name of Revolutionary Institutional Party [PRI] legitimized the power of the party and the inclusion of workers' groups within the Party (in 1929) and brought the potentially disruptive force of workers' movements within party control. Thus processes of both legitimization, and encapsulation and incorporation occurred. In Linz' terms, an "institutionalization of authoritarian structures" (86) had taken place.

This structure - of Party control of workers' movements - is still in force today. The PRI is composed of three main sectors (87): the peasants, workers, and a third group called "popular". The 'peasants sector' includes agricultural labourers or members of the "ejidos" who are part of the National Confederation of Peasants [CNC] (88). This sector is, in practice, considered the least influential in the political arena. Peasants do not have a strong authentic representation because most of their leaders have been either offered important political posts by State representatives or have been nominated, not by the members of the union (the CNC) but by politicians, to union positions.

The second sector, labour workers, gathers all the workers who are members of unions forming the Mexican Workers Confederation [CTM]. This confederation is controlled by the State either by imposition of leaders or their co-option (89). Other organizations belonging to this sector are the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers [CROM] which is the oldest in Mexico (90). The General Confederation of Workers [CGT] was created to reduce the power of the CTM, and is the least influential of these three organizations (91). These organizations are part of the Work Congress which is an umbrella organization, and reinforces the control of the State through the Secretariat of Work.

The third sector of the PRI, called the "popular", includes civil servants, bureaucrats, and groups of professionals employed in social services, i.e. teachers, some doctors, lawyers, and engineers who work for the State. Other groups included in this sector are artisans, small trades people, or street vendors, and some of the indigenous population (92). This is a highly diversified sector which also includes members of the middle classes and of workers of different categories gathered together in umbrella organizations such as the National Confederation of 'Popular' Organizations [CNOP], the Federation of Unions of Workers of the State [FSTSE], and the National Union of Workers in Education [SNTE] (93).

In reality the middle classes have become the dominant group of this so-called 'popular' sector through the National Confederation of Popular Organizations [CNOP]. This is due to the influence the members of this group have within the governments' hierarchy. For example, the teachers who are part of the Federation of Unions of Workers of the State [FSTSE] are employed mainly in the Secretariats of the State (94). Another example is the use of this so-called 'popular sector' by the Mexican State to include into its bureaucracy the technocrats (95), who have occupied posts traditionally held by politicians.

Overall, the PRI, through the so-called 'popular sector', has incorporated not only major groups of workers within its party structure but also many members of the educated middle class; and has offered to them State positions. There remains the question of how "to enforce the necessary amount of discipline among the 'revolutionary family', and the organizations that support it" (96).

Political Discipline, Co-option, and Corruption: Control of the Political System.

The mobilization, followed by demobilization of the popular classes (97) in Mexico, has been brought about through political discipline, co-option, and corruption of the members of the bureaucracy. Stability in the system occurs because political discipline prevents the rebellion of those who disagree with certain policies or measures of the State affecting them. In the case of co-option, the exchange of favours benefits both sides: the State and the members of the bureaucracy. Corruption, on the other hand, serves to create an impression of freedom among these members, but is used at all times to control them. The 'obscure manoeuvres' (98) in which they are involved could, if necessary, be made public, bringing to an end their political careers. "Everyone knows that if the President considers it necessary someone will present the mass media with adequate information" (99).

Corruption occurs at all levels and is a major instrument of political control. The two most prevalent sources of corruption in Mexico are to be found when State projects are put out for tender to the private sector, and whenever justice is sought throughout the legal system. Corruption occurs when contracts are granted with no consideration of viability or cost, but only for the benefit of a particular group of influential people (100). The knowledge, that this form of corruption happens in the country, leads to a sense of frustration and unwillingness to assume responsibility among much of the relevant population. In consequence, corruption becomes a normal procedure accepted as part of the system. Any group with the chance of gaining wealth in this way has typically taken the opportunity (101).

The second avenue of corruption occurs in the practice of justice, and also has deep repercussions in society. "Corruption of every day justice produces more frustration and alienation in the common citizen than the waste and irrational use of public resources" (102). In this way the popular classes are in disadvantaged because their influence on the exercise of justice is minimal or non-existent: they consider themselves unprotected by the law.

Several cases of corruption, among the members of the State, have become public when the term of office of a government has ended (103). The level of corruption and dissatisfaction of the population then becomes an important propaganda weapon for the new government. Thus, since the end of the Luis Echeverria six years' term (1970-1976), whenever a new government has begun its term, corruption in the previous one has been given wide coverage, and some of those who are found guilty (very few in practice) were sent to prison in an attempt to demonstrate the integrity of the new President (104).

Another significant example of State co-option and corruption can be found among union leaders. If the State can control the leaders, it then follows that it can control those who obey them, in other words, the workers. Union leaders are offered access to political posts as well as concessions for their workers, from which they gain prestige, and manage to convince their followers of their concern about the problems of the rank-and-file (105). Union leaders, therefore, develop close relations with the State which, at the proper time, favours their upward mobility but also maintains the low mobility of workers.

Whenever a new President exposes the dishonesty of the previous government, the whole political system loses credibility. This is in spite of some measures adopted by governments to build up honesty among the bureaucracy (106). This has made functionaries and civil servants more cautious in their involvement in, and relations with members of the top hierarchy. They know that any possibility of mobility to better posts in the political arena of the country will only be achieved if they respect the political discipline which prevails regardless of rank or post, from the President of the Republic to minor executives (107).

Political discipline is one of the main elements which has given stability to the Mexican political system. It has made Mexico unique among other authoritarian states in Latin America. In Argentina and Peru, as will be seen later in this chapter, the interest groups can sometimes gain enough power to create disharmony within the country. In Mexico the PRI contains all these factions and for most of this century has managed to demobilise major opposition. If this political discipline were to lose its strength, the opposition would become more powerful and gain some voice in political decision making (108). This would lead to real participation making the political system more democratic.

However, the corporatist policies implemented by the State were largely successful in both the political and economic fields until the end of the period under study in this thesis. This was despite the existence of a group that was not unionised, and a group which was crucial to the Mexican State: the group with business interests.

#### Inclusion and Control of the Business Interest Group.

In Mexico business interest groups maintained a certain degree of autonomy within the authoritarian state; often through close informal alliances. The large business groups are considered "the most autonomous because they constitute the only sector of society with independent resources and organizational skills" (109).

The State has favoured capitalist policies, and the investment of private capital in industry and in agriculture in response to the modernization of the country. The policies adopted for this purpose favoured the consolidation of capitalism in Mexico, and from the 1950s onwards, overseas capital has overtly participated in the Mexican economic process (110).



In Mexico the most influential organizations within the business sector are five self-supporting associations (111). But these organizations also allow the State to maintain direct influence over them. The two most important of these are the CONCAMIN and CONCANACO whose membership is compulsory to all enterprises whose capital exceeds a specific amount. Members have to pay at least fifteen per cent of their income to these confederations. Any refusal to join them is penalized in the same way as tax evasion (112). Membership of COPARMEX and to the Association of Mexican Bankers was not compulsory. The CONCAMIN and the CONCANACO regulate and supervise the implementation of economic programmes and projects. This function, as formally established, links the State and the business interest group. They are to some extent "co-opted by special benefits and close contact with government officials" (113).

However, the autonomy of the business groups is "...circumscribed by government power " (114). The State discourages the formation of independent groups. Instead it has favoured the creation of the National Confederation of the Industries of Transformation [CNIT] which gathers, under its umbrella, manufacturing firms that rely heavily on economic support and protection from the government (115).

The autonomy of the business interests groups is also reduced by the State's control of economic and labour strategies. The State uses its control over the labour movement, when necessary, to disrupt the stability of industries and other enterprises. The inclusion of workers, their loyalty, and control through their unions is very important since the State can encourage the CTM to organize strikes which put pressure on those members of the business community who do not toe the line (116).

Thus the workers are caught between two forces which control them, the power of the State, and the power of their union leaders who are often nominated by management (117). For fear of losing their jobs, or ambitious to obtain further benefits, these leaders of 'white unions' (so-called because of their respectability and lack of aggression) frequently acquiesce in employers' demands. Thus unions are manipulated both by the State and business interest groups.

Control of the State over the business interests groups is also exerted by legislation which forbids any private individual or group to own the natural resources of the country, and other services considered public property (118). Hence, the State owns the oil resources, transport, post and telephones, the railway, electricity, and a television network (119).

Some industries have a 'mixed capital' where the State owns the majority of the shares. This allows the State to exert control over the decisions related to prices, purchasing of goods and services as well as the nomination of people who form the governing body (120). Hence the State establishes, on a formal basis, its competition with private enterprises, a function which is reinforced mainly by the National Company of Popular Subsistence [CONASUPO] which is in charge of the distribution of low cost food and basic products to the popular classes.

Furthermore, the State has a very important role in the determination of policies through the Bank of Mexico (the central bank) (121), and the National Finance Company [NAFINSA] (the government development bank) (122). The State exercises credit control and, through the Bank of Mexico, determines reserve requirements. Its industrial policy regulates the direction of investment by business groups, and also "allocates rights to import foreign-made light and heavy goods" (123).

The nationalization of the banking system, announced by President Lopez Portillo in his last statement to the nation (1982), was an attempt to recover control of capital which

had been sent out of the country as a result of economic unrest, and the private sector's mistrust of government policies (124). The devaluation of the currency, reduction in the oil revenue, and the huge foreign debt made Mexico an unreliable country for international bank loans, and domestic or overseas investments.

These measures were the result of a challenge, of the business interests groups to the State control of the economy, which was seen as a threat to the authoritarian character of the system. The State imposed strong control over monetary exchange and capital. Private bankers lost their influence and saw their interests affected (125). However some of these measures were rescinded by President Miguel de la Madrid when, in order to reduce the public debt, he returned some previously nationalised property to its former owners (126). This measure was, to some extent, an attempt of the State to reduce the pressure on business groups, and to attract national and overseas investment.

In principle, the State still supports domestic industry to justify its ideology of economic nationalism and 'Mexicanization'. Through development of local industry it "tries to secure control over the major economic companies

and activities in the country for either private Mexican citizens or public agencies" (127). Only under its own supervision and control does the State favour foreign investment in advanced technological industry.

In Mexico, relations between the business interest groups and the State are built into what Clark Reynolds calls "an alliance for profits" (128) with the State as the dominant party (129). Hence, what is visible here is a subtler form of inclusionary politics. The state needs the business interest groups, for their energy and initiative in the modernization of Mexico. What has developed over time, however, are forms of control and patterns of mutual interest which tie the business groups closely to state influence and direction within an ideology of economic nationalism. The state has successfully limited the range of action which the business groups have in social and political affairs, by making explicit the terms on which business success may be achieved. The autonomy of business interest groups has been limited - though by different techniques than those used to control, for example, unions of workers.

This commentary concludes the initial work agenda of this section - a discussion of: centralization of power; domination by one political party with strong political discipline

imposed on servants of the state and the careful incorporation of the popular classes into the political arena through unions, federations and/or confederations; and limited pluralism of the business interests groups.

In conclusion, the argument and evidence put forward in the chapter so far - with the models of Linz and O'Donnell as major guides - suggest that first, authoritarianism can be clarified as a concept, and, second, that Mexico is an authoritarian state, along the dimensions which have been identified conceptually and by evidence of a documentary kind.

However what is important in the preceding discussion is not whether Mexico fits or does not fit perfectly the various typologies and models of authoritarianism which are present in the literature. It will be remembered that Linz' work approached, in its conceptual scope, a nearly universal modelling of all types of authoritarian state, and that O'Donnell's work was particularly designed to cover Argentina, and to a lesser extent Brazil in certain time periods. There is no suggestion here, in other words, that if Mexico does not perfectly replicate in its political and social realities, the criteria of the models (separately or in combination) that Mexico is therefore not an authoritarian state.

What is important in the preceding discussion is that the form and pattern of Mexican authoritarianism as it works as a concrete historical and social process can be discerned. It is suggested that considerable evidence to illuminate this point has systematically assembled, by working from an initial definition of authoritarianism; by refining this concept against the modelling of Linz and O'Donnell; and by reviewing the actual development and contemporary dimensions of authoritarianism in Mexico.

However, what is still not completely clear is whether the "Mexican" form of authoritarianism is Mexican, or, for example, common to other southern cone countries of Latin America. To clarify the answer to this question is the work of the next section of this chapter. In that section, the issue is approached comparatively. That is, can what is "Mexican" in authoritarian social and political structures and traditions be distinguished, through succinct comparison with the Argentinean and Peruvian experience of authoritarianism?

## MEXICAN AUTHORITARIANISM COMPARED WITH ARGENTINA AND PERU.

The arguments of this section are that (a) the power of the civilian executive, in the form of the President in Mexico, is different from the pattern in Argentina and Peru where the military are less under civilian discipline; (b) the effort to establish one 'dominant political party' has been more successful in Mexico than in Argentina and Peru; and (c) Mexico has been more effective in its control of non-unionised interest groups (e.g. business and the church) than Argentina and Peru.

### **Centralization of Power in the Civilian Executive.**

In Mexico the post-revolutionary governments based their control on, and consolidated it through, the executive which represented the main power within the system. In Argentina and Peru the emergence of the state was the result of the struggle for power among a number of interest groups, mainly the military and civilian (130). In both these countries the military gained control more often, therefore the executive power held by the President is more precarious than in Mexico.

The differences between the forms of government in Argentina and Peru with Mexico lie, firstly in the process which brought



about the achievement of power. In Mexico this was the result of democratic elections, whereas in Argentina and Peru this came as an imposition through a military coup. Secondly, the authoritarianism in Mexico is somewhat disguised by an appearance of participatory policies, whereas in Argentina and Peru, the authoritarianism is visible in the power of the military group exerted through repression (131).

This however, does not mean the absence of centralization of power in Argentina and Peru. Periods of centralization of power have taken place indeed during the military governments (i.e. Juan Domingo Peron in Argentina, and Manuel Odria in Peru (132)). But the power of the civilian executive in Mexico finds little similarity with that of the Presidents in the military regimes of Argentina and Peru.

The Mexican Presidents hold more power than any of the Argentinean or Peruvian military leaders: the de facto control of the civilian executive over the judiciary, the State governors, the Legislature, and the military group give the Mexican President all the power that the military Presidents in Argentina and Peru lack.

However, the Argentinean and Peruvian military groups hold more autonomy and thus it is within the military groups that

struggles for power and internal divisions occur. (In Mexico the struggle is evident within the Party - the PRI between its different factions.) In Argentina, struggles for power have become evident in the internal divisions of the military. In the 1960s, there were two groups, the dictatorial "gorilas", formed by the armed forces which participated directly in the political affairs of the country; and the "legalistas" who were professional military officers convinced that military men "should not participate in politics" (133). However, both "gorilas" and "legalistas" came together in military coups. They were sure of their strength and possibilities of success since "all the major political parties of Argentina had already been given a chance and had failed, thus they (these parties) 'had' to be ousted by the military" (134).

In Peru, however, the internal struggles for power and control of the military have been broader and led to confrontations with "civilistas" (civilian politicians of the oligarchy), since some members of the military group obtained the support of some civilians to gain power. Cotler points out that in the 1950s "the army was useful in the repression of popular discontent and of the divisions produced within the oligarchy. But once the intrinsic weakness of the elite led the military "caudillos" to use public funds in an attempt to

create their own power base, the military regime came to be seen as a threat by the groups that had originally supported it" (135). Any action adopted by the military group against the interests of the civilian elite was used as propaganda against the military. Hence, the popularity of the military group became eroded.

Thus the confrontation between military and civilians in Peru takes another dimension. The Peruvian military has never reached the strength of its Argentinean counterparts, not even under Belaunde Terry (1941-1950) or Velasco Alvarado (1961-1968), when the popular classes (labour workers, peasants, and urban shanty town dwellers) were able to see the possibility of obtaining some measure of improvement if they supported the military (136). In contrast, in Argentina the military group's control over the population was very visible, and was referred to by commentators 'military authoritarianism' (137).

In contrast, in Mexico, the loyalty of the military group is recognised by the State as part of a system where the military group holds the influence which is allowed to have. The Mexican military group is loyal and privileged, but obeys and maintains State discipline. It has never confronted the civilian power or that of the PRI, after 1910.

It is to the role of the PRI, and its counterparts in the political party patterns of Argentina and Peru, that attention now turns.

#### **Dominant Political Party and Inclusionary Policies.**

In Mexico the incorporation of the popular classes was successfully achieved with the creation of the PRI. The PRI provides the main support to the State as a response to its 'revolutionary' ideology. But this does not prevent the existence of other political parties, both left and right, which exist to validate pronouncements of political pluralism that sustain the Mexican State as inclusionary system (138).

The power of the PRI comes from its support of these pronouncements of political pluralism. The PRI attracts considerable popular support and indeed may itself be used as an avenue for upward mobility (within politics, or by party sponsorship, within the economic sphere) (139). Thus the PRI gets support of the popular classes in the country and the opposition is weakened.

In Argentina, on the contrary, several strong parties incorporate the popular classes: the conservatives, the radicals, the socialists, and the communists (140). This

diversification of parties suggests the possibility of a pattern of political pluralism within Argentinean authoritarianism, but in fact the pattern is eroded by military intervention and control. This situation finds similarity in Peru where the formation of the authoritarian state is also based on military domination, but with a stronger civilian opposition.

In Peru the Popular Revolutionary American Alliance [APRA], founded by Victor Haya de la Torre, tries to maintain inclusionary policies. However unlike the PRI, because it faces, from time to time, strong opposition from the military, it has not gained a position of control within the Peruvian State (141). There are other important parties such as the Socialist Movement, and the National Alliance formed by the military group which offer strong opposition to APRA.

In principle, the existence of several parties, should allow more opportunities for social; in reality the deep class division of society has changed little (142). This is a fact despite challenges by the unions, through their links with different political parties. In Mexico, the diversity of unions is more apparent than real since they are part of federations and confederations directly controlled by the

three sectors of the PRI (143). Those independent unions, considered dissident by the Mexican authorities, suffer strong pressure from the State (144). In Argentina, the support of workers' unions goes to the political parties which either have similar ideological tendencies, offer them better social benefits, or support their demands (145). But this tentative independence, has produced strong opposition to the military government when the unions refuse to support it (146).

In Peru, workers' and peasants' unions also have some self-determination, but as in Mexico they have been attracted to official organizations (147). During the period between 1970 and 1974, the urban lower classes, squatters and labourers, and peasants in rural areas, were organized in the state-chartered associative group named National System to Support Social Mobilization [SINAMOS] (148).

This strategy, more akin to that of the Mexican authoritarian State, gathered agricultural workers and peasants (at local, provincial, and national level) into the National Agrarian Confederation. The Peruvian industrial workers were organized into the National Confederation of Industrial Communities (149).

By these mechanisms of State domination of the union movement, workers (Mexican, Argentinean and Peruvian) were prevented from developing class consciousness and class organization. The creation of horizontal linkages between the working class was also prevented, which resulted in its fractionalization into separate vertically organized categories (150).

Within the general framing, however, the ways of the State in dealing with workers, varied considerably. While the unions of Argentina and Peru were relatively open to military pressure, the form of the Mexican authoritarian State permitted control of workers through the federations and confederations of the PRI. Thus Mexican workers were included in the political process, but the workers movements were, in major ways, demobilised in Mexico by the double processes of encapsulation and incorporation.

These processes of incorporation are, it was suggested earlier, used with non-unionised groups e.g. business interest groups, through their relative autonomy in Mexico (151) was also noted. What are the conditions of the business groups in Argentina and Peru in terms of their autonomy and relations with the State are now analysed.

## **Business Interests Groups, Power and Autonomy.**

In Argentina and Peru business groups are even more independent of the state government, and when they do not agree with the ruling party, can bring sufficient pressure to overthrow it. They are able to make alliances against the group in power, and seriously disrupt the political system and the economy of the country. Business groups can also help a civilian or a military group to take or maintain power (152).

In Argentina and Peru there is no inclusionary net which gathers the business interest groups and links them with the state, as in Mexico in the case of CANACINTRA and COPARMEX (153). Neither is there any economic system in which the state is the majority share holder as happens in Mexico. This offers the Argentinean and Peruvian groups more autonomy, power and influence than their Mexican counterparts.

In Argentina business interest groups not only include the industrialists but the agricultural aristocracy which possess a power unknown in Mexico and Peru (154). The Argentinean agricultural elite comprises the cattle aristocracy, and the medium size farmers and ranchers. The cattle aristocracy represents the country's largest and wealthiest producers who



are organized into the Argentine Rural Society [SRA]. It opposed industrial development, and state activism in the economy (155). Thus whenever the state attempts to introduce policies which may clash with these principles, the SRA is likely to oppose.

The medium size farmers and ranchers are represented by the Argentine Rural Confederation [CRA]. Some of its main policies are opposed to those of the SRA, especially the promotion of free trade and increased agricultural exports (156). But if the demands of the CRA are not considered by the government in office, it also exerts strong opposition especially when the popular classes support it.

In the industrial field in Argentina, the elite shares some similarities with Mexico. The owners of industries formed the Argentinean Industrial Union [UIA] during the Peron government. It represented most of the industrialists of the country but this union was disbanded by Peron because of the strength of its opposition to his policies (157). He favoured the creation of the General Economic Confederation [CGE] more like a Mexican organization since it tried to include small enterprises, mostly orientated towards the domestic market (158): its members would be more dependent on the government,

give it support, and would not represent a threat to its stability.

This attempt of the Argentine state to gain control through the CGE is the same as the strategy of the Mexican government when it created the 'National Central of Workers' [CNT] to gain support and strength to exert pressure over industrialists (159). In Argentina, the CGE backed "the state promotion of economic growth through expansionary fiscal and monetary policies and high tariffs to protect domestic industries from foreign competition" (160).

In Argentina the industry group reacted against the State and the CGE with the creation of the Coordinating Action of Free Business Institutions [ACIEL] (161) whose main purpose was to prevent the acceptance of state policies through the CGE. The alliance of industry and agriculture presented sufficient force to nullify the state's attempt to control the economy.

In Peru the State, in a parallel situation to the 'Mexicanization', also implemented a nationalist economy. In an effort to control the economy of the country, the Peruvian state imposed control over those industries considered of

strategic importance to the development of the country. In this way, the state owns these industries either fully or holds at least two-thirds of the stock (162).

Peruvian industrialists are included in organizations. Two of these are the National Society of Industries [SNI], and the National Confederation of Businessmen [CONACO]. The CONACO exerts strong pressure over the economic system of the country, but has maintained a more flexible attitude in its negotiations with the State (163). Both groups, the SNI and the CONACO, also have strong links with capitalists from overseas. Their negotiations with the State have always been dictated by the need to defend their particular interests as well as those of the overseas investors they represent (164).

This particular attitude of occasional confrontation with the State, of the Peruvian and Argentine business interest groups, has a parallel with the business groups in Mexico. However, the law gives the Mexican State more power to exert control over these groups. By law, business groups are not allowed to participate in business with overseas companies (165), although in practical terms, transnational companies are present in Mexican economy. Thus there is a compromise between State power and the industrialist elite.

There is an extra important difference, with the Mexican experience, in terms of non-unionised groups: the church. The church itself has not participated in the political life of Mexico since the imposition of secularism (166), although it tends to support the right wing National Action Party [PAN] (167).

In contrast, in Argentina and Peru the church has strong links with business interest groups and the state. In Peru the church represents a power to which governments have to make concessions (168). In Argentina the role and influence of the church are very strong, and have even been validated by law. The Catholic church is recognised by the Federal Government. Article 2 of the National Constitution stipulates that Catholicism shall be the official religion of the country (169). Thus the Catholic church has always played an active role in the political system of this country as "a pillar for the established order" (170).

The church in Argentina suffers internal division as a result of disagreement among priests as to where their loyalties lie. The division within the church is evident in the support it gives to the different political parties. A faction of conservatives mainly backs the military regimes,

and sometimes it also supports the civilian. A group of progressive priests, supporting the popular classes, has denounced violations against them by the military governments who have persecuted and even assassinated these religious men (171). The strength of the church is doubly felt since it has access to the popular classes not only through the practice of religion, but through education (172). This gives the church considerable power, since there is no law, as in Mexico, to restrict its movements.

In Peru the church plays a role in the political life of the country. This is powerful enough to cause the state to attempt to curtail it in rural areas (173). Nevertheless, the clergy still exerts political pressure over the state and the population. This has resulted, as in Argentina, in internal divisions within the church. One group of conservative clergy supports the "oligarchic groups and (gave) its blessing to military coups" (174). Another group of radical priests acts in support of the oppressed classes for which priests are often persecuted and killed.

These divisions are not as obvious in Mexico, where the church is not officially recognised, and where its priests are not as deeply committed politically as they are in Argentina and Peru.

This is not quite to say that, therefore, the church will disappear as a factor in the subsequent analysis of Mexico and its teachers, in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The church and its role were a cause of some dispute in educational affairs; and these disputes will be located.

However, the point of analysis of this section was not education per se. The theme of the section was the ways in which the authoritarianism of the Mexican State differed (or did not) differ from that of Argentina and Peru. Three main points were drawn out within the comparison. Firstly, the Mexican State - rather more than Argentina and Peru - is characterised in its authoritarian formation by a relatively stable relation with the military. In correlation and contrast, the power of the civilian executive, in the shape of the President, is particularly strong. Secondly, the PRI in Mexico - more noticeably than political parties in Argentina and Peru - has established something close to a monopoly on avenues of political power. In contrast, political parties in Argentina and Peru are not only more numerous, but less influential in dominating policy formulation and implementation. Thirdly, the massive domination of the PRI has permitted it - over a period of 60 years - to establish strong and institutionalised patterns of

control over other interest groups, including business interest groups, the church, and unions. In comparative perspective, the church and business interest groups in Argentina and Peru have had either a better formal status, or more room for manoeuvre in opposition, or both. Unions in Argentina and Peru have more room for manoeuvre, but their impact is diminished both by spreading their support among several political parties, and by the intervention of the military in politics. Mexico, in O'Donnell's words has established a much more inclusionary pattern of authoritarian politics than the other two societies.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

These particular comparative points about the Mexican form of authoritarianism are, of course, located also against the main points of the whole chapter.

In the chapter it was suggested that the roots of Mexican authoritarianism were very deep, and that the 1910 Revolution did not break the mould of Mexican society of the previous pattern of State authoritarianism. In particular it was argued that (a) the centralization of power around the office (and even personality) of the President and the civilian

executive was a continuing feature; (b) the domination of, and discipline exerted by one political party (the PRI) became a permanent feature of political life in Mexico; (c) with an emerging political culture of organic statism (Linz), processes of encapsulation and incorporation (O'Donnell) developed and were institutionalised, which (d) permitted the political mobilization (and de-mobilization) of the working classes in a society characterized by sharp social stratification and high concentrations of wealth in a few hands; and that (e) this occurred within a public discourse informed by government appeals to nationalism and "the Revolution".

The consequences of this particular social and political formation - the Mexican patterns of authoritarianism - for those who live within the society are considerable, in terms of access to social, professional, and political space. How one group of persons - teachers - is affected is the concern of Chapters 3, 4 and 5. But before that analysis can be opened up, it is necessary to examine, more carefully, the cluster of ideal that have accumulated around the idea of professional or 'profession'.



NOTES AND REFERENCES.

- 1) GENTLEMAN, Judith (Ed.), MEXICAN POLITICS IN TRANSITION, West View Press, Boulder and London, 1987, pp. 3-4.
- 2) According to Amos Perlmutter, authoritarianism "refers to the nature of the regime and the structure of its management". PERLMUTTER, Amos, MODERN AUTHORITARIANISM: A COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 1.
- 3) Robert Dahl identifies three main elements within every political system by which the degree of totalitarianism can be measured. "First, the extent to which the government is legitimate and the power of its leaders is accepted as authority. Second, the proportion of the members who influence the decisions of the government. Third, the number of sub-systems and the amount of independence they have" (2). DAHL, Robert A. MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS, Foundations of Modern Political Sciences Series, Prentice-Hall, Englewood, Cliffs, N.J., 1965, pp. 25-38.
- 4) Raymond Aron for example interprets the traditional State as including such elements as: a monopoly of political activity in the hands of one party; the ideology of the monopolistic party as the official truth of the state;

a monopoly of the means of coercion, persuasion, and communication in the hands of the state; and economic and professional activities which uphold the official ideology of the state. RAYMOND, Aron, DEMOCRACY AND TOTALITARIANISM, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1970, pp. 192-204.

- 5) See: LINZ, Juan J., "An Authoritarian Regime, Spain" (in) ALLARDT, Erik & LITTUNEN, Yrjo (Eds.), CLEAVAGES, IDEOLOGIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, Westermarck Society, Helsinki, 1964. LINZ, Juan J., "Regimes Autoritarios" ["Authoritarian Regimes"] (in) O ESTADO AUTORITARIO E OS MOVIMIENTOS POPULARES [THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE AND POPULAR MOVEMENTS], Conferencia Sobre Historia E Ciencias Sociais [Conference on History and Social Sciences], UNICAMP, Editora Paz E Terra, Rio de Janeiro, 1980.
- 6) O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM: STUDIES IN SOUTH AMERICAN POLITICS, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1973. O'DONNELL, Guillermo, 1966-1973 EL ESTADO BUROCRATICO AUTORITARIO [1966-1973 THE BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIAN STATE], Editorial de Belgrano, Buenos Aires, 1982.

- 7) LINZ, Juan J., "An Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Spain" (in) ALLARDT, Erik & ROKKAN, Stein (Eds.), MASS POLITICS STUDIES IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY, Free Press, New York, 1970, p. 255.
- 8) This is seen in the analysis in Chapter 3, of the first period (1920-1940) of the Mexican situation. As a result of the socialist ideology of the governments, the incorporation of the popular classes took place. They were assured of a voice in the policy making of the State. During the period 1941-1970, analysed in Chapter 4, the incorporation of these classes as well as their participation was curtailed through the control exerted over the unions' leaders and bureaucracy. This occurred through co-optation and corruption which strengthened the loyalty of these leaders to the State to the detriment of the workers they represented.
- 9) LINZ, Juan J., "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in) GREENSTEIN, Fred I. & POLSBY, Nelson W., HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, Volume 3: Macropolitical Theory, Addison-Welsey Publishing Company, Reading, Massachussets, 1975, p. 265.
- 10) Cf. Ibid, p. 266.
- 11) Ibid, p. 270.

- 12) BUREAUCRACY: this concept is used in this thesis to refer to members of the state who perform administrative functions on behalf of the state. This group has a special role which gives its members influence and power within the autonomy of the State. POULANTZAS, Nicos, CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM, Verso Edition, London, 1979, pp. 185-189.
- 13) BOURGEOISIE: refers in this thesis to the social class which controls the means of production, and has associated status and privileges in society. It also "occupies a relatively autonomous place in the ideological and political structure, and exhibits in this way a characteristic unity". POULANTZAS, Nicos, Op. Cit., p. 71. and see: MARX, Karl & ENGELS, Frederick, SELECTED WORKS IN ONE VOLUME, Progress Publishers, Lawrence & Wishart, Moscow - London, 1980, pp. 35-46.
- 14) For further information about the army and its relations with and loyalty towards the government see: GREENE Walker, Phyllis, "National Security" (in) RUDOLPH, James D. (Ed.), MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Foreign Area Studies, The American University, Washington D.C., 1985, pp. 317-373.
- 15) LINZ, Juan J., "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Spain", Op. Cit. pp. 277-281.

- 16) Juan Linz' second group is 'racial democracies' which are regimes with limited pluralism because a large part of the society is excluded from organized participation. The majority of the population does not influence major decisions, and the power is limited on the basis of racial or ethnic groups. This type is identified in political systems such as the South African regime, but is not evident in the Latin American countries including Mexico. LINZ, Juan J., "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in) HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, Op. Cit., p. 326.
- 17) Ibid, p. 289.
- 18) The first sub-category refers to a single dominant party system formed by those, who struggled for the independence of the country from overseas domination and, as a consequence of this, validated their dominant power and control. Some of the African countries which fought for their independence, and are now dominated by a ruling elite represent this type. Algeria or Ghana are identified by Linz as fitting into this category. The second sub-category is an "interrupted totalitarian system", where the dominant group needed more than a coup d'etat to reach power. The political system, in this case, suffered minor changes which were mainly felt at

the top of the hierarchy, while the majority of social classes continued to experience, according to Linz, the same condition of domination as before. Linz quotes as examples the conservative authoritarian parties like the Partito Nazionalista in Mussolini's Italy, and the Deutschnationale Volkspartei [DNVP] of Nazi Germany. The third sub-category, identified by Linz as a "mobilizing authoritarian regime", is a post-totalitarian regime where several groups share the position of the dominant party. The competition among them is not only the result of internal bureaucratic struggles of factions inside the elite, but a competition linked to wider segments of society. In this case, the popular classes are given a certain degree of participation, and they appear to be incorporated into the political affairs of the country. Juan Linz specifies Yugoslavia as a type of this sub-category because of the different degrees of autonomy granted to various groups and institutions, because of the liberalization which benefited intellectuals, and because the party retained most of the power, allowing democratization only at the local and factory levels. Ibid, pp. 320, 321, 323, 346.

- 19) Cf. Ibid, pp. 268-269.
- 20) Cf. Ibid, pp. 337-338.

- 21) O'DONNELL, Guillermo, MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., p. 95.
- 22) O'Donnell considers that a country with an authoritarian system suffers four types of crises: economic crises, political crises, crises of the state, and crises of social domination. The government and the regime suffer changes due to the expansion of the political arena, the accumulation of capital, and social domination (also referred to as a 'crisis of hegemony'). O'DONNELL, Guillermo, 1966-1973, EL ESTADO BUROCRATICO AUTORITARIO [1966-1973 THE BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIAN STATE], Op. Cit., 1982, pp 49-53.
- 23) Cf. Ibid, p. 59.
- 24) Ibid, p. 269.
- 25) MIDDLE CLASSES: refers in this thesis to the social class who has access to social benefits, but its economic power is restricted. The differences in wealth of this class creates, in Mexico, an internal division of this class into upper, middle, and lower middle class.
- 26) O'DONNELL, Guillermo, MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC-AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., pp. 53-54.
- 27) The reference here is to the organization of the Argentinean workers into unions which took place during the populist government of Peron. These were demobilized

in the following administration, but the strength they gained as a group remained a platform from which workers were able to gain some representation. Cf. O'DONNELL, Guillermo, MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC-AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., p. 102 and 128.

- 28) O'DONNELL, Guillermo, "Corporatism and the Question of the State" (in) MALLOY, James (Ed.), AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM IN LATIN AMERICA, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1977, p. 60.
- 29) This thesis contends that in Mexico, workers were nominally in the political arena of the country through their incorporation in the three sectors of the Revolutionary Institutional Party [PRI]. However, in practical terms they were politically demobilized through the co-option by the State of their leaders, who no longer represented their interest but obeyed the state which had given them power.
- 30) This existing class structure contains an international dimension. The bureaucratic-authoritarian state promotes major multinational activities which favour foreign penetration into territorial limits as well as into the social structure controlled by the state. This brings about a reduction in the power of the less privileged classes. (According to O'Donnell, in recent years in



- Mexico this penetration occurred through overseas capital investment of multinational companies). Cf. O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., 1966-1973, EL ESTADO BUROCRATICO AUTORITARIO [1966-1973, THE BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIAN STATE], Op. Cit., p. 61.
- 31) Cf. Ibid, p. 62.
- 32) PERLMUTTER, Amos, Op. Cit., p. 186.
- 33) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, "Historical Roots of the Authoritarian State in Mexico" (in) REYNA, Jose Luis & WIENERT, Ricardo S. (Eds.), AUTHORITARIANISM IN MEXICO, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 3-4.
- 34) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, MEXICO: 1920-1958. EL RETO DE LA POBREZA Y DEL ANALFABETISMO [MEXICO: 1920-1958. THE CHALLENGE TO POVERTY AND ILLITERACY], Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1977, p. 39.
- 35) GENTLEMAN, Judith (Ed.), Op. Cit., p. 4.
- 36) BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, LA EDUCACION SOCIALISTA EN MEXICO [SOCIALIST EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Mexico, 1943, p. 33.
- 37) LIMA-DANTAS, Elizabeth (De), "Historical Setting" (in) RUDOLPH, James D. (Ed.), MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 41.
- 38) BOLANOS Martinez, Raul, "Los Origenes de la Educacion Publica en Mexico" ["The Origins of Public Education in

Mexico"] (in) SOLANA, Fernando; CARDIEL Reyes, Raul; & BOLANOS, Raul (Coord.), HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO], SEP/80 - Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 26.

- 39) Throughout the nineteenth century, Mexico suffered these internal crises in which England, France, Spain, and the USA intervened.
- 40) The conservative group tried to maintain a monarchy controlled by Europe through the intervention of France in Mexico in 1862. In 1864 Ferdinand Joseph Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, was chosen by Napoleon III of France to become Emperor of Mexico. His reign was short (he was shot in 1867) but the style of his appointment indicates the European influence in the country.
- 41) "MESTIZOS" are those people born in Mexico from mixed marriages between Spanish and Indian parents. The "Mestizos" had access to education but were not socially accepted by the Spaniards, or the creoles, or the Indians.
- 42) 'REFORM' is the name given to the period 1854-1857, during which President Benito Juarez imposed very radical reforms on the country: the separation of the church from the State, the confiscation of the church's wealth, and the secularization of education. Thus teaching should be free, and academic freedom should exist.

- 43) SINKIN, Richard N., THE MEXICAN REFORM, 1855-1876: A STUDY IN LIBERAL NATION BUILDING, Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 1979, p. 126.
- 44) "LATIFUNDIOS", estates which cover such large areas of the country that landowners were, sometimes, unaware of their boundaries.
- 45) Cf. BOLANOS Martinez, Raul, Op. Cit., p. 15.
- 46) Cf. MORENO y Kalbtk, Salvador, "El Porfiriato. Primera Etapa (1876-1901)" ["The Porfirio Diaz Dictatorship. First Period (1876-1901)"] (in) SOLANA, Fernando (et.al.), HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO], SEP/80 - Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 45.
- 47) Cf. LIMA-DANTAS, Elizabeth (De), "Historical Setting", Op. Cit., pp. 42-44.
- 48) Cf. BRADENBURG, Frank R., "Causes of the Revolution" (in) WILKIE, James W. & MICHAELS, Albert L. (Eds.), REVOLUTION IN MEXICO: YEARS OF UPHEAVAL, 1910-1940, Alfred . A . Knope, New York, 1969, pp. 17-19.
- 49) MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., pp. 4-5.
- 50) REYNA, Jose Luis, "Redefining the Authoritarian Regime" (in) REYNA, Jose Luis & WINERT, Richard S. (Eds.), AUTHORITARIANISM IN MEXICO, Op. Cit., pp. 156 & 161.

- 51) SMITH, Peter H., LABYRINTHS OF POWER, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, p. 31.
- 52) Cf. VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, THE STATE, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL CLASS IN MEXICO, 1880-1928, Northern Illinois University Press, Dekalb, 1982, pp. 22-25.
- 53) Cf. SMITH, Peter H., Op. Cit., p. 32.
- 54) Cf. Ibid, pp. 36-38.
- 55) The land was inefficiently distributed due to corruption in high places. Cf. ECKSTEIN, Susan, THE POVERTY OF REVOLUTION, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1977, pp. 6-7 and 20-21.
- 56) O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., 1966-1973 EL ESTADO BUROCRATICO AUTORITARIO [1966-1973 THE BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIAN STATE], Op. Cit., p. 61.
- 57) MEYER, Lorenzo, "Historical Roots of the Authoritarian State in Mexico", Op. Cit., p. 4.
- 58) Porfirio Diaz dominated the electoral contest even if there were opposition parties. This was evident in the elections of 1888 when 98% of the votes were won by him. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 4.
- 59) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 5
- 60) Cf. Ibid, p. 5.
- 61) Ibid, p. 6.
- 62) Cf. Ibid, p. 6.
- 63) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.

- 64) CONSTITUTION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS  
[POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES],  
Editores Mexicanos Unidos, Mexico, 1987, pp. 77-79.
- 65) At the end of the President's term of office, it is possible to make evaluations and to admit shortcomings. Criticism made at the end of the statutory six years' office is mainly of errors of planning and implementation, and corruption of members of the government. This criticism has, in practice, a dual function. On the one hand it opens the way for the personal style of the new President, and on the other hand it permits increased control over the actions of some of the former Secretaries, and even the former President himself, who may wish to interfere in the implementation of new policies. Nonetheless, this situation is very rare, and sometimes a former secretary is selected to remain in his post. Generally speaking most of the members of the bureaucracy are loyal to the President, and all of them are considered to be members of the 'Revolutionary Family'. It is the name given to the members of the PRI, hence the members of the government are also considered part of this family. They are linked by their belief in the ideology of the Revolution, and are also loyal to the system. Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., pp. 12 and 13.

- 66) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy" (in) MALLOY, James M. (Ed.), AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM IN LATIN AMERICA, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1977, p. 196.
- 67) CARDOSO, Fernando Henrique, "On the Characterization of Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America" (in) COLLIER, David (Ed.), THE NEW AUTHORITARIANISM IN LATIN AMERICA, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, p. 38.
- 68) Ibid, pp. 42-43.
- 69) Article 89, Paragraph I of the CONSTITUTION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS [POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES], Op. Cit., p. 77.
- 70) MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 11.
- 71) Cf. Ibid, p. 11.
- 72) Cf. Ibid, p. 16.
- 73) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., P. 14.
- 74) Cf. Ibid, p. 15.
- 75) Cf. PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., p. 194.
- 76) Cf. REYNA, Jose Luis, "Redefining the Authoritarian Regime", Op. Cit., p. 167.
- 77) Article 89, Paragraphs VI, VII, and VIII of the CONSTITUTION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS [POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES], Op. Cit., p. 78.

- 78) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 12.
- 79) Cf. Ibid, p. 12.
- 80) Ibid, p. 13.
- 81) For further information about the PRI see: STEVENS, Evelyn P. "Mexico's PRI: The Institutionalization of Corporatism?" (in) MALLOY, James M. (Ed.), AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM IN LATIN AMERICA, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1977, pp. 228-230.
- 82) Peasants received land to create their "ejidos", which are the pieces of land distributed among several peasant families, and an agricultural bank was created to offer them economic support. STEVENS, Evelyn P., Ibid, p. 232.
- 83) Article 123, Paragraph XVI of the CONSTITUCION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS [POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES], Op. Cit., pp. 119-120.
- 84) KAUFMAN, Robert, "Mexico and Latin American Authoritarianism" (in) REYNA, Jose Luis & WIENERT, Ricardo S. (Eds.), AUTORITARIANISM IN MEXICO, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1977, p. 212.
- 85) Cf. Ibid, p. 213.
- 86) LINZ, Juan J., "The Future of an Authoritarian Situation or the Institutionalization of an Authoritarian Regime:

The Case of Brazil", (in) STEPAN, Alfred, AUTHORITARIAN BRAZIL, Origins, Policies, and Future, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1976, p. 237.

- 87) The concept 'SECTOR' refers here to the group of people who perform similar activities, and are gathered in an organization.
- 88) "EJIDO" is "a landholding peasant community or the land owned collectively by the members of such a community". RUDOLPH, James D., MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 449. Due to the role of the peasants in the 1910 Revolution, their sector is often referred as the centre of the revolutionary ideology in the official discourse. Indigenous population have, in practice, been the 'neglected' class despite the several policies implemented for their benefit, not always with full advantage. STEVENS, Evelyn P., Op. Cit., pp. 232-233.
- 89) The CTM is the 'Confederation of Mexican Workers', one of the strongest organization of workers in Latin America. It supports the State. See: BASURTO, Jorge, CARDENAS Y EL PODER SINDICAL [CARDENAS AND UNION POWER], Ediciones ERA, Mexico, 1983, pp. 65-79.
- 90) CROM is the 'Regional Confederation of Mexican Labour Workers' which is the oldest organization of this type in Mexico. It had strong control over workers, but its



left wing ideology made it lose influence with the government as a result of the creation of the CTM. For further information see: CHASSEN, De Lopez Francie R., LOMBARDO TOLEDANO Y EL MOVIMIENTO OBRERO MEXICANO (1917-1940) [LOMBARDO TOLEDANO AND THE MEXICAN UNIONS MOVEMENT], Editorial Extemporaneos, Mexico, 1977, pp. 32-37.

- 91) CGR is the 'General Confederation of Workers'. It was organized against the CROM leaders, and had a left wing ideology. For further information see: CHASSEN De Lopez, Francie R., Op. Cit., pp. 37-39.
- 92) 'POPULAR SECTOR' is the strongest of the three sectors forming the PRI. It gathers a diversified group of people from the indigenous population, street vendors, small merchants, etc. into the National Confederation of Popular Organizations [CNOP]. It also includes professionals working independently or for the State.
- 93) CNOP: National Confederation of Popular Organizations. ["Confederacion Nacional de Organizaciones Populares"].
- 94) FSTSE: Federation of Workers' Unions at the Service of the State. ["Federacion de Sindicatos de Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado"]. SNTE: National Union of Workers in Education ["Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educacion"]. The influence of the popular sector is

evident in the number of members who have occupied important posts whether in the Party National Executive Committee, or in the State hierarchy. In 1970, "... eighty-nine of the nominations (with subsequent election guaranteed) came from the Popular Sector, with thirty-eight from labour, and fifty-one from the peasant sectors". STEVENS, Evelyn P., Op. Cit., p. 233.

- 95) 'TECHNOCRATS' in Mexico is the term used for those professionals employed by the State. Their "education, experience, and values give them the orientation and skills to solve problems with technical expertise, not political manipulation" (CAMP, Roderic A., INTELLECTUALS AND THE STATE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MEXICO, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1985, p. 224.
- 96) MEYER, Lorenzo, "Historical Roots of the Authoritarian State in Mexico", Op. Cit., p. 10.
- 97) LINZ, Juan J., "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes" (in) HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, Op. Cit., pp. 269-271.
- 98) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 13.
- 99) Ibid, p. 13.
- 100) Cf. Ibid, p. 12.
- 101) Corruption of the State projects is related to the direct use of public funds for private purposes. This form of corruption, according to Lorenzo Meyer, is the least important. Ibid, p. 13.

- 102) Ibid, p. 13.
- 103) This was the case of the Director of the Mexican Petroleum Company, and the chief of the Federal District Police during the rule of President Jose Lopez Portillo. Both functionaries were accused of fraud and corruption and sent to prison. ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) RUDOLPH, James D., MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., pp. 296-297.
- 104) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, Op. Cit., p. 12.
- 105) Cf. CHASSEN, De Lopez Francie R., Op. Cit., p. 274.
- 106) During the Miguel de la Madrid government (1982-1988), one of his main policies was 'moral renovation' which meant punishment for those functionaries involved in illegal activities. Cf. ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) RUDOLPH, James D., MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, American University, Washington, 1985, p. 295.
- 107) Cf. MEYER, Lorenzo, "La Etapa Formativa del Estado Mexicano Contemporaneo (1928-1940)" ["The Contemporary Period of Formation of the Mexican State"] (in) LAS CRISIS EN EL SISTEMA POLITICO MEXICANO (1928-1977) [CRISIS IN THE MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM], Centro de Estudios Internacionales, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico, 1977, pp. 23-25.

- 108) 'POLITICAL DISCIPLINE' has already been weakened with the split of some members of the PRI who formed the Democratic Mexican Party [PDM]. This party was a coalition which challenged the PRI in the last presidential elections (July 1988), and won important posts in the government. This has offered an opportunity to the left wing faction, but the right wing parties have also reinforced their strength. Whatever happens in the future, the homogeneity of the Mexican authoritarian system is nowadays facing one of the most important challenges. The stability of the country, gained with the incorporation of the interest groups into the official party, the direct control of the economy by the government, and the loyalty of the army, seem to be diminishing. It seems that the one mobilizing dominant political party system will be replaced by a two party system, PRI and PDM, which would have the challenge of a third party the PAN.
- 109) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy" (in) MALLOY, James M. (Ed.), AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM IN LATIN AMERICA, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1977, p. 194.
- 110) REYNA, Jose Luis, Op. Cit., p. 156.

- 111) The five associations are: the Confederation of Mexican Chambers of Industry [CONCAMIN], the National Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce [CONCANACO], the Confederation of Employers of the Mexican Republic [COPARMEX], the Association of Mexican Bankers [AMB] (dissolved in 1982 after the nationalization of the Mexican banking system), and the Mexican Association of Insurance Institutions [AMIS]. PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., pp. 194-195.
- 112) Ibid, p. 195.
- 113) Ibid, p. 195.
- 114) Ibid, p. 194.
- 115) Cf. Ibid, p. 195.
- 116) Cf. Ibid, p. 195.
- 117) BASURTO, Jorge, Op. Cit., pp. 169-170.
- 118) Article 27, Paragraph IV of the CONSTITUCION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS [POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES], Op. Cit., p. 28.
- 119) Cf. PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, Op. Cit., p. 199.
- 120) Cf. Ibid, p. 200.
- 121) NOTH, Robert, "The Economy" (in) MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit, p. 233.

- 122) Ibid, p. 234.
- 123) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., p. 193.
- 124) Cf. PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexico in Transition" (in) PURCELL, Susan Kaufman (Ed.), MEXICO IN TRANSITION, IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY, Council of Foreign Relations, New York, 1988, p. 7.
- 125) Cf. RUBIO, F. Luis, "The Changing Role of the Private Sector", (in) Ibid, pp. 37-38.
- 126) Cf. Ibid, p. 38.
- 127) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, Op. Cit., p. 197.
- 128) REYNOLDS, Clark, THE MEXICAN ECONOMY: TWENTIETH CENTURY STRUCTURE AND GROWTH, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1970, p. 255. Quoted by PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, Op. Cit., p. 199.
- 129) Hence, private investors prefer to cooperate with the State and gain preference over other investors. Examples of preferential treatment can be found in exemption from payment of certain taxes, and easing of control over the working conditions of workers, and less pressure in terms of inspection of premises. Cf. ROBINSON, Craig H., Op.Cit., pp. 266-267.

- 130) Argentina received a liberal federal constitution as early as 1853, and until 1914 had developed both economically and socially under successive liberal governments.
- 131) During the military regime of General Manuel Odria (he took office after a coup which he headed) his government (1948-1956) adopted populist policies trying to emulate Peron's style, and in this way stimulated the authoritarian character of his regime. He also represented centralization of power in the office of the President which was exerted strongly. But "the oligarchical nature of Peru's economy and society" as Julio Cotler terms it, limited the president's autonomy and blocked his strategies. Odria's attitude towards the masses was paternalistic and informal because he did not want to create any real commitment with the organizations. He considered the masses important for his populist-military government, and for his position against APRA which, as a civilian party, appeared to be a populist party. He also needed the support of business interests groups to gain economic power. Hence, Odria made alliances with both groups. He was considered "antiunion but not antiworker...", he gave employers what amounted to complete liberty to destroy unions in their

- shops, (and at the same time) he would give starting wage and social benefits to the workers...". COLLIER, David, SQUATTERS AND OLIGARCHS: AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND POLICY CHANGE IN PERU, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1976. p. 58. and COTLER, Julio, "A Structural-Historical Approach to the Breakdown of Democratic Institutions: Peru" (in) LINZ, Juan J. & STEPAN, Alfred, THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1978, p. 187.
- 132) Peron came into power after a series of crises which culminated in 1946 with his first presidency (1946-1951). Peron's administration can be compared with the Lazaro Cardenas government (1934-1940) which also developed populist style policies to benefit the popular classes.
- 133) O'DONNELL, Guillermo A, "Permanent Crisis and the Failure to Create a Democratic Regime: Argentina, 1955-1966" (in) THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES, Op. Cit., p. 169.
- 134) Ibid, p. 169.
- 135) COTLER, Julio, "A Structural-Historical Approach to the Breakdown of Democratic Institutions: Peru", Op. Cit., p. 187.
- 136) Cf. CLEAVES, Peter S., & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1980, pp. 42-45.



- 137) 'MILITARY AUTHORITARIANISM' is a combination of phrasing from two words from two different concepts used by James M. Malloy to identify the Argentinean and Peruvian systems, 'populist authoritarianism' and 'military populism'. MALLOY, James M., "Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America: The Modal Pattern" (in) AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM IN LATIN AMERICA, Op. Cit., pp. 3-4.
- 138) PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, THE MEXICAN PROFIT-SHARING DECISION. POLITICS IN AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975, pp. 3-5.
- 139) OZBUDUN, Ergun, "Established Revolution Versus Unfinished Revolution: Contrasting Patterns of Democratization in Mexico and Turkey" (in) HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. & MOORE, Clement H. (Eds.), AUTHORITARIAN POLITICS IN MODERN SOCIETY. The Dynamics of Established One Party System, Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, New York - London, 1970, p. 392.
- 140) O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC-AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., p. 128.
- 141) CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1980, p. 39.

- 142) COTLER, Julio, "A Structural-Historical Approach to the Breakdown of Democratic Institutions: Peru" (in) LINZ, Juan J. & STEPAN, Alfred, THE BREAKDOWN OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1978, p. 184.
- 143) When a worker in Mexico signs a contract he becomes, through his union which is member of the Mexican Confederation of Workers [CTM], part of the system dominated by the PRI.
- 144) Cf. VIZGUNOVA, I., LA SITUACION DE LA CLASE OBRERA MEXICANA [THE CONDITIONS OF THE MEXICAN WORKING CLASS], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1985, pp. 134-139.
- 145) In Argentina the populist policies of Peron (1946-1951), led to the inclusion of popular classes in the running of the country. O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., MODERNIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM, Op, Cit., p. 129.
- 146) One of the main unions is the General Confederation of Labour [CGT], created in 1930 from a merger of the Argentine Syndicalist Union [USA] and the Argentine Workers Confederation [COA]. The CGT became a strong supporter of the Peronist regime. The other main union is the National Labour Commission [CNT] which was formed from a coalition of those unions seeking accommodation with the military group. For further information see: O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., pp.79-85.

147) The Peruvian Confederation of Workers [CTP], an umbrella organization, gathered together various industrial workers. This confederation became increasingly bureaucratic, as happened with the Confederation of Mexican Workers [CTM]. However, the CTP managed to develop a more independent attitude in relation to the state and maintained closer links with its members. The grass roots members of the peasantry were included in groups which were either controlled by the rich landowners or by the state. One of the important peasant organizations is the Federation of Peruvian Peasants [FCP], controlled by the oligarchy as well as by investors from overseas. Another organization, the National Federation of Peruvian Peasants [FENCAP], was formed by small landholders and tenant farmers, affiliated to the Confederation of Peruvian Workers [CTP] which gained considerable strength before the 1968 military coup. A minor organization is the Peruvian Peasant Confederation [CCP] which has communist tendencies and gathers mostly rank and file peasants, and has obtained only cautious support from the military regime. ALBA, Victor, PERU, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1977, p. 99. CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Op. Cit., pp. 112, 177-179.

- 148) The National System to Support Social Mobilization [SINAMOS] was formed in 1972 during the President Velasco Alvarado government (1968-1975) from the joining "of agencies from several ministries with the objectives of proselytizing for the revolution and rewarding those who supported it". CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Op. Cit., p. 47.
- 149) STEPAN, Alfred, THE STATE AND SOCIETY. PERU IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978, p. 122. The National Agrarian Confederation [CNA] was formed in May 1972, "but two years passed before the national system was assembled. The CNA was organized in a four-level hierarchy: the production unit (agrarian production cooperatives, SAIS, campesino communities, and associations of individual farmers and landless peasants), the local league (five or more agrarian leagues), and the National Agrarian Confederation (which came into existence after 50 percent of the departmental federations had been constituted)". CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., Op. cit., pp. 180-187.
- 150) Ibid, p. 122.
- 151) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., p. 194

- 152) An example of this is when Argentina, from 1970 to 1974 had a period of comparative political and economic stability promoted by the 'Peronist' social pact of 1973 which conciliated the interests of workers and the business interest group, and secured the power of the authoritarian state. The socio-political problems faced by Argentina in 1975-1976 led to economic disintegration, and confrontation with the business interest groups. In the face of opposition from the business community, the measures adopted by the government for economic development and modernization of the country, failed abruptly. O'DONNELL, Guillermo A., BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM, Op. Cit., pp. 309-311. and Cf. NOTH, Robert S., "The Economy" (in) RUDOLPH, James D., ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, American University, Washington, 1986, pp. 128-129.
- 153) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., p. 194.
- 154) In Mexico, the influence of the agricultural elite occurs through its inclusion in the CNC exerting pressure over the state and peasants. In Peru, the agricultural reform of 1968 had led to the formation of the National Agrarian Confederation [CNA] which tried to give more power to peasants, and prevented the existence of any peasant

- organization in the same region. CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Op. Cit., pp. 180-187.
- 155) ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 234.
- 156) Ibid, p. 234.
- 157) ROBINSON, Craig H. "Government and Politics" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 235.
- 158) Ibid, p. 235.
- 159) ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 272.
- 160) ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 235.
- 161) ACIEL was a coalition of different organizations including the Argentine Rural Society [SRA] whose members were the agricultural aristocracy, and the Argentine Chamber of Commerce [CAC] formed by the wealthy trades people. Ibid, p. 235.
- 162) DOBYNS, Henry F. & DOUGHTY, Paul L., PERU, Oxford University Press, New York, 1976, p. 260.
- 163) Ibid, p. 260.
- 164) Ibid, p. 260.
- 165) PURCELL, John F.H. & PURCELL, Susan Kaufman, "Mexican Business and Public Policy", Op. Cit., p. 193.

- 166) Secularism in Mexico came from the Reform Law based on the liberal ideology as studied in the first part of this chapter. See: SINKIN, Richard N., THE MEXICAN REFORM, 1855-1876: A STUDY IN LIBERAL NATION BUILDING, Op. Cit., p.126.
- 167) ROBINSON, Craig H., "Government and Politics" (in) MEXICO: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 275.
- 168) Cf. ALBA, Victor, PERU, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1977, p. 142.
- 169) OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 118.
- 170) Ibid, p. 119.
- 171) Cf. Ibid, p. 119.
- 172) In 1984 it was reported that "more than 2,000 parishes and various church organizations ran some 3,700 educational institutions at all levels". OSTERLING, Jorge P. "The Society and Its Environment" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 117.
- 173) ALBA, Victor, PERU, Op. Cit., p. 142.
- 174) Ibid, p. 142.

## CHAPTER 2.

### PROFESSIONS, TEACHERS, AND MEXICO.

In chapters 3, 4, and 5, in this thesis, the main theme is the struggles for social, political and professional space by Mexican teachers in the context of an authoritarian state.

However, before that task can be undertaken, it is necessary to clarify the concept of professions, especially in terms of teachers - as 'professionals', and their efforts to establish a 'professional identity'. It is this theme which is continuously present in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, as the position of primary school and university teachers changes in the changing context of Mexican society in the last 60 or so years.

The first theme of this chapter, then, is to assess what the specialist literature has to say about the definition and social role of professions. There is a very large literature on professions and teaching as a 'profession'. Much of this literature is familiar to specialists in educational studies (and much of which is regularly reviewed in Ph.D. theses). Therefore, within this thesis, less emphasis is given to the discussion of professions than was given in the first chapter



to the clarification of the concept of authoritarianism. What is drawn out from the literature are those points which are likely to be operationally useful for the analysis of the Mexican context. In other words, the weight of the chapter is less in clarifying an abstract concept of "a profession" - which is relatively familiar literature - but more on assessing the significance of certain ideas about professions in the unfamiliar social context of Mexico (and Argentina and Peru).

Thus the chapter is set up in three sub-sections: a discussion of concepts of profession; a contextualization of struggles to be professional in the Mexican context of State centralized power, limited pluralism, and encapsulation and incorporation; and a testing of the Mexican experience against Argentina and Peru (for the same reasons as were outlined for the comparison in Chapter 1).

The chapter works out three strategic ideas, amid the detail of relevant sub-sections. Within the first sub-section, the operational assumption - amid the search for conceptual clarity about the nature of professions - is that the literature of northern hemisphere social science has become both over-complex and ethnocentric. In other words, the literature needs some simplification and some caution in applying it within unfamiliar social contexts.

Within the second sub-section, the operational assumption is pursued that the social and political context of an authoritarian state raises issues about the social and political role of professions, their relationship to the State, and the ways in which they are controlled which have been underestimated over by much of the traditional northern hemisphere literature.

Within, the third sub-section the idea is pursued that, while the experience of struggle of professions and teachers with State power is common in Latin America, the Mexican experience has taken on a particular formation that can be distinguished from Argentine and Peruvian patterns.

#### CONCEPTS OF PROFESSIONS.

The main literature related to professions analyses the United States and British cases, and other studies focus on Continental Europe and Scandinavian countries (1). But there is a paucity of detailed studies on professions existing in Latin America (2) (which of course is one of the reasons for writing this thesis).

Work on professions, professionalism, and professionalisation has been done by numerous scholars using

different perspectives (3). There are two main perspectives one of which tends to stress the internal sociological characteristics of professions; the other perspective tends to stress the external relations of professions.

The internal sociological characteristics of professions is the core of the traditional concept which sees professions as groups of people especially trained for the practice of a particular occupation (4). This is stated flatly by Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, who point out that "... a profession (is) ...a relatively homogeneous community whose members share identity, values, definitions of role, and interests" (5). In such a view, professionals form closed groups to maintain their autonomy and particular identity which will allow them to build up their prestige in society (6). Professional groups have a "... monopoly over certain resources (knowledge) which are appropriate to certain social needs" (7). Thus professionals organize themselves into closed groups of experts who exclude any outsider not possessing the same knowledge (8).

This kind of interpretation of professions is summarised by Myron Lieberman. He argues that a profession provides or has:

- "1. A unique, definite, and essential social service...
2. An emphasis upon intellectual techniques in performing its service...
3. A long period of specialized training...
4. A broad range of autonomy for both the individual practitioners and for the occupational group as a whole...
5. An acceptance by the practitioners of broad personal responsibility for judgments made and acts performed within the scope of professional autonomy...
6. An emphasis upon the service to be rendered, rather than the economic gain to the practitioners, as the basis for the organization and performance of the social service delegated to the occupational group...
7. A comprehensive self-governing organization of practitioners...
8. A code of ethics which has been clarified and interpreted at ambiguous and doubtful points by concrete cases " (9).

Thus the main elements which sustain the traditional concept of professions are: the monopoly of specialized knowledge, the

long period of training of practitioners, the independence of professional organizations, the supposed altruism of professional activities, the relevance of professional knowledge for society, and the code of ethics to be followed by professionals.

However, what is under-explored in this kind of traditional model are several themes, including questions about: whom professions serve, the relationship of professions to the state, professions as part of the class structure, and the consciousness of those who work within them.

These themes are developed in what is called here the 'radical' perspective on professions, which is a critical response to the traditional concept. In this 'radical' perspective, the fact that a sense of 'professional identity' - produced by the processes of socialization into a profession - often dominates professions, and the power and control exerted over, and through them, have led to different critical assumptions, emerging in the literature, which focus on societal inequalities and their consequences. Sociologists such as Martin Oppenheimer, Marie Haug, and Robert Perrucci (10), are among those who exemplify this critique (by reflecting on the United States). Martin Oppenheimer studies

the 'proletarianisation' of professionals, Marie Haug considers the 'de-professionalisation' of society, and Robert Perrucci analyses the 'radicalism' emerging among professionals (11).

The first concept, 'proletarianisation', suggested by Martin Oppenheimer, affirms that as a result of the economic crisis affecting salaries, and the "overproduction of degreed individuals given the present needs of the economy" (12) the degrading of professions in the USA has occurred. Thus the proletarianisation of professionals has become evident in the deterioration of their prestige and standard of living. 'Proletarianisation' has arisen partly because of the easier access of less qualified people to the practice of a particular activity (13) and partly because of the fact that professionals are increasingly working in bureaucracies (14).

Oppenheimer suggests that as a consequence, "...professional societies... (have developed) ...some trade union functions, militant caucuses..., or (have become)... trade unions outright" (15). He is arguing that "the increasingly bureaucratically-located professional is helping to create 'proletarian' conditions" (16).

This proletarianization, according to Oppenheimer, is evident in the changing strategies that professionals have adopted in defence of their rights. There is a movement towards trade union tactics to satisfy the demands of their members, and there has been some breaking away from the traditional professional associations (17). He gives the example of university teachers, in the USA. He suggests that the decrease in real income, and the increased pressures in the workplace by employers on university lecturers have led to their unionism. This has been adopted to protect "certain professional characteristics which the older-line professional groups are unable to defend because they refuse to bargain collectively and strike" (18).

For Oppenheimer, therefore, professionals are trapped by the traditional concept of professions and the conditions imposed on them by their employers in the contemporary situation. He explains, "in the process of having autonomy taken away by administrators, the professional becomes proletarianized; in defending what remains of autonomy, further proletarianization results" (19).

A second important theme (i.e. one useful to this thesis) in the radical perspective on professions is raised by Marie

Haug in the concept of 'de-professionalisation'. This she defines "...as a loss to professional occupations of their unique qualities, particularly their monopoly over knowledge, public belief in their service ethos, and expectations of work autonomy over the client" (20). These developments have reduced the power and control of professionals over the specialized knowledge they possess. She suggests that this loss in power and control results from "the rapid change now occurring in the division of labour at all occupational levels" (21).(22).

As a consequence, 'paraprofessionals' and 'new professionals' in the USA have gained higher status. These groups are made up of all those able to perform the traditional 'expert knowledge' activities "with no more than on-the-job training" (23). However the traditional concept of professions still exerts pressure: 'paraprofessionals', therefore, are considered to have lower status, and 'new professionals' struggle for equality (24). Thus professionals in USA still see themselves as the experts but this role, according to Haug, makes them elitist and divorced from human concerns (25). Their specialized knowledge does not convince their clients as it did in the past. They have to explain and justify what they do (26).



The third important theme in the radical perspective of professions is raised by Robert Perrucci. He draws attention to the separatist movement of 'radical professionals' who, in the USA, are concerned with the services professions perform for the benefit of the majority in society (27). Perrucci builds up his argument by contrasting the practicality of professions with pure intellectual activity. Thus he identifies, on the one hand the "intense dissatisfaction with the failure of a profession to deal with a wide range of human problems" (28), and on the other hand the "narrow conception of professionalism which emphasises detached application of an expertise to the problems of an individual client" (29).

In contrast, the radical perspective is interested in the type of services and role professions perform in society. One of the main radical concerns is to prevent the use of professional expertise in favour of a minority, or to prevent the misuse of professional knowledge. Radical professionals are concerned to persuade other professionals "to confront the issues and questions which concern the way in which their work is used by corporate elites and the means by which they could develop a movement which would use their talents for constructive social change" (30).

However, according to Perrucci, radical professionals face a number of dilemmas (31). In the face of these dilemmas, a duality of response emerges among radical professionals since they have to be employed in institutions that they criticise, and at the same time they have to try to maintain their radicalism (32).

Overall, what has been termed the 'radical' perspective on professions raises some interesting issues by reconceptualizing what is problematic about professions.

The radical perspective should be understood against the older tradition which specifies in the internal characteristics of an ideal profession e.g. in the work of Lieberman. The emphasis within this traditional literature is placed on the need for esoteric knowledge based on intellectual principles, which is the foundation of the expertise of the professional; and questions of the control by members of the profession over access. The traditional concept of professions divorces the idea of profession from the idea of class. The traditional definition of professions makes a virtue of the fact that through socialization processes, the concept 'professional' may become an important ingredient of the self-definition of practitioners.

These themes, of the social position of professions and professionals, the role of the State and the reaction of professionals to State pressure will be taken - operationally - into the analysis of Mexico.

Thus, particularly in chapters 3, 4, and 5, the struggle of teachers for social, professional, and political space in the context of an authoritarian Mexican State will be investigated. Among the themes of chapters 3, 4, and 5, will be the concrete versions of these abstract propositions. Thus, the following questions will be explored: the economic conditions and social status of teachers, and of their social origins and location in stratification patterns; their knowledge and training base; and of their reactions (especially via unionism) to State pressure.

However, to conclude this initial analysis of the concept of professions, an immediate cross-check will be made on the suspicion that the work on professions done by social scientists in the northern hemisphere (33) does not readily or perfectly fit the Mexican social and political context. That is the work of the next section.

## PROFESSIONS AND TEACHERS IN THE MEXICAN CONTEXT.

The argument of this section, which increasingly concentrates on teachers, is that on two major dimensions, the Mexican experience is sharply different from what may be expected from the modelling of professions offered earlier. In particular, the internal characteristics of professional associations and the relation of professions to the State have taken on unique characteristics which are probably Mexican (although this proposition is re-assessed in the final section of the chapter, against the experience of Argentina and Peru).

### **Professional Associations.**

In Mexico professionals have tried to maintain their status through the formation of professional associations. However, the idea, in the literature analysed earlier that professional associations are "self-regulating, subject only to informal collegial control" (34), has very little value in Mexico.

At the formal level (as in the case in many countries) Mexican professional associations are not self-regulating since the State controls the certification of professionals on the basis of academic qualifications awarded by higher

education institutions. This certification is legalized by the General Directorate of Professions, section of the Secretariat of Public Education (35). Professionals are formally registered in this Directorate with the "Cedula Profesional" ['Professional Licence'] which gives them authority to practice their profession (36).

However, how the system works informally is of great interest. In Mexico two types of professional groups exist: formal organizations concerned with the specialized knowledge their members possess, and informal groups concerned with the upward mobility of their members toward top posts in political and economic hierarchies (37). Professionals are more inclined to belong to the informal groups known as "equipos" or "camarillas" ('teams'). These consist of professionally trained individuals in search of good jobs. They organize themselves on an informal basis competing for positions against other 'teams', but remaining loyal to their own 'team' and its leaders (38). In this way the whole 'team' can expect jobs with their leader when he is nominated to a high position.

In Mexico the main informal interest of professionals is first of all to create relations with the right people who will offer them the opportunity to obtain a good employment.

This explains why a number of professionals begin to build up relationships with other colleagues during their training at university. According to Cleaves, "the appropriate organizational form to defend their interests is the loyalty and friendship group often called the "camarilla"... They maintain a presence in the university mainly to recruit talented students, rather than to absorb new ideas and techniques" (39).

When the student, who belongs to a 'team', has completed his course he will obtain job with his 'team' (40). Those who did not have the opportunity to become members of a 'team', may face difficulties in getting employment. This problem is acerbated by the massive enrolment in the universities which produces too many graduates to be absorbed in the national economy: the state is unable to satisfy job demands (41). Thus the monopoly that professionals have on specialized knowledge, skills and their practice is curtailed by the availability of posts. This problem makes the State an important social actor.

#### **The State's Relationship With Professions.**

In Mexico in this relationship, some professions are more important than others. In such a context, prestige and

opportunities of mobility for professionals depend on their speciality, and the preference of the state.

In Mexico, long established professions such as medicine and law have always been considered to have high status and prestige. The legal profession above all has held most influence in the political arena and has dominated the highest posts in the state's hierarchy. Mexican Presidents have been lawyers since 1946 when Miguel Aleman occupied the presidency inaugurating the tradition of civilian Presidents. In addition, recently, medical doctors, and economists have held some high positions in the hierarchy (42). Furthermore, as the level of technical expertise needed in the different bureaucracies and planning posts on the modern State has increased, lawyers can no longer qualify for all posts (43).

Despite these changes, however, the autonomy and influence of professions is sharply limited. Cleaves points out that "the size and power of the Mexican state represent both constraint and opportunities for Mexican professions. It is illusory for professionals to think of challenging state power in direct confrontation... The state dictates the role of professionals in civil society, rather than responding to

initiatives based on professional criteria..., (although) ...their technical advice often is useful for the definition of projects, plans, and approaches to national development" (44).

Cleaves continues the argument. He points out that "the state, not the profession, has assigned a function to professional training. The university, not the profession, has established the criteria for certifying formal professional competence. The professions have achieved a measure of influence over the market place by controlling entry-level employment decisions in some large public and private sector institutions. Their guardianship of the professional ranks, however, comes at the end of the process. Professional groups have not managed (and often have not tried) to achieve a balance between the supply of certified professionals and demand for their services" (45).

Thus the control exerted by the State over professions in terms of their certification and opportunities of employment has limited the self-determination of professions (46). The Mexican State is the main employer of professionals, but it is also unable to employ all of them (47).



The professional bodies in Mexico have established a peculiar type of relationship with the State. Professionals preferred to agree in the conditions and requirements imposed by the State. They know that this agreement will offer them the opportunity of employment.

Within this general pattern, of a major influence on employment by the State, and the peculiar cultural phenomenon of the 'teams' as the informal structures of the professional associations, teachers find a place.

#### **The State, Professions and Teachers.**

Among teachers, there are some sharp differences (as might be expected) between teachers, profesionistas, at the University level - organized through the National Autonomous University of Mexico [UNAM], and primary school teachers organized through the Secretariat of Public Education [SEP]. In Mexico, the term profesionista refers to the graduate of a higher education institution who perform specialised activities in a particular field. Thus, UNAM teachers are in this group and thus differ from the SEP primary school teachers who are not profesionistas.

The profesionistas of UNAM have been subject to a loss of status, and prestige. Thus loss in status and prestige has occurred because of an alteration in employment conditions, because of the continuation of rigidities in, and the particular cultural formation of, the selection process of university teachers (48), and because of a loss in real income.

Employment conditions have been affected by the overproduction of university graduates in Mexico. This has resulted in a lowering of the academic standards of all graduates (49). Maria de Ibarrola has estimated in 1979 that only 60% of these who entered higher education finish the four-year course (50). Thereafter graduates searching for employment face a job market which lacks positions - leaving teaching as their only option of employment (51). As a consequence, "teachers go directly from being students to become teachers" (52).

In addition, the UNAM teachers have experienced a loss of status and prestige through internal mechanisms of their employment and recruitment. Fernando Jimenez has suggested that university authorities maintain control over teachers through "the lack of stability of the academic staff of

UNAM... teachers are controlled by lacking security of tenure and stability in their posts..." (53). Rigid and unreliable system of selection of UNAM teachers has also permitted access to the profession by less qualified people (54). Fernando Jimenez points out that the system of employment of teachers is a mechanism for selecting friends and suppressing enemies, "...a very ...nepotistic procedure" (55).

In addition to the rigid hierarchy of teachers and the peculiarities in the selection of teachers of UNAM a third factor producing a deterioration in their status and prestige is evident in the impact the economic crisis has had on their salaries (see table 1).

TABLE 1. REDUCTION OF UNAM PROFESSORS' SALARIES IN TEN YEARS\*.

(AMOUNT IN U.S. DOLLARS)

| CATEGORY      | 1974    | 1984   | AMOUNT LOST | % LOST |
|---------------|---------|--------|-------------|--------|
| ASSOCIATE 'A' | 664.00  | 371.32 | 262.68      | 44.08  |
| TITULAR 'A'   | 664.09  | 476.81 | 187.28      | 28.20  |
| TITULAR 'C'   | 1304.00 | 662.00 | 642.00      | 49.31  |

SOURCE: JIMENEZ Mier y Teran, Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE UNAM'S GOVERNMENT], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 1987, pp.256-257. \*The loss in this table is based on the weakness of the "peso" against the U.S. Dollar. Although salaries have gone up in terms of the "peso", the real value has gone down when calculated in terms of dollars.

The standard of living of teachers has then deteriorated (56). The consequence has been that which Martin Oppenheimer has described for some university teachers in USA. He suggested that "the decrease of real income, the increased pressures at the workplace by employers over university lecturers and other upper strata professionals have led to their unionism" (57).

Thus radicalisation among UNAM teachers has begun to occur. This has widened their concern from the role they play inside the university to the role they and the university play in society. They have become involved in assessing the employment conditions of other professionals and workers, and in noting the expectations and aspirations of the students they are training. In this way radical teachers are trying "to promote their services to the popular classes" (58). The UNAM radical teachers become what Oppenheimer call the "politicized professionals... caught between the requirements of performing bureaucratic tasks and maintaining the system and a professional commitment to do something about social problems..." (59).

In contrast, groups of traditionalist teachers have continued to exist and they wish to have no part in this

social involvement. It has been suggested (by a Mexican) that these teachers are only concerned with teaching in the university to the extent this will help them to obtain power and success (60). More neutrally, the reticence of traditional teachers is evident in their refusal to form unions since they consider union tactics beneath them (61).

Radical teachers in UNAM, on the contrary, conceive unionism as a path to gain strength and representation and in this way protect their professionalism, which - following Oppenheimer - "the older-line professional groups are unable to defend because they refuse to bargain collectively and strike" (62).

Radicalism among University teachers was increased when many of the leaders of students movements entered the University as teachers during the 1970's (63). Some of them had been strongly involved in the 1968 or the 1971 students' conflicts. The new radicals in the University favoured unionism "with or without the consent of their appropriate professional association and with apparent disregard for differences in goals, emphasis or values, even adopting classic union tactics, such as strikes, slowdowns, sick calls, and picketing" (64).

Radical teachers transformed life in the university by succeeding in creating their union in July 1974 which was named the Union of the Academic Staff of UNAM [SPAUNAM] (65). In response, UNAM's authorities favoured the creation of the Associations of the Academic Staff of UNAM [AAPAUNAM], whose main purpose was to maintain the traditional status of professionals (66). UNAM gained a slight majority mainly through traditional teachers who preferred to join associations instead of unions. Radical teachers therefore faced the opposition of these teachers who wanted professional associations (67).

These processes of radicalization and the tensions between conservative and radical teachers will be more fully reviewed in Chapters 3, 4, and especially 5. For the moment, it is more useful to note the general consequences of the struggles: radical teachers broke with the old traditions maintained in the university with the formation of their union. This produced division since traditional teachers did not consider this union to be representative of their opinions and tried to remain out of it (68). The movement also drew pressure from UNAM authorities. The consequences have included the lack of credibility in unionism which exist nowadays among teachers. As a consequence there has grown up an inherent

contradiction between the proletarian character implicit in the new radical unions of the university teachers and the status and prestige that professionals have traditionally possessed. This is a rather different situation from that which developed among the primary school teachers.

The primary school teachers working for the SEP, although interested in raising their status, have faced very different divisions.

The SEP primary school teachers are not profesionistas. They have a long tradition in unionism: their union (the SNTE) is their main organization. They form their 'teams' inside their union to deal directly with the union's leaders in a struggle for power and influence. Hence several streams within the union try to attract the support of the rank-and-file teachers in order to gain more representation (69). In this case, the SNTE represents the main 'team' that promotes its members.

The SNTE, therefore, raises its 'loyal' members to important posts. However, primary teachers do not occupy the main posts in the Secretariat of Public Education because these are only offered to the members of the teams formed by the higher education graduates (the profesionistas) (70).

Thus primary school teachers are excluded from these positions because they do not possess the specialized knowledge of professionals. The SNTE bureaucracy has strongly resented this exclusion: its members feel rejected from posts which, in accordance with teachers' functions, should be occupied by them (71). Primary school teachers may occupy posts in the school and union hierarchy, and even move into the political life of the country. Nonetheless their posts in the hierarchy of the SEP are rarely as high as those occupied by the profesionistas who are members of the 'teams'.

Primary school teachers - with poor job conditions, with low income (72), have had a traditional involvement in social struggles (73). They have been identified as radicals as a result.

They have used trade unions tactics to demand salary increases and job security. The radicalism of these teachers began with their struggle against their own union's leaders in defence of the rights of the rank-and-file teachers (74). This was a response to the lack of representation that the SNTE developed towards its grass root members. The leaders formed a bureaucratic body which became more inclined to protect its power than to defend teachers (75).



Primary school teachers therefore have lost confidence in both the SEP authorities and the SNTE leaders. However it should be noted that some teachers have remained either loyal to the SNTE or outside the struggle. Hence it is easy to find teachers who perform extra curricular activities and fulfil unpaid voluntary duties, and those who are mainly interested in the relations they could make with important people, either members of the union or the SEP hierarchy, who are more interested in gaining certificates in order to increase their salary and advance their promotion (76).

Nevertheless there has been the organization of dissident groups within the union itself. Initially these groups appeared to be isolated, but they came together under the umbrella of the 'National Coordination of Workers of Education and Democratic Organizations of the SNTE', known as the CNTE (77).

The main demands put forward by this umbrella organization were of two types: economic, and the political. The economic demands were in terms of salary increase (78). The political demands aimed at obtaining representation for the leaders elected by the rank-and-file teachers as opposed to the 'Revolutionary Vanguard', closely related to SEP authorities (79). From 1979 to 1983, radical movements threatened the SNTE and the SEP bureaucracy (80).

The SEP and the SNTE bureaucratic elite reacted against radical teachers (81). The low status as professionals of primary school teachers became the theme of the attack used by the SEP authorities. They considered that the tactics used by radical teachers were "...contradictory to the dominant professional ethic..." (82).

UNAM teachers and SEP primary school teachers have different professional status. UNAM teachers through their condition as profesionistas have developed a peculiar relationship with the State. Their level of training as profesionistas permits them formally to take important State jobs; and their informal organization the 'team', decides who gets such jobs. In contrast SEP primary school teachers with lower status, have taken as their form of organization, the union.

The origins and forms of the radicalism of both groups of teachers, has then been shaped differently. UNAM teachers developed their radicalism through the formation of their unions, whereas the SEP primary school teachers became radicals with the organization of dissident groups against their own union's leaders. Both groups of radical teachers have therefore developed different styles of opposition to the State, which nevertheless remains the major source of opportunities for better training and security of employment.

How 'Mexican' these patterns are will now be assessed against the experience of teachers in Argentina and Peru in the next section.

#### PROFESSIONS, AND TEACHERS IN ARGENTINA AND PERU.

Argentina and Peru share certain basic similarities with Mexico in patterns of differential teacher status, differential training, and increasing pressures for the proletarianisation of teachers within large state dominated union bureaucracies. The differences include exist with their relations with the state, and the particular pressure of the military forms of authoritarianism.

Professionals in general in Peru and Argentina enjoy high social - even elitist - status. In Argentina this is namely in the private sector. The influence of professionals in the public arena is determined by the type of government in power. When a military government rules the country, major restrictions are placed on professionals. When a civilian government rules, less repression occurs, and there is a higher level of participation (83). In Peru, the relatively high status of professionals, especially in the public sector, has begun to be affected by the output of graduates from the

institutions of higher education, and by the increasing stress on technocratic and scientific training. The traditional concept of professions in the elitist universities has begun to break up (84). Juan Carlos Mariategui foresaw these changes which would affect the status of professionals. He considered that "with the growth in the industry, differences among classes would become more obvious and lead to the proletarianization of intellectuals. Hence, teachers, journalists, and commercial employees would organize themselves into unions" (85).

#### **University Teachers and Their Professional Status.**

The loss of status and prestige of university teachers and the broadening of the knowledge base has been common in the three countries. As indicated earlier, in Mexico, the increase in the number of students, and the lowering in teachers' standard of living as a result of the reduction of salaries, had begun to lead to what Oppenheimer classifies as the proletarianisation of professionals (86). In Peru, teachers experienced changes in their working conditions within their universities. They continued to teach in a traditional manner but they had no opportunity for research, thus universities became unable to provide courses necessary

to satisfy manpower demands in their country (87). Teachers found that new demands were made on them which they had neither the time nor the incentives to satisfy. Since university teachers had little opportunity for professional development, their specialization became more and more limited in its effectiveness (88).

In Argentina a similar situation affected universities which suffered a tremendous set back to the achievements of freedom, autonomy, and democratic participation as defined in the Cordoba Agreement (89). Military regimes considered that this reform favoured the politicization of universities, teachers and students, hence the authority of the military was jeopardised. Videla's regime tried to 'depoliticize' Argentinean universities, but "these efforts resulted in faculty and student activists being forced into exile and some imprisoned or killed" (90).

During the military regimes massive dismissals or resignations of teachers at the termination of their contracts took place. In addition, there was a "lack of a regular mechanism of selection, and professional development of the academic staff in Argentina" (91). This affected the quality of the universities reducing the professional prestige of

both, institutions and teachers. Highly qualified professionals migrated, and those who remained were either under the control of the military system or supported it (92).

Activism or criticism of the regime were considered dangerous for the system and teachers were forced to resign. This led to quietism among those teachers who remained in the country (93). The Argentinean state centred its efforts on the de-politicization of teachers. Peron for example said that "teachers should teach, and students learn... The consequences of the introduction of politics in the universities was regrettable, therefore the Government would not allow universities, considered sacred places, to become committees for political activities" (94).

In Peru the pressure and control over university teachers exerted by military regimes has also been high, but have not been as repressive as their Argentinean counterparts.

However, university teachers in Peru, as in Mexico and Argentina had to manage a changing role, in a context of poor training, and lack of suitable equipment for teaching and research in universities (95). University funds were also reduced (96). The consequences was protest and opposition

from teachers within "a system of education that is irrelevant to the real problems of a country, antiquated in methods and structures" (97). They were also stimulated by the groups of students confronting the State (98).

The protest and opposition brought them the condemnation of society which considered that their radical actions made them more interested in teaching politics than in the content of their subjects (99). Thus they were blamed for the low quality of teaching in the universities.

However, there is an important difference which emerges here. The theme of the unionisation of university teachers, while very noticeable in the Mexican context, is noticeable by its absence in Peru and Argentina. In Peru, there is no clear evidence of the formation of unions among university teachers in defence of their rights; and in Argentina, the situation is the same, perhaps because Peronist policies for the formation of unions were limited to workers groups, and did not extend into the university sector of high status professionals. In addition, there is a second interesting difference: the formation of "teams" as informal networks among university teachers (within their professional associations) and primary teachers (with their unions) - a characteristic of the Mexican situation - is absent in the Argentina and Peruvian cases.

Furthermore, the links with political parties is different in the three countries. In Mexico, there is only one main political party (the PRI), and both groups of teachers have had to work out a relationship within it. In Peru, different political parties influence the ideologies of different faculties. The most important influence comes from APRA and the left wing groups (100). Thus a fragmentation of teachers into different ideological groups, joined by students of the same persuasion, with links to different political parties has occurred (101). In Argentina, the strenuous interventions by the military has reduced the significance of links between groups of teachers and political parties. Although some erosion of military power has occurred, the military has for a long time been the major social actor.

The consequences have included the fact that whereas university teachers in Mexico have managed to organize their unionism, teachers in Argentina and Peru have conducted their radicalism more in terms of personal involvement in political movements through political parties, or in alliances with their students (102). Thus, in spite of similar pressures (including loss of income, and status) on university teachers in Argentina and Peru, there is no clear evidence of their unionism, or mass movements organized as a reaction against control within the universities as happened in Mexico.



### **Primary School Teachers and Their Professionalism.**

In Mexico upgrading the training of primary school teachers, took the form of both lengthening the number of years of training and moving teacher training into the higher education system (103). In Peru a similar situation occurred with the 1976 reform of education which stressed the need to train teachers to a higher point in the educational ladder (104). Teacher training would be offered in the 'Higher Schools for Teacher Education' [ESEP], for six to eight semesters, and the Professional Baccalaureate in Education would be awarded (105).

In contrast to the initially high social and professional position of university teachers (in Mexico, Peru, and Argentina), primary school teachers have held a lower social and professional position (in Mexico, Peru, and Argentina). What is also common in the three countries is the chance for members of the working or popular classes to use primary school teacher training as an avenue of upward social mobility. The three governments attempted reforms to upgrade the quality and level of qualification of primary teacher training.

The main variation has been in the local pattern of policies in the three countries. The chances of primary school teachers to make political alliances, often through their unions has varied sharply. In Mexico, the domination of the PRI, contrast with the existence of several political parties in Peru, and with the absence of links between teachers unions and political parties in Argentina.

These similarities and main variations are reviewed comparatively in what follows. In Peru, as in Mexico, while the status of primary school teachers was low both groups of teachers were expected to be self-sacrificing. For example, in Mexico, they were expected during the 1920's to perform a missionary role regardless of their economic needs (106). Similarly in Peru, in the rhetoric of at least one Peruvian scholar, teachers were considered to be "the one who have love as their highest value and also live to serve their countrymen" (107). Perhaps in compensation, both Mexican and Peruvian primary teachers saw normal schools as a path to social mobility and better status in society (108).

In this they were assisted by policies to improve the length of the training period. The level of training of Argentine primary school teachers was also low. It was a two-year cycle

after the two years of the "ciclo basico" [basic cycle] taken in secondary schools, adopted in 1970 (109). Later teacher training was offered in the "last two years of the secondary course followed by a two-year course at a higher teacher training institute, and with one semester of practical activities" (110).

Within this basic framing of the professional position of primary school teachers (as a function of their length of training) there are some subtle differences in status. In all three, rural teachers, because of their poorer training, have a lower professional status than urban teachers and are less well paid (111). However, within the three countries - within their local communities - rural teachers tend to have more status than urban teachers in the cities. This is mostly due to the fact that urban teachers, with their low status, are compared with university teachers who occupy the highest position as professionals and intellectuals of society. Rural teachers do not have the competition of university teachers, therefore they maintain a higher position among the members of the local elite. In this way they occupy a higher status in their communities compared with the low status of urban teachers (112).

The reactions to these questions of training, poor status and difficult working conditions of primary school teachers in all three countries has included the formation of unions. The long Mexican tradition has already been discussed and will be again (113). In Argentina, the reaction of primary school teachers has included the formation of several unions. One of them is the Unifying Committee of Teachers' Labour Activities [CUDAG] that gathered primary school teachers from all over the country (114). Another organization representing teachers was the Confederation of Teachers and Professors [CMP], but the strong repression imposed by the military government on teachers, gave this organization little power (115). Teachers suffered severe repression and were persecuted for their radicalism, and political position (116).

In Peru, teachers began their fight by trying to establish their identity as a group since they occupied an uncertain status which considered them neither professionals nor workers (117). The second step in their struggle was to attempt to gain the co-operation of the rest of their colleagues to back their demands for academic and financial improvements. Peruvian primary teachers initiated a movement to form unions, and gain strength in their economic demands (118). In this respect the radicalism of Peruvian primary school teachers followed a similar path to that of UNAM teachers in Mexico.

Peruvian primary school teachers focused on two important aspects, one was the definition of their identity, and the other was the acceptance of their proletarian conditions similar to those of workers. An important characteristic emerges in the organization of unions of Peruvian primary teachers, and it is the relation they have with the political parties of the country. There is here a certain similarity with the Mexican primary school teachers whose union, the SNTE, has close links with the SEP and the majoritarian political party PRI. Dissident groups get the support of the left wing parties.

In Peru, the strongest political parties try to infiltrate teachers' unions in order to gain representation among teachers. One of these is the APRA, which infiltrated the teachers' union, and gained their support by offering to represent them (119). The existence of different strong parties has thus helped the development of teachers' unionism. Teachers' unions in Peru have a wide choice of political representation - in sharp contrast to the case of primary school teachers in Argentina where there is no clear evidence of involvement by their unions with the political parties of the country.

## CONCLUSIONS.

Overall, a number of points emerge from the comparisons which help to locate the Mexican social formation in relation to the 'professional' position of teachers. With the general patterns of loss of status and income of teachers the experience of a variety of pressures from 'bureaucratic-authoritarian' or 'military-authoritarian' regimes. What emerges as especially 'Mexican' is the following.

Firstly, the Mexican situation is characterised by the informal structures of 'teams', which gain strength and influence in the Mexican State as a result of their links with the political elite. University teachers in Mexico require access to these 'teams' if they want to obtain upward mobility - professionally and politically.

Secondly, the struggle of many UNAM teachers is mostly against the university authorities; and their broader political links were slow to develop. In contrast the case of Argentina and to a lesser extent in Peru, due to the strong control exerted by the military regimes, university teachers developed their radicalism with more strength in terms of their political involvement. Hence their resistance was more

against the authoritarianism of the state - and military repression - than against the authorities in their universities.

Thirdly, among primary school teachers, unionism in Mexico developed early a proletarian characteristic. Their involvement in social struggles in defence of their rights or to support other workers became a tradition. This did not happen in Peru where teachers had to struggle first of all against their ambiguous status (as neither teachers nor professionals). Their organization of a union developed later. In Argentina there is no concrete evidence on the formation of primary school teachers' unions.

Fourthly, within Mexico, a particular form of struggle by primary school teachers against the State emerged within this long tradition of unionism. The cooption of union leaders meant that dissident groups had to insist on the rights of rank-and-file union members (against the power of the leaders of the unions).

Finally, it was suggested at the start of the chapter that the literature on professions, especially the traditional literature on professions, might not be perfectly and

immediately applicable to the Mexican Social and historical context. The middle section of this chapter - and the final section - concentrated on identifying the culturally specific ways in which teachers, and 'teaching as a profession' were located in the Mexican experience. At the simplest level what was established was that in a number of areas (e.g. in relations with the State, and in the historical styles of union formation - or resistance to union formation) the situation of Mexican teachers could not be handled, without cultural violence, through an application of a traditional model (e.g. Lieberman's). Traditional models of a profession tend to underestimate problems associated with the external relations of professions. However, while the radical perspective on professions (e.g. Oppenheimer, Haug, Perrucci) redressed this balance, their particular sub-categories (proletarianisation, de-professionalisation, and the concept of radical professionals) reflected American contemporary experience very strongly, and perhaps did historical violence to some periods within Mexican history. So the radical perspective, while quite useful in assessing aspects of Mexican experience, can not be simply transferred as an investigative model to Mexico.



The operational compromise which will be used therefore to review the Mexican experience of teachers in a bureaucratic-authoritarian State (in Chapters 3, 4, and 5) is to locate the analysis around four major categories. These categories are social class location and employment conditions of teachers, and training patterns and unionism. These categories refer both inward - to the internal characteristics of teachers as 'professionals'; and the State. It is against to these categories that the struggles for social, 'professional' and political space of Mexican teachers are now analysed in the remainder of the thesis.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

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- 2) MENDOZA Diaz, Alvaro, LA REVOLUCION DE LOS PROFESIONALES E INTELLECTUALES EN LATIN AMERICA [THE REVOLUTION OF PROFESSIONALS AND INTELLECTUALS IN LATIN AMERICA, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, UNAM, Mexico, 1962. GRINDLE, Merilee S., "Power Expertise and the 'Tecnico': Suggestions From a Mexican Case Study", JOURNAL OF POLITICS, No. 39:2, May 1977, 399-426. CLEAVES, Peter S., PROFESSIONS AND THE STATE: THE MEXICAN CASE, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1987.
- 3) Some of the numerous scholars who have worked the concepts of professions are among others, Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills. They consider that "a profession is really an ideal type of occupational institution". VOLLMER, Howard & MILLS, Donald, PROFESSIONALIZATION, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1966, p. 2. F.J.C. Seymour considers that "professionalism is a state of mind not a reality". SEYMOUR, F.J.C., "Occupational Images and Norms (Teaching)" (in) PROFESSIONALIZATION, Op. Cit. p. 129. Carr-Saunders and Wilson consider that "the sense of responsibility is called forth when the practice involves personal judgement, and the degree to which judgement is needed does not vary directly with the degree to which there is personal relation to clients".

SAUNDERS, Sir Alexander K.B.E. (Carr-) and WILSON, P.A..  
THE PROFESSIONS, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, Oxford,  
1933, p. 286.

- 4) Geoffrey Millerson defines a profession as "... a type of higher-grade, non manual occupation... possessing a well defined area of study or concern and providing a definite service, after advanced training and education".  
MILLERSON, Geoffrey, THE QUALIFYING ASSOCIATIONS. A STUDY IN PROFESSIONALIZATION, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964, p. 10 This general view must be also qualified by Joseph Ben-David's remark that "...there is no unequivocal definition of professions, but only a set of characteristics which are in different degrees present in an increasing number of occupations. Some occupations, therefore, may be considered as professions in one country, or at one time, but not in another or at different time". Cf. BEN-DAVID, Joseph, "Professions in the Class System of Present-Day Societies", CURRENT SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1963, pp. 256.
- 5) BUCHER, Rue and STRAUSS, Anselm, "Professions in Process", THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 66, 1961, p. 325.
- 6) Eliot Freidson considers that "the traditional view of the professions is that they are largely free of the

- hierarchical forms of social control characteristic of other kinds of occupations; instead they are self-regulating, subject only to informal collegial control". FREIDSON, Eliot, "The Changing Nature of Professional Control", ANNUAL REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY, 10, 1984, p. 1.
- 7) SCHUMPETER, J.A., IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL CLASSES, Oxford, 1951, pp. 133-221. Quoted by, JACKSON, John A., PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONALIZATION, Op. Cit., p. 7.
- 8) This special status emphasises class division in society and favours the creation of elitist organizations whose members occupy top posts in social and economic hierarchies. Cf. LARSON, Magali Sarfatti, THE RISE OF PROFESSIONALISM. A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977, pp. 227-228.
- 9) LIEBERMAN, Myron, EDUCATION AS A PROFESSION, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1956, pp. 2-6.
- 10) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, "The Proletarianization of the Professional", SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW MONOGRAPH, No. 20, 1973, pp. 213-227. HAUG, Marie R., "Deprofessionalization: An Alternate Hypothesis for the Future", THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW MONOGRAPH, Vol. 20, 1973, pp.195-211. PERRUCCI, Robert, "In the Service of Man: Radical Movements in the Professions", THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW MONOGRAPH, Vol. 20, 1973, pp. 179-194.

- 11) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, Op. Cit.; HAUG, Marie, Op. Cit.;  
and PERRUCCI, Robert, Op. Cit.
- 12) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, Op. Cit., p. 217.
- 13) Cf. Ibid, pp. 223.
- 14) Cf. Ibid, pp. 215 & 217.
- 15) Ibid, p. 214.
- 16) Ibid, p. 223.
- 17) Cf. Ibid, p. 223.
- 18) Ibid, p. 224
- 19) Ibid, p. 225.
- 20) HAUG, Marie R., "Deprofessionalization: An Alternate  
Hypothesis for the Future", Op. Cit., p. 197.
- 21) Cf. Ibid, p. 197.
- 22) Here Haug identifies three disparate trends. The first  
is the 'specialization' which emphasises the division of  
occupations "into smaller... slivers, with each  
encompassing a narrow task domain, supposedly in greater  
depth and with greater skill". This has led to the  
development of the second trend, the 're-aggregation' of  
labour, which reacts against specialization of blue and  
white collar workers, and tries to lead them to recombine  
"formerly divided tasks into their original wholes". The  
third trend is the 're-organization' and 'reconstruction'

of professions "in terms of a power struggle involving old practitioners, new job claimants, and clients". HAUG, Marie R., Op. Cit., pp. 197-198.

- 23) Ibid, p. 198.
- 24) Cf. Ibid, p. 199.
- 25) Cf. Ibid, p. 204.
- 26) Cf. Ibid, p. 206.
- 27) Cf. PERRUCCI, Robert, Op. Cit., p. 186.
- 28) Ibid, p. 186.
- 29) Ibid, p. 186.
- 30) Ibid, p. 189.
- 31) The first dilemma "is the apparent disjunction between the critical analysis by movement organizations and their specific action programmes. The second dilemma is created by the optimism of radical professionals for the solution of the problems through "the application of technology and expertise which is guided by a more humane set of values". The third dilemma "is based on the recognition by radical professionals that it may not be possible for them to do their work without in some way aiding the establishment powers which they oppose". The fourth dilemma is "to maintain their radical vision and life style in the face of competing professional roles which are changed-oriented but less radical in nature". PERRUCCI, Robert, Op. Cit., pp. 189-192.

- 32) According to Perrucci, if this occurs, professionals will "remain caught between their dependence upon employing organizations and their opposition to the practices of their profession, never able to rise above their professional class to become a truly revolutionary group". PERRUCI, Robert, Op. Cit., p. 193.
- 33) OZGA, Jennifer & LAWN, Martin, TEACHERS, PROFESSIONALISM AND CLASS: A STUDY OF ORGANIZED TEACHERS, The Falmer Press, London, 1981. LARSON, Magali Sarffati, THE RISE OF PROFESSIONALISM. A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, Op. Cit. PARRY, Noel & Jose, "The Teachers and Professionalism; the Failure of an Occupational Strategy" (in) FLUDE, Michael & AHIER, John (Eds.), EDUCABILITY, SCHOOLS AND IDEOLOGY, Croom Helm, London, 1974, 160-185.
- 34) See: FREIDSON, Eliot, Op. Cit., p. 1.
- 35) The General Directorate of Professions, Section of the Secretariat of Public Education, controls the practice of any profession. Anyone who practices a profession needs to obtain the "Cedula Profesional" ['Professional Licence'] which authorizes them to perform professional activities on a specific field.
- 36) Specifically the "Cedula Profesional" is the number which guarantees the legal acceptance of those who practice a profession.



- 37) Cf. CLEAVES, Peter S., PROFESSIONS AND THE STATE: THE MEXICAN CASE, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1987, p. 62.
- 38) Cf. Ibid, p. 84.
- 39) Ibid, p. 84.
- 40) Cf. Ibid, p. 45.
- 41) Cf. Ibid, pp. 56-57.
- 42) Cf. CLEAVES, Peter S., Op. Cit., pp. 68-69.
- 43) The importance of the lawyers' role in the political arena of the country diminished as is shown by Cleaves in the analysis he made of their dominance in cabinet posts. He says that "lawyers occupied 52.9% of these positions at the beginning of the Lopez Mateos government (1958-1964), the figure dropped to 16.7% by the end of the Lopez Portillo administration (1976-1982). Those who fell completely from favour under the same administration were engineers". CLEAVES, Peter S., Op. Cit., p. 95.
- 44) CLEAVES, Peter S., Op. Cit., p. 13.
- 45) Ibid, p. 44.
- 46) See: JOHNSON, Terence, Professions and Power, Macmillan Education, London, 1986, and PARSONS, Talcott, "The Professions and Social Structure" (in) ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY, The Free Press, New York, 1966, pp. 32-37.

- 47) Private employers are also unable to compete with the State in their capacity to employ graduates. Cf. CLEAVES, Peter S., Op. Cit., p. 46.
- 48) IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 49.
- 49) The Rector of the University, Octavio Rivero Serrano, declared in august 1982 that the university had "to conciliate the number of students with the academic quality (so the university should be ready) to attend the large number of students but without necessarily accepting a low academic level" (Speech of Octavio Rivero Serrano to the National Association of Lawyers, 10 August 1982, and Conference of the 24 November 1982 in the "Antigua Escuela de Medicina". Leaflets, pp. 5 & 20 respectively. (in) MENSAJES Y DISCURSOS DEL RECTOR [MESSAGES AND SPEECHES OF THE RECTOR]. Quoted by JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [AUTHORITARIANISM OF UNAM GOVERNMENT], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 2nd Edition, Mexico, 1987, p. 243.
- 50) IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 45.
- 51) Ibid, p. 55.
- 52) LEON, Alvarez Alberto, "La Profesionalizacion de la Ensenanza" ["Professionalisation of Teaching"], (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., p. 128.

- 53) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., pp. 219-220.
- 54) See: Ibid, pp. 217-218.
- 55) DE MIGUEL, Armando, DIAGNOSTICO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD [DIAGNOSTIC OF THE UNIVERSITY]. Quoted by JIMENEZ Mier y Teran, Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 210.
- 56) Because of these problems, the university authorities tried to create the concept of a "university career", with full time staff. This increased the expectations of university teachers in two areas. Firstly as full-time staff they are supposed to perform teaching and research activities; but with this they expect to have better salaries. IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 49.
- 57) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, Op. Cit., p. 225.
- 58) PERRUCCI, Robert, Op. Cit., p. 186.
- 59) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, "The Proletarianization of the Professional", Op. Cit., p. 215.
- 60) Cf. CARRIZALES, Retamoza Cesar, "La Formacion de Profesores en la Educacion Superior" ["The Training of Higher Education Teachers"], (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Foro Universitario, Mexico, 1984, p.102.
- 61) See the origin of AAPAUNAM in WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Sindicato y Autoridades Mueven sus Primeras Piezas"

- ["Union and University Authorities Present Their First Strategies"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM] No. 67, Epoch II, June 1986, Mexico, D.F., pp. 9-18.
- 62) OPPENHEIMER, Martin, Op. Cit., p. 224.
- 63) IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 49.
- 64) HAUG, Marie R. & Sussman, Marvin B., "Professionalization and Unionism" Op. Cit., p. 528.
- 65) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "La Asamblea Constitutiva" ["The Meeting to Form the Union"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 22, Epoch II, September 1982, Mexico, D.F., pp. 33-34.
- 66) Cf. WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Esbozo Historico de las Asociaciones Autonomas del Personal Academico" ["Historic Perspective of the Autonomous Associations of the Academic Staff"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 14, Epoch II, January 1982, Mexico, D.F., pp. 49-53.
- 67) The AAPAUNAM however became a bureaucratic organization since it modified its demands which initially were related to the academic development of its members. Today, it is more concerned with the increase in professors' salaries, and the security of their posts. Thus the activities of this association, are, nowadays, closer to those carried out by workers' unions than a professional association. Cf. MORALES, Aragon Eliezer,

- "Apuntes Para la Rectificacion y Cambio del Sindicalismo Universitario" ["Notes for the Rectification and Change of Unionism in the University"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., pp. 268-269. and See Chapter 5, and WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Los Academicos Ante la Huelga del STEUNAM" ["The Academic Staff and the Strike of STEUNAM"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 17, Epoch II, April 1982, Mexico, D.F., pp. 43-44.
- 68) Cf. STEPHAN-OTTO P., Erwin, "Organizacion del Trabajo y la Universidad" ["Organization of Work and the University"], Op. Cit., pp. 232-233.
- 69) Streams within the SNTE are more defined by their ideological tendencies, and dominate the union according to their agreements and loyalty with the governments in office. Some of the main streams in the SNTE are the 'Revolutionary Movement of Teachers' [MRM] of moderate left wing tendencies, and the 'Normalist Group' of left wing ideology among other more radical groups.
- 70) The mobility of members of the bureaucratic elite of the SNTE is more to political posts such as municipal presidents, deputies, and even governors. Carlos Alberto Torres specifies the number of posts occupied by members

of this elite. TORRES, Carlos Alberto, THE CORPORATIST STATE, HEGEMONIC POLITICS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN MEXICO (1970-1982), FLACSO, Mexico, Edmonton, 1985, pp. 24-25.

- 71) Cf. TORRES, Carlos Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 27-29.
- 72) In 1982 inflation was of 100%, and teachers obtained a total increment of 56%. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO. TOMO I [TEACHERS AND THE STATE. VOLUME I], Editorial Linea, Universidad Autonoma de Guerrero, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas, Mexico, 1984, p. 142.
- 73) A detailed account of the involvement of primary school teachers in the social struggles of rural areas is found in RABY, David, EDUCACION Y REVOLUCION SOCIAL EN MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN MEXICO], SEP-Setentas, Mexico, 1974.
- 74) The primary school teachers' union, the SNTE, was created on 30th December 1943, from a merger of several teachers' unions. But the bureaucratization of its administrative body forced radical teachers to struggle against union leaders in defence of the rank-and-file teachers. Information about the control of union leaders and the reaction of radical teachers is given by SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 209-227. and

in SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO. TOMO II [TEACHERS AND THE STATE. VOLUME I], Editorial Linea, UAG, UAZ, Mexico, 1984, pp. 39-98

- 75) The union leaders form the bureaucratic elite of the SNTE, and since 1973 the group forming this elite is "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" ['Revolutionary Vanguard']. This groups has been one of the most repressive groups the SNTE has ever had. An important account of the power of the union's leaders is offered by: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Volumes I, Op. Cit., pp. 197-227.
- 76) An account of teachers' attitudes towards their role and the difficulties of the teachers' task and the manoeuvres of the SNTE for the control of teachers is offered by SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Volume I, Op. Cit., and by FUENTES, Molinar Olac, EDUCACION Y POLITICA EN MEXICO [EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN MEXICO], Editorial Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1983, pp. 49-99.
- 77) The CNTE is the organization which gathers together several dissident groups. See: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, (Vol. II), Op. Cit., pp. 39-98.
- 78) The SNTE had traditionally obtained salary increases which were always the result of agreements with the SEP

authorities. The increases offered reached the level established by the SEP regardless of teachers' needs. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, (Vol. I), Op. Cit., p. 142.

- 79) There is an important account offered by Samuel Salinas and Carlos Imaz of the power exerted by "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" on all the delegations of the union in the country. This power is reached through the imposition of leaders loyal to "Vanguardia". See: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, (Vol. I), Op. Cit., pp. 62-65.
- 80) The dissident movements organized by radical teachers of the CNTE are described by SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, in their Volume II, Op, Cit. and by FUENTES, Molinar Olac, Op. Cit., pp. 51-53, 59-65, and 70-95.
- 81) The SEP and the leaders of the SNTE initiated a campaign against radical teachers and their dissident movement. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, (Vol. II), Op. Cit., pp. 61-62 and 165-166.
- 82) OZGA, Jennifer & LAWN, Martin, Op. Cit., p. 34.
- 83) Cf. OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment" (in) RUDOLPH, James D. ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Foreign Area Studies, The American University, Washington, D.C., pp. 109 & 113.



- 84) Cf. CLEAVES, Peter S. & SCURRAH, Martin J., AGRICULTURE, BUREAUCRACY, AND MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN PERU, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1980, pp. 80-82.
- 85) MARIATEGUI, Jose Carlos, SIETE ENSAYOS DE INTERPRETACION DE LA REALIDAD PERUANA [SEVEN ESSAYS INTERPRETING THE PERUVIAN REALITY], Biblioteca Amauta, 13 Edition, Lima, 1968, p. 101.
- 86) 'Proletarianization', OPPENHEIMER, Martin, Op. Cit., pp. 213-215.
- 87) Cf. DARCY, Ribeiro, "Universities and Social Development" (in) ELITES IN LATIN AMERICA, LIPSET Seymour, Martin & SOLARI, Aldo E., Oxford University Press, New York, 1967, p. 347.
- 88) Cf. Ibid, p. 348.
- 89) The agreement reached in the University of Cordoba, Argentina in 1918 was a result of the Congress of Latin American Universities. This agreement united universities throughout Latin America in a progressive movement aiming at their autonomy and academic freedom. OSTERLING, Jorge P., "Society and Its Environment" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 112.
- 90) Ibid, p. 112.
- 91) CANO, Daniel, LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN LA ARGENTINA [HIGHER EDUCATION IN ARGENTINA], FLACSO-CRESAL/UNESCO, Grupo Editorial Latinoamericano, Buenos Aires, 1985, p. 82.

- 92) Cf. OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment", Op. Cit., p. 113.
- 93) Ibid, p. 112.
- 94) Universidad de Buenos Aires, ACTO DE PROMULGACION DE LA LEY UNIVERSITARIA [PROMULGATION OF THE UNIVERSITY LAW], 1947, p. 23. Quoted by: TEDESCO, Juan Carlos, "Modernizacion y Democratizacion en la Universidad Argentina. Un Panorama Historico" (in) DOONER, Patricio & LAVADOS, Ivan, LA UNIVERSIDAD LATINOAMERICANA. VISION DE UNA DECADA [THE LATINAMERICAN UNIVERSITY. PERSPECTIVE OF A DECADE], Corporacion de Promocion Universitaria, CPU, Santiago de Chile, 1979, pp. 276-277.
- 95) BERNALES, B. Enrique, "Universidad y Sistemas Sociopoliticos: El Caso Peruano" ["The University and Sociopolitical Systems: The Peruvian Case"] (in) LA UNIVERSIDAD LATINOAMERICANA. VISION DE UNA DECADA [LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY: PERSPECTIVE OF A DECADE], Op. Cit., pp.448-449.
- 96) The atmosphere of dissatisfaction created among teachers and students meant that universities in Peru became centres for the politicization of students. Cf. BERNALES, B. Enrique, Ibid, pp. 448-449.
- 97) ALBA, Victor, PERU, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1977, p. 184.

- 98) BERNALES, B. Enrique, Op. Cit., p. 475.
- 99) Cf. Ibid, p. 448.
- 100) Ibid, p. 485.
- 101) The confrontation of ideologies of the different groups is evident, according to Enrique Bernales, in the three types of university they demand. First the group supported by the dominant socio-political system propose a traditional university; the second group, the radical sectors, Marxist or Maoist line, propose a 'popular' and revolutionary university with politics as its main priority; and the third group, the Christian-Democrats, propose a modern and democratic university which could conciliate the academic and the technocrat content of knowledge. BERNALES, B. Enrique, Op. Cit., p. 485.
- 102) OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment", ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 109. Also see BERNALES, B. Enrique, Op. Cit., p. 485.
- 103) See: Chapter 5, Section Three.
- 104) BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; PEZO, del Pino Cesar; and PEIRANO, Falconi Luis, LA CONDICION DEL MAESTRO EN EL PERU [CONDITIONS OF THE TEACHER IN PERU], DESCO, Centro de Estudios y Promocion del Desarrollo, Lima, 1979, pp. 77.
- 105) PEZO, del Pino Cesar; BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; and PEIRANO, Falconi Luis, EL MAGISTERIO Y SUS LUCHAS. 1885-

- 1978 [TEACHERS AND THEIR STRUGGLES. 1885-1978], DESCO, Centro de Estudios y Promocion del Desarrollo, Lima, 1978, p. 63.
- 106) The missionary role of primary school teachers was stressed during the term of Jose Vasconcelos as Secretary of Education (1920-1924). Chapter 3 analyses the missionary role of these teachers and their involvement with social struggles. RABY, David, Op. Cit., also offers an important account of this role.
- 107) BARRANTES, Emilio, PEDAGOGIA [PEDAGOGY], UNMSM, Lima, 1966. Quoted by: BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; PEZO, del Pino Cesar & PEIRANO, Falcon Luis, p. 20.
- 108) BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; PEZO, del Pino Cesar; and PEIRANO, Falconi Luis, Op. Cit., pp. 17-18 or 77.
- 109) OLIVEROS, Alonso Angel, LA FORMACION DE LOS PROFESORES EN AMERICA LATINA [TEACHER TRAINING IN LATIN AMERICA], Promocion Cultural/ Editorial de la UNESCO, Barcelona, 1975, p. 123.
- 110) BRITISH Council, ARGENTINA, The British Council, London, 1978, p. 14.
- 111) See: RABY, David, Op. Cit.
- 112) BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; PEZO, del Pino Cesar; and PEIRANO, Falconi Luis, Op. Cit., pp. 17-18.
- 113) In Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of the thesis, and in Section Four of each chapter.

- 114) In 1960 the Unifying Committee of Teachers' Labour Activities [CUDAG] had nearly 250,000 members. LORENZO, Carmen, SITUACION DEL PERSONAL DOCENTE EN AMERICA LATINA [THE SITUATION OF ACADEMIC STAFF IN LATIN AMERICA], Editorial Universitaria/ UNESCO, Santiago de Chile-Paris, 1969, pp. 298-299.
- 115) Ibid, pp. 298-299.
- 116) OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment" (in) ARGENTINA: A COUNTRY STUDY, Op. Cit., p. 109.
- 117) BALLON, Echegaray Eduardo; PEZO, del Pino Cesar and PEIRANO, Falconi Luis, Op. Cit., pp. 87-88.
- 118) Ibid, pp. 87-88.
- 119) Ibid, p. 118.

## CHAPTER 3.

### TEACHERS' STRUGGLES: 1920 - 1940.

Chapter Three concentrates on the struggles for social, professional and political space of two groups of teachers in the years 1920 to 1940. The purpose of the chapter is to show that the social origins, arenas of struggle, and consequences of the professional and political actions of university and primary school teachers were very different - but that both were responding to pressures placed upon them by the changing nature of the Mexican State.

The argument of the chapter is that the way two groups of teachers responded in the authoritarian Mexican context was a function of their social and work location. That is, their social origins, the type of training they received, the institutions in which they worked and the extent to which they were influenced by an ideology of professionalism, all produced different patterns of response to pressures from the State, and produced different levels of State control over them.

In pursuing this argument, the chapter uses the following sub-structure. First, there is a contextualization of the

historical periods before and immediately after the 1910 Revolution, which established the basic patterns of State pressures on teachers, and varied responses by them. Secondly, the analysis settles into a detailed account of the social class origin and employment conditions of both groups of teachers. Thirdly, the chapter analyses the trends of training that both groups of teachers experienced. And fourthly, the chapter reviews the tensions and difficulties associated with the formation of professional organizations and unions.

#### EDUCATION AND ITS POLICIES.

#### **The Pre-Revolutionary Period: Social Context, Education, and the Emerging Lines of Struggle.**

The Porfirio Diaz dictatorship (1876-1911) was a period when "political peace and stability were made the basis for economic advancement, for rapid, forced industrialization" (1). However, deep social class divisions continued: "only 1% of the population owned 97% of the national territory" (2).

The middle classes had access to education, particularly "...the middle classes of the urban centres..." (3). However,

the access of the middle class to wealth and political power was restricted; although there was some access to posts of a certain political influence: "the bureaucracy was expanded 900 per cent under Diaz, absorbing many educated persons" (4). These forms of stratification affected teachers, too, of course, in terms of their training and their reactions to the social context.

By law, the popular classes, peasants, indigenous population, and workers, could have access to education, but their living and working conditions prevented them from taking up this benefit. This was evident in that 86% of these classes who were unable to read and write (5). Even worse, persons of Indian origin, were considered to be incapable of change or development and views emerged that they were there "to be exploited and possibly eliminated in the name of the exalted goal, material progress" (6).

Education then was a privilege available only to the a small minority in a society which was deeply stratified in economic, social, political and educational (7) terms.

Elementary school teachers had limited training (8), poor working conditions and salaries, and low social prestige (9).



The training in normal schools was a four-year course after primary school. Although elementary teacher training expanded, and normal schools grew from 72 in 1878 to 2,552 in 1907 (10), the number remained insufficient to train the teachers required. Thus the majority of primary school teachers in 1910 did not have a degree. For example, in the State of Durango "77 teachers out of 316 had normal school degrees... in Campeche, only 14 teachers had normal school training, 106 did not" (11).

However, the context of the work of elementary school teachers - poor working conditions and low social prestige - produced not one but two kinds of reaction: "on the one hand absenteeism, apathy, and boredom, and, on the other, political insubordination" (12). The absenteeism, apathy and boredom are perhaps immediately understandable. However, political subordination is a more complex reaction and needs a little discussion.

Teachers had a certain amount of autonomy from the municipal power structure - schooling was not too important at that time (13). In addition "the bureaucracy of the "Porfiriato" was not well enough developed... (to exert pressure over teachers) through a well-developed bureaucratic chain of command)" (14).

Thus many elementary school teachers became dissidents who spread propaganda against the Diaz regime. They became a group: especially after the 1910 Revolution when the similarity in the problems they suffered (poor training, poor working conditions, low salaries, their contact with social inequalities, and their peasant or working class background) brought them together (15). These circumstances stimulated the formation of their identity, and their organization. Their lack of training was replaced by their commitment to their task and to the social problems they saw in their communities (16). They found some support in the liberal, and socialist rhetoric of the State which stimulated their involvement in social struggles. And their own lack of social and intellectual status left primary school teachers free to support and even join workers' and peasants' organizations.

University teachers had high professional prestige which emanated from their specialized knowledge, which at least some of them had obtained in their training abroad (17). Although the University of Mexico was supposed to be "modern, related to the struggles of society as well as the historic events" (18), in reality, it remained elitist and removed from social struggles, such as the 1910 Revolution. Thus some revolutionaries argued that the university in Mexico "had produced a proletariat of bureaucrats and theorists rather than practical men of action..." (19).

This was partly a result of the different type of training university teachers received (when compared to primary school teachers). Teachers from the National University of Mexico were the "profesionistas" of society. They had obtained certificates from higher education institutions after having had more than twice the years of schooling that the primary teachers received. Before 1910 university teachers were trained in professional schools operating in Mexico City: the National Preparatory School, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Engineering including a Department of Architecture, the School of Fine Arts, and the School of Higher Studies (20). These schools were a traditional pattern in the content of the subjects, and in their social and political ethos.

University teachers were, then, somewhat blocked by their own professional training and their status in society from being concerned with the struggles of the popular classes. Thus after the 1910 Revolution, some of them later opposed the socialist ideology of some of the governments. However, the strength of this ideology stimulated an existing division among University teachers. Two groups of teachers emerged in the University: the conservatives and radicals.

The conservative teachers believed in their high status in society, and did not consider their involvement in social struggles suitable to their status as 'professionals'. Paradoxically however, some of these teachers were members of the group 'Youth of Athenians' ["Ateneo de la Juventud"] created by intellectuals in 1909 to oppose the positivist ideology of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship (21). This position led them later to be "involved in one way or another in service to the revolutionary governments" (22).

However, they were not of the main group of radical teachers who had fully assimilated liberal and left wing ideologies. These radical teachers were concerned with social inequalities, the revolutionary struggle, and strongly rejected the concept of elitist pure knowledge. For them, the University should be involved in social problems, be open to everyone, and be separated from the culture of the state (23).

The conservative group of teachers was strongly affected by their self-perception as high status professionals. The radical teachers, a minority, on the other hand were ready to accept an identification with social problems. This ambiguity in, and conflict about, the role of the University and the University teachers was highlighted more broadly in the Post-revolution period.

There remained a tension between the new progressive ideas of the post-revolutionary governments, which embraced an ideology of revolution and nationalism, and the older ideas imported from Europe about "civilization", the deficiencies of Mexico - and the idea of a 'pure' university (24). However the struggle was also fought out over education and schooling as a whole.

#### **Post-Revolutionary Governments.**

The post-revolutionary governments, following the principles of the 1910 Revolution, tried to end social inequalities, to stimulate a Mexican identity through nationalism, and to encourage the development of the country. Education was given an important role for the achievement of these aims. It would transmit the revolutionary values, and help in the construction of a new Mexico (25).

The authorities of education also adopted some of the pre-revolutionary ideas of Justo Sierra, and believed that "obligatory public instruction was necessary to national survival and growth, to the development of production, to the unification of the country, and to the maintenance of political order" (26). This principle also reflected the

middle class background of the authorities which made them to consider social inequalities a result of personal characteristics. Thus they believed that the poor background of the popular classes was more a result of their own deficiencies rather than of the oppression and inequalities under which these classes had lived for a long time (27). However, "civilization", often with a European flavour, was an explicit goal. Education would help the poor, backward, Mexicans to become 'civilized': "...civilization, even with all its cruelties, was the only way to stimulate development, and achieve adaptation to a better way of life for the deprived population and make them high achievers" (28).

This effort to 'civilize' Mexicans was a difficult task since the Diaz dictatorship, and the armed struggle had left the country impoverished. The first post-revolutionary governments were interested in pacify the country. Education, therefore, did not receive immediate attention.

However, Francisco I. Madero, the first post-revolutionary president (1911-1913), attempted, through his Under Secretary of Education, Alberto J. Pani, to attend to the education of the rural population. Thus the creation of 'basic schools' in rural areas was authorized by the Federal government by a

law passed by Congress in June 1911 (29). These schools aimed "to teach the indigenous and peasant population how to talk, read, and write Spanish as well as mastering basic arithmetical sums" (30).

However the implementation of these aims were affected by the struggles for power in the new State. The Venustiano Carranza government (1914-1919), in an attempt to control education, closed the Secretariat of Public Instruction and Fine Arts putting the administration of education into the hands of the municipalities (31). This measure brought great disruption to the finances of each school, and to teachers' salaries because the poorer municipalities could not afford the funds needed to maintain them.

Further inequalities grew from these measures. Differences between schools located in rich municipalities, and those in the poor areas became more evident (32). Measures to solve these problems were urgently needed, but the uncertain conditions of the country made the decisions difficult to implement.

The social programmes for the benefit of the popular classes faced contradictions. On the one hand there was the intent

to develop these classes, and on the other there was the strong interest in maintaining the State's control. Through education the State tried to benefit the popular classes, who had been instrumental in bringing about changes during the 1910 Revolution, (but without forgetting the demands of the upper classes, and the new members of the ruling elite (33)). The State made education the path of both development and the control of the popular classes: access to schools was creating expectations of mobility among them.

In these processes of development and control, the teachers' role was crucial. Hence a main purpose of the State began to offer better training and salaries to teachers, - but the struggles for power, in the construction of the new State, continued to lead to disharmony and unrest which had serious repercussions on the quality of education (34). The struggle for power became evident in the Congress over discussions about the new Constitution. Conservatives from the right wing, and radicals of left wing ideology tried to impose different ideologies - with clear implications for the conception of education, hence the role of teachers (35).

Conservatives favoured complete freedom of teaching leading to partial secularization. Schools funded by the government



should be the only fully secularized institutions, while private schools should be free to include religious subjects in their curriculum. State schools should, by law, not charge fees. Radicals, on the contrary, stressed that education, at its primary, elementary, and higher levels, should be completely secular in both types of schools, the State and private (36).

Radicals finally imposed their concept of secular education as opposed to the vision of the conservatives and the church. The National Constitution established in its Article 3 that education should be free and secular in all the official institutions of education as well as in the primary, elementary, and higher education in private schools. No religious organizations or priests of any religion should administer or teach in primary schools. Private schools would only exist under the supervision of the government. Primary school should be compulsory (37). Overall, Article 3, as it related to education, made clear the anti-religious ideology prevalent among the radicals. Education would benefit the popular classes and be free of the control of the conservatives and the church (38).

The implementation of the secular policies of Article Three began to take shape with the creation of the Secretariat of

Public Education, in October 1921. With this, the State tried to organize a structure which could educate the popular classes under its ideology. This however still contained the contradictions: the new politicians oscilated in their belief in the Mexican inheritance, because of their conviction of the validity of the European values. For example Jose Vasconcelos as the first Secretary of Education, "viewed indigenouse education as incorporation into the dominant European culture and objected to permanent special and separate indigenouse schooling" (39).

Vasconcelos, however, initiated the programmes which stressed the creation of rural primary schools. These programmes needed many resources as well as teachers who would be willing to work in remote areas. This group of teachers, known as 'missionaries' had to create schools in rural communities, and also trained local people to become teachers in poor basic schools known as 'Houses of the People' ["Casa del Pueblo"] (40). These schools were for both children and adults, who received equal attention because "the lack of opportunities for adults could hinder children's learning" (41).

In carrying through these policies, the Plutarco Elias Calles government (1924-1928) emphasised the power of the State over the church and conservatives. The new government decided to follow Article 3 of the National Constitution to the letter. Thus, the 'Regulations for the Inspection of Private Primary Schools in the Federal District, and Federal Territories' were approved on the 22nd of July 1926 (42). This document was expected to tighten the control over private primary schools ensuring their respect for Article 3, and increase the secularization of education.

The church and conservatives reacted against this measure resulting in the conflict known as the "Cristero" Rebellion (43). The conflict became a political and social confrontation in which teachers, mainly from rural areas, became deeply involved. Strong fanaticism and bitter persecution of radical teachers developed mainly in conservative areas of the country, and in some cases resulted in violence and death. David L. Raby (44) gives clear details of the ordeals experienced by rural teachers supporting secular and socialist education, and Alberto Bremauntz (45) offers a list of the names of those teachers who died during this conflict (46). The "Cristero" Rebellion deepened class division in society, and the differences between rural and urban teachers became more evident.

In spite of this division between urban and rural teachers, both groups managed to participate actively and constructively in the solution of many problems in their local communities. In rural areas teachers helped peasants in their struggles for lands (47), and urban teachers got to know the problems ordinary of workers (48). Many teachers therefore became aware of the importance of their role and began to identify with the political and economic problems in society. Teachers reaction against those policies affected their already precarious salaries, and their lack of security in employment (49).

With the socialist government of Lazaro Cardenas (1934-1940) teachers' radicalism became more acceptable since their organizations became official (50). Socialist education was officially adopted with the reform to Article 3 of the National Constitution approved in October 1934 (51). With the support of this new policy, radical teachers became involved in left wing ideology whether through personal conviction, or because of politics. During the decade of the 1930's many teachers were members of the Communist Party, though it is difficult to establish the precise numbers. Alberto Bremauntz suggests that "in June 1937, the Communist Party was reported

to have 17,000 members, and a third part of this were teachers" (52). There also existed a group of atheist teachers who, in 1934, formed the 'League of Atheist Teachers' in the state of Tabasco (53).

The involvement of primary school teachers in political affairs, and their high politicization was, no doubt, encouraged by the ideology and policies of the government. Socialism inspired policies with strong populism. This ideology also tried, through nationalism, to unite Mexicans, and solve the deep divisions existing in the country as a result of the religious problem. Hence a campaign for the 'Mexicanization' of the country and the revival of the Mexican culture was undertaken (54).

Primary school teachers' radicalism during this period contrasts with the low involvement of university teachers in the social struggles of the country. The social class and conservative ideology of these teachers stimulated elitism in the university. This meant that the process of change in the university was slower.

In this process, the formal granting of autonomy to the National University of Mexico, in 1929 (55), compounded the differences between radical and conservative teachers.

Conservative teachers and their students were mostly concerned with the autonomy of the University from the State. This would give the university the opportunity to form its own government, to create advising councils for each faculty or school, and to facilitate the co-operation of teachers with these bodies (56). Thus for the conservative teachers the autonomy of the university represented its liberation from the control of the Mexican State, the reinforcement of its elitist position in society, and its opposition to the socialist policies of the State.

The controversy between both groups of teachers continued since two rectors from the radical groups, while in office, opposed the position of the conservatives. Rector Jose Lopez Lira declared that the University should be "socialist and revolutionary" (57), and Rector Ignacio Garcia Tellez (1929-1932) was considered to hold extreme left wing views. According to conservatives, the latter was imposed by the government to guard the "ideals of the State in such a way that the autonomy of the University was becoming a myth, and freedom was at risk because the government did not create the environment in which to develop it" (58).

Conservative teachers judged that the State was trying to reinforce its control over the university by putting economic pressure on it (59), by imposing its own ideology, and by impeding academic freedom (60). Conservative teachers therefore continued in their effort to impose their traditional ideology in the university (61). Their position was indirectly strengthened by the 'Organic Law' in 1933 which established that the university's major function was to participate in the development of education in the country, secondly, to stimulate research activities, and lastly to diffuse and encourage culture (62). The law, in other words, failed to clarify a social role for the university, and this uncertainty stimulated the confrontation between radical and conservative teachers.

Radical teachers, in an attempt to gain strength, formed the National Council of Higher Education and Scientific Research which tried to ensure that education and research in the university were based on the principles of Scientific Socialism. Students would be trained in this proposal, to participate in the political and economic transformation of the country and would be prepared to involve themselves in the problems of the popular classes (63). Through such measures the University became not only its main educational

institution in Mexico, but also the main critic of the State. However the struggle continued between those teachers seeking an identity as traditional professionals, and others seeking an identity as radical reformers, under the general influence of the socialist ideology of the State.

By the end of the 1920-1940 period, the socialist policies of the Lazaro Cardenas government had not ended social inequalities, nor had the differences between primary school and university teachers in terms of their professional status disappeared.

However, in the efforts to diminish social inequalities and in the efforts to define a role and status by both primary and university teachers, a crucial pattern - basic to the rest of the century - had emerged. Primary school teachers developed their radicalism in the social arena through their involvement in the struggles of the popular classes to which most of them belonged. University teachers developed their radicalism mostly within the university arena in their struggle against conservative teachers and university authorities, as became evident later on. This difference was partly related to the social location of both groups of teachers, which is now analysed.



## **SOCIAL CLASS ORIGIN OF TEACHERS, CLASS DIVISIONS, AND EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS.**

This section analyses the class division of society during the post-revolutionary period (1920-1940), amid the political struggles for power, and the economic development of the country. The purpose of the section is to identify the class origin of primary school and university teachers. It will be argued that the social class origin of these teachers affected their training and role; their employment conditions; and their attitude towards their task.

### **Social Class Origin of Teachers.**

The avenue open for education and occupational mobility varied between the two groups of teachers. Many of the members of the popular classes had, in teaching in primary schools, their chance for upward mobility. Some of them became teachers in poor rural or urban schools, and received basic training only after they had begun teaching. University teachers, on the contrary, were mostly from the middle, or sometimes upper, classes who had access to the benefits of education in all its levels. These teachers considered themselves intellectuals, possessors of universal moral and

cultural values (64). However for some of them, teaching in the University was an activity to be carried out in their spare time with little commitment to their students.

The class origin of both groups of teachers during this period was related to the class division of society. Between 1920 and 1940, Mexican society was divided into four groups (65). Peasants, the deprived class of rural areas, were the most exploited, "they had not only made the Revolution but were its conscience" (66). They were mostly illiterate, and had a low level of participation, if any, in the political affairs of the country. Workers constituted a relatively deprived urban class. Typically they belonged to organizations such as their guilds or unions, but were ideologically immature except for some of their leaders (67). Hence their participation in the political life of the country was limited.

The middle classes were formed by a diversity of groups which included small and medium size rural and urban businessmen, professionals and bureaucrats (68). They were poorly represented in the political arena of the country. But they did have a capacity to formulate their demands, and they also had considerable indirect active participation in

the political life of the country. The upper class was formed by members of the ruling and economic elite with access to power and wealth, and who also received social and economic benefits from the State (69). The table below shows the number of people in each class in 1900 and 1950 (70).

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY THEIR SOCIAL CLASS.

|               | 1900       |      | 1950           |
|---------------|------------|------|----------------|
|               | POPULATION | %    | POPULATION%    |
| TOTAL         | 13,607,259 | 100  | 25,791,017 100 |
| POPULAR CLASS | 12,403,649 | 91.1 | 21,664,454 84  |
| MIDDLE CLASS  | 1,125,680  | 8.3  | 3,997,608 15.5 |
| UPPER CLASS   | 77,930     | .6   | 128,955 .5     |

SOURCE: "Cincuenta Anos de Revolucion" ["Fifty Years of Revolution"]. CLASES Y ESTRATOS SOCIALES EN MEXICO [CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRATA IN MEXICO], GONZALEZ, Cosío Arturo, IX Censo General de Poblacion, S.I.C., p. 59.

It is important to note that growth is evident only in the middle class which almost doubled from 8.3% to 15.5% -in relation to the reduction of the popular class from 91.1% to 84%. One of the reasons for this change is the mobility of the population from urban to rural areas, with a resulting

growth of the urban population. In 1910 the rural population was 11,491,600 or 75.8%, the urban was only 24.2% of the population or 3,668,800. (By 1950, the rural population was 14,804,100 or 57.4%, whereas the urban went up to 10,986,900 which meant 42.6% of the total) (71). The indication of upper class, however, remained stable in size - perhaps as a result of the closed boundaries of this class, and the low opportunities for upward mobility of middle classes.

The mobility of rural people to urban areas caused not only the expansion of the middle class but also the growth of urban areas, especially Mexico City and its sub-urban area. From 1930 to 1940, the number of inhabitants of this area grew to more than 500,000 (72), as can be seen in the table below.

TABLE 3. POPULATION IN THE FEDERAL DISTRICT, 1900-1940.

| YEAR | POPULATION |
|------|------------|
| 1900 | 441,246    |
| 1910 | 622,478    |
| 1921 | 803,554    |
| 1930 | 1,139,433  |
| 1940 | 1,649,045  |

SOURCE: Institute of Geography, DISTRIBUCION GEOGRAFICA [GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION], pp. 88-89. Quoted by: BRITTON, John, EDUCACION Y RADICALISMO EN MEXICO, II. ANOS DE CARDENAS [EDUCATION AND RADICALISM IN MEXICO, II YEARS OF CARDENAS], SEP-SETENTAS, Mexico, 1976, p. 64.

The popular classes believed that their mobility to urban areas would offer opportunities lacking in rural areas. Parents migrating to urban areas were looking for schools which would offer their children more than the three years of primary education obtained in rural schools. Thereby, their children would benefit from the opportunities to carry on studying, and adults might find better jobs (73).

The social class origin of University teachers during this period was mostly from the middle class, while the very wealthy sent their children abroad (74). However, many of the higher education students who would become the university teachers of the 1920's came from a middle class background of reduced means and did not occupy higher levels in the social strata or in the places of authority (75).

This favoured the formation of the two groups of teachers already mentioned, conservative and radical, who developed different attitudes within the University. Conservative teachers favoured the implementation of a capitalist economy of large-scale production, on agro-export economy, and accepted the need to expand an industrial base (76). Many of them absorbed Euro-centric ideas about 'civilization' which inside them uneasily conservative in the Mexican context.

Radical teachers in contrast had little outside experience, and were influenced by the ideologies of the 1910 Revolution, and socialism. They supported the demands of the peasantry and the working class for structural reforms, and "advocated ...state responsibility ...and favoured greater Mexican control over economy and society..." (77). Radical teachers supported a 'Popular University' which would allow access by the popular classes, and would also bring the role of the university closer to these classes (78). In this way they identified with the struggles of primary school teachers in relation to their attitudes towards the popular classes.

The SEP primary school teachers were mainly from a working or peasant background, and took up teaching as a path of upward mobility. "The more rural and less developed the region the higher proportion of men in the teaching force" (79). Exceptions were found in urban areas where some teachers came from the lower strata of the middle class such as women, and who were members of "... the petite bourgeoisie, whose parents were small traders or non-important functionaries in small cities" (80). It was thought by the first post-revolutionary educational authorities that if rural teachers came from the same community, this would give them the opportunity to understand problems in these areas, favour their commitment to their struggles and their job, and "education would be more effective" (81).

Urban area teachers, especially those trained in normal schools administered by religious organizations, had a different outlook on their jobs. These teachers considered themselves to have a higher status than their rural counterparts as a result of better training, and higher salaries. Urban teachers also had the opportunity to come in contact with the administrative bureaucracy of the SEP, and to some of the latest pedagogical research and theories, had access to cultural centres, and to further training facilities (82). However some urban teachers also became involved in the struggles of radical workers (83).

Rural teachers were involved with peasant problems, and some of them were "associated with the Partido Agrarista... [They believed that] ...the rural school... should be fundamentally dedicated to improving the life of the rural collectivity..." (84). Some urban teachers in contrast identified with the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship, failed to identify "with the popular revolution... (and) viewed education as disciplining, civilizing, and controlling" (85).

Urban teachers however were further sub-divided into those who had been trained in State Normal Schools, and those trained in private Normal Schools. The latter were mostly

women of lower middle class background who trained in order to contribute to the family income, but would leave the job after marriage (86). These women were not politically committed. Rather, they were influenced by their religious convictions, and opposed the radical policies implemented by the governments (87). In rural areas the opposite was true. Teachers put their lives in danger in the fulfilment of their task (88).

Nonetheless, rural and urban teachers were expected to be loyal civil servants in a hierarchy which was becoming more stratified as the control of teachers was stressed. At the beginning the lack of a strong formal organization within the SEP, and the isolation of some rural areas increased "the degree of leverage and autonomy (these rural teachers) held, at least temporarily, in relation to the municipal structure (which) may have encouraged a teachers' voice and critical perspectives in the classrooms" (89). Some teachers became agitators on behalf of the working class, in urban areas, or leaders of the peasants in rural areas. Rural teachers favoured socialist education and their support provoked the animosity of the conservatives.



The radicalism developed by primary school teachers during this period was a response to the oppression which they saw in the situations where they worked, but it was also favoured by the political and ideological process taking place in Mexico: the process of reconstruction of the new Mexican State created a less repressive structure for the control of teachers. However, teachers also experienced poor salaries, and the poor working conditions of their schools.

#### **Employment Conditions of Teachers.**

Overall, the number of primary schools was not sufficient to satisfy the demand for education. In 1910 there were 12,418 primary schools (Federal, State, urban, rural, and private) which were able to enrol only 889,571 children (90). As the number of children of school age was 3,486,910, this meant that 76.6% of children could not attend school. Hence, 2,597,399 children (91) were unable to receive any kind of formal training resulting in lack of opportunities.

The schools conditions were, most of the time, unsuitable for teaching. In rural areas school buildings, of adobe construction, were poor. More than 82% of these schools in

the country only had one classroom (92). They lacked suitable teaching materials, and less than half had benches and desks, blackboards, and textbooks. Twenty eight per cent had no land for children to cultivate in order to learn agricultural techniques: 54% did not have a library; 32% did not have a playground; and 81% did not have any workshops (93). Under these conditions, it is not surprising that some primary school teachers were disillusioned with their task.

Primary schools were of two categories: one-class schools which could only offer 3 years study, and six-class schools (only in urban areas) which offered the complete range of primary instruction. Thus differences between rural and urban areas were reinforced by the fact that urban schools offered full primary education, whereas rural schools had only one classroom with one teacher in charge of all the activities. The teacher normally lived in the same building. In 1928 there were 1,143 one-class primary schools in semi-urban and urban areas of the country, and 4,797 rural one class schools funded by the state or municipal governments (94).

Urban or semi-urban primary schools offering the full six years of schooling numbered 639 (95). These schools had one teacher per classroom for each grade, and a headmaster, who

was also responsible for a class. The full primary schools in rural areas only offered four years of primary education which reinforced the differences between rural and urban areas. Rural teachers suffered not only their low salaries and lack of security in their posts but the isolation and poverty of their areas.

The work of rural teachers was, therefore, difficult. They had almost no social benefits, no right of retirement with full salary, no access to life insurance. There was no organized system for their promotion, and they were nominated by the school inspector (a representative of the SEP) who also had the power to transfer them to a different school or even suspend them from their posts (96).

Employment conditions of rural teachers meant a gap between the reality of their lives and the status they were supposed to have as builders of the revolution. This gap was compounded by the new socialist ideas spreading throughout the country which favoured a different view of their employment conditions. This led to their politicization; and, later on, to the organization of their unions.

The State authorities, through the SEP, in an attempt to prevent increasing discontent from teachers, adopted several measures. First, the State passed the 'Law of Promotion of Teachers of Primary and Nursery Schools' approved in October 1932 (97). The Law tried to give teachers security of tenure as well as more opportunities of promotion. Second, the 'Teacher Insurance System' was passed to give teachers, and their families, economic security. But due to the lack of organization in rural area administration, many of the teachers outside the cities did not receive the benefits of these policies (98). This reinforced the sense of frustration among rural teachers. Overall, insufficient salaries, no job security, and poor working conditions did not alter since the governments rather than improving basic conditions, employed more teachers to satisfy the demand for primary education. This increased the number of teachers and reinforced the problems of poor training.

In 1928 the total number of rural teachers paid by the Federal government was 4,086, out of which 274, or 6.71%, had a teaching certificate; 29, or 0.71%, had a certificate of another profession; and 3,783, or 92.58% had no qualifications at all (99). On the other hand, teachers working in urban or

semi-urban primary schools funded by the Federal government had 1,262 teachers out of which 502, or 39.78%, had a teacher certificate; 80, or 6.34%, had a certificate of a different profession; and 680, or 53.88%, did not have any certificate (100):

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF TEACHERS WORKING IN FEDERAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR QUALIFICATIONS. (1928).

|                  | RURAL TEACHERS | %      | URBAN OR<br>SEMI-URBAN | %      |
|------------------|----------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| TOTAL            | 4,086          |        | 1,262                  |        |
| NORMAL SCHOOL    | 274            | 6.71%  | 502                    | 39.78% |
| OTHER PROFESSION | 29             | 0.71%  | 80                     | 6.34%  |
| NO CERTIFICATE   | 3,783          | 92.58% | 680                    | 53.88% |

SOURCE: NOTICIA ESTADISTICA Sobre la Educacion Publica en Mexico Correspondiente al Ano 1928 [STATISTICAL INFORMATION About Public Education in Mexico, 1928], Publicaciones de la SEP, Mexico, 1930, pp. 146-147, 268-269.

Overall, the lack of teacher training certificates affected the salaries and professional status of rural teachers. But, at the same time, the lack of qualifications was used to

justify their low salaries, their lack of security in their posts, and few social benefits. In the case of urban teachers, more than fifty per cent did not have a teacher training certificate, but their employment conditions were not quite as poor as those of rural teachers. Urban teachers working in the Federal District received higher salaries commensurate with the higher cost of living (101) in contrast to rural teachers, who were living under more difficult conditions, but whose cost of living was apparently lower.

The government was also forced to adopt austerity measures as a result of the economic depression of 1929, and imposed a reduction of between 10 and 20% on teachers' salaries (102). The SEP authorities promised to raise them as soon as the economic situation improved. But this measure meant that inequalities in salaries were reinforced.

In 1932, 627 primary school teachers out of 4,000 working in the Federal District, earned a salary of 97.34 pesos per month (103). Their rural colleagues, in the same year, received 27.36 pesos (for normal work), and 41.06 pesos (for those in senior ranks). This meant that rural teachers earned a salary which was 25% and 50% of the minimum considered necessary for a modest standard of living in the Federal District (104).

The socialist government of Lazaro Cardenas (1934-1940), encouraged improvement in the position of teachers. Thus laws for better employment conditions and salaries were passed. In 1935, the basic salary for teachers was increased by 16% (105). Nonetheless, at the end of this government's term of office, the poor employment conditions and salaries of primary school teachers remained.

These conditions of primary school teachers were of course worse than those of the University teachers. Nevertheless, teachers in the National University of Mexico also experienced economic restrictions as a result of the poor funding of the university schools (six faculties, six schools, and the Institute of Music). For example, libraries did not have enough reference books, and laboratories were few (106).

Within these general economic restrictions, there were however important differences in status, pay, and commitment among university teachers. Two examples can illustrate the general problem. In the Faculty of Medicine there were three groups of teachers: 'clinical' teachers, at the top of the hierarchy, teachers of medical theory and science subjects such as Chemistry, and teachers of theory of humanistic

studies such as history of medicine, who came at the bottom of the hierarchy (107). In addition there were assistants who were either officially appointed or were unofficially employed by the faculties to help in the teaching. The former received a salary but the latter, who in practical terms performed similar activities to the official assistants, did not earn any salary. They assumed duties allocated to them in the hope of gaining official nomination which frequently occurred.

Similarly, a second example is provided by the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, where teachers were classified in similar way to the faculty of Medicine. There were regular, and unpaid teachers, and guest professors; assistants, and unpaid assistants (108). These teachers were organized into sections according to the speciality they taught. These sections had the category of professional associations which tried to give representation to teachers, and to maintain their high professional status (109).

However, despite their high status, teachers did not receive high salaries, and sometimes they were not paid regularly, or at all. This affected their commitment to their task. The authorities of the University tried to solve the problem



caused by the lack of commitment of teachers as well as the low quality of teaching. After the University obtained its autonomy (1929), qualification requirements for teachers was officially established (110). They needed to produce a professional certificate as well as proof of their experience.

The reality, however, was different, since the teaching posts in the University were awarded more on the basis of personal influence rather than professional experience. The mobility of teachers in the hierarchy of the University was restricted, depending on how good were their relations with the authorities in office. Those who were interested in their mobility had to be concerned with their relations and support of the right people.

Thus the quality of teaching and commitment of teachers in the university were affected; and reinforced by the fact that many teachers obtained only a few hours teaching under temporary contracts. One of the attempts made by the University authorities was to create full-time teaching posts. For this, one of the proposed changes was to award contracts to teachers for an established period during which they could prove their teaching ability as well as their professional expertise (111).

The authorities in the University also considered it important to stress the qualities of a 'good teacher' which included keeping satisfactory discipline in the classroom, and having a degree of general culture (112). Teachers, however, should maintain a neutral position, and not "become vulgar leaders making speeches about themes which have been endlessly repeated to attract the masses effortlessly" (113). Thus the University authorities tried to prevent radical teachers from spreading left wing ideologies among their students. Radical teachers however considered that their role was to favour the development of critical perspectives in their students (114).

Overall, then, in this period, contradictions began to emerge between the social class origins and employment of University teachers, and the worsening employment conditions. Tensions over this issue developed among university teachers themselves, and a division of opinion became visible over the correct counter-action. Many university teachers clung to their traditional definitions of themselves, despite the fact of part-time employment. Other university teachers became increasingly radical. The State, perhaps ineffectively, made efforts to define 'a good teacher' and to increase the number of full-time positions.

The SEP primary school teachers, whose economic position was worse, and whose involvement in social struggles was increasing, was even more an object of State concern, under the influence of post-revolutionary socialist ideology. The State's efforts to improve their training is among the concern of the next section.

#### TEACHER TRAINING FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY TEACHERS.

While under the general influence of socialist ideology of the State, the training of teachers was taken as important, and efforts were made to improve it, in fact the interrelationship of these reforms with the socio - economic context of Mexico, increased some of the differences among teachers. For example, urban teachers were increasingly trained in a different way from rural teachers; and among University the divisions between conservative and radical positions widened, not least under the pressure of the socialist rhetoric of the State.

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers.**

The post-revolutionary period (1920-1940) marks the beginning of the re-organization of teacher training. The

educational plans of its governments were aimed at fulfilling the need for more teachers with qualifications to provide education for a large population of uneducated poor. Every one of the governments during this period made a special effort to develop the teacher training system. The reason for this emphasis was the conception that better training of teachers would improve their teaching to the benefit of the popular classes who would become better citizens.

To fulfil this aim it was necessary to have enough schools with the required number of trained teachers. But after the 1910 Revolution the number of Normal Schools was not enough to satisfy the requirements of the country. In 1927 there were 75 Normal Schools of which 39 were funded by state governments, 1 by the municipality, 12 were Federal schools, and 23 were private (115). These schools did not train the number of teachers needed, thus the efforts of the State were aimed at opening more normal schools in rural and urban areas.

This expansion of the teacher training system was a difficult task because of two factors: the economic restrictions of the country, and the diversification of the system. Normal schools were for rural, or urban teachers; and according to their funding, there were normal schools with

economic support of the federal, state, or municipal governments, and private, mainly supported by religious organizations.

The Federal government only funded one sixth of the normal schools (6.2%), whereas the private sector funded nearly twice that number (32.6%) (116). This difference was the result of the economic restrictions of the country which allowed the formation of private normal schools. This was against Article 3 of the National Constitution which restricted the participation of the private sector in the provision of education (117). However the State adopted a dual attitude: it officially respected Article 3 (which stressed secular and socialist education); but it also quietly allowed the participation of the private sector in the provision of education (118).

The attention of the State to the training of urban and rural teachers though different was a response to the revolutionary principles and socialist rhetoric. The training of rural teachers was reinforced due to the large number of these teachers needed for the development of the deprived rural areas. The training of urban teachers also tried to respond to the needs of the urban population.

## Training of Rural Teachers.

The training of rural teachers was offered in three types of centres: Cultural Missions, Rural Normal Schools, and Regional Schools for Peasants. These centres offered rural teachers basic knowledge for teaching (through courses which brought them together from the isolation in which some of them lived in the remote rural communities).

The Cultural Missions responded to the aims of the State in offering peasants the opportunity of schooling in the deprived rural areas. The main aim of this programme was the integration of the community under the guidance of a 'missionary' who was the rural teacher performing a vocation. This traditional concept dominated the Cultural Missions from their formation. They began with 77 young people from Preparatory and Normal Schools, and even a few from University (119) known as 'missionaries'. They travelled to remote areas of the country to organize schools, find teachers, and instruct them in the basic rudiments of teaching. Those who became teachers were people who had not received any training.

The involvement of these teachers in the social struggles was important. Those who had been involved in the struggle

of the 1910 Revolution were chosen to become rural teachers since their idealism might be useful in the development of rural areas. However, while those who became teachers were literate and numerate, the 'missionary', who trained them, offered only a basic knowledge of teaching techniques, and left rural teachers on their own to teach others (120). Rural teachers had to supplement their lack of training with their enthusiasm and commitment. Some professional support was offered by the mobile and permanent Cultural Missions (121).

The State gave official recognition to the task carried on by the Missions with the creation of the 'Direction of Cultural Missions' in the Secretariat of Public Education [SEP]. This new body established the regulations controlling both, the mobile and permanent missions (122). Although this body was created to control the missions, the isolation of some rural areas prevented this, and teachers retained some autonomy.

Rural teachers were stimulated in the performance of their task and their professional development through the support offered by the in-service courses of the Permanent Cultural Missions. These courses were of three types: short courses on teaching methods, summer courses, and a four semester

course (123). With these, rural teachers obtained more knowledge which offered them the opportunity of professional development, and a better status in their communities. Thus they gained more prestige, and opportunities of upward mobility.

The role of Cultural Missions was relevant for the politicization and radicalism of rural teachers. Missionaries gave them new ideas, defined their role and tasks, stimulated their work, and favoured exchange of ideas among them (124). Thus if the Cultural Missions were intended to control rural teachers they did not succeed. Rural teachers managed to organize people in their villages, became involved in their problems, and their search for solutions, and also faced dangers, when their ideals aroused the displeasure of conservative groups (125).

Many rural teachers were accused of not performing teaching activities but of disrupting communities with political actions not related to their role. There were pressures on the State exerted by the agricultural elite whose members saw their interests threatened by the demands coming from peasants. In an attempt to control the activities of the Cultural Missions, the SEP closed them in 1938. They were re-opened in 1941, but their character was not the same (126).



In 1938, when the Cultural Missions were closed, there were 18 with 150 members of staff (127). They had trained more than 4,000 teachers (128). With this closure, rural teachers lost their link with the SEP which was not replaced by another institution. Their influence, however, had a lasting effect, and was instrumental in creating for these teachers an identity as a group.

The interest in the training of primary teachers made the government open a second type of normal schools for rural teachers. These Rural Normal Schools had a liberalist-idealist tendency which reflected the ideology of Jose Vasconcelos, Secretary of Education, and the reformism of the Alvaro Obregon government (129). Their educational theory emphasised practical activities as well as the social function of education. These schools would train teachers to improve the cultural and economic level of peasants, and to integrate schools, teachers, and the communities to improve the education of the peasants (130).

Three stages were planned for the achievement of these objectives: first to train teachers for the small rural communities, and indigenous centres; second to improve the cultural and professional level of teachers through in-

service courses given during holidays; third, to involve the small communities of isolated rural areas in the development of the country, through further training courses (131). A two-year course was developed which covered general and specialized knowledge. Its subjects were: social sciences, history, literature, music, fine arts, pedagogy, agriculture, domestic science, and rural crafts (132). These subjects would give rural teachers the tools to teach in the schools as well as to help them in the development of rural communities.

A difference with the Cultural Missions was that Rural Normal Schools required applicants to have at least four years of primary education (133). People from rural communities had priority of enrolment which would enable teachers to be more immediately assimilated into local communities, and more readily understand their problems (134). Teachers would then, it was hoped, become more committed to their pupils and their communities, and would not abandon their posts for opportunities in urban areas. Some rural teachers did become leaders in their villages, and participated in the daily struggles of the local people. They reacted against the State's control, and were committed to their job of helping

rural communities (135). However other teachers found in their training a personal opportunity, and migrated to larger schools in urban areas. This affected rural schools because experienced teachers did not remain in the rural communities.

A study carried out by a group from the Secretariat of Public Education, in 1933 headed by Manuel Mesa Andraca, established that rural normal schools had not been able to fulfil their main objectives (136). By 1933 five out of the 18 schools existing were operating in urban areas. Some of these schools enrolled students who were not of rural origin, and the agricultural training included in the curriculum was not put into practice because only one of these schools had more than 60 hectares of working land. The low salaries offered to teachers, plus the urban background of some of them, encouraged their migration to cities (137).

Overall, the hopes for these schools were not realised. Rural areas continued to be under-developed in spite of all the programmes implemented for their development, and some rural teachers still lacked the basic knowledge for the performance of their work. In an attempt to end these deficiencies and to respond to the socialist ideology of the government during this period, a new programme for the training of rural teachers was implemented.

Regional Schools for Peasants were created by Narciso Bassols as Secretary of Education (October 1931-May 1934) (138). These schools tried to join under one institution the activities carried out by the Cultural Missions, Rural Normal Schools, and Agricultural Schools. They tried to put into practice Bassols' idea of "educational development for the improvement of agriculture and rural life" (139). These schools were intended to train rural children to improve their understanding and commitment to rural areas (140). Teachers would live in the same village and become involved in the struggles of their communities, would integrate the peasants in the development of the country.

Specifically, the Regional Schools for Peasants had two main purposes: to train rural teachers, and to provide technical training in agricultural skills for peasants (141). They offered a four-year curriculum, to improve both the general the educational development of rural teachers and their agricultural knowledge. The first two years were dedicated to agricultural training, and the last two to teacher training. The most important effect of this training was the relation of students with their own rural communities. The contact with local problems, and the consideration of possible solutions were important elements in the training of these

teachers. Teaching practice was carried out in a typical village with the purpose of studying its specific problems (142).

This early involvement of students with the villages, and their struggles increased the political awareness of future teachers. Thus they obtained a different perspective on the reality surrounding their task as teachers which was - not only to teach children in the classroom but also to be concerned with the population as a whole (143).

However, the purposes of the Regional Schools were not fully achieved, and by 1940, the number of rural teachers was still insufficient (144), and their status had changed very little. With the change of government, in the same year, the programme was cancelled losing, with this, seven years of valuable experience.

The Regional Schools for Peasants provided an interesting experience in integrated education where teachers were the coordinators of learning in the communities (145). Some of the rural teachers became leaders in their communities, and were dedicated, wholeheartedly, to the fulfilment of their task. Some other teachers, taking advantage of their

training, decided to search better opportunities of mobility and migrated to urban areas. This migration was due, according to Narciso Bassols, "to the deep difference in the life conditions between urban and rural areas which made teachers abandon rural schools and find better opportunities that the village denied them" (146). Inequalities between rural and urban areas continued. Urban teachers received a more organized type of training which resulted in better opportunities of development.

#### Training of Urban Teachers.

At the end of the 1920's urban areas began to receive more attention, and the training for urban teachers became a priority. This training was emphasised with the main purpose of raising the level of education, and the professional status of urban teachers although avoiding any political involvement of students. This was emphasised by the two main purposes of Normal Schools for urban teachers: first to offer a training in teaching methods, and secondly a technical training in the skills needed in the small industries existing in the neighbourhood where the schools were located (147). The training was for six years after primary school, divided in three periods of two years each (148).

Despite the importance given by the State to the training of urban teachers, in 1928, there were only 59 urban normal schools of which 23 were private. This means that only 32 urban normal schools were funded by the State (149). However, the emphasis was put in the National School for Teachers in Mexico City which was concerned with the development of urban teachers (150).

This Normal School became one of the most important in the country as well as the model for teacher training throughout Mexico because of the quality of its training and the ideologies it expounded. This school disseminated in Mexico modern pedagogy from the USA, Europe, and the Soviet Union (151). This made this school highly prestigious.

The advanced content of the teaching (152) offered in the National School of Teachers attracted students who knew that they would receive the best training in the country. Their learning was related to modern pedagogy such as 'learning by doing' (153). They also had the best teachers. In the academic field the Normal School of Teachers became a model to be followed by other normal schools. In the ideological field, it became a centre for the development of left wing ideologies which made this school a highly politicized

institutions. It was the centre of the formation of an ideological current strong among primary school teachers known as "Normalismo" (154).

Despite the efforts put into the training of rural and urban teachers, their employment conditions, and salaries increased very little. In relation to the training received by University teachers, the short period of time given to the training of primary school teachers diminished their status in comparison with both the longer training of the University teachers and its location in a higher education institution.

#### **Training of University Teachers.**

In this period, the debate over the training of University teachers became strongly ideological. Divisions among the university teachers were increased.

The majority of conservative teachers were those who began their studies and work during the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship. They received their training either in the National Preparatory School, created "to provide pre-professional training in the positivist ideology to a selected group of Mexicans" (155), or in the National School of Advanced Studies, "to be devoted to the study of humanities" (156).



They perpetuated conservatism in Mexico, influenced by the European ideas such as those of Darwin, Spencer, Nietzsche, Shopenhauer, Bergson, among others (157). The conservatives favoured what Michael Burke considers "the pursuit of learning in a scholarly environment free from day-to-day politics" (158). They considered that the University should be dedicated to pure academic studies seen as "neutral sciences" (159), hence, teachers should be a-political beings dedicated to the furthermore of pure knowledge.

Radical teachers were, mostly, young professionals trained in the University of Mexico, just re-opened in 1910. Although they were also aware of the ideologies coming from Europe, and later from the Soviet Union, their own radicalism helped them to campaign for a more egalitarian society. These teachers studied some of the Russian thinkers and educationists such as Gorki, Dostoievski, and Lunarchaski (160). Radical teachers, aware of the problems of the country, believed that "Mexican society demanded immediate, concrete participation in current affairs" (161). They saw that in a country racked by strife, power struggles, and oppression of the masses, the values of those who rule the country should be questioned in order to find solutions to the problems experienced by the popular classes. For them knowledge had a practical purpose.

The struggle was focused by particular teachers. For example, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, director of the National Preparatory School (1933) and leader of the Marxist faction in the University, argued that historical materialism was the only method able to provide a scientific analysis of the Mexican reality (162). The opposite group of conservatives, led by Antonio Caso, argued that the imposition of a single ideology was contrary to academic freedom and the University's autonomy (163).

This controversy was the main point of the agenda of the First Congress of Mexican Universities (7-14 September 1933) which resulted in a famous debate between Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Antonio Caso. In this debate, the positions of conservative and radical teachers in relation to their professional status, and their involvement in social struggles was debated against the purity of the sciences (164).

The divisions in the University were deepened as a result of this debate. Although radical teachers supporting the Marxist faction appeared to convince the majority, subsequently it appeared that only young teachers and their students accepted this ideology. The majority of conservative teachers were strongly opposed to socialist education, and the

University authorities, anxious to terminate this conflict, blamed Vicente Lombardo Toledano for the revolts in the University and demanded his resignation (165). Socialist education was never officially implemented in the University, and conservative teachers imposed their traditional concepts based on right wing ideologies which helped to preserve their power and high status (166).

The University, therefore, remained elitist and defended, "the professional formation of students, the teaching of traditional humanistic disciplines, and the protection of pure knowledge which would allowed University students to participate in any system of economic development" (167). This ideal of conservative teachers became official with the 'General Statute of the National Autonomous University of Mexico' passed in 1933. It officially accepted that "the University was open to all currents of thought and all attitudes of a scientific and social character (in an atmosphere of) freedom of academic thought and research" (168).

But in opposition to the ideals of conservatives, the socialist policies of the Lazaro Cardenas government (1934-1940) encouraged the creation of new careers with a more

practical bias (169). Research obtained recognition when it had pragmatic focus. The University opened research institutes which changed the concept of what it was to be a teacher in the University. Such teachers would have a full-time post to be entirely dedicated to teaching and research. Thus the research institutes, opened in specific fields, "...not only organized research, but also created full time posts for the teacher-scholar" (170). Rosalio Wences Reza points out that the research in the University "began to take place in the different institutes, but was made, and still works in isolation, separated from the teaching activities which are carried out in the faculties" (171). This encouraged a division between the professionals who teach and those who were in charge of research activities.

The professional status of University teachers became dependent on these two activities. Research stimulated the privileged position of some teachers, and this reinforced the elitism of the University. This situation also meant that the involvement of University teachers remained within the university arena against the wishes of radical teachers who wanted a role in the social arena and involvement in the struggles of other workers. Attempts to form unions among University teachers were few.

Partly as a consequence of this, the experience of and involvement in unionism diverged sharply between University teachers and primary teachers. While there was an initial attempt to form an organization of UNAM teachers, the prevalent socialist ideals of the period (and their work experiences) led the primary school teachers to become fully involved in attempts to create, and unify their unions.

#### TEACHERS PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS - UNIONS.

This section analyses the unionism of teachers in its initial stages. It is argued in this section that the conditions of the country, the ideology of the State, and the economic pressure of teachers stimulated the unionism of the SEP primary school teachers and yet, hindered that of University teachers. This was a result of the different type of relationship that both groups of teachers had with the State and the power of traditional ideas about the University and the concept of professions - and the distance that should (or should not) be maintained from workers' movements. Thus in the following analysis these elements that assisted in the formation of unions or prevented their formation will be highlighted, contrasting the reactions of the SEP primary school and UNAM teachers.

### **Unionism of SEP Primary School Teachers.**

The first organized groups of teachers were not considered unions but "leagues created to obtain collective agreements, and maintain the relationship between workers and peasants" (172). These organizations did not have any specific ideology to support their struggle, but gradually were recognised as the path used by teachers to defend their rights.

The support offered by workers' unions, with more experience, helped teachers in the formation of their own unions which were also inspired by the socialist ideology of some workers. One of these was the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers [CROM] whose leader, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, tried to relate the confederation with teachers through its department of education (173).

This example meant that the unions of SEP primary school teachers initiated actions in ways similar to those of the workers' unions. Teachers initially demanded economic benefits for their members through salary increases, and through better employment conditions. Later the ideological aspect emerged to give teachers an identity as a group (174) which would also define their relationship with the State.

Thus, the first unions came into being as a result of both poverty and ideological influence. In the poor states, mainly at the south of the country, which also had a higher level of politicization, teachers became very activist (175). In areas with less poverty, such as the Federal District and the states at the north of the country, teachers organized their unions under the general ideological influence of socialism.

One of the first unions was the League of Teachers of the Federal District, which gathered together teachers of Mexico City backed by the CROM with the main purpose of uniting teachers with workers of the Confederation, under the influence of the Marxist socialism which dominated this group (176). Another group of teachers, in Mexico City, created the League of Rationalist Teachers whose main aim was to implement the secularism in education established by Article 3. This group of teachers promoted the organization of Leagues of Resistance among those teachers who accepted their views (177). They were against the participation of the church in education and, at this time, backed the State's ideology. In this case the union emerged more as an ideological organization rather than as group aiming at the reform of the employment conditions of teachers.

In the north of the country, teachers of the state of Coahuila formed the Coahuila Federation of Teachers' Unions which organized the Congress for the Unity of Workers and Peasants (178). This was an attempt at the unity of three groups, teachers, workers, and peasants, under an umbrella organization whose united front could be more forceful in making demands (179).

Overall, the motives for the creation of teachers unions were economic or ideological but in different contexts. The economic demands became the basis for the formation of unions in rural areas, whereas the ideology was more evident in the unions of urban area teachers, especially among those who had been trained in the National School of Teachers in Mexico City. These differences were reflected in the type of structure adopted by each union. Urban teachers, especially in Mexico City, created unions on a rather formal basis, and had contact with national and overseas unions. This organization gave them stronger representation among teachers, more influence with the SEP authorities, and a closer link with top intellectuals (180). However, this also meant that the leaders of these unions became a target of the State co-optation and control since they were in direct contact with the SEP's bureaucracy.



Rural teachers organized their unions on a more informal basis. They were scattered throughout the country, and "remained culturally isolated living in a continuous struggle against priests and local leaders ("caciques")" (181), and people who were against left wing ideologies and socialist education. The weakness of rural teachers forced them to join other workers' unions which had more experience. Thus rural teachers created the National Confederation of Teachers Organizations which tried to create links with urban teachers.

The SEP authorities, in an attempt to reinforce their control over teachers, encouraged the creation of the Union of Federal Directors and Inspectors of Education, which established a link with school authorities in both, rural and urban areas. Teachers mistrusted this union because they believed it was created by the SEP to exert stronger control over them (182). The result was a drop in the participation by rural teachers in their unions.

However, in this period, rural teachers came under severe attack. Many of the rural teachers were occupied in backing peasants in their struggles as well as defending themselves against the attacks of community leaders ("caciques"), priests, and landowners. "Community leaders attacked teachers

for criticising their dishonest dealings and the way they accumulated property in their area. Priests attacked teachers because they opposed the church's privileges and control of education, and the mythical ideology based on supra-natural forces alienating the mind of uneducated people. Peasants attacked teachers because they saw their family traditions violated by the inclusion of sexual education and nationalism in the school curriculum. Parents saw that with this the tranquility and peace recently obtained was, once more, disrupted. Thus their local world was again under threat, and socialist education was to be blamed" (183).

The reaction was the creation by teachers - in rural areas i.e. teachers employed by the Cultural Missions, Rural Normal Schools, and Regional Schools for Peasants, of the Union of Workers of the Peasant Higher Education which followed a left wing ideology, and tried to coordinate resistance against these attacks and the State's control.

Thus, unionism of primary school teachers showed local variation, and was sometimes in response to particular local conditions, in addition to the general issues of employment conditions, and to the ideology of the State. This unionism involved only those teachers who were able to find the

opportunity to be in contact with organized groups of teachers. Localised initiatives of unionism raised the level of unrest of the rank-and-file teachers who gradually became members of a union (184). John A. Britton points out that "according to the census carried out by the SEP in 1934 almost half of teachers working in federal schools, in the Federal District, were members of unions" (185).

The unification of teachers' unions became a target for the SEP who saw a threat in the increasing politicization of teachers (186). The alternative (for the control of this threat) was to bring all the existing unions together under a national union which would give teachers the 'right' representation. This national union would then represent teachers in general, disguising the differences between rural and urban teachers.

The first serious attempt towards unification of teachers' unions came, in 1936, with the creation of the National Confederation of Teachers whose leaders, Vicente Lombardo Toledano and David Vilchis, tried to impose their personal ideology. Lombardo Toledano tried to impose his left wing convictions in defence of the workers' rights, whereas Vilchis, of conservative character, was considered to voice

the State's opinions (187). The Confederation became finally dominated by the conservative ideology of Vilchis, who created links with those groups loyal to the SEP (188).

The formation of the national union of teachers was surrounded by two contradictory aims, one was the unification of teachers which would end with differences and would give them more representation and strength. The other was the easier control that the State would exert over teachers as a result of their unification.

Soon the rank-and-file teachers realised that the national union would permit the SEP to use their own union's leaders to control them (189). Some leaders, however, found a way to confront the SEP in order to gain power. This became evident in the rivalry created between unions. Each union concentrated its efforts on gaining representation among teachers by promising to negotiate with SEP authorities social and economic benefits for them (190).

The SEP, however, tried to impose its decision on teachers with the formation of groups loyal to it. The Confederation of Mexican Teachers [CMM] was one them, whose leaders openly supported the SEP. This caused teachers' mistrust, and

rejection of the CMM which, they thought, was a manoeuvre of the SEP to gain control over them (191). With the CMM, the manoeuvres for the co-option of leaders, to be used by the State, also became evident when two of the leaders of this union, Ramon Bonfil and Luis Tijerina Almaguer, occupied high positions in the SEP's bureaucracy at a later date (192).

The struggle for the control of teachers spread throughout the country. Teachers' unions tried to gain teachers' support through the demonstration of the honesty and influence with the SEP authorities. Unions tried to get the protection of teachers through the collective work agreements, demands of salary increases, attempts to improve relations with peasants and workers, and consolidate better employment conditions (193). But the main interest laid in improving the influence and power of each separate union.

The state of struggle between unions was not resolved in spite of the formation of the Mexican Federation of Teaching Workers [FMTE] in February 1937. This new Federation was a merger of the Confederation of Mexican Teachers, the National Confederation of Teaching Workers, and the National Union of Technical Consultants of Teaching whose members were bureaucrats of the SEP, and school inspectors (194). The FMTE

tried to convince teachers of its honesty, and carried out a campaign throughout the country to unify teachers' unions, and conciliate their different ideologies and interests.

The tensions and conflict among union leaders reinforced the divisions among teachers. In fact the FMTE failed in its campaign for unification. As a result of this failure, the SEP became involved again and tried to solve the confrontation between left wing and conservative teachers. Thus the Union of Teachers Workers of the Mexican Republic [STERM] was formed, and appeared to become the first organization representing the majority of teachers. Naturally it obtained the support of the SEP (195).

In return for this support, STERM backed the policy of centralization of education, of the Lazaro Cardenas government, which was considered the solution to inequalities between urban and rural areas (196). But this position did not solve the ideological differences of the unions' leaders. Therefore STERM appeared to have the dual position of supporting the SEP, and at the same time backing some unions' leaders.

The division between leaders was reinforced when anti-communist teachers adopted a radical position against

communist teachers. After the National Congress organized by the STERM in February 1940, the former walked out of STERM and formed the National Autonomous Union of Workers of Public Education (197). As a result of this, STERM lost strength and teachers' unions continued to be divided.

Overall, then, the State acting through SEP appeared to favour the formation of a national union of teachers. The struggles between the unions before the unification had the effect, however, of increasing teachers political and social awareness; even through with the unification of the unions they became susceptible to the power of the State as a result of the co-option of their leaders. The new consciousness meant that primary schools were able to maintain their own ideology despite being more vulnerable to the State control, and were also able to create links with other workers, and a few University teachers.

In contrast university teachers, of the conservative group, were not stimulated by the struggles of the primary school teachers as within the socialist ideology of the State. University teachers saw, in this ideology, a threat to their professional status and privileges; whereas primary school teachers accepted socialism and even found in it an

opportunity for development. UNAM remained divided over both socialism and unionism.

### **First Organizations of UNAM Teachers.**

The development of unionism among UNAM teachers was partially blocked by their professional prestige which reduced their willingness to address directly questions of financial benefit and employment conditions. They were the intellectuals of society, the "practicing professionals in their respective fields, (who) were hired only for part-time duty" (198). Thus they did not agree with those changes proposed by the socialist ideology dominating the country.

Conservative teachers were against the involvement of the University in the teaching of socialist education. At this time the University appeared to be completely against the ideology and policies of the State. Conservative teachers continued to defend the idea of the University as a place for the production of neutral knowledge.

In contrast, radical teachers found support for their ideology in the radical movements outside the University. They shared, with Vicente Lombardo Toledano, his strong



criticism of the conservative position of many of their colleagues teaching in the University who, he said, lived far away from the reality of the country, and were serving the dominant class (199). Radical teachers also agreed that the University should stop being the monopoly of a minority, and should become a social factor available to everyone (200).

Radical teachers considered that they should move to the social arena, as primary school teachers did, and offer their support to workers in their struggle for unionism. Only in this way would UNAM teachers be able to build a closer relationship with workers to develop unionism in the University. Radical teachers also agreed with Lombardo Toledano that their employment conditions in the University meant that, in reality, they were "receiving wages like any other worker" (201). Thus they argued their high status as professionals was a fallacy (202).

Radical teachers supported some of the primary school teachers, and workers as well as the State's socialism. They tried to change the traditional ideas held by the conservative teachers, who they argued should abandon their idea of high status and privileges as intellectuals, and accept the new concept of teachers as workers. But conservative teachers strongly opposed being organized into unions.

Thus the attempts of radical teachers to change the traditional concept of professions in UNAM failed. Although they were backed by the State's ideology, the autonomy held by the University, and the strength of conservative teachers, which increased with the expulsion of left wing teachers such as Vicente Lombardo Toledano, prevented changes in the traditional concepts.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

During the 1920-1940 period the urgent need to satisfy the demands of primary education of a large number of deprived Mexicans encouraged the State's emphasis on the recruitment and training of teachers. The need for graduates in various fields of sciences and technology made the State stimulate the autonomy and growth of the University.

However, primary school teachers remained with low salaries, poor working conditions, and lack of training. These factors together with their social class origin produced a view of them having low professional status, and simulated their alliance with, and stimulated workers' movements. In contrast UNAM teachers divided into two main groups. On the one hand were those conservative teachers supporting the idea of an

elitist university, and defending their privileged status as professionals. On the other hand, radical teachers defended a different role of the University which should stop being elitist and would be open for everybody. They believed that their professional status had been modified as a result of the changes brought by the Revolution, and the socialist policies. Thus they considered that the new professional in the University was a teacher-worker.

Radical teachers favoured the creation of a teachers' union in the University though this effort failed as a result of strong opposition from the conservative teachers. Though, in this particular time radical teachers were apparently supported by the policies of the State, the need for stability to face the economic and technical development of the country made the Lazaro Cardenas government modify its socialist stance to gain the support of conservatives inside the University.

The final paradox is perhaps that the government with a socialist ideology established a large degree of control over primary school teachers' unions with an ideology of revolution, nationalism and economic development - but saw the victory of conservative teachers in the university, who

insisting on their professional status, blocked efforts at both unionism and the involvement of the university in the reform of society.

The fact that the State had incorporated primary school teachers' unions into its bureaucratic - authoritarian structures had significant implications when the ideology of the State swung to the right. This is one of the themes of the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

- 1) "The results of that policy can be read in the statistics of improved governmental finances, tremendous foreign investments, railroad development, and expansion of commerce, industry, and mining". "The Peace of Porfirio" (in) ROSS, Stanley R., IS THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION DEAD?, ROSS, Stanley R., Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1975, pp. 38-39.
- 2) BETETA, Ramon, PENSAMIENTO Y DINAMICA DE LA REVOLUCION MEXICANA [IDEOLOGY AND DYNAMISM OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION], Mexico, 1950, p. 239. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, MEXICO: 1920-1958, EL RETO DE LA POBREZA Y DEL ANALFABETISMO [MEXICO: 1920-1958, THE CHALLENGE TO POVERTY AND ILLITERACY], Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1977, p. 18.
- 3) COSIO, Villegas Daniel, EXTREMOS DE AMERICA [EXTREMES OF AMERICA], Tezontle, Mexico, 1949, p. 34. Quoted by: MONROY Huitron, Guadalupe, POLITICA EDUCATIVA DE LA REVOLUCION MEXICANA (1910-1940) [EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION (1910-1940)], SEP-Setentas, Mexico, 1975, p. 14.
- 4) ROSS, Stanley R., Op. Cit., p. 43.
- 5) Ibid, pp. 45-47.

- 6) Ibid, p. 46.
- 7) This is not to say that there was a total lack of discussion and concern for example Justo Sierra, the new Deputy - Secretary of the Secretariat of Justice and Public Instruction, during 1901 to 1905, attempted a reform of education "based on his ideas of liberalism which also included his proposal for a social pedagogy". The purpose was to improve the condition of the popular classes. However, the reforms were never implemented. Cf. ROBLES, Martha, EDUCACION Y SOCIEDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Siglo XXI Editores, 6th Edition, Mexico, 1983, p. 71.
- 8) In contrast, University teachers had a four or even six year course in a specialized field. Detailed information on the number of higher education schools, the number of students enrolled, and their specializations is offered by: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, THE STATE, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL CLASS IN MEXICO, 1880-1928, Northern Illinois University Press, Dekalb, 1982,, pp. 66-73.
- 9) Detailed information about teachers situation is offered by VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Ibid, pp. 64-65
- 10) Ibid, p. 63.
- 11) Ibid, p. 63.
- 12) Ibid, p. 65.

- 13) Ibid, p. 65.
- 14) Ibid, p. 65.
- 15) RABY, David L., EDUCACION Y REVOLUCION SOCIAL EN MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN MEXICO], SEP-SETENTAS, Mexico, 1974, p. 67.
- 16) Cf. Ibid, pp. 18-20.
- 17) See: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 69-70.
- 18) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, LA UNIVERSIDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [THE UNIVERSITY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Editorial Linea, Universidad Autonoma de Guerrero, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas, Serie Estado y Educacion en Mexico, Mexico, 1984, p. 90.
- 19) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 72.
- 20) This does not mean the exclusion of other higher education institutions in the country. But this analysis concentrates on the University teachers of UNAM. The majority of them came and come from Mexico City, and they received and receive their training in the higher institutions existing in this city. See: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 66-73. and IBARROLA, Maria (De), LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], CRESALC-UNESCO, Caracas, 1986, p. 6.
- 21) The members of the "Ateneo de la Juventud" ['Young Athenians'] were a group of intellectuals who stressed

the importance of 'pure knowledge'. They did not consider the 1910 Revolution to be significant, and remained out of it. VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 240-241.

- 22) See: COSIO, Villegas Daniel, "La Justificacion de la Tierra" ["The Justification of Earth"], ENSAYOS Y NOTAS [ESSAYS AND NOTES], Editorial Hermes, Buenos Aires and Mexico, 1966, p. 26. Quoted by: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 247.
- 23) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., p. 105.
- 24) Cf. ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., pp. 138-139.
- 25) Cf. Ibid, pp. 88-89.
- 26) SIERRA, Justo, LA EDUCACION NACIONAL. ARTICULOS, ACTUACIONES Y DOCUMENTOS [NATIONAL EDUCATION. ARTICLES, FACTS, AND DOCUMENTS], Edition Ordered by Agustin Yanez, Vol. 8 of OBRAS COMPLETAS [COMPLETE WRITINGS], UNAM, Mexico, 1948, p. 56. Quoted by: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 23.
- 27) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 88.
- 28) PUIG, Casauranc Jose Manuel, LA COSECHA Y LA SIEMBRA (Exposicion Critica Social y Politica) [THE HARVEST AND THE SOWING (Social and Political Criticism)], Mexico, 1928, p. 240.
- 29) ALVEAR, Acevedo Carlos, LA EDUCACION Y LA LEY. La Legislacion en Materia Educativa en el Mexico



- Independiente. [EDUCATION AND THE LAW. The Legislation on Education in the Independent Mexico], Editorial Jus, 3rd Edition, Mexico, 1978, p. 196.
- 30) PUIG, Casauranc Jose Manuel, Op. Cit., p. 257. In 1913, 200 basic schools were created for the deprived population, but they did not fulfil their expectations. BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., p.92.
- 31) See RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 12 and VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 97. (Decree of 25th December, 1914. The Secretariat of Public Education was abolished after the Constitutional Convention of 1916-1917).
- 32) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 122-123.
- 33) Ibid, pp. 138-139.
- 34) Felix Palavicini tried to give teachers better salaries, and "a law on merit increases, promotions, and pensions was drawn up and discussed although such legislation was not to be passed until 1929". VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 96-97.
- 35) The Constitutional Congress was opened in the city of Queretaro on the 21 of November 1916. BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 60-65.
- 36) See: BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Ibid, pp. 60-65.
- 37) Ibid, p. 65.
- 38) But a strong reaction arose from conservatives and President Carranza, whose classical-liberal ideology

differed. Whatever the conflicts were, the National Constitution became the pillar for the configuration of a new political system and sustained the Mexican State. President Carranza sent a proposal for reforming Article 3 to the Union Congress arguing that "the new Article 3 was a blow against freedom, and education was important for the development of the country, whoever taught it, and whatever its ideology was". VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 68 and 90.

- 39) Cf. MATUTE, Alvaro, "La Politica Educativa de Jose Vasconcelos" ["The Educational Policy of Jose Vasconcelos"] (in) HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO. TOMO I [HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO. VOLUME I], SOLANA, Fernando, CARDIEL, Reyes Raul & BOLANOS, Martinez Raul (Coor.), SEP/80 - Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 174. A detailed account of the contradictions of the ideology of Jose Vasconcelos is also offered by VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 140-141.
- 40) Cf. RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op, Cit., p. 53. See also: VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 141.
- 41) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 53.
- 42) ALVEAR, Acevedo Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 233-235.
- 43) The "Cristero" Rebellion took place from 1928 to 1929. For further information, see: BAILEY, David C., VIVA

CRISTO REY! THE CRISTERO REBELLION AND THE CHURCH-STATE  
CONFLICT IN MEXICO, Texas Pan American Series, University  
of Texas Press, Austin & London, 1974.

- 44) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., pp. 147-165.
- 45) BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 328-330.
- 46) In one instance, teachers working in one of the towns of the State of Jalisco were threatened by a group of fanatics who set fire to the local school shouting slogans such as "Viva Cristo Rey" ['long life to Christ the King']. The furniture, school books, and documents were burnt, but the teachers escaped and were hidden in a nearby town. Three months later the school was burnt again, and this time the teacher, who was in the school, had to escape and hide in a neighbour's house. Quoted from RABY, David, Op. Cit., p. 154.
- 47) "Peasants in the State of Nayarit received their land and formed their "ejidos" thanks to the enthusiasm and work of a rural teacher member of a Cultural Mission". Quoted from: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 123.
- 48) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO, TOMO I [TEACHERS AND THE STATE, VOLUME I], Editorial Linea, Universidad Autonoma de Guerrero, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas, Mexico, 1984, pp. 36-37.

- 49) RABY, David, Op. Cit, p. 90.
- 50) See: BASURTO, Jorge, CARDENAS Y EL PODER SINDICAL [CARDENAS AND THE UNIONS POWER], Ediciones ERA, Mexico, 1983. and IANNI, Octavio, EL ESTADO CAPITALISTA EN LA EPOCA DE CARDENAS [THE CAPITALIST STATE DURING THE CARDENAS PERIOD], Ediciones ERA, Mexico, 1977.
- 51) "The education given by the State will be socialist, and it will exclude any religious doctrine and it will fight against fanaticism and prejudice. Therefore the school will organize its teaching activities in order to develop, among youth, a rational and exact concept of the universe and social life. Only the Federation, State, and Municipalities will be authorized to offer primary, secondary and normal education. Private individuals who wish to offer education in any of the previous types can only do so if they follow the norms established by the State". BREAMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 285.
- 52) Ibid, p. 91-92.
- 53) EL MAESTRO RURAL [THE RURAL TEACHER], Vol. 4, No. 4, 15 February, 1934. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 148.
- 54) Part of the nationalist policy of the State was the expropriation of the oil companies. In this, even the church and the conservative group supported the socialist

government. Detailed information of this event is offered by: SILVA, Herzog Jesus, HISTORIA DE LA EXPROPIACION DE LAS EMPRESAS PETROLERAS [HISTORY OF THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE OIL COMPANIES], Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas, Editorial Libros de Mexico, 4th Edition, Mexico, 1973.

- 55) The autonomy of the university was given as a result of a manoeuvre of the State to placate students of the Faculty of Law who rejected the new regulations for their exams, and organized a strike which brought repression by the police. Thus the President in office, Emilio Portes Gil (1929-1932), awarded the University its autonomy on 10th July 1929. ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 127.
- 56) ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit, p. 127.
- 57) Cf. Ibid, p. 130.
- 58) Cf. ALVEAR, Acevedo Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 258.
- 59) With its full autonomy, the University was awarded a subsidy of 10 million pesos (which was insufficient for its needs).
- 60) Cf. ALVEAR, Acevedo Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 259-260.
- 61) The opposition resulted in an important debate between Antonio Caso (conservative), and Vicente Lombardo Toledano (radical). For further information see: "Debate

Entre Antonio Caso y Vicente Lombardo Toledano" ["Debate Between Antonio Caso and Vicente Lombardo Toledano"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], Organo de Difusion del Movimiento de Reforma Universitaria, No. 1, June 1976, pp. 25-31.

- 62) ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 131.
- 63) BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 396.
- 64) ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 68.
- 65) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 81. and RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 20.
- 66) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 26.
- 67) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 81.
- 68) Ibid, p. 81.
- 69) Cf. Ibid, pp. 81-82.
- 70) GONZALEZ, Cosio Arturo, "50 Anos de Revolution" ["50 Years of Revolution"], CLASES Y ESTRATOS SOCIALES EN MEXICO [SOCIAL CLASSES AND STRATA IN MEXICO], IX Censo General de Poblacion, S.I.C., p. 59. (in) GONZALEZ, Cosio Arturo, CLASES MEDIAS Y MOVILIDAD SOCIAL [MIDDLE CLASSES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY], Editorial Extemporaneos, Mexico, 1976, p. 59.
- 71) Urban and Rural Population Data: MEXICO DEMOGRAFICO [DEMOGRAPHIC MEXICO], Breviario 1979, Consejo Nacional de Poblacion [CONAPO], Mexico, 1979, p. 44.

- 72) BRITTON, John A., EDUCACION Y RADICALISMO EN MEXICO. II, Los Anos de Cardenas (1934-1940) [EDUCATION AND RADICALISM IN MEXICO. II, The Years of Cardenas (1934-1940), SEP-SETENTAS, Mexico, 1976, Op. Cit., p. 64.
- 73) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., pp. 135-136.
- 74) One of the comments was made by Ethel Tweedie, who remarked that in 1901, "children from the elite were educated in England, in Stoneyhurst or in Belmont, and some of them carried on with their studies in the universities". TWEEDIE, Ethel, MEXICO AS I SAW IT, New York, 1901, p. 144. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 17. Another example comes from the Council of Public Higher Education. In a study among teachers, the Council discovered that if fees were imposed on students enrolled in the Higher Education Schools the "...imposition of fees would result in a considerable reduction in the number of students of these (higher education) schools...". Quoted from: BOLETIN DE INSTRUCCION PUBLICA [PUBLICATION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION], Information of the Secretariat of Education, Lic. Ezequiel A. Chavez, Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction. National School of Arts and Crafts for Men, 10th March 1903, Mexico, p. 459.
- 75) Cf. VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 82.

- 76) Cf. Ibid, p. 82.
- 77) Cf. Ibid, p. 82.
- 78) Information about the 'Popular University' is offered by:  
VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 244-245, and by:  
CHASSEN, de Lopez Francie R., Op. Cit., pp. 52-53.
- 79) TORRES, Carlos Alberto, THE CORPORATIST STATE: HEGEMONIC POLITICS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN MEXICO (1970-1982), FLACSO, Mexico City, Edmonton, 1985, p. 23.
- 80) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 20.
- 81) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 88.
- 82) CURIEL, Mendez Martha Eugenia, "La Educacion Normal" ["Normal Education"] (in) LA HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO, Tomo II [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO. Vol. II), SOLANA, Fernando, CARDIEL, Reyes Raul & BOLANOS, Raul, SEP-80 Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 444.
- 83) See: CHASSEN, de Lopez Francie R., Op. Cit., pp. 84 and 86.
- 84) VAUGHAN, Mary K., Op. Cit., pp. 143-144.
- 85) Ibid, pp. 143.
- 86) Cf. VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., pp. 69-70.
- 87) BRITTON, John A., EDUCACION Y RADICALISMO EN MEXICO. I, LOS ANOS DE BASSOLS (1930-1933) [EDUCATION AND RADICALISM IN MEXICO. I, THE YEARS OF BASSOLS (1930-1933)] SEP-SETENTAS, Mexico, p. 155.



- 88) David Raby gives a detailed account of some of these women rural teachers. See: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., pp. 181-189.
- 89) VAUGHAN, Mary Kay, Op. Cit., p. 66.
- 90) ITURRIAGA, Jose, LA ESTRUCTURA SOCIAL Y CULTURAL DE MEXICO [THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF MEXICO], Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1951, p. 173. And GALLO, Martinez Victor, "La Educacion Preescolar y Primaria" ["Pre-school and Primary Education"], 50 ANOS DE REVOLUCION, IV: LA CULTURA [50 YEARS OF REVOLUTION, IV: THE CULTURE], Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1960, p. 45. Quoted by: MONROY, Huitron Guadalupe, Op. Cit., p. 15.
- 91) Ibid, p. 15.
- 92) Cf. SIMPSON, Eyler N., THE EJIDO: MEXICO WAY OUT [Sic], Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., pp. 56-57.
- 93) Ibid, pp. 56-57.
- 94) NOTICIA ESTADISTICA SOBRE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO Correspondiente al Ano 1928 [STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO OF THE YEAR 1928], Tables 68 & 77, Publicaciones de la SEP, Mexico, 1930, pp. 282-283, 312-313.
- 95) Ibid, pp. 282-283 and 312-313.

- 96) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 80.
- 97) ESTATUTO JURIDICO DE LOS TRABAJADORES AL SERVICIO DEL ESTADO, [JUDICIAL STATUTE OF WORKERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE], December, 1938, p. 83.
- 98) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 86.
- 99) NOTICIA ESTADISTICA SOBRE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO Correspondiente al Ano 1928 [STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO OF THE YEAR 1928], Op. Cit., pp 146-147, 268-269.
- 100) Ibid, pp. 146-147, 268-269.
- 101) The Federal District is considered an expensive area, thus teachers had a higher salary than other teachers in the country. Teachers' salaries are subjected to a tariff according to the prices predominant in each area of the country.
- 102) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 81.
- 103) BRITTON, John A., I, Op. Cit., p. 82.
- 104) MEMORIA DE LA SECRETARIA DE EDUCACION PUBLICA, 1933 [REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1933] Vol. I, p. 17. Quoted by: BRITTON, John A., Ibid, p. 82.
- 105) Cf. MEMORIA DE LA SECRETARIA DE EDUCACION PUBLICA, 1929 [REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1929], p. 399, Vol. I, p. XIII & pp. 15-17, 1936, p. 9. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 81.

- 106) Cf. MEMORIA DE LOS TRABAJOS REALIZADOS POR LA UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE MEXICO [REPORT OF THE WORK PERFORMED BY THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO], During the Administration of the President Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928), Mexico, 1928, p. 69.
- 107) Ibid, p. 39.
- 108) Ibid, pp. 75-76.
- 109) Professors in the Faculty of Philosophy were organized into sections according to the speciality they taught. There were five groups in Philosophy, Sciences, and Literature, and three in Pedagogy, each of them represented by a head of department. Each of these heads of section was in charge of coordinating professors in the department as well as their programmes, and they were, at the same time considered advisors to their faculty director. Quoted from: Ibid, pp. 75-76.
- 110) Cf. Ibid, p. 42. And also see: ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 128.
- 111) Cf. AGRAMONTES, Roberto, "La Provision de Catedras" ["Appointment to Chairs"], UNIVERSIDAD [UNIVERSITY], Mensual de Cultura Popular, No. 6, Tomo I, July, 1936, p. 41.
- 112) Cf. MARISCAL, Federico E., "El Profesor Universitario" ["The University Professor"], UNIVERSIDAD [UNIVERSITY], Mensual de Cultural Popular, No. 21, Tomo IV, October, 1937, p. 37.

- 113) Cf. Ibid, p. 37.
- 114) Cf. MUNOZ, Cota Jose, "Panorama de Mexico" [Overview of Mexico"] (in) BREMAUNTZ, Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 418.
- 115) NOTICIA ESTADISTICA SOBRE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO CORRESPONDIENTE al Ano 1927 [STATISTIC INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO OF THE YEAR 1927], Op, Cit., pp. 868-871.
- 116) Ibid, pp. 868-871.
- 117) See: Article 3 of the CONSTITUCION POLITICA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS [POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO], Editores Unidos Mexicanos, Mexico, 1987, pp. 5-8.
- 118) This became evident when in 1928 in a document entitled NOTICIA ESTADISTICA SOBRE EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO CORRESPONDIENTE AL AÑO 1928 [STATISTIC INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO OF THE YEAR 1928] (Publicaciones de la SEP, Mexico, 1930), no mention is made of the private Normal Schools, and the total of normal schools is given as 51. There is no clear evidence of their closure, or perhaps they were simply ignored as a consequence of the "Cristero" rebellion.
- 119) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 110.
- 120) Ibid, p. 111.
- 121) The 'mobile' Cultural Missions were centres formed by missionaries travelling to rural communities to help and

advise rural teachers in teaching and agricultural techniques as well as in social activities such as sanitation and hygiene. The permanent Cultural Missions were located in pre-selected places where rural teachers received advice in the same disciplines. Cf. HERNANDEZ, Pulido Ricardo J., CONTRIBUCION DE LOS EDUCADORES NO ENSEÑANTES AL PROCESO EDUCATIVO NO FORMAL. LA EXPERIENCIA DE LA MISIONES CULTURALES EN MEXICO [CONTRIBUTION OF THE NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONISTS TO THE NON FORMAL PROCESS OF EDUCATION: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CULTURAL MISSIONS], UNESCO, Paris, 1979, p. 43.

122) Ibid, p. 43.

123) First, short courses on teaching methods based on theories of pedagogy, and the practical training were adapted to the environment and needs of the rural communities. Second, summer courses lasting 45 days were followed by a three-months period of reinforcement of the new knowledge, offered by the Mobile Cultural Missions. Third, a four semester course, whose first course consisted in complementary knowledge for the upgrading of teachers with low schooling was offered. RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 23. And: HERNANDEZ, Pulido Ricardo J., Op. Cit., p. 43.

124) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 120.

- 125) In one instance, "the inhabitants of a hostile community attacked missionaries with stones making them leave the village, but missionaries went back to the village led by an Army Sergeant" Quoted from: SANCHEZ, George I., MEXICO: A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION, New York, 1936, p. 85. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op.Cit.,p. 118.
- 126) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 123.
- 127) Cf. HERNANDEZ, Pulido Ricardo J., Op. Cit., p. 36.
- 128) SIERRA, Augusto Santiago, LAS MISIONES CULTURALES [THE CULTURAL MISSIONS], Mexico, SEP SETENTAS, 1973, p. 50. Quoted by: HERNANDEZ, Pulido Ricardo J., Op. Cit., p. 43.
- 129) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 132.
- 130) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian (et.al.), CIENTO CINCUENTA ANOS EN LA FORMACION DE MAESTROS MEXICANOS [ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS IN THE TRAINING OF MEXICAN TEACHERS], CNTE-SEP, Mexico, 1984, pp. 36-37.
- 131) Ibid, pp. 36-37.
- 132) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 21.
- 133) Ibid, p. 21.
- 134) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 132.
- 135) David Raby gives clear information about the role of rural teachers in the struggle of peasants for the property of their lands. See: RABY, David, Op. Cit., pp. 105-137.

- 136) Ibid, p. 120.
- 137) Ibid, p. 129.
- 138) Ibid, p. 122.
- 139) Ibid, p. 121.
- 140) Applicants to the Regional Schools for Peasants should be of peasant origin, must produce a letter of reference from a rural primary school, and be at least 14 years of age. RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 132.
- 141) It was recorded that the Regional Schools for Peasants succeeded in their purpose of enrolling peasant students because, in 1934, more than 64% of those registered were of peasant origin. MEMORIA [REPORT], 1934, Vol. 1, p. 50. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 47.
- 142) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 133.
- 143) Students finishing the first two years of agricultural training received a certificate as 'practical agriculturalists', and were given the opportunity to work a piece of land, and the necessary equipment. This training offered students the possibility of acquiring the skills they would need in a rural community such as basic academic knowledge as well as knowledge of the agricultural and domestic economy. Students graduating as teachers were offered posts in rural schools, and "generally... with excellent results". RUIZ, Ramon

Eduardo, Op., Cit., p. 134. and MEMORIA [REPORT], 1934, Vol. 1, p. 50. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 47.

144) Ibid, p. 135.

145) Ten Regional Schools for Peasants, created in 1934, were attended by 900 students. This number increased, and by 1940 there were 33 Regional Schools with 4,116 students. SECRETARIA DE GOBERNACION, SEIS ANOS DE GOBIERNO... 1934-1940 [SIX YEARS OF GOVERNMENT... 1934-1940], p. 253. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 134.

146) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 136.

147) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., pp. 83-84.

148) The first three years of general knowledge was offered through 16 subjects, and the technical training through 7. The last three years reduced the number of subjects: 4 offered general knowledge, 9 offered professional training, and 7 were for technical training. CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit. pp. 83-84.

149) NOTICIA ESTADISTICA SOBRE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO, 1928 [STATISTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO, 1928], Op. Cit., pp. 590-591.

150) The National School for Teachers in Mexico City was created on the 2 January 1924.

151) Ibid, pp. 264-265.



- 152) Teaching practice, specified in the 1925 curriculum of the National School for Teachers, stimulated the contact of students with the reality of teaching in classrooms. This practice was carried out for four hours per week in the first professional year, seven hours during the second year, and ten hours per week during the third year reinforced by a week of teaching practice at the end of every semester of the second and third years. CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., pp. 264-265.
- 153) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., pp. 264-265.
- 154) "Normalismo" as a movement had more influence in the development of teachers struggles during the 1970's. This will be analysed in Chapter 5.
- 155) BURKE, Michael E., "The University of Mexico and the Revolution, 1910-1940", THE AMERICAS, No. 34, October 1977, p. 252.
- 156) Ibid, p. 252.
- 157) ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 100.
- 158) BURKE, Michael E., Op. Cit., p. 257.
- 159) JIMENEZ Mier y Teran, Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF UNAM], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 2nd. Edition, Mexico, 1987, p. 51.
- 160) ROBLES, Martha, p. 100.
- 161) BURKE, Michael E., p. 257.

- 162) Cf. Ibid, p. 266.
- 163) "Debate Entre Antonio Caso y Vicente Lombardo Toledano" ["Debate Between Antonio Caso and Vicente Lombardo Toledano"], REVISTA FUTURO [THE FUTURE], 1933, pp. 34-37. Published in FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], Epoch I, No. 1, Mexico, June, 1976, pp. 25-26.
- 164) Lombardo Toledano argued that the "University had to adopt Marxism as its ideology or cease being a constructive influence in Mexican life. Neither the nation nor the University could afford the luxury of an academic freedom that ignored this reality". Antonio Caso argued that "...the university is dedicated to the 'creation of values'...". True academic freedom demanded institutional neutrality, because only in an atmosphere of complete freedom and openness, could real research take place". BURKE, Michael E. Op. Cit., p. 267. and Ibid, p. 267.
- 165) Cf. WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., pp. 112-113. See also: CHASSEN, de Lopez Francie R., Op. Cit., pp. 65-73.
- 166) Cf. WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., p. 112.
- 167) ROBLES, Martha, Op. cit., p. 143.
- 168) ESTATUTO GENERAL DE LA UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE MEXICO [GENERAL STATUTE OF THE NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO], Chapter 1, 1938, Quoted by: BURKE, Michael E., Op. Cit., p. 270.

- 169) Thus the conflict of concept of the role of university teachers remained. Cf. BURKE, Michael E. Op. Cit., p. 272.
- 170) Some of the first research institutes were: the Institute of Social Research, the Institute of Aesthetic Research, the Institute of Economic Research, and the Institute of Geology. BURKE, Michael, Op. Cit., p. 272.
- 171) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., p. 133.
- 172) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 95. See also: PEREZ, Gonzalez Vicente, "Vision Panoramica de la Historia del SNTE" ["Overview of the History of the SNTE"], APUNTES SOBRE EL SINDICALISMO EN MEXICO [NOTES ABOUT UNIONISM IN MEXICO], SNTE, Mexico, 1983, p. 41.
- 173) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 69.
- 174) See SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 126.
- 175) Some of the states of the country which had the first teachers' unions were Veracruz, Yucatan, Puebla, Tlaxcala, San Luis Potosi, Guerrero, and Oaxaca. RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 87.
- 176) Ibid, p. 68.
- 177) Ibid, p. 68.
- 178) Cf. EL MACHETE, 18 of August 1928. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 68.
- 179) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 68.

- 180) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 37.
- 181) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 64.
- 182) Cf. Ibid, p. 71.
- 183) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 36.
- 184) In Veracruz, the strong opposition was by the socialist teachers of the Confederation of Socialist Parties of Veracruz who formed the Socialist Front of Teachers, an umbrella organization. This merged with three other unions, the National Committee For Educational Reform, the Block of Left Wing Teachers, and the League of Teachers of Revolutionary Action. Other groups with a left wing ideology also tried to reinforce their position, and control teachers. Two of the strongest were the Federation of Socialist Teachers of the Federal District, and the League of Workers in Teaching, with headquarters in Mexico City. These groups were linked with overseas organizations such as the Communist International of the Workers of Education with headquarters in Paris. RABY, David, Op. Cit., pp. 71-72.
- 185) Cf. EXCELSIOR, March 18, 1934, pp. 1, 8. Quoted by: BRITTON, John A., II, Op. Cit., p. 76. (Britton uses

here the word 'public' schools to refer to those schools funded by the government, but because this word has different connotation in England, it has been replaced by the word 'Federal'.

- 186) Cf. RABY, David L., Op. Cit., pp. 85-87.
- 187) Cf. Ibid, p. 69.
- 188) EXCELSIOR, 30 December, 1931. Quoted by: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 70.
- 189) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 194-195.
- 190) Ibid, p. 39.
- 191) RABY, David L. Op. Cit., p. 70.
- 192) Ibid, p. 71.
- 193) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 39.
- 194) RABY, David L., Op. Cit., pp. 74-75.
- 195) Ibid, p. 77.
- 196) BRITTON, John A., II, Op. Cit., p. 100.
- 197) PELAEZ, Gerardo, HISTORIA DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION [HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS IN EDUCATION], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1984, p. 24.
- 198) GERMANI, Gino, "The Professor and the Catedra" (in) MAIER, Joseph & WEATHERHEAD, Richard W. (Eds.), THE LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, University of New Mexico Press, 1st. Edition, Albuquerque, 1979, p. 206.

- 199) LOMBARDO, Toledano Vicente, EL PROBLEMA DE LA EDUCACION EN MEXICO [THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Editorial Cultura, Mexico, 1924, p. 16. Quoted by: CHASSEN, de Lopez, Francie R., Op. Cit.,p. 56.
- 200) CHASSEN, de Lopez Francie R, Op. Cit., p. 84.
- 201) Ibid, p. 56.
- 202) Cf. Ibid, pp. 55-56.

## CHAPTER 4.

### TEACHERS' STRUGGLES: 1941 - 1970.

The period studied in this chapter involves a shift away from the socialist ideologies of post-revolutionary governments toward the more right-wing views of the governments of this period. This shift in the ideology of the bureaucratic-authoritarian Mexican State had a number of consequences which affected - differentially - the social, professional and political position of the two groups of teachers which are being analysed. Overall, social divisions in Mexican society were deepened, while unity and nationalism were stressed as the aims of the education system. Economic crises affected the ability of the State to provide education - though it embarked on expansionist policies of 'education for all'. Efforts by the State to encourage unionism produced radical views among primary school teachers, and worsening relationships with the SEP; but paradoxically, an initial period of calm in the University, and an improved relationship with UNAM took place.

To pick up and explore these themes more fully, the chapter is divided into four parts. The first places attention to the general changes in education policy in social and economic

context. The second part studies the changes - social class origin of teachers as Mexico continued its change from a rural to an urban society. The third part analyses changes in teacher training and the impact those changes had on the role and status of primary and university teachers. And the fourth part of the chapter is concerned with teachers' professional associations and unions.

#### EDUCATION AND ITS REFORMS.

##### **General Educational Reforms, and Their Impact on Primary School Teachers.**

During the period between 1941 and 1970, the industrial development promoted by the policies of the governments in office initiated the transformation of the country with the use of modern technology, and the expansion of the economy as a result of the increase of overseas investment in Mexico (1). Thus, the growth of industrialism and of urban areas changed the formation of the Mexican society. Peasants migrated from rural to urban areas, forming the new urban population whose requirements were different from those needs they had to satisfy in rural areas (2).



More attention was given by the governments to the provision of education, and to the recruitment and training of teachers. Attitudes towards schooling, and higher education underwent major changes since education was seen, by the popular and middle classes, as an avenue for their upward mobility (3). The instruments of this mobility in the period of the post-revolutionary governments, as was seen in the previous chapter, were the primary school teachers.

The Manuel Avila Camacho government (1940-1946) tried to diminish the divisions caused by the secularism and socialism of the previous governments. National unity was the government's stated goal, and education was given a major responsibility in achieving these aims (4). The emphasis was put on "unity, moderation, conciliation, and a new broadened international outlook" (5) for the Mexican people.

Thus the unity of the Mexican society at all social levels, became the main stress within an amendment to Article Three of the National Constitution (in 1945). The new Article established that "education whether in national, state or municipal institutions must develop, harmoniously, all the faculties of the human being, encourage patriotism and a consciousness of international solidarity. It must be free

of religious doctrine, be based on proven results of science, and provide a bulwark against ignorance and its consequences: slavery, fanaticism, and prejudice. It is to be democratic, to be connected with national development, to encourage personal dignity, family integrity, social good, and fraternity, and to stress the equality of all citizens before the law" (6).

With these amendments to Article 3, the socialist themes were removed. Thus the church was able to undertake a role again in education. The socialism prevalent in the Article 3 from the Cardenas government disappeared - but the positivism remained in the form of a stress on the principles of scientific, and democratic education, and the concepts for national, compulsory, free, and secular education (7).

These principles were reinforced by the Miguel Aleman government (1946-1952) which declared that "the main aim of education should be the development of moral purity in human beings which will lead them to freedom and justice" (8). Thus new slogans such as 'school of love' (9) and the 'Mexican school' (10) came to replace the principles of socialist education. With these new slogans, the governments tried to end the opposition between different ideologies, and to

emphasise nationalism in education. However, although at the ideological level, educational aims stressed democracy and the equality of all Mexicans (11), in reality divisions of society were sustained by the relatively disproportionate attention given to urban areas.

The intensity of the migration to urban areas was high, as is shown by the following figures: in 1940, 105,000 people migrated, in 1950, the figure was 128,000 and by 1960, 149,000 had moved to the urban areas (12). With this demographic pressure, the demand for education increased, hence more urban schools were needed. In 1950, 3 million children out of 6,200,000 were enrolled in primary schools which means that only 48.5% had access to education. By 1955, 3.9 million children out of 6,800,000 were in primary school, thus 57.4% had access to education. In 1960, 5.1 million children out of 7,800,000 were enrolled in primary school which meant that the 65.5% had access to education (13).

These figures represent the increase in the number of children entering education during this period. However, economic problems facing the next government (that of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, 1952-1958) prevented an increase in the educational budget in proportion to the growth in the number

of schools and teachers. The currency had been devalued (1955) against the U.S. Dollar (14). This meant that, in real terms, the budget of education was cut to 8.9% compared with the allocated to education by the Manuel Avila Camacho government which was 10.2% (15).

Nonetheless, an increase in the number of schools and teachers was recorded. In 1950 there had been 24,100 schools, in 1955 the number was 27,800 schools, and in 1957 there were 29,200. The number of teachers in 1950 was 72,200, in 1955 there were 93,900 teachers, and in 1957 the number was 103,400 (16). In spite of this growth a large number of children remained out of primary schools, or left before they finished. Differences between rural and urban areas still continued since most rural primary schools only offered the three first years of primary schooling and did not provide facilities for access to further levels of education. In addition the quality of education offered in the schools did not change: the curriculum, teaching methods, and textbooks remained the same (17).

Thus, overall, the Ruiz Cortines' government tried to raise the cultural level of the popular classes, and emphasise the importance of education in the economic development of the

country (18). Nonetheless, this government was severely hampered by the economic recession leading to austerity policies which in turn underlined the differences which, already existed, between social classes (19).

The next government that of Adolfo Lopez Mateos (1958-1964) continued the stress education through a major reform known as the 'Eleven Year Plan' (20). The main objective of the 'Eleven Year Plan' was "to guarantee free and compulsory primary education to all Mexican children" (21). This would be achieved in two ways, first by enrolling all those children who had never attended school into the compulsory system, and secondly by making all rural primary schools offer the full six years of primary schooling. Free textbooks were given to primary school children offering them the basic tools for their learning (22).

The educational reform covered all levels of education, but teacher training received special attention. The quality of teaching was considered important for the success of this reform, and normal schools emphasised the training of teachers in the new pedagogy. The SEP authorities tried "to improve the quality of teaching making the curriculum less theoretical, closer to the real needs of people, and

implementing modern teaching methods" (23). The achievements of this reform though important for the development of education did not fulfill all the objectives intended by the SEP authorities. Once more economic problems, and incorrect implementation of programmes prevented their full achievement.

Nonetheless, some progress was made. In 1964, the Lopez Mateos government allocated more than 25% of the federal budget to education, thus 6,600,000 children could attend primary school, 2,500,000 more than in 1958 (24). This development was curtailed by the government of Gustavo Diaz Ordaz (1964-1970). The social inequalities in the country were such that social reforms adopted by the previous governments, as an answer to class division, were questioned since they appeared to have failed. Arturo Gonzalez Cosio considers that "the political and economic reality of the country denied outside the school what was taught in the classrooms" (25).

Thus, school programmes emphasised equality - but within a country with social and regional inequalities. Education in rural areas was only provided for 62% of the age group at elementary level, whereas in urban areas the provision of education reached 83% of children at school age (26). Thus

for each pupil completing primary school in rural areas there were six in urban areas (27). This contrast contracted in practice those educational policies aiming at ending the inequalities between urban and rural areas. Despite good intentions, the utilitarian tendency of the industrial development and technification of the country (28) only reinforced the differences between urban and rural areas.

These inequalities became more evident during the Diaz Ordaz government. The majority of the population had little access to the economic and social rewards since 10% of the population received 52% of the total income (29). Economic resources and major social services classes were concentrated in only five cities of the country of which Mexico City was one (30).

These social and urban inequalities resulted in great dissatisfaction among the working class, which led to the organization of important movements where workers unions and teachers threatened the stability of the political system. One of the social struggles was organized by students in 1968. Although many students were members of the middle classes, some workers and peasants backed their struggle against inequalities (31). The values of the authoritarian system in Mexico were openly questioned; and the movement was violently

repressed by the government supported by the army (32), on the simple principle that the Mexican State "...will not tolerate such an open and potent challenge" (33).

The government felt that education was responsible for much of this unrest, and a new reform of education, known as the 'Integral Plan of Education' was proposed. Its main purpose was to end the teaching of indisciplined thinking. The rhetoric was that "education should focus on forthcoming changes, and train the new generation of Mexicans to fulfil their task in contemporary society" (34).

However, differences between rural and urban areas remained, intensified by the inequalities in education. According to the 1970 National Census there were in the country 18,280,000 children of 15 years of age (or more than 70.5%) who had not completed the six years of primary education; 8,196,000 or 31.6%, had not received any education at all (35). This meant that education in urban areas was supplied to 72.1% of children while in rural areas only to 58.4% (36). Thus the overall time spent in schooling among the Mexican population was only 3.32 years (37), a figure too low to meet the expectations for development held by the State.



The policies adopted by the governments of this period with emphasis on unity and nationalism tried to increase the opportunities of development of the country. Education was then made the main responsible for the fulfillment of these policies through various educational reforms. But the main benefits were for a reduced minority, and contrary to what was expected inequalities remained.

These inequalities, and the quality of teaching hindered the fulfillment of many expectations. This was true of education in general and for primary school teachers. It was also true that the reforms implemented in the University reinforced its elitism and the conservatism of its teachers. An analysis of this theme is the work of the next section.

#### **UNAM Reforms, and Their Impact on Teachers.**

The right wing ideology dominating during this period reinforced the conservatism over the professional status of teachers through the changes implemented in the administration of the University.

As was seen in chapter three, UNAM gained its autonomy in 1929, and the 'Organic Law' of 1933 established regulations

regarding it. This law was modified when the new Organic Law was published on 6th January 1945, by the 'Official Diary of the Federation', and a new 'Judicial Statute' was enunciated to regulate the activities of UNAM (38). It confirmed the organization of the University as "a public corporation, legally separated from the State" (39).

The changes in the new 'Organic Law' were evidence of the policies of 'moderation' as well as of 'national unity' of President Manuel Avila Camacho's government. It also recognised three principles for the University: first, to put into practice full legal autonomy in the University, secondly, to identify the character of the University as an educational centre interested only in the development of teaching and research and not as a political institution, thirdly, to view the University as a cultural community of teachers and students who had the same goals of 'teaching and learning' (40). "Teaching is and must be the teachers' aim, and learning is the students' only purpose" (41).

The changes of the Organic Law of 1945 also brought as a consequence a growing alliance between the University authorities and the government. During the Miguel Aleman government (1946-1952), the University experienced important

changes. In 1953 the University City was built in an attempt to gather together its population, and offer an image of modernization and development (42). However lack of relevant planning and foresight, and the non-democratic system within it only served to isolate its different bodies from the rest of the community (43). This isolation was reinforced by the rapid growth it experienced. In 1960 the number of students in UNAM was 71,587, in 1969 it increased to 99,672, and in 1970 it went up to 106,718 (44). The University grew from a provincial institution to be a large 'centre of culture' (45).

The new university and its 'Organic Law' of 1945 reflected the old humanistic ideology of Alfonso Caso, one of the Law's architects. This Law awarded maximum authority to the University Council, with the representation of the University members, teachers and students (46). The Organic Law of 1945 created two more bodies: the 'Governing or Academic Board' ["Junta de Gobierno"], and the 'Board of Governors' ["Patronato"] (47). This modification allowed the national government to have a voice in the running of university matters.

The 'Governing or Academic Board' began to be formed by a select number of high ranking intellectuals in the University.

Neither teachers nor students were represented on it. This body elected the rector and faculty directors, who were selected from three names proposed by the rector. The 'Governing or Academic Board' was also the mediator in the conflicts between two or more authorities in the University. As a result of this, the functions of the University Council became restricted to decisions concerning academic matters which overlapped with the functions performed by the technical council of each faculty (48).

Since this time, the structure of the University has remained more or less the same as established by the 'Organic Law' of 1945 (49). Thus even now the top of the hierarchy is occupied by the 'Governing or Academic Body' with 15 members nominated, one every year, by the University Council. This body nominates the rector, the directors of faculties, schools, and institutes, and the members of the 'Governing Board' ["Patronato"] (50). The 'Governing or Academic Body' has been criticized for its lack of contact with the University as well as for its intrigues in preventing University teachers and students from participating in the election of representatives (51).

UNAM is, in practical terms, ruled by two bodies, the 'Governing or Academic Body' and the Rector, in all only

sixteen people. Jimenez Mier y Teran considers that "the law and the statute are authoritarian per se. They emerged from a period of social authoritarianism to regulate a University with a rigid hierarchy" (52). Wences Reza, accepting Jimenez Mier y Teran's criticism, considers that the authoritarianism in UNAM "made the University incapable of democracy and unable to include in its structure a liberal orientation in professional training" (53). These two points become evident in the control exerted over University teachers through their employment conditions, and professional status.

The main restriction exerted over teachers is in their participation in the government of the University. The State, however, influences the top of the University hierarchy through its 'Governing Board'. This is because this body has mostly outsiders to the university who are loyal to the State. Thus true autonomy in UNAM has been weakened since the bodies controlling the University have been very susceptible in accepting and supporting government policies (54).

The autonomy of UNAM is also curtailed by its dependence on the subsidy granted to it by the State which is not given unconditionally. According to Daniel C. Levy "each party relies on the other for its well-being. The university is

heavily dependent on the regime for official legitimacy, the absence of physical coercion, the delegation of self-rule, something of a sanctuary status for critical expression, the availability of leadership and bureaucratic posts, and financial subsidies. In turn, the regime relies to some considerable extent on the university for legitimacy, the absence of serious disorder, middle-class political support, a steady flow of professionals, political recruitment, and scientific research" (55).

With this dual dependence of the University and the State, came revolt and reaction, and the strongest governmental critics are to be found within the University. The University has become a political institution despite the emphasis made by the governments on its cultural role and dedication to pure academic knowledge (56).

Thus, overall, the participation of UNAM in the criticism of the State could be briefly or intermittently repressed but not ended. The 'Organic Law' of 1945 brought important changes to the University and brought closer relationship between State and University authorities. The expansion and the growth of the bureaucratic body in UNAM took also place (57), and with this a disruption between the professional

status of teachers and their employment conditions. More students in the University required more teachers, and lowered standards. In addition the expansion of UNAM also favoured the diversification of ideologies, each faculty began to be identified by the ideology predominant among its teachers and students.

Overall, the, the major characteristics of the period was a shift to right wing ideologies. With a rapidly changing socio-economic context (of rural - urban migration and of industrialization in the name of modernization) the government undertook educational reforms, which incorporated a stress on unity and nationalism. The educational reforms not only ran into an economic crisis, but they also failed to reduce social divisions. Among these social divisions, the differences in status and training of the two groups of teachers continued: the details of these processes are examined in the next sections.

SOCIAL LOCATION OF TEACHERS, THEIR WORKING CONDITIONS, AND THE IMPACT ON THEIR PROFESSIONAL STATUS.

During this period (1941-1970) the Mexican economy changed from being a rural one (before the 1950's) to an urban economy, characterised by large cities in a poor countryside. The policies of the right wing governments reinforced patterns of capitalist development and modernization with the investment of domestic and overseas capital. This combined interaction of urbanization and industrialization focussed attention on the cities - to which peasants migrated from rural areas (58). This began to alter the balance of population in rural and urban areas, and had implications for the social class configuration of Mexican society. There were also implications for teaching since it was seen as an avenue for upward mobility; but attention is given to the rural - urban shift first.

An overview of the changing situation is provided in the following table:



TABLE 5. RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION.

| YEAR | TOTAL    | URBAN    | %    | RURAL    | %    |
|------|----------|----------|------|----------|------|
| 1940 | 19,653.6 | 6,898.4  | 35.1 | 12,755.2 | 64.9 |
| 1950 | 27,791.0 | 10,986.9 | 42.6 | 14,804.1 | 57.4 |
| 1960 | 34,923.1 | 17,706.1 | 50.7 | 17,217.0 | 49.3 |
| 1970 | 50,694.7 | 29,757.8 | 58.7 | 20,936.9 | 41.3 |

SOURCE: MEXICO DEMOGRAFICO, Breviario 1979, Consejo Nacional de Poblacion, [CONAPO], Mexico, 1979, p. 44.

While the urban population in 1970 is almost five times what it was in 1940, the rural population has less than doubled over the same period of time. From 1960 to 1970, nearly 3,000,000 peasants migrated to urban areas (59). But the cities did not increase their social services in proportion nor as fast as was needed to satisfy the overwhelming demand of the urban poor. Shanty towns and deprived areas, where most of the immigrants from the country side lived, sprouted up all around the major cities. This is not surprising when the population figures for Mexico City and its sub-urban area show that there were 2,881,313 inhabitants in 1950, and ten years later (1960) this number had growth to 4,666,028 inhabitants (60).

The middle classes also expanded. Howard Cline considers that by 1960 both "middle and upper classes comprise more than a third of the population" (61). He points out that this was the result of "the various educational, economic, and social programmes of the previous years" (62) which benefited these classes. Some of the peasants and members of the working class, who migrated to the cities, managed to obtain some upward mobility as a result of their schooling and relations with the right people. This means that the upward mobility of some members of the popular classes accounts, in some measure, for the expansion of the middle class.

On the whole however inequalities between urban and rural areas became more emphasised, and the gap between social classes in the cities was also widened. Differences became more evident since migration of people to urban centres did not offer them better opportunities of education and work. Overcrowding in cities resulted in too many people chasing after a limited number of jobs. Housing and education also suffered since they were unable to cope with the increased demand, and life became more and more difficult for the urban popular classes (63).

In these changing circumstances, the traditional importance of primary school teaching as an avenue of mobility was confirmed.

### **The SEP Primary School Teachers.**

At all periods of Mexican history, teaching has been considered a major path towards upward mobility (64). Most primary school teachers were of working or peasant origin who, through hard work and knowing the right people, could climb to the top of the hierarchy. Carlos Torres considers that in Mexico "in contrast to the experience of South America, the teaching profession... has been more an alternative for employment and social mobility for peasants than for middle class members" (65). By adopting a teaching career, peasants were able to join a union which could promote them to better posts, head masters or inspectors, and from there they could take up a position of some importance in the teaching hierarchy. Teachers could also obtain a post in the civil service and this favoured their mobility into positions of power within State administration.

During this period and continuing the historical pattern identified in Chapter Two, the social class origin of rural and urban primary school teachers also influenced their role in society. Rural teachers, strongly motivated by the problems experienced by peasants, became involved in their life conditions and struggles for their survival (66). Urban

teachers, on the other hand, were closely linked with workers, in contact with their problems, and in direct confrontation with exploitation (67). Urban primary school teachers were closely related, through their work, to civil servants and university staff. They became familiar with the struggles of these groups, and developed coherent belief systems (68). Rural teachers in contrast had less ideological consistency (69), but were strongly involved in social struggle, as a result of the direct influence they received from peasants as well as workers' organizations.

These differences between urban and rural teachers were further heightened by employment conditions and salaries which were an answer to the new policies implemented by the governments during this period. The Manuel Avila Camacho government (1940-1946) made several pay awards to teachers. The main measures adopted were a general salary increase for all teachers in primary schools in 1946; a special increase for teachers with normal school certificates; a special bonus to the salaries of teachers working in areas with high cost of living or poor life conditions; a special increase related to the number of years of experience, and an additional bonus for their medical attention (70).

Teachers who had not obtained their teacher training certificate were offered the opportunity to do so. In-service courses were offered by the newly created 'Federal Institute of Teacher Training' (to be studied in part three of this chapter). Other social benefits also received attention. The 'Law of Pensions and Retirement' was modified reducing the number of years before retirement of primary school teachers (71).

These improvements led to a large increase in the numbers opting for a teaching career. Unfortunately this also led to pressure on existing resources so that inequalities, in terms of prestige and salaries between rural and urban teachers, could not be wiped out. In 1947 the number of teachers was 21,432, and by 1966 there were 157,436 (72). The increase of 136,004 teachers put heavy pressure on the educational budget which had not grown in proportion.

Teachers salaries, according to the official information of the SEP, increased in more than 80% of cases (73). Primary school teachers working in the Federal District in a 'School Centre' (74) earned, in 1940, 176.00 pesos per month, and by 1946, their salary was increased to 375.57 pesos which would help them to satisfy their basic needs. Those teachers of

category "A" in the Federal District who in 1940 had a salary of 176.00 pesos, had salaries of 315.70 pesos in 1946 which, although this left them behind of teachers in the School Centres, was important to help them to cope with their basic needs (75).

Rural teachers salaries, in the same period, show that deep differences still existed between both, urban and rural, areas. Those rural teachers with a Normal School certificate who earned 176.00 pesos in 1940, by 1946 received 290.66 pesos. Rural teachers category "C", the lowest, had a salary of 80.00 pesos, which went up to 156.20 pesos. A headmaster of a rural primary school who had earned 136.00 pesos in 1940, received a salary of 236.90 pesos in 1946 (76).

This information shows that even a headmaster in rural areas had a lower salary than a primary school teacher in the Federal District. The benefits of the salary increase received by rural teachers were very small in terms of their urban counterparts. Rural teachers remained on the poverty line and their professional development and mobility were much harder to acquire since opportunities for learning in the rural areas were very reduced.

Compounding the differences of salaries between rural and urban teachers, were the differences in terms of schools' resources. Generally speaking, the majority of both rural and urban schools did not meet the minimum requirements laid down by law (77). Schools in urban areas often had damp classrooms, which were located in old buildings with poor lighting, ventilation, sanitation, no workshops or libraries (78). In rural areas classrooms were sometimes open receiving direct sunshine in almost unbearable heat. Neither teachers nor pupils were able to concentrate (79). Hence, the work of teachers was deeply affected because they had to deal with difficult conditions in the school and the children's homes.

Despite this social context of teaching, the importance of the teachers' task was highly emphasised by the State. President Miguel Aleman (1946-1952), in his Educational Programme, identified two main activities for rural teachers: to favour the development of health and economic conditions of peasants; and to stimulate the development of a civic spirit, in their pupils, in order to make them understand the concept of national unity, and make each peasant child feel himself an integral part of the nation (80). In the case of urban teachers, the Programme established that their main task was to favour the development of national unity among their pupils, and their love for freedom and justice (81).

The Educational Programme also specified the characteristics that primary school teachers should possess. They should be "socially aware, optimistic, respectful of human dignity, possess a spirit of solidarity, be prepared to make sacrifices for their country, pursue the ideal of perfection, and also be capable of stimulating and developing the innate talent of their pupils" (82). With these characteristics the old missionary image of teachers, as defined by Jose Vasconcelos, were made valid again.

These characteristics were wildly different from the reality since the existing employment conditions of teachers were already affecting their task and professional status. The ideal image of the teacher was a response to the State's ideology which tried to create "a new teacher, as an a-political professional" (83) whose activities could not represent a threat to the power of the State.

Similar elements of control were implemented for teachers in the University who became restricted by the 'Organic Law' of 1945. As mentioned before, this Law limited the participation of teachers in the University government. Their employment conditions became more uncertain and their professional status was reduced. The transformation of the social class origin and employment conditions of University teachers will now be analysed.



## UNAM Teachers.

UNAM teachers as a result of their status as "profesionistas" had better employment conditions if they are compared with primary school teachers. However, the employment conditions did not improve as much as was needed to satisfy their expectations. The salaries of University teachers were low, and they had no security of tenure. To these problems were added the difficulties of coping with the large number of students in every class, and the scarce resources in libraries, laboratories, and workshops.

In an attempt to solve these problems, the Organic Law of 1945 as well as the Statute of UNAM (re-named in 1962, by the University Council as General Statute of UNAM), defined employment conditions and salaries of teachers (84). The Statute established the employment of teachers on the basis of competitive selection decided by a board of teachers nominated by UNAM. There were other requirements such as objective tests, and written essays "which prove the academic ability of the applicant" (85). The Statute also established that "the ideological stance of any applicant would not interfere in the selection criteria, and would not be taken

as sufficient cause for warranting dismissal" (86) - an effort to establish the openness of the University in relation to the different ideological tendencies of teachers.

These general regulations were not fully implemented since the increasing number of students forced authorities to create more teaching posts. In 1940 there were 17,000 students and 2,300 teachers. In 1949 there were 23,527 students and 3,617 teachers. By 1954 there were almost 35,000 students and 5,400 teachers (87). According to official information the number of full and part time teachers grew by more than 100% between 1963 and 1968, and the highest increase was in the number of part time teachers which registered a growth of 128% (88). This is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF FULL AND PART TIME TEACHERS IN UNAM.

|           | 1963 | %      | 1968 | %      | %      |
|-----------|------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| PART TIME | 100  | 47.39  | 199  | 44.02  | 99.00  |
| FULL TIME | 111  | 52.61  | 253  | 55.97  | 197.92 |
| TOTAL     | 211  | 100.00 | 452  | 100.00 | 114.21 |

SOURCE: ANUARIOS ESTADISTICOS DE LA UNAM [YEARLY STATISTICS OF UNAM], Departamento de Estadística de la UNAM. Quoted by: RAMIREZ, Ramon & CHAPOY, Alma, ESTRUCTURA DE LA UNAM [STRUCTURE OF UNAM], Fondo de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1970, p. 16.

It must however be remembered that full and part time teachers only accounted for 4.50% of University teachers in 1968. This was because of the system of employing assistant and temporary teachers (which was analysed in Chapter 3). Table 7 shows the extent of the problem.

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN UNAM.

| YEAR | TOTAL  | NO. PROF. |      | %         |      | PROF. |      |
|------|--------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|
|      |        | FULL-TIME |      | PART-TIME |      | F.&P. |      |
| 1963 | 6,370  | 110       | 1.57 | 111       | 1.74 | 211   | 3.31 |
| 1964 | 6,351  | 112       | 1.76 | 108       | 1.70 | 220   | 3.46 |
| 1965 | 6,689  | 113       | 1.69 | 126       | 1.88 | 239   | 3.57 |
| 1966 | 7,290  | 136       | 1.86 | 135       | 1.85 | 271   | 3.71 |
| 1967 | 7,764  | 145       | 1.86 | 150       | 1.93 | 295   | 3.79 |
| 1968 | 10,041 | 199       | 1.98 | 253       | 2.51 | 452   | 4.50 |

SOURCE: ANUARIOS ESTADISTICOS DE LA UNAM [YEARLY STATISTICS OF UNAM], Departamento de Estadística de la UNAM. Quoted by: RAMIREZ, Ramon & CHAPOY, Alma, ESTRUCTURA DE LA UNAM [STRUCTURE OF UNAM], Fondo de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1970, P. 17.

From this data is possible to see the limited number of full and part time teachers in relation to the total of those

employed. In 1963 only 3.31% were in this category, and in 1968 only 4.50% were full or part time teachers in the University. The rest of the teachers in the University were in the category of temporary staff (89). UNAM authorities were not blind to this situation. The Rector Ignacio Chavez declared that "teachers were poorly paid, and they deserved better salaries, they also suffered inequalities, but with no doubt teachers needed to be properly selected" (90). However opportunities for promotion were rarely offered to assistants or to temporary teachers.

The General Statute of UNAM was responsible for the lack of mobility within the academic hierarchy. It established the following categories: full-time, part-time, emeritus, and guest professors, 'subject teachers' of two categories, A and B, 'career teachers' of two types, 'associated' and 'titular', and each of them had three categories, A, B, or C (91). The criteria of selection for teachers for each of these categories was subjected to the regulations established by the 'Statute of the Academic Staff Employed by UNAM, July 9 and 10, 1963' (92). To move up from one category to the other required a proof of ability although it is not specified whether this ability was related to professional, academic, or teaching capability, or to all three.

Full-time teachers were expected to devote 18 hours a week to lecturing, and the rest of their working time to research, academic counseling, chairing seminars, and supervising dissertations (93). Since full and part time teachers were few in number these activities were never fully carried out. This problem was reinforced by the increase in the number of assistants or temporary teachers appointed to fulfil the needs of a growing student population (94). Rather than favouring mobility, the 'Statute of Academic Staff of UNAM' reinforced the rigidity of the hierarchy. This is seen in the scarce and difficult opportunities for mobility which were open to teachers.

The highest category of teachers in UNAM was a faculty teacher ["profesor numerario"]. It was the top position in the hierarchy, and only one chair for each faculty was available. Applicants for the chair had to be accepted by a board of five professors: one representing the administrative body, three from other faculties, and the faculty director as chairman. If the board did not accept the candidate, the post was considered vacant, and no applications to it were accepted for two years (95). The five professionals on the board of selection were members of the top hierarchy in UNAM whose interests, sometimes, interfered with the choice of candidates (96).

This rigid structure within the University probably led to a decline in the quality of teaching since teachers did not find much incentives for their professional development (97). This also stimulated the existence of the two groups of teachers in UNAM already studied. One group of teachers with tenure were more likely to have a conservative ideology, and the group with no security of employment tended to become political.

Thus, overall, within a rapidly changing social context in this period, teachers became a matter of some concern to the State. There were considerable efforts at educational reform in general, and in terms of improvement to teachers' salaries and working conditions in particular. Primary school teaching remained an avenue of mobility. The gap between the conditions of life in rural and urban contexts widened in general, and this included the chance of better economic rewards for teaching in urban schools, and better chances of social promotion, when compared with the situation of most rural teachers. Again, perhaps unrealistically, the State placed a heavy emphasis on the importance of the rural teacher as "missionary"; but failed to provide the means to implement these aspirations. The State also placed heavy obligations

on university teachers to be politically neutral, and reformed systems of internal university governance. The relations of the State with the University grew tighter.

In this context of modernization and development - with strong motifs of modernizing the teaching 'profession' - the State also gave considerable attention to the training of teachers. An assessment of that policy is the work of the next section.

#### TRAINING FOR SEP PRIMARY SCHOOL, AND UNAM TEACHERS.

With the reforms in primary education, and the changes in the legislation affecting UNAM and its expansion, the training for both groups of teachers gained importance. The training of primary school teachers was established on a more formal bases in both the initial and in-service teacher education. The training of UNAM teachers gained another dimension with the recognition of the relevance of in-service courses in pedagogy.

The analysis carried out in this section will illustrate the impact that these two changes in training had on the professional status of teachers and their employment

conditions. In the case of the SEP primary school teachers, the analysis will focus on the training of new teachers in Normal Schools, and on the courses offered for teachers in-service. During the period from 1941-1970, SEP primary school teachers received more attention, since the importance of their 'professionalisation' (98), in the eyes of the government, acquired political and social significance. In the case of UNAM teachers their training was, for the first time, reviewed in terms of their lack of teaching skills: the majority had not received specialized training in pedagogy or didactics.

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers.**

During this period (1941-1970), as a correlate of the reforms carried out in primary schools, the importance of teacher training for primary school teachers and its official character were reinforced by the State with a new law. The Organic Law of Public Education was passed by the Union Congress. Chapter XI, Article 78, established that "normal education, in any of its types, had as its main purpose the training of the number of teachers required to satisfy the educational demands of the country" (99). It also established



that training for primary school teachers was to be offered in two types of Normal Schools, one for rural and the other for urban areas.

Rural Normal Schools offered a four-year curriculum divided into two periods of two years each. The entrance requirement was the primary education certificate, and applicants living in rural areas, or from rural primary schools would have preference over the rest. Teacher training offered by rural normal schools emphasised agricultural activities, have workshops, fields, and cattle. In this way students would obtain skills useful for their work in rural primary schools (100).

The importance of the 'professionalisation' of teachers was very much emphasised by the SNTE and the SEP, and it became a political weapon in the relations of these two bodies. Normal schools therefore took the aims and purposes of the professional development of teachers as a priority in their gatherings.

The debates shifted in their rhetorical and ideological stress. For example the First National Congress of Normal Education, (Saltillo, Coahuila, March 1944), stressed that

the education of rural teachers should be socialist, co-educational, with training in agriculture related to the specific character of each region (101). Socialism however was soon replaced by the new ideology of the State of 'school of love' (102) mentioned above. Thus the Second National Congress of Normal Education in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon (November 1945) stressed the newer right wing themes of the government, arguing that rural teachers should receive "a good cultural, scientific, and pedagogic training which would help them to increase the quality of teaching, develop their vocation for a democratic teaching and national unity, and to develop their skills for work in rural industries" (103).

Increasingly, the emphasis within the training of teachers was put on acquisition of pure knowledge and technical skills, with an a-political focus. Teacher training would stimulate the development of skills to help teachers to design their lessons, maintain the discipline in their classrooms, and improve the sanitation and hygiene of their schools (104); but no involvement with social struggles was expected. This was emphasised in the curriculum of rural normal schools which was a three year course. It had specialized subjects related to teaching knowledge, and to agricultural skills related to rural areas (105).

Urban teachers were under similar pressures. The same Congresses, the National Congress of Normal Education in 1945, confirmed the ideology of the State for urban normal schools. They should favour national unity, democracy, and solidarity among students as well as justice and love for humanity (106). Nationalism was reinforced. Students should also develop a strong sense of discipline, and a conviction of their vocation as teachers (107). Thus the curriculum planned for urban normal schools was a six-year course after the six years of primary school. It included a wide range of subjects divided into two categories: general culture, and professional subjects. The first category included sciences, literature, a foreign language, and the activities or practical subjects. The second category, the professional subjects, included pedagogy and teaching techniques (108). These subjects were intended to develop their understanding of national problems, and to encourage their spirit of nationality and solidarity (109).

At the same time, efforts at upgrading the qualifications of teachers were undertaken (110). There was an attempt to upgrade normal schools to the higher education level (111). At the National Meeting of Normal Education (Mexico City, October 1954) (112), an agreement was reached: "certified

teachers would receive the right to enter any of the higher education institutions, and Normal School certificates would be awarded the same value as preparatory school certificates qualifying for university entry" (113).

Entrance requirements for the Normal Schools were upgraded, and a secondary education certificate became the requirement (instead of the primary one previously accepted as sufficient) (114). Moreover, Normal Schools would increase their course by an extra year which would offer students a general training, and develop their vocation and their pedagogical capacity (115). This measure was put into practice in 1961 with the reform to education of the 'Eleven Year Plan' (116).

The first schools to implement this measure were the Regional Centres of Normal Education, also created as a result of the 'Eleven Year Plan' reform already mentioned (117). These schools implemented the four-year curriculum proposed in the National Meeting of Normal Education (mentioned above), which would make teaching a career (118).

This process of upgrading continue at the Fourth National Congress of Normal Education (Saltillo, Coahuila, 1969). A proposal was made that the entrance requirement for teacher training should be a Preparatory School certificate (119).

This measure was intended to add two more years to teacher training which would reduce the difference in the number of years between this group of teachers and those in the higher education institutions producing "profesionistas" (120). (This measure was implemented in 1984 as will be studied in Chapter 5).

The Congress also addressed the question of upgrading through in-service training. It made the implementation of in-service training a legal obligation of the State (121). This only became effective in 1973. Before this, two institutions offered in-service training, the modified Cultural Missions, and the newly created Federal Institute for the Development of Teachers ["Instituto Federal de Capacitacion del Magisterio"] (122).

The Cultural Missions, it will be recalled (Chapter 3), were closed in 1938. They were re-opened during the Manuel Avila Camacho government (December 1941) to offer new in-service courses to those teachers already in schools and untrained (123). Some of the Cultural Missions were specialized in agricultural training (124). But four of them were concerned with in-service training of rural and sub-urban primary school

teachers. Teachers would then be able to unify their pedagogical thinking, to advise local governments about the organization of their systems of education, and to promote the cultural life of their communities (125).

The Cultural Missions tried to give teachers the opportunity to increase their knowledge through the in-service courses they offered (126). But reduced resources meant that the programmes were not implemented adequately. Thus, the Cultural Missions only lasted for three years, hardly time to train even one class of students (1941-1944). They were again closed (in order to be replaced by a more organized system of in-service courses) as a result of the creation of Federal Institute for the Development of Teachers (26 December 1944) which gathered the different courses under one system (127).

The 'Federal Institute for the Development of Teachers' established a new type of system for the training of rural teachers. This was based on Correspondence Courses, supplemented by an Intensive Oral Course to explain concepts, clarify doubts, and to add more information to the correspondence material for six weeks during the summer vacation (128). There was a six week Intensive Oral Course offered in a centre selected by the administrative body of the Correspondence Courses (129).

The attention given to the professionalisation of teachers, both rural and urban, could not end the inequalities in terms of salaries and status. Rural teachers remained with a lower professional status, only recognised in their own communities, and urban teachers gained better salaries, but with lower respect within their communities. A difference was also evident in the better training urban teachers received in relation with their rural counterparts. However their professional status was still low compared with the one reached by "profesionistas" teaching in the University.

UNAM teachers maintained their high professional status, but their training included, for the first time, the pedagogical aspect needed for teaching. Attempts to solve this lack of training were made, as will be seen below.

#### **Training of UNAM Teachers.**

The large number of pedagogically untrained graduates occupying lecturing posts in the University drew the attention of the authorities. This was also highlighted in the programme for the training of teachers designed by the National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions [ANUIES] in 1949 (130). Thus the proposed

programme placed stress on a better training for the performance of teaching (and research) activities in the higher education institutions (131). As a response to these two principles, UNAM founded the 'Didactic Centre' (April 1969) for the training of professors in pedagogical techniques (132). Its main purpose was to offer in-service courses in a particular field of pedagogy and didactics which would be useful for professors (133).

With the creation of the Didactic Centre, the importance of offering a formal training in pedagogical subjects to University teachers was acknowledged (134). For the first time, specialized knowledge obtained during their training was considered incomplete without teaching techniques. Teaching began to be seen as a specialized field in itself separate from the acquisition of academic knowledge.

This emphasis on teaching techniques widened the gap between conservative and radical teachers in the University. Conservative teachers were reluctant to accept their lack of pedagogical training as a handicap. This was evident in the reduced number of teachers who were involved in these courses at this time, and were mostly young graduates those who took them (135). Radical teachers, however, accepted the



opportunity to be trained in teaching techniques and increase their knowledge.

Overall, despite the reforms implemented in teacher training, the professional recognition gained by primary school teachers was still low. Only graduates from higher education institutions were judged to have professional status. However, the Courses in Didactic offered for University teachers brought changes in the attitude of University teachers towards their role.

The struggles in the social arena continued to be identified with primary school teachers which reinforced their proletarian character. University teachers witnessed the struggles of their students which motivated some of the radical teachers to participate in the struggles of the social arena. However unionism of the University teachers was still limited as will be seen in the following section. In contrast the unionism of primary school teachers was reinforced - although their radicalism was used mainly to confront their own union leaders.

## TEACHERS PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND UNIONS.

The social location of teachers, in the narrow sense of their relation to their bureaucracies and in the broader context of Mexican society, created attitudes to unionism. In terms of the SEP primary school teachers their radicalism was stimulated by the bureaucratism of their union's elite. In relation to UNAM teachers, the close relations of its administrative body with the State favoured a period of reduction in the intensity of radicalism among University teachers. Primary school teachers were motivated by the social struggles taking place in the country against the right wing ideology and policies of the governments. Some University teachers were influenced by these struggles and joined their students' movements which developed their radicalism.

The right wing tendencies of the governments during this period (1941-1970) intensified the efforts of the SEP primary school teachers to form a single union representing these teachers: its leaders, a bureaucratic elite controlling the union, began as was suggested earlier to represent the interests of the government. Dissident groups formed against this elite. The new policies of national unity and

conciliation adopted by the State met the opposition of teachers especially in the case of the formation of a single union for all primary teachers. It was seen that a single union would not satisfy their demands of teachers in rural or urban areas, and could not bring together opposite ideologies. The deep divisions already existing between the different groups of teachers continued between those groups supporting the State and those pressing the demands of the rank-and-file teachers. The battles were fought out with the SEP primary school teachers disputing about the creation of their national union, and the formation of dissident groups became a reality. Meanwhile the tensions between UNAM teachers were increased by the pressure exerted over them by the right wing policies of the governments, and by the impact of their students' protest movements.

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers.**

Chapter three analysed the emergence of three groups of teachers unions which gained importance in politics when they opposed such moves as the educational reforms, and the cuts in the budget during the governments of Manuel Avila Camacho's (1940-1946), and Miguel Aleman's (1946-1952) (136). These groups of teachers' unions gained strength, and increased the

politicization of teachers until it became a threat to the stability of the State. In answer to this the government forced the creation of a national union of teachers which finally came into being in 1943 and still exists today. The intention of this strategy was to gain the support of the unions for the State, reduce the pressure of their strong demands, and diminish the radical ideology of some these three unions (137).

The leaders of the two main groups, Union of Workers of Education of the Mexican Republic [STERM] and the National Confederation of Teaching Workers [CNTE], vied to gain control over teachers. These two groups struggled for the achievement of two main aims: the first was the security of teachers' jobs, better salaries, and a fair representation of their demands. The second was the struggle for power between the interests of the leaders over the interests of the rank-and-file teachers (138).

The ideological struggle brought confrontation which, as was seen in Chapter Three, prevented any agreement between leaders since the left wing unions, represented by the 'Union of Teachers Workers of the Mexican Republic' [STERM], strongly opposed the strategy of the right wing groups, represented at

that time by the 'National Autonomous Union of Workers of Education' (139).

Left wing ideology also caused disturbance to the conciliatory policies of the Manuel Avila Camacho government (1940-1946), and according to Ramon Eduardo Ruiz the power of the left wing groups also "threatened to exert control on education" (140). Thus this government reformed, in 1941, the 'Civil Service Act' by reducing the unions' power and the number of workers with the right to strike (141). This act produced an agreement of the different groups which opposed it. Thus a united union emerged - the National Union of Workers in Education [SNTE] - an apparent triumph of teachers in defence of their rights (142). The resign of Vejar Vazquez followed.

This National Union of Workers in Education [SNTE], created in December 1943, reconciled three opposing parties: the Single National Union of Workers of Education [SUNTE], the Mexican Union of Teachers and Workers of Education [SMMTE], and the weakened Union of Workers of Education of the Mexican Republic [STERM] (143). The new Secretary of Education, Jaime Torres Bodet (1943-1946) clarified the ideology of the State in relation to the newly created National Union of Workers of

Education [SNTE], demanding: "loyalty and commitment, political stability and efficiency in teaching" (144).

In real terms, the State expected a full return for its investment. This was also clear when Torres Bodet said that the SEP was willing to listen to teachers and their demands, only if they did not take advantage of the power granted to them through the formation of their union. "...This does not mean that you (teachers) could intervene, unilaterally, in a direction which, to be effective, should have two basic conditions: full authority of the functionaries, and the harmony of their authority..." (145).

Amidst these contradictions, then, the SNTE was established. On the one hand it was supposed to protect teachers' interests as stipulated by its objective "to defend the economic, social and professional interest of its members, maintain and defend the independence and autonomy of the union, and collaborate in the achievement of the ideals of the Mexican Revolution which is one of the purposes of education" (146). On the other hand it became the arena for the confrontations of different leaders with opposite ideological tendencies who struggled for the control of the union.

This confrontation became evident in the Declaration of Principles through which the SNTE declared its loyalty to the State. It stated that its ideology was "that of the 1917 Mexican Constitution..." (147). The union gained strength with the decree passed by Manuel Avila Camacho which gave the SNTE the official representation of teachers (148).

The creation of the SNTE, however, was in fact less of a victory than first appeared. It became a structure for the control of teachers. SNTE began to dominate the definition of employment conditions (149), and began to use an ideology of professionalism to locate and limit the social roles of teachers. The SNTE established that they "should sustain high professional efficiency, participate in the formulation of educational policies, maintain the confidence society has in their work, and be loyal to the nation and to democratic principles" (150).

By 1943 the SNTE had almost 50,000 pre-school and primary teachers enrolled as members (151). The loyalty and commitment of these teachers was then needed to maintain the power of the SNTE. Thus adding to the promises of better salaries and professional development was the promise of upwards mobility through their membership to their union (its

bureaucracy). These promises of upward mobility for teachers were the result of the participation of the SNTE in the political arena of the country. It gave its support to the official party PRI, and the governments (152).

The governments, however, made use of the leadership of the SNTE to gain control and power. This became evident when the General Secretary of this union was changed (153) in a struggle between the former (national) President Miguel Aleman, and the actual President in office, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines.

Miguel Aleman wanted to maintain his control over State affairs through the support of one of the strongest unions in the country, the SNTE. Hence, according to Aurora Loyo Brambila, Aleman backed Manuel Sanchez Vite, whose office was coming to an end. President Ruiz Cortines, on the other hand, supported Enrique W. Sanchez who was the new General Secretary (154).

The whole affair demonstrated the intervention of the State in the union and the struggle for power and control over the leaders of the SNTE and their divisions. Thus factions emerged and the State would support one or other of them in order to gain popularity when it was needed.



Thus fifteen years after its creation, the SNTE had lost its independence. The union leaders were nominated by the State and not by teachers, and these leaders were accused of corruption causing disillusion among the rank-and-file teachers (155). Teachers gradually lost confidence in their union resenting the compulsory subscription fees and enrolment. They "saw that the union was useless and that the payment of dues (which is automatically deducted from their salary by SEP) was just another tax" (156).

The lost of confidence of teachers in their union and the external influence over the SNTE meant that its structure began to collapse with internal divisions, and old conflicts gained new strength. Thus the organization of groups backing specific leaders came from the different sections of the SNTE in the various States of the country (157). Struggles erupted.

The disruption became evident in the economic demands made, in 1956, by the largest and strongest sections of the SNTE, such as Section IX of the Federal District which due to their location near the SEP and SNTE's bureaucracies, brought the support of teachers all over the country (158). Other sections, with similar demands, came together with Section IX

showing through their dissatisfaction that the structure of the SNTE was far from harmonious. The efficiency and reliability, of the SNTE and its bureaucracy, were questioned by teachers.

This became evident with the struggles for the election of leaders of Section IX in 1958. Candidates used the increase of teachers' salaries as an excuse (159). The deteriorating conditions of many other teachers led them to support this movement. But this demand soon turned out to be a political manoeuvre by the leaders of Section IX, Othon Salazar and Encarnacion Perez Rivero, who tried to gain popular support for re-election (160).

This conflict is an example of the struggle for power between different factions which was extended to other groups. Three other groups wanted power and control: the National Revolutionary Faction [FNR], the United Block of Teachers [BUM], and the Committee in Favour of the Demands and the Democratization of the Section IX of the SNTE [CPPPDSIX] (161). The first group, FNR, later on became the group named Revolutionary Vanguard, and is in power nowadays, as a highly authoritarian body. The second group, BUM, was also pro-government, and a member of the Revolutionary Block of Workers

Unions [BROS], of the National Revolutionary Faction of Teachers, and of the official party PRI. The third group, with a left wing ideology, became the Teachers Movement, and finally adopted the name of Revolutionary Movement of Teachers [MRM] which still demands a more democratic union (162).

These power struggle between factions made the SNTE became more and more remote from a true representation of the needs and feelings of the teachers. Dissidence and struggles of teachers resulted in violent repression on the part of the bureaucracy of the SNTE and the State (163). These repressive measures adopted put an end to the teachers' conflict, but not to their protests. Teachers continued to demand better employment conditions and salaries, and questioned the non-representative nature of their leaders. They claimed that "we, Mexican teachers, are not like teachers in some other countries in the world where education tries, mainly, to maintain the institutions already existing. On the contrary, the Mexican Revolution has given us courage to promote development and fight for the betterment of our institutions, to correct wrong procedures, and to fight to uphold our honour as professionals but not as apostles of a faith" (164).

According to Salinas and Imaz the struggles of teachers were part both of "the process of modernization of teaching

activities, and the consolidation of the union's control" (165). The division became deeper between the moderate and radical groups which were formed as a result of these pressure on teachers. Some of these groups were the Unionism of Revolutionary Action [SAR] which adopted a strong position against the Executive Committee of the SNTE, and the Communist Spartacus League which was a radical left wing group (166). (This group was one of the few teachers' groups which gave full support to the students movement of 1968). The formation of these groups within the union were evidence of teachers' radicalism and of their movement towards dissidence which became strong at a later date. The strong repression of the State to the 1968 movements resulted in a decrease in intensity of the teachers struggles. It was only at the end of the 1970's that teachers' resistance gained enough strength to challenge again the stability of the system.

This wave of dissidence among primary teachers coincided with the disruption of the quiescent attitude of UNAM conservative teachers, and the first attempts of unionism of radical teachers. This controversy is analysed in the section below.

## **Radicalism and Unionism Among UNAM Teachers.**

The very concept of professional status has been different between the SEP primary school and UNAM teachers mainly as a result of their training. The affiliation of University teachers to a union was hindered by their higher professional status. They formed professional associations rather than unions. These associations were arenas for the discussion of academic problems, and did not get to grips with financial and social considerations.

The analysis to be carried out in this section is therefore of the balance between radicalism and unionism of some University teachers, curtailed by the opposition of groups of conservative teachers. The conservatism of teachers was reinforced by the improvement in the relations between the governments of the country and the University. However, the pressure of the State on the administration of UNAM, and the growth in the number of students and their politicization established foundations for radicalism and unionism of University teachers.

As discussed earlier, the relations between the University and the governments became closer with the Organic Law of 1945

which created two administrative bodies which allowed the State to interfere in the government of UNAM (167). This control was reinforced by two important factors. First opportunities for upward mobility to important posts in the political arena began to be opened to the members of the administrative body of UNAM. Second the growth of the bureaucracy in the University was a way to keep a considerable number of people loyal to the government of UNAM. Although these two factors began during this period, their repercussions were not fully seen until 1971-1986 (which is studied in Chapter 5).

During the period analysed in this chapter 1941-1970, the close relations between State and University resulted in 'peace' for almost twenty years. According to Donald Mabry, it was not until "the rectorship of Ignacio Chavez (1961-1966) that UNAM and the State returned to systematic opposition" (168). In reality, although the State made promises in its pronouncements in terms of the increases in the subsidy to UNAM, teachers remained pressured by their employment conditions under which security of tenure and mobility were restricted (169). But, as Erwin Stephan-Otto argues, the pressures on teachers "paradoxically, did not change their conservatism and participation in UNAM. There

was a large number of part-time teachers whose main interest was their profession; but they taught in the University to keep their links with this institution, and for the prestige that being a teacher in UNAM would bring them" (170).

Reaction against extended pressures was only visible among a few of the young teachers with left wing ideologies. They created an association, supported by left wing teachers, the Association of University Teachers [APU] whose leaders were Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Enrique E. Schulz, and Sanchez Ponton (171). This organization, however, did not have enough strength to attract most of UNAM teachers, and due to the pressures of the right wing ideology, left wing teachers were considered subversive, thus this group did not gain enough significance (172).

But the pressure did awake radicalism among students who saw that the so-called 'Mexican Miracle', initiated during the Miguel Aleman government (1946-1952), had failed to reduce the inequalities (173). Thus the 1960's became a period of protest with students and the popular classes demonstrating their dissatisfaction against the Mexican State (174). Students questioned the general social and economic policies of the government as well as the role of the University in

society (175). This coincided with workers' movements, in particular rail workers, and electricians, against the difficulties of their working conditions.

The unrest was exacerbated by the weakening in the relations between the State and the University authorities. This attitude resulted from the antagonistic political views of the Rector Ignacio Chavez in opposition to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz (1964-1970). Donald Mabry considers that "with presidential support, a shrewd rector could survive; without it, he was doomed" (176). Ignacio Chavez was forced to resign by students' unrest. Right wing students accused him of using police and paramilitary groups "to stifle dissent and create an authoritarian regime (in the University)" (177). These internal disruptions, which started off as objections from the right wing against a radical Rector, became external voices of dissatisfaction against the State which it had previously abetted by causing the resignation of the rector.

Most university teachers, however with the exception of those with left wing ideology, remained aloof from the struggles which were going on in the University. They rejected changes which would lead to the organization of unions (178). In spite of this, in September 1964, the Union



of Teachers of UNAM [SPUNAM] was formed, and its main objective was "to study, defend, and find solutions for the interests and problems of its members" (179).

This union attempted to legalize the right of teachers to be organized into unions, and applied for official registration with the Secretariat of Work (180). Their application was rejected on the basis that academic work did not fit into any of the job specifications mentioned in the Law of Work (181). Academic work may be considered on a different level to the practice of a profession by this Law and by teachers, nevertheless the unrest and social upheavals within the country affected academics. Students, free of job commitments, were able to make choices and voice their concern and unrest which in turn affected the attitudes of their teachers.

When Javier Barros Sierra (1966-1970) succeeded Ignacio Chavez, his administration was considered one of the most democratic in UNAM (182). During this administration, the students' movement, from July to October 1968, took place (183). This time, the conflict was no longer aimed at the rector, but against the State. This was a move of the conflict from the university arena to the social arena, caused

by the authoritarianism and conservatism of the Diaz Ordaz government. This government strongly reacted to the way UNAM's Rectoria was dealing with its internal affairs, and accused it "of ineptitude and communist subversion" (184).

With Barros Sierra, the Mexican State witnessed a challenge to its authority and control from the University. The old structure did not respond to the interests of the minority in power (185). Thus the move of the university to the social arena was not an easy task since it meant leaving behind the conservative attitude dominating the University to join the struggles of the popular classes. The Rector's position seemed to be "a brave academic confrontation against the popular desintegration caused by a political system of institutions greedy for power" (186).

The 1968 conflict, however, also brought back the confrontation between conservative and radical teachers who identified their role with that of "the intellectual workers of society" (187). Conservative teachers retained their old ideology by forming associations which opposed radical teachers. Some groups formed were the Association of Full-Time Teachers and Researchers of UNAM, the College of Researchers of the Institute of Social Research of UNAM, and

the Association of Teachers of the National School of Economy (188). In contradiction to the a-political character that conservative teachers tried to maintain, some of these associations were directly involved with a political group, had a defined political ideology, or backed the students' movement in 1968. Their initial activism emerged in defence of the University as an institution, and against violence as an answer to unrest on their part and on the students' (189).

The 1968 conflict and the strong reaction of the State against it brought important changes to the University. Radical teachers tried to "eliminate the hierarchical authority of the old system, and to participate consciously, responsibly, and collectively with teachers, students, and administrative staff in the life and affairs of the University" (190). The result was a transformation of the structure of the University as a whole.

This transformation took place later when the political strength obtained by those students involved in the 1968 movement was copied by teachers, and even some of these students became teachers in the University. In the meanwhile the criticism of the University and its students was made outside, in the social arena, against a regime which

intensified social inequalities in communities throughout the country. This was evident in the support given to the students by workers and peasants who found in their movement of 1968 the way for a possible social change.

But with the end of the 1968 movement, of the Barros Sierra term of office as Rector, and the change of government in the country in 1970, the hope for the transformation of the University into an institution closer to social problems was again blocked. The conservative University supported by the elite minority, was once again in agreement with the interests of the State.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

The 1940 to 1970 period is an extremely interesting one. The ideology of the bureaucratic - authoritarian Mexican State shifted, to the right. The earlier rhetoric of the socialist post-revolutionary governments was replaced by an appeal to nationalism and unity. At the same time, the Mexican State was confronted by major social and economic changes, which included a rapid growth of urbanism, and major efforts to achieve the modernization of Mexico through industrialization.

There was considerable social demand for access to improved living conditions and to improved opportunities for social mobility.

The reactions of the State, especially in relation to teachers, were essentially two-fold. On the one hand, the State undertook reforms to improve the quality and level of teacher training, and assign to teachers roles in the modernization process. On the other, the State stressed the neutral or apolitical aspects of teachers' responsibilities - and in parallel began to exert pressure to control the SEP primary school teachers union [SNTE] and to affect the internal governance of UNAM.

The reactions of teachers varied. It was not merely that for different reasons both groups of teachers were suffering economically and were in practice experiencing tensions over their social and professional status. Some teachers reacted to these pressures by supporting influential union or professional association leaders in the expectations of career chances; others became apathetic and disillusioned with their positions (and with unionism). But it was also true that within each group of teachers there were those who interpreted the social role of the teacher in radical ways. Thus the

intervention of the State in the creation of SNTE and its influence on the leadership of the bureaucracy was noted; and resented. Resistance began. Dissident union groups formed, with radical ideologies. Similarly in the University, minority groups of teachers partly influenced by and linked with student radical movements in the later part of this period, struggled with more conservative colleagues whose socialization as professionals made them reject the broader social arena, and social action in it as inconsistent with their professional status. However, though the University remained rather conservative, two Rectors (Pablo Gonzalez Casanova and Javier Barros Sierra) gave the University a more democratic form of government.

Finally, it is worth noting that the period - marked by the success of the State in forming a united union of primary teachers, and in redefining the internal forms of governance in the University, planted the seeds of subsequent reaction. The encapsulation process begun by the establishment of SNTE, and the incorporation of UNAM teachers, led to much more radical reactions by teachers in the period that followed. That theme is among the themes of the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

- 1) Cf. CLINE, Howard F., MEXICO. REVOLUTION TO EVOLUTION, 1940-1960, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, pp. 117-118.
- 2) Cf. Ibid, pp. 120-121.
- 3) Cf. Ibid, p. 191.
- 4) Cf. SOTELO, Inclan Jesus, "La Educacion Socialista" (in) SOLANA, Fernando, CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, & BOLANOS, Martinez Raul (Coord.), HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO. TOMO I [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO. VOLUME I], SEP/80, Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 308.
- 5) CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 195.
- 6) Ibid, pp. 195-196.
- 7) SOTELO, Inclan Op. Cit., p. 325.
- 8) Cf. "Speech of the President Miguel Aleman to the Authorities of the SNTE and SEP" 3 May 1947, Mexico, p. 35 (in) GUAL, Vidal Manuel, PROGRAMA EDUCATIVO DEL LIC. MIGUEL ALEMAN Y DIEZ DISCURSOS SOBRE EDUCACION [EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN AND TEN SPEECHES ABOUT EDUCATION], Secretary of Education, SEP, Mexico, 1947, p. 4.

- 9) RABY, Daniel L., EDUCACION Y REVOLUCION SOCIAL EN MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN MEXICO], SEP-Setentas, Mexico, 1974, p. 63. and Cf. SOTELO Inclan, Jesus, Op. Cit., p. 312.
- 10) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, LA UNIVERSIDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [THE UNIVERSITY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Editorial Linea, UAG-UAZ, Mexico, 1984, p. 129.
- 11) Ibid, pp. 128-129.
- 12) MEXICO DEMOGRAFICO [DEMOGRAPHIC MEXICO], Breviario 1979, Consejo Nacional de Poblacion [CONAPO], Mexico, 1979, p.49.
- 13) CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 199.
- 14) CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, "El Periodo de Conciliacion y Consolidacion, 1946-1958" ['The Period of Conciliation and Consolidation, 1946-1958'] (in) SOLANA, Fernando, Cardiel, Reyes Raul, & Bolanos, Martinez Raul (Coord.), HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO TOMO II [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO] VOLUME II, SEP/80, Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1982, p. 348.
- 15) ROBLES, Martha, EDUCACION Y SOCIEDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Siglo XXI Editores, 6th Edition, Mexico, 1983, Op. Cit. p. 181.
- 16) CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 199.



- 17) CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, Op. Cit., p. 349.
- 18) Ibid, p. 349.
- 19) In relation to primary school teachers, the information offered by the SEP during this government shows that 14,000 new posts were created. This figure appears to be low when compared with the number of students in Normal Schools reported in 1957 to be 23,453. No further information is given about the allocation of places given to the rest of students who graduated from these schools. CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, Op. Cit., p. 351.
- 20) The reform had a nationalist character, stressed love for truth and country, and tried to favour the development of a responsible spirit among children through activity methods in teaching. Martha Robles considers that Jaime Torres Bodet, the Secretary of Education during this period, brought back with these values the ideology of Jose Vasconcelos, in contradiction to the technological development of the country. "Thus the spirit struggled against the imposition of technocracy". ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 195.
- 21) INITIATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT ADOLFO LOPEZ MATEOS TO THE UNION CONGRESS, 18 December 1985. Quoted by: GUZMAN, Jose Teodulo, ALTERNATIVAS PARA LA EDUCACION EN MEXICO [ALTERNATIVES OF EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Ediciones Gernika, 3rd Edition, Mexico, 1985, P. 124.

- 22) CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, "El Periodo de Conciliacion y Consolidacion 1946-1958" ['The Period of Conciliation and Consolidation 1946-1958'], Op. Cit., p. 372.
- 23) GUZMAN, Op. cit., p.127.
- 24) CABALLERO, Arquimides & MEDRANO, Salvador, "El Segundo Periodo de Torres Bodet: 1958-1964" ['The Second Period of Torres Bodet: 1958-1964'], (in) HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO, TOMO II [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO, VOLUME II], Op. Cit., pp. 401-402.
- 25) GONZALEZ, Cosio Arturo, "Los Anos Recientes. 1964-1976" ['The Recent Years. 1964-1976'] (in) HISTORIA DE LA EDUCACION PUBLICA EN MEXICO, TOMO II [HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MEXICO, VOLUME II], Op. Cit., p. 404.
- 26) CABALLERO, Arquimides & Medrano, Salvador, Op. Cit., p. 371.
- 27) Ibid, p. 371.
- 28) Cf. GONZALEZ, Cosio Arturo, Op. Cit., p. 405.
- 29) ROBLES, Martha, Op. cit., p. 205.
- 30) Ibid, p. 205.
- 31) Ibid, p. 206.
- 32) For further information about the 1968 movement see: REVUELTAS, Jose, MEXICO 68: JUVENTUD Y REVOLUCION [MEXICO 68: YOUTH AND REVOLUTION], Ediciones ERA, Mexico, 1978.
- 33) LEVY, Daniel L., UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT IN MEXICO: Autonomy in an Authoritarian System, Praeger, New York, 1980, p. 32.

- 34) Cf. GONZALEZ, Cosio Arturo, Op. Cit., pp. 406-407.
- 35) MEXICO, LEY FEDERAL DE EDUCACION [FEDERAL LAW OF EDUCATION], Texto y un Comentario por Rodrigo A. Medellin and Carlos Munoz Izquierdo, Centro de Estudios Educativos, A.C., Mexico, 1980, p. 46.
- 36) Ibid, p. 50.
- 37) Ibid, p. 46.
- 38) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [THE AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF UNAM], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 2nd Edition, Mexico, 1987, p. 36.
- 39) CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 206.
- 40) Information about the concepts worked out by Antonio Caso is offered by: ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., pp. 198-203.
- 41) Ibid, p. 201.
- 42) Ibid, p. 191.
- 43) Ibid, pp. 192-193.
- 44) TECLA, Jimenez Alfredo, UNIVERSIDAD, BURGUESIA Y PROLETARIADO [UNIVERSITY, BOURGEOISIE AND PROLETARIAT], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1978, p. 20.
- 45) ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 197.
- 46) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., p. 113.
- 47) Ibid, p. 132.
- 48) The 'Board of Governors' ["Patronato"] was, and still is, entrusted with the finances of the University: "to

discuss and accept the University budget, to approve changes to it, to control the investment of University funds, and to increase its budget". Its members were nominated by the 'Governing or Academic Board' from a prestigious group of professionals with experience in finance. CASO, Alfonso, ANTEPROYECTO DE LA LEY ORGANICA DE LA UNAM [PRE-PROJECT OF THE ORGANIC LAW OF UNAM], Presented by the Rector to the Constitutional Council of the University, p. 15. Quoted by: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 170.

- 49) The University Council is formed by the rector, who is its president; the directors of faculties, schools, and institutes; two teachers for every faculty or school, a titular representative and a substitute; and two students for every faculty or school, a titular representative and a substitute. The research institutes are not represented. The rector is the head of the University, its legal representative, and the President of the University Council. He is also the link between the 'Governing Board' ["Patronato"] and the 'Governing or Academic Body'. He is in charge of the administration of the endowment and properties of the University, and is responsible for the University budget. RAMIREZ, Gomez Ramon & CHAPOY, Bonifaz Alma, Op. Cit., pp. 6-7.

- 50) RAMIREZ, Gomez Ramon & CHAPOY, Bonifaz Alma, ESTRUCTURA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTONOMA DE MEXICO [STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO], Instituto de Investigaciones Economicas de la UNAM, Fondo de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1970, pp. 5-6.
- 51) GARCIA, Tellez Ignacio, LA PROBLEMATICA EDUCATIVA EN MEXICO [THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN MEXICO], pp. 54-55. Quoted by: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 166.
- 52) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 37.
- 53) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, Op. Cit., p. 134.
- 54) In recent times, according to Fernando Jimenez, only two Rectors in UNAM have tried to maintain the autonomy of the University from the interference of governments. They are Javier Barros Sierra and Pablo Gonzalez Casanova. JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., 37.
- 55) LEVY, Daniel C., Op. Cit., p. 28.
- 56) The University "must provide the leadership and skills required by the present stage of the Revolution", but it should not favour the politicization and radicalism of teachers or students. LOPEZ Mateos, Adolfo, EL SENOR PRESIDENTE EN LA UNIVERSIDAD MICHOACANA [THE PRESIDENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHOACAN] Speech of 8th May 1960. Quoted by: CLINE, Howard F., Op. cit., pp. 202-203.

- 57) ROBLES, Rosario, "La Revolucion Educativa en la UNAM" ["The Educational Revolution in UNAM"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Foro Universitario, Mexico, 1984, pp. 221-223.
- 58) See Tables 2 and 3 of Chapter 3.
- 59) GONZALEZ, Casanova Pablo, 1982, p. 14.
- 60) BRITTON, John A., EDUCACION Y RADICALISMO EN MEXICO, TOMO II, LOS ANOS DE CARDENAS (1934-1940) [EDUCATION AND RADICALISM IN MEXICO, VOLUME II, THE YEARS OF CARDENAS (1934-1940)], SEP-SETENTAS, Mexico, 1976, p. 64.
- 61) CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 124.
- 62) Ibid, p. 124.
- 63) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO, TOMO I [TEACHERS AND THE STATE, VOLUME I], Editorial Linea UAG-UAZ, Mexico, 1984, p. 42.
- 64) Cf. TORRES, Carlos Alberto, THE CORPORATIST STATE, HEGEMONIC POLITICS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN MEXICO (1970-1982), FLACSO, Mexico, Edmonton, 1985, pp. 20-21.
- 65) Ibid, p. 22.
- 66) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 79.
- 67) Cf. Ibid, p. 80.
- 68) Cf. Ibid, p. 80.
- 69) Cf. Ibid, p. 27.

- 70) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], SEP, Mexico, 1946, p. 42.
- 71) Ibid, p. 42.
- 72) CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, Op. cit., p. 336. and CENTRAL de Estudiantes Democraticos [CNED], POR LA REFORMA Y DEMOCRATIZATION DE LA ENSEÑANZA [FOR THE REFORM AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF TEACHING] Document of the First National Seminar, Fondo de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1969, p. 96. Quoted by: CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, "El Periodo de Conciliacion y Consolidacion" ['The Period for Conciliation and Consolidation'], Op. Cit., p. 336.
- 73) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 42.
- 74) 'School Centre' stands for "Centro Escolar" which gathers the three first levels of education, nursery, primary, secondary, and preparatory in a single school.
- 75) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 42.
- 76) Ibid, p. 42.
- 77) LOBATO, Ernesto, "La Burocracia Mexicana" ["The Mexican Bureaucracy"] (in) EL MOVIMIENTO DEL MAGISTERIO, SUS

- ANTECEDENTES, CAUSAS E IMPLICACIONES [TEACHERS' MOVEMENT, ITS CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS] (in) REVISTA PROBLEMAS DE MEXICO [MAGAZINE PROBLEMS OF MEXICO], October, 1958, p. 33. Quoted by: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 44-45.
- 78) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 43.
- 79) Ibid, p. 43.
- 80) SEP, PROGRAMA EDUCATIVO DEL LICENCIADO MIGUEL ALEMAN [EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN], Op. Cit., pp. v, vi.
- 81) Ibid, p. 35.
- 82) Cf. "El Tipo Social del Maestro" ['The Social Type of a Teacher'] Speech of the Secretary of Education, Manuel Gual Vidal, in the Commemoration of the Anniversary of the Normal School in Morelia, (in) PROGRAMA EDUCATIVO DEL LICENCIADO MIGUEL ALEMAN [EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME OF THE PRESIDENT MIGUEL ALEMAN], OP. Cit., pp. 47-48.
- 83) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 41.
- 84) Cf. JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 197.
- 85) Cf. Ibid, p. 198.
- 86) Ibid, p. 198.



- 87) Ibid, pp. 198, 201; And CLINE, Howard F., Op. Cit., p. 206.
- 88) RAMIREZ, Ramon & CHAPOY, Alma, Op. Cit., p. 16.
- 89) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. cit., p. 199.
- 90) CHAVEZ, Ignacio, INFORME DEL PRIMER AÑO DE TRABAJO [REPORT OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ACTIVITIES], p. 4. Quoted by: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 198.
- 91) CABALLERO, Escobar Ramon, LA SINDICALIZACION DE LOS PROFESORES UNIVERSITARIOS [UNIONISM OF THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS], B.A. Dissertation (Unpublished), Mexico, 1975, pp. 77-86.
- 92) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. cit., p. 202.
- 93) RAMIREZ, Ramon & CHAPOY, Alma, Op. Cit., p. 17.
- 94) Cf. LEVY, Daniel C., Op. Cit., p. 69.
- 95) ARTICLE 15, 'Regulations for Researchers Employed by UNAM, and Articles 14, 60, 80 & 81 of the 'Statute of Academic Staff Employed by UNAM' 1962-1963. Quoted by: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., pp. 200-201.
- 96) See: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., pp. 199-200.
- 97) ROBLES, Rosario, Op. Cit., pp. 211-213.
- 98) 'Professionalisation' refers to the professional of teachers towards a higher status. As was seen in Chapter 2, it has to do with the length of training and its specialized content.

- 99) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, CIENTO CINCUENTA ANOS EN LA FORMACION DE MAESTROS MEXICANOS [ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS IN THE TRAINING OF MEXICAN TEACHERS], Consejo Nacional Tecnico de la Educacion, Mexico, 1984, pp. 81-82.
- 100) Ibid, p. 83.
- 101) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 98.
- 102) See: RABY, David L., Op. Cit., p. 63.
- 103) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 106.
- 104) Ibid, p. 107.
- 105) Although the main purpose was to give teachers a broad knowledge covering three areas, pedagogy, technical skills, and general knowledge, in practice, the lack of proper equipment, prevented the optimum training of rural teachers. The specialized subjects emphasised were psychology, economy, and literature; and the activities were physical and para-military education, dance, and theatre. Cf. RABY, David, Op. Cit., p. 45.
- 106) Cf. SEP, 1944; IV: 365. Quoted by: CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 99.
- 107) Cf. CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 99.
- 108) The curriculum of urban normal schools included a wide range of subjects divided into two categories: general-cultural which included sciences, literature, a foreign

language, and the activities or practical subjects; the professional subjects included pedagogy and teaching techniques. Ibid, pp. 101-103.

109) Cf. Ibid, p. 111.

110) However, the measures did not contain practical and detailed proposals in terms of procedures, syllabuses, and times in which to achieve them. Cf. SEP, 1944, IV: 361. Quoted by: CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 101.

111) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit. pp. 84-85.

112) The national meeting of Normal Education was organized in October 1954 in Mexico City.

113) Cf. CABALLERO, Arquimides & MEDRANO, Salvador, Op. Cit., pp. 386-387.

114) Ibid, p. 147.

115) Cf. Ibid, p. 147.

116) Until this time, especially during the period from 1920-1940, most primary teachers received only six years primary schooling plus six years of teacher training in Normal Schools.

117) In 1960 there were only two centres which put into practice new programmes as pilot plans to validate them prior to their implementation in the Normal Schools

throughout the country. These centres offered a grant to the students to help them during their training. In return, students were obliged to accept, at the end of their training, a teaching post in whatever part of the country they were needed. Cf. CABALLERO, Arquimides & MEDRANO, Salvador, Op. Cit., p. 384.

- 118) The curriculum offered two types of content. The first one was general culture which covered scientific, theoretical and practical subjects, taken during the first year. The second type was the professional training which offered specialized teaching subjects during the two following years, and the teaching practice carried out in the last year. CABALLERO, Arquimides & MEDRANO, Salvador, Op. Cit., p. 387.
- 119) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 151.
- 120) SEP, 1969 a: 62, 63. Quoted by: CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 151.
- 121) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, p. 151.
- 122) CABALLERO, Arquimides & MEDRANO, Salvador, Op. Cit., pp. 385-386.
- 123) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 158.
- 124) The main purpose of the agricultural missions was to stimulate the economic development of the peasant family,

- increase the level of hygiene of the community, promote the proper use of leisure time, and stimulate the desire of peasants to develop their cultural interests. SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 159.
- 125) Ibid, p. 160.
- 126) It was intended that the staff of these missions should consist of one primary school teacher who was a Normal School graduate with five years experience, one nursery school teacher, one teacher of leisure activities, a teacher of music and singing, a social worker, a fine arts teacher, and a psychologist. SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 161.
- 127) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian, Op. Cit., p. 87.
- 128) SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 218. Correspondence Courses were for teachers living in distant areas. They received lessons, and questionnaires by post. These teachers studied and answered, and sent back responses for marking to tutors who advised them. SOTELO, Inclan Jesus, "La Educacion Socialista" ['Socialist Education'], Op. Cit., p. 320.

- 129) The Intensive Oral Course was very important for the development of teachers since it allowed teachers to reinforce their knowledge. But these courses also favoured the exchange of experiences between teachers with their colleagues, and with members of the SEP bureaucracy. This personal contact of teachers was to result important for their professional development as well as for their radicalism and their resistance, especially during the following period (1971-1986) which will be studied in Chapter 5. Correspondence Courses were complemented by a six week Intensive Oral Course offered, during the school holidays, in a centre selected by the administrative body of the Correspondence Courses. These were given by professors of the Federal Institute. SOTELO, Inclan Jesus, Op. Cit., p. 320. SEP, LA OBRA EDUCATIVA EN EL SEXENIO 1940-1946 [THE EDUCATIONAL REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT 1940-1946], Op. Cit., p. 223.
- 130) The National Association of Universities and Institutes of Higher Education [ANUIES], is a civilian society which gathers the institutions of higher education in Mexico. IBARROLA, Maria (De), LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], CRESALC-UNESCO, Caracas, 1986, p. 23.

- 131) ROBLES, Rosario, Op. Cit., p. 225.
- 132) Ibid, p. 225.
- 133) The 'Didactic Centre' offered "specialized courses in teaching techniques to teachers in-service, to applicants for a teaching post, or to students sponsored by the University...". In order to improve teaching abilities, the Centre organized intensive courses, and seminars. But it was also concerned with the establishment of policies and programmes to satisfy the demands of training of University teachers. It was not until 1972 that these programmes were put into practice in full, as will be analysed in Chapter Five. IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 23. And Cf. "Acuerdo de Creacion" ['Creation Agreement'], No. 1097, 1st April 1969 (in CUADERNOS DEL CENTRO DE DIDACTICA [NOTEBOOKS OF THE DIDACTIC CENTRE], Special Issue, January, 1977, p. 69. Quoted by: DIAZ Barriga, Angel, "El Programa de Especializacion de la Docencia" ["Programme for the Specialization of Teachers"] SIMPOSIO EXPERIENCIAS CURRICULARES EN LA ULTIMA DECADA [SYMPOSIUM OF CURRICULA EXPERIENCES DURING A DECADE], Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas, Centro de Investigacion y Estudios Avanzados del IPN, Mexico, 1983, p. 2.5.
- 134) DIAZ Barriga, Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.5.
- 135) Ibid, p. 2.5.

- 136) The unionism among University teachers gained strength during the 1970's, and this is analysed in part four of Chapter 5.
- 137) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 39.
- 138) Ibid, pp. 201-202.
- 139) PELAEZ, Gerardo, HISTORIA DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION [HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS IN EDUCATION], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1984, p. 24.
- 140) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 143.
- 141) WENDEL, Karl & GORDON, Schaeffer, "El Control del Aparato Juridico y de los Sindicatos Burocratas" ['Control of the Judicial Apparatus and the Bureaucrat Unions'], PROBLEMAS DE MEXICO [PROBLEMS OF MEXICO], I, 1st October 1958, p. 41. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. cit., p. 143.
- 142) Cf. HISTORIA DOCUMENTAL DE LA CONFEDERACION NACIONAL CAMPESINA [HISTORY IN DOCUMENTS OF THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF PEASANTS], Vol. I, 1938-1942, PRI-ICAP, Mexico, 1981, pp. 307-308. Quoted by PELAEZ, Gerardo, Op. Cit., pp. 30-31.
- 143) PELAEZ, Gerardo, Op. Cit., p. 34. and SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 195.



- 144) Cf. TORRES, Bodet Jaime, EDUCACION MEXICANA. DISCURSOS, ENTREVISTAS, MENSAJES [MEXICAN EDUCATION, SPEECHES, INTERVIEWS, MESSAGES]. Quoted by: COSIO, Villegas Jesus, "Educacion Socialista" ["Socialist Education"], Op. Cit., p.316.
- 145) Cf. Ibid, p. 317.
- 146) RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 144.
- 147) ALBA, Victor, "Mexico" (in) BLUM, Albert A. (Ed.), TEACHERS UNIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS. A COMPARATIVE STUDY, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1969, p. 227.
- 148) Ibid, p. 228.
- 149) The employment conditions of teachers were attended by the SNTE through a contract guaranteeing "job security, high enough pay to allow the teacher and his family to have a decent standard of living. His salary would be based on the assumption of equal pay for equal type of services (without sex discrimination)". Ibid, p. 228.
- 150) Ibid, p. 228.
- 151) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 194.
- 152) See: TORRES, Carlos Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 23-24. And SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 202-204.
- 153) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 210.

- 154) LOYO, Brambila Aurora, EL MOVIMIENTO MAGISTERIAL DE 1928 EN MEXICO [THE TEACHERS MOVEMENT OF 1958 IN MEXICO], Ediciones ERA, Mexico, 1979, p. 29.
- 155) SALAZAR, Othon, Leader of the SNTE, Quoted in EXCELSIOR, 7, 14 December, 1958. Quoted by: RUIZ, Ramon Eduardo, Op. Cit., p. 144.
- 156) ALBA, Victor, Op. Cit., p. 224.
- 157) The SNTE has 58 sections.
- 158) PELAEZ, Gerardo, LAS LUCHAS MAGISTERIALES DE 1956-1960 [THE TEACHERS' STRUGGLES FROM 1956 TO 1960], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1984, pp. 29-41.
- 159) Detailed information about this conflict is offered by LOYO, Brambila Aurora pp. 28-30 and PELAEZ, Gerardo, HISTORIA DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION [HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS OF EDUCATION] Op. Cit., pp. 87-93.
- 160) Information about the actions of these two leaders is offered by CARDIEL, Reyes Raul, Op. Cit., pp. 356-359.
- 161) "Declaraciones del Partido Popular Sobre el Conflicto el Magisterial" ['Declarations of the Popular Party about the Teachers Conflict'] 6th July 1956 (in) PROBLEMAS DE MEXICO [PROBLEMS OF MEXICO], Vol. I, No. 7, October 1958, pp. 49-51. Quoted by LOYO, Brambila Aurora, Op. Cit., p. 37.

- 162) Information about these groups is offered by SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 153-164.
- 163) Detailed information about the conflict of teachers is offered by PELAEZ, Gerardo, LAS LUCHAS MAGISTERIALES DE 1956-1960 [TEACHERS' STRUGGLES FROM 1956 TO 1960], Op. Cit., pp. 95-103.
- 164) LOYO, Brambila Aurora, Op. Cit., p 39.
- 165) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & Imaz, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 53.
- 166) PELAEZ, Gerardo, HISTORIA DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION [HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS OF EDUCATION], Op. Cit., p. 138.
- 167) As seen in the first section of this Chapter, the two bodies were the 'Governing or Academic Board' ["Junta de Gobierno"], and the 'Board of Governors' ["Patronato"]. See Part One of this Chapter.
- 168) MABRY, Donald J., THE MEXICAN UNIVERSITY AND THE STATE: STUDENTS CONFLICTS, 1910-1971, Texas A. & M. University Press, College Station, Texas, 1982, p. 190.
- 169) Cf. JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., pp. 199-200.
- 170) STEPHAN-OTTO, Erwin, "Organizacion del Trabajo y la Universidad" ["Organization of Work and the University"]

- (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., p. 228.
- 171) Ibid, p. 228.
- 172) Cf. Ibid, p. 228.
- 173) See the first part of this Chapter.
- 174) Cf. MABRY, Donald J., Op. Cit., p. 234.
- 175) Cf. ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 203.
- 176) MABRY, Donald, Op. Cit., p. 213.
- 177) GACETA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD [UNIVERSITY JOURNAL], 6 March 1961, and 15 May 1961, p. 1. Quoted by: MABRY, Donald J. Op. Cit., p. 221.
- 178) See: STEPHAN-OTTO, Erwin, Op. Cit., p. 228.
- 179) NEWSPAPER OF THE SPUNAM, Year 1, No. 2, October 1965. Quoted by: PULIDO, Alberto, 50 ANOS DE SINDICALISMO UNIVERSITARIO [50 YEARS OF UNIONISM IN THE UNIVERSITY], STUNAM, Mexico, N.D., pp. 47-48.
- 180) In order to become official, all unions must be registered with the Secretariat of Work.
- 181) PULIDO, Aranda Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 49.
- 182) JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, Op. Cit., p. 37.
- 183) See: MABRY, Donald J., Op. Cit., pp. 237-270. ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., pp. 205-211. And LEVY, Daniel C., Op. Cit., pp. 28-32.
- 184) LEVY, Daniel C., Op. Cit., p. 30.

- 185) See: ROBLES, Martha, Op. Cit., p. 207.
- 186) Ibid, p. 207.
- 187) ROCES, Wenceslao, "Alba Universitaria" ['University Sunrise'] (in), SOCIALISMO [SOCIALISM], Year I, No. 3, Third Term 1975, p. 84.
- 188) PULIDO, Aranda Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 53-54.
- 189) Ibid, p. 58.
- 190) ROCES, Wenceslao, Op. Cit., p. 85.

## CHAPTER 5.

### TEACHERS STRUGGLES: 1971 - 1986.

The broad parameters of government policy which framed the struggles of Mexican teachers for social, professional and political space in this period were two. First, there was a stress on the 'democratization' of education: education would be provided 'for all'. Secondly, however, this reform movement took place within certain conservative assumptions: the government continued to stress at the ideological level the themes of national unity, national autonomy and the older principles of 'the revolution'. Thus while the expansion of the educational system was one theme of the period, partly because of the needs for national development and to meet increasing expectations of the population for education and life chances, this theme should be understood against the counterpoint of social control (of teachers, of the university) and of efforts by the Mexican State to re-establish social stability.

For obvious reasons within these policies, teachers at both primary and university levels were an object of State attention. Efforts were made to strengthen their training, to improve their employment conditions and to improve their

'professional status'. These policies were, at one level, welcome among teachers; even though the policies were not fully or successfully implemented given the economic context. However in so far as these policies were also mixed within efforts by the State to encapsulate the teachers' union movement, and to define teachers as State servants, the intervention of the State was less welcome. In particular efforts to bureaucratize UNAM and SNTE combined with a de facto reduction in salaries created teachers resentment, and produced a growth in radicalism and resistance among teachers.

The analysis of the chapter is thus organized in four sections. The first section offers a general survey of those policies in education, such as 'education for all' which affected the SEP primary teachers and UNAM teachers. The second section analyses the changes in the social class origin of these teachers as a result of the policies of democratization of education adopted by the State, and its effects on their employment conditions. In the third section the study is of the teacher training system, its reforms and their impact on the professional status of teachers. The fourth section analyses the organization of teachers into unions, and the radicalism and resistance developed by them against the control exerted over them by the State.

## REFORMS IN EDUCATION AND THEIR IMPACT ON TEACHERS.

After the repression of the social unrest at the end of the 1960's, the new governments implemented policies for the popular classes. These policies attempted to reduce economic and social unrest and to reduce the opposition of the intellectuals who were against the State at the end of the 1960's.

### Primary Education and Its Reforms.

Thorough reforms, implemented at all levels of education, were a response to the policies of equality stressed during this period. The new Federal Law of Education of December 1973 had three main objectives: equality of opportunities for the access to schooling, flexibility of the educational system, and the development of a critical consciousness among the population (1).

Thus access to schooling was widened under the slogan of 'education for all' (2). Luis Echeverria's government increased the resources dedicated to primary education, which in 1971 received 51.9% of the educational budget (3). Through this extra funding, the number of primary schools was



increased. The number of schools in 1977 was 54,640 (4), which grew to 78,395 in the school year 1982-1983 to serve an estimated student population of more than 15 million (5).

The policy of equality of opportunities was pursued by the Echeverria's government in the rural areas also. During this government, 56% of rural primary schools were still offering only the first three of the full six years of primary education (6). Two new types of schools for small rural communities were opened in 1972. These would allow more choice and alternative paths to education. The first were 'community schools' run by community instructors. These were secondary school students who had received a short training course in some teaching techniques (7). The second type were boarding primary schools for rural children which offered primary education plus agricultural training, and were later called Regional Centres for Fundamental Education (8).

Despite these policies, educational opportunities for rural children were still small. In urban areas, 54 out of 100 children entering primary school completed the course. Only 10 out of 100 rural children ever finished primary school (9), even though "two out of three new teachers being sent to rural schools" (10). By the end of Echeverria's government there

were nearly 35,000 teachers working in rural areas though there were few resources, and high rates of absenteeism and drop-out (11).

In these circumstances the performance of teachers was insufficient to fulfil what was expected from them in the new educational plans. Teachers had to put into practice new teaching methods following the new curriculum (12). Thus, they had more responsibility, but were under-compensated in terms of improvement of salaries.

However these attempts at reform did not make access to education equal. The economic problems faced by the country at the end of President Echeverria's government, in 1976, meant that inequalities were still considerable: there were 1.7 million children with no access to primary education, and nearly 700,000 drop-outs from the system every year (13). Even those children who finished three years of primary school had received, in the words of Pablo Latapi "twenty seven times less (schooling) than those who were able to finish the university" (14).

Efforts aimed at the democratization of the educational system continued, nevertheless, within a political frame.

Thus the Jose Lopez Portillo government (1976-1982) also emphasised the ideal of 'education for all', and that primary education should be given to all children of school age (15). In fact, in 1977-1978, there were 12,560,035 children enrolled in primary schools. This meant that 12% of children of school age still remained outside the educational system.

Clearly, the intended growth of education needed to be supported by a larger investment. In fact, the education budget during the Lopez Portillo government grew from 2.9% to 5.2% of the GNP (16). This increase however did not satisfy the needs of the system, since inflation at the end of this government reached 100%. According to Fuentes Molinar, "the increase of 19.1% of the educational budget, authorized for 1979, was hardly enough to compensate for the inflation of the 1980's" (17), especially when population growth demanded an even greater investment to provide for the increasing number of school age children.

Within a pattern of economic difficulties, the government also tried to bring back the old revolutionary principles. The most obvious example of this strategy was that pursued by the government of Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) in its 'National Programme for Education, Culture, Leisure, and Sport

1984-1988'. This new educational reform which was to be known as the 'Educational Revolution' was needed, according to the President, "to strengthen our nationalism, and reinforce our autonomy" (18). The educational reform aimed "...to contribute towards the consolidation of an egalitarian society, towards moral development through a strengthening of revolutionary nationalism and de-centralization of the political system, and towards bringing about complete democratization" (19).

This new attempt to stress the nationalism of the Mexicans through education may be sceptically assessed. In the economic crisis, the return to the values of the revolution and efforts to create a resurgent nationalism can be related to the difficulties which the authoritarian State was experiencing. Confidence by the middle and popular classes, in the State, was diminishing. If these classes had opportunities for upward mobility, the State might recover support, and therefore power and stability. This had implications for how the State treated the University.

#### **UNAM and Its Reforms.**

In relation to higher education, the State tried, first of all to create better links with the University. The

relationship between the State and UNAM, which had deteriorated as a result of the violent movements of the previous decade, became a priority. With this purpose, the government of President Luis Echeverria (1970-1976) implemented four types of policies. The first was the nomination of a Rector who agreed with its policies (20), secondly there was an increase in the subsidy dedicated to the University, thirdly there were the declarations of respect for the autonomy of UNAM, and fourthly new schools were created within the University (21). With the nomination of a rector loyal to the system, new prospects of development were opened for professionals in UNAM. According to Erwin Stephan-Otto the University became an avenue of mobility to political posts in the national governments "the University... would be (used as the) transit..." (22). The subsidy of the University grew from 565 million pesos in 1970 to 3,773 million pesos at the end of the Echeverria government (23). In 1981, during the Lopez Portillo government, the subsidy went up to 17,000 million pesos (24). Respect for the autonomy of the university became evident in the declarations of the government about the capacity of UNAM to deal with its educational reform and to solve internal problems (25).

New institutions were created within UNAM, at the end of 1973. These institutions were the National Schools of

Professional Studies [ENEP], and the Colleges of Sciences and Humanities [CCH] (26). The purpose of both of the schools was to offer students from the popular classes a chance to gain access to higher education (27).

As a result of these policies, the University grew. The number of students went up from 256,752 in 1970 (28) to approximately 323,000 in 1983 (29). The number of full-time teachers also grew from 2,339 in 1970 to 4,093 in 1976; but overall the numbers of teachers grew from 26,485 in 1970 to 47,832 in 1976 (30). This growth in the number of teachers also affected their employment conditions in terms of lack of tenure and low salaries, processes which were reinforced by the economic crises experienced in the country.

Thus the reformism of the governments of this period and their policies of 'education for all', equality of opportunities, and 'revolutionary education' resulted in an increase in the expectations of the popular and middle classes. However, the capacity of the system was not sufficient to satisfy people's expectations, since the opportunities for development, in the case of teachers, were curtailed by the reality of their employment conditions and professional status. This will be seen in the following section.

SOCIAL CLASS ORIGIN AND THE EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS OF SEP AND UNAM TEACHERS.

The central fact, affecting employment conditions and the social status of teachers in this period was population pressure through both general demographic expansion and urbanization. The annual growth rate of the population was between 2.5% and 2.6% (31); and there were continuing movements of the rural population to the cities.

In 1970 Mexico City had a population of 8.8 million inhabitants and by 1984 this number had almost doubled (32). The level of migration to Mexico City reached, in 1984, a rate of about 1,000 people per day (33). The other two largest cities in the country, Monterrey and Guadalajara, also experienced rapid growth but not to the same extent as the capital. In 1980 it was estimated that the urban population in the country was 50 million inhabitants (in settlements of 2,500 or more) (34).

The cities suffered from the continuing economic crisis. By 1984, "the system was no longer able to incorporate rural migrants: few jobs were available, and adequate housing was increasingly scarce" (35). Social services, including

housing, education and health, could not be provided at the rate they were needed. Nonetheless, shacks were built in the outskirts of the city as squatter settlements (36). Thus these places lacked running water, sewage facilities, electricity, health facilities, and schools (37).

In the countryside, the peasants continued to include peasants without land who were "the poorest and usually the most economically exploited rural group in Mexico" (38). In the 1970's, some studies estimated that 44% of the rural families were landless peasants (39). The economic crises of the early 1980's, made inequalities within the rural population worse forcing many peasants to seek employment in more prosperous rural areas or to migrate to cities (40).

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers.**

In this social context, primary education was an important employer, and an important claim on revenues within education. From 1970 to 1982, it "accounted for more than 70% of the total enrollment, employed more than 50% of the teaching force, and included more than 80% of the total number of schools in Mexico" (41).



Primary education continued its historic role: teaching continued to be "...an important labour market for men from peasant or working class backgrounds" (42). They were mostly attracted by the entrance facilities offered by normal schools because they were assured of employment at the end of their training if they graduated from federal or state normal schools (43). By the early 1980's teachers constituted one of the largest groups of the middle-class (44). Extra salary incentives were offered (45), but most of the salary increases were destroyed by inflation (46). The consequences included absenteeism and indifference among some teachers. Others supported the SNTE's leadership to obtain security of tenure or promotion to better posts (47).

#### **UNAM Teachers.**

Although the social class origin of University teachers was different (48), they suffered similar problems of identity and opportunity structures. In particular young teachers (49) hoped to obtain security of tenure (50). This hope was unrealistic. In 1984 the proportion of teachers who did not have tenure in UNAM amounted to 68.03% (51). Only 31.4% of the teachers had tenure. The rest of them, more than 20,000, depended on temporary contracts (52), hence they were

prevented from obtaining the employment benefits given to full-time teachers (53).

The bureaucracy of UNAM also withheld increases in the salaries of the academic staff since the allocation of resources to the so-called 'confidence posts' (i.e. administrative employees loyal to UNAM) used up most of the University budget (54). This last measure of the UNAM authorities reinforced their control over the different bodies within the university. The number of 'confidence employees' grew, in 1972, 10.3 times. This means that in 1972 for 100 teachers there were 4 'confidence employees', and in 1985, there were 17 of these employees for 100 teachers (55).

These inequalities are even more serious when the growth of the University is taken into consideration. In this period between 1979 and 1980, the number of teachers grew considerably from 19,190 to 27,515 or 43% (56), but this growth was low in relation to the teacher-student ratio. It was reported that in 1984 the ratio was 11 teachers to 100 students, and in 1985 it was 10 to 100 (57). Instead of appointing more teachers to make the ratio more manageable, UNAM increased the number of 'confidence staff' in order to gain strength to exert closer control over teachers.

The economic crises which followed one another led to austerity measures which came to restrict the opportunities of better salaries for teachers. Salaries did not keep pace with inflation. The position of teachers became worse than the workers'. Between February 1982 and June 1986 the real salary of UNAM teachers suffered a reduction of 67.5% whereas that of workers was reduced by 40% (58). In 1982, a full-time teacher with a permanent contract as 'titular' teacher earned 6.2 times the minimum salary, by June 1986 his earnings amounted to 3.8 times the minimum wage (59). In the same years an associated teacher with full time contract earned 4.6 and 2.8 times the minimum (60). In dollars the titular teacher with a full time contract earned, in December 1981, 1,500 U.S. Dollars (per month), and in June 1986 his salary was only 368 U.S. Dollars (61).

The deep inequalities, and the manifest unfairness of this system led to teachers reaction. On the one hand the accusations of UNAM authorities against teachers were in terms of absentism, interruption of work, inefficiency and irresponsibility, and lack of preparation of lectures (62). On the other hand, the loss of purchasing power, the lack of job security and the increasing bureaucracy of UNAM structure led to a growth of radicalism among university teachers.

Radicalism of teachers was also stimulated by the training, this is especially in the case of the SEP primary school teachers. In the case of the UNAM teachers the lack of teaching experience in many of the young teachers led the University authorities to establish a more systematic training in Pedagogy. This is the theme of the next section.

#### TEACHER TRAINING FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL AND UNAM TEACHERS, IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR PROFESSIONAL STATUS.

The policies implemented by the governments to improve the professionalisation of the SEP primary school teachers were attempted through the reforms in teacher training. Thus more normal schools were built, and the Pedagogic University was created. In relation to University teachers, their training in Pedagogy was emphasised through different programmes of the so-called 'teacher training' ["Formacion de Profesores"] (63). These programmes would increase teaching skills, and the attachment of University teachers to their teaching career.

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers.**

Reforms in teacher training were a response to the populist policies, reformist spirit, and nationalist ideologies of the

State. Changes in the initial or in-service teacher education also corresponded to changes in primary education, and efforts to implement the new curriculum. To fulfil both intentions, normal schools were to prepare teachers "offering them the ideology and techniques to fulfil their difficult task of guiding the new generation" (64).

To emphasise the democratic aspect of the SEP policies different objectives were set for normal schools depending on whether they served urban or rural areas. In Articles 21 and 50 of the Federal Law of Education of 1973 (65), the SEP highlighted the importance of teachers' role in society, emphasising the relevance of their professional and personal development. Thus Normal Schools were "to offer teachers general knowledge as well as personal culture, and were to develop their teaching qualities..." (66).

The curriculum of Normal Schools was widened to include general subjects (which until then had been taught in preparatory schools) (67). The number of subjects was increased. However, the result was a curriculum so broad and general that the academic achievement of students at this level was lowered (68). This curriculum was rejected only three years after its implementation because it could not

operate in the limited material conditions of normal schools and their students. The new curriculum, proposed in September 1975, kept the general knowledge of preparatory schools subjects, and added the teaching of method for each subject (69). This curriculum was also rejected (70).

A new curriculum, known as the 'Restructured Plan of 75', rapidly designed, was finally adopted (71). This new plan gave an opportunity to teachers of normal schools and their students to participate in the analysis of its content. The result was discussion, controversy, and movements of teachers and students of Normal Schools against the SEP authorities who tried to impose a new curriculum for the 1982-1983 school year (72).

Thus normal schools students suffered from uncertainty over the content of their training, and from changes in their curriculum (73). Each reform was implemented before the new generation of teachers finished their training and could put into practice the knowledge acquired (74).

Officially, the reforms were based on the results of socio political, technico-pedagogical, economic, and administrative studies (75). These studies were supposed to clarify the

needs of teachers, as a first step, and afterwards to offer them high standards in the content of their training. This would ensure teachers a good salary and job satisfaction within the area where they were working. The intention was to prevent serving teachers from leaving primary schools to find jobs in higher levels of schooling. The hope was that they would remain at the primary education level if they were motivated through personal and professional opportunities of development as well as economic benefits (76).

The intention, then, was to offer teachers higher academic degrees after the B.A. in education ["licenciatura"]. Higher degrees in the fields of teaching, administration, and educational research, would give primary school teachers the incentive to remain in their job (77).

However these plans also reflected the political interests of both the SEP and the SNTE bureaucracies for the control of teachers. A criticism made by Carlos Torres has suggested that "explicit intention was the upgrading of the quality of teacher training but the implicit purpose, in the long run, (was) to transform and override the traditional Normal Schools" (78). SEP and SNTE judged that normal schools had gained too strong an influence in teachers' movements, and

that demands of teachers and students in these institutions were getting out of control. This was particularly evident during the decision about the reform of the curriculum of normal schools (79), and in the strength gained by the current of left wing ideology existing in normal school, named "Normalismo" to indicate that it was the ideology of the trainees in these schools.

The controversy between the SEP and the SNTE over the creation of the National University of Pedagogy [UPN] was clear in the arguments both had for its creation. SEP argued that this university was "the Federal Government's answer to the legitimate desire of the teachers of the country to develop in a manner which would enable them to satisfy the needs of the educational system" (80). SNTE, claiming its role to be in defence of teachers' interests, argued that it was concerned with the quality of education.

To sustain their arguments, both the SEP and the SNTE had their own model of university. The SEP's was a "centre for the creation of academic excellence, it would have full autonomy, and few students. In this way the university would train new professionals of education, but it would not participate in the professional development of teachers



already in-service" (81). Graduates from this university would become the educational elite directly working for the SEP, particularly in research and planning, and outside the control of the SNTE.

The SNTE proposed "a system which should include a large number of teachers organized at national level, but centrally controlled. It should amalgamate all the other institutions for teacher training" (82). It appeared that with this model the SNTE was responding to the interest of the rank-and-file teachers. In reality, the bureaucratic elite of the SNTE intended to reinforce and extend its control over teachers.

Amid this confusion the National University of Pedagogy [UPN] was created by a decree of President Jose Lopez Portillo on 29th August 1978 (83). It adopted the model of the SEP, and its main objective was "to improve the academic quality of the teaching staff of our country, and to enhance their professionalism by helping to develop their social and economic status" (84). Its teachers were to be employed with full-time contracts. Its administration was to be hierarchical and authoritarian giving power to the Secretary of Education and the top functionaries of the UPN designated by the SEP (85).

The SNTE was excluded from participation. In an effort to prove its power over teachers, the bureaucracy of the SNTE obstructed the activities of the UPN by refusing to recognise it as a professional body. The State, not wishing to enter into any confrontation with the bureaucracy of the SNTE, agreed to include a pattern of distance teaching which would include all the serving teachers throughout the country. With this modification, the model of the SNTE was also included, and the UPN became responsible for the 'B.A. in Pre-school and Primary Education' which was offered by the General Direction of Training and Professional Development of Teachers (86).

Thus UPN became two different institutions balancing the interests of both the SEP and the SNTE. The first pattern was a full-time system offering courses in its headquarters in Mexico City. These courses were for a selected number of students, no more than 2,000 undergraduates and about 1,000 postgraduates. Its aim was to offer a high standard of training. Therefore its entrance requirements were highly selective both for students and teachers (87). The second pattern was distance teaching, offered through Regional Universities of Pedagogy in an effort to raise the quality of in-service teachers within a particular region (88). Sixty centres of distance teaching were initially created throughout

the country to serve 30,000 students (89), and to satisfy a wider public than the elitist institution in Mexico City.

Differences between these two institutional patterns were also evident in the type of students enrolled in both systems. The full-time system had students who were not teachers in-service, whereas primary school teachers were in a majority in the regional centres (90). Thus the UPN reinforced "the vision of the State as a civilizing agent... (and) tried to break the technical control exerted by Normal Schools. With this it would promote the training of teachers at the service of the modernizing policies of the State" (91). The State once more imposed control over teachers through the agreements reached with the SNTE. Both of them used the professionalisation of teachers as a political weapon to justify control over teachers and normal schools.

To reinforce the control over normal schools, the upgrading of teacher training to the higher education level was finally institutionalized with the creation of the 'Pedagogical Baccalaureate' (a three year course offered in the preparatory schools) (92). This important movement resulted in the inclusion of other institutions, such as the "Colegio de Bachilleres" ['College of Bachelors'] (93), which also offered the 'Pedagogical Baccalaureate'.

Thus, the whole teacher training system was changed. The old Normal Schools became higher education institutions offering a B.A. certificate in education, and the Higher Normal Schools were transformed into centres for post-graduate studies and research in education (94). This measure seriously affected the monopoly of Normal Schools reducing their strength and influence, and left the SEP and the SNTE with more power to control students, future teachers, and teachers in-service.

Overall, the State found the means to contain the threat represented by Normal Schools whose influence on teachers and students had become evident in their criticism of the curriculum and its reforms. The SNTE's bureaucracy also used teacher training, mainly in-service courses, to validate its power and gain control over teachers, and to have more influence over the SEP authorities. Both bodies, SEP and SNTE, were interested in gaining control over the most vocal dissidents, the 'Normalist' group, which had its roots in normal schools.

A different situation is evident among UNAM teachers. Their training was offered in a higher education institution in a specialized field. A pedagogical aspect was not included in their training.

## **UNAM Teachers and Their Training.**

It is argued in this section that the specialized knowledge that University teachers possess, as a result of their training in a higher education institution, makes them view pedagogical knowledge less important. University teachers believed that the teaching skills would come to them with practice. This is reinforced by the fact that their professional status does not depend on their being members of UNAM. Therefore this body cannot control them through their training as effectively as SEP controls its teachers.

However, this traditional view of university teachers that they did not require pedagogic training came into conflict with the 'modernizing project of the Mexican University' which demanded the "development of teacher training programmes based on the 'educational technology'" (95). This clashed with the traditional assumption that intellectuals did not require training in teaching skills (96), and the Didactic Centre (97) was the focus of the struggle.

The initial purpose of the Didactic Centre was "to offer in-service courses about teaching techniques to University teachers, and to candidates for teaching posts" (98). The

Centre organized short courses, and seminars whose effects on the professional development of UNAM teachers were limited. This was shown by an evaluation of the activities of this Centre made in 1975 (99). The results demonstrated that despite the fact that the content of the courses did not fully satisfy needs for pedagogical training, the courses had made university teachers aware of their lack of teaching skills (100).

The results of the evaluation seminar led to a Specialisation Programme implemented in 1976 (101). This programme had four main tasks: to consider the development of teachers as a priority activity, to offer specialized training in teaching techniques, to encourage links between the development of teaching and educational research, and to stimulate the commitment of teachers to university activities (102). The involvement of teachers in their teaching activities was emphasised by trying to make them conscious of the social relevance of their task in the University (103).

The professionalisation of UNAM teachers, as conceived by the Specialisation Programme, emphasised the quality of teaching and the professional specialisation of teachers. The University authorities considered that, with the Didactic

Centre, opportunities for the professional development of teachers were opened up. Thus teachers were to blame if they did not develop professionally, because they had lost their "professional attitude towards their teaching activities" (104).

This interest in the professional development of teachers was emphasised in 1977 when the Didactic Centre was merged with the Commission of New Methods of Teaching to form the Centre for Research and Educational Services [CISE] (105). By 1979, the 'Programme of Specialization of Teaching' was systematized (106).

This programme, however, did not give the results expected because of the lack of tenure of UNAM teachers. Sometimes the teachers enrolled in the programme were employed on a temporary contract, and did not remain in the university even if they completed the course. These trained teachers did not put into practice the knowledge obtained on the courses, and thus the teaching in UNAM did not gain benefit from the qualified staff who had been trained in CISE (107). Once more the aim to offer University teachers the opportunity to obtain pedagogic training faced the difficulties of teachers' employment conditions.

An evaluation carried out by Juan Eduardo Esquivel and Lourdes Chehaibar showed that the effectiveness of the courses (for the daily teaching of UNAM teachers) was based on the actual time they had for their training. However this was small. There was no relief from routine duties for those teachers enrolled in the courses (108). Teachers also found difficulties in the implementation of the knowledge they had obtained during their course. This was due to the lack of relation between the teaching skills teachers learnt and the teaching methodology of their syllabuses since the emphasis of the content of the courses was on practical teaching training ignoring the theory of the subjects (109). This contradiction also prevented the development of a critical mind and autonomous thinking of teachers which also hampered their capacity to analyse problems and find solutions to them (110).

This result however did not prevent a definition of the professional teacher by the University authorities. This ideal teacher should possess knowledge on the subject he/she was teaching, teaching skills suitable for its teaching, research in a specialized field or practice in the profession outside the university, and an ability to conduct counselling activities (111). This ideal of a university teacher was held



by the authorities to represent the high standard they wished their staff to achieve.

The blame for lack of standards was again placed on teachers themselves because, according to UNAM authorities, teachers were not interested in the opportunities offered for their development. The University administration considered that "there was evidence in teachers' attitudes of little interest in taking permanent jobs and personal development although there were teachers who did not possess the intellectual and pedagogical qualities needed for teaching at higher education level" (112).

This view placed the responsibility of the lowering of standards in the University on teachers without considering the problems of context, such as the growth in the number of students, the rigid structure of UNAM, the bureaucratization of the administrative body, and the reduction of teachers salaries. A contradiction existed between what was apparently offered for the professional development of teachers, and their employment conditions and low salaries. The unintended result was increased unionism among University teachers. They increasingly moved into the social arena where they joined primary school teachers and other workers.

The unintended result was increased unionism among university teachers, and a great attention by them to the social arena, in which they joined primary school teachers and other workers. Thus, the paradox was that the efforts to increase the 'professionalism' of UNAM teachers by strengthening their pedagogic skills and creating a career structure, had the effect of radicalising them further. In contrast (and had now become normal) struggles of the SNTE bureaucracy and the SEP over the control of teachers gave political dimension to efforts to improve the training of primary school teachers. These are the themes of the next section.

#### UNIONISM OF SEP PRIMARY SCHOOL AND UNAM TEACHERS.

The general reforms of education resulted in stronger pressure from the State for teachers to have better training. It has been argued that teachers gained more qualifications but their employment conditions did not improve at the same pace because of the difficult economic situation of the country. This was to lead to movements of rebellion and opposition from both groups of teachers, and repressive measures on the part of the authorities.

For both groups of teachers, SEP and UNAM, unionism had a dual function. One function was to serve teachers in their struggle for their rights. The other role was to permit the State to control teachers. This dual function, produced two opposite reactions: radicalism and quietism. The former, radicalism, led to important social movements during the period between 1971 and 1986 which are analysed below.

#### **SEP Primary School Teachers and the SNTE.**

The SNTE in its 'Declaration of Principles' (113) had declared its loyalty to the system. The bureaucracy of the SNTE had become an important element for the control of teachers. According to Carlos Torres "the main political groups... that have controlled the Teacher's Union have emerged as powerful groups within the Mexican State, and currently constituted a principal force in the formulation of educational policies and within the ruling party" (114).

The importance of this role was evident during the Luis Echeverria government (1970-1976) when the authoritarian mechanisms of the State needed the support of a bureaucratic group more loyal to the President to renew the strategies of control over teachers. This government wanted overthrow of

the elite, the "Roblesmartinizta" group (115) which had controlled the union for nearly twenty years. The General Secretary of the SNTE, Carlos Olmos, part of this group, was accused by the National Executive Committee of the SNTE of having accepted the SEP proposals for a change in the system of payment of primary school teachers, and the creation of 1,500 new posts with double full-time salaries, without teachers' approval (116). This led to an emergency meeting between Eloy Benavides and other eleven Secretaries of this Committee without the participation of Carlos Olmos who was dismissed (117).

Through this procedure, used by the SNTE elite, a new General Secretary, Eloy Benavides, was nominated. The former Secretary, Carlos Olmos, was forced to maintain discipline in the union and to accept the decisions taken against him. Benavides was replaced by Carlos Jonguitud Barrios as General Secretary, he organized the group 'Revolutionary Vanguard' ["Vanguardia Revolucionaria"] (118). It became the bureaucratic elite of the SNTE, which held strong control over teachers as a whole (119).

The control exerted by this bureaucratic elite was the result of the rigid hierarchy organized within the union which

was only accessible to loyal members of the bureaucracy. Its policy towards teachers was repressive making their mobility dependant on a process of reward or punishment (120). Some of the strategies adopted by the leaders of Revolutionary Vanguard for the control of teachers were co-option and repression. Those teachers loyal to the Revolutionary Vanguard were given the opportunity to climb the hierarchy (121). They placed their own followers in high posts in the sections of the teachers' union by manipulating elections (122). Loyal members of the Revolutionary Vanguard infiltrated all the sections of the SNTE and reported everything that went on (123). Those against it were condemned to immobility since Revolutionary Vanguard also covered the academic field through its control over the promotion of teachers, and the accumulation of grades through the in-service courses (124).

The Revolutionary Vanguard has always claimed to represent the majority of the teachers in the country, to defend the unity and democracy of the union as well as the autonomy of teachers, and share the general principles regulating the PRI (125). Its agreement with State ideology, and its attempt to convince both parties, teachers and the State, of its democratic principles is illustrated in the declaration that

the membership of teachers in the SNTE was "a judicial obligation based on Article 123, Section B of the National Constitution" (126). This concept is in fact a misrepresentation of the article which, in its Section B, Paragraph X establishes the right of workers "to organize groups in defence of their common interest..." (127), but does not specify any obligation of teachers to become members of the SNTE.

The bureaucratic elite of the SNTE and its rigid structure denied the representation of teachers' interests due mainly to the dictatorial nature of its tactics. This reinforced the opposition of the dissident groups against the Revolutionary Vanguard. Some teachers tried to ignore this elite, but others reacted strongly against it by organizing dissident groups in an attempt to democratize their union (128). Thus dissident groups of teachers challenged the stability and power of the Revolutionary Vanguard, and founded the 'National Coordinator of Workers of Education and the Democratic Organizations of the SNTE' [CNTE] (129).

This umbrella organization initially gathered 27 dissident groups agreeing on five central issues: the economic position of teachers, democratization of the SNTE, measures for real

representation of all teachers at national level, and a definition of their prospects and opportunities (130). The CNTE was not created as an independent union but as a group within the SNTE itself. It became "a strong current inside the teachers' union, and a political compromise of dissident teachers against the Revolutionary Vanguard based on a massive mobilization of the rank-and-file teachers" (131).

The formation of the CNTE, though only planned as a temporary solution, became a place for airing militant views "...with the purpose of favouring the social and self-emancipation of teachers" (132). This role was a reaction to the control of the Revolutionary Vanguard and its failure to make any concessions. Thus the CNTE adopted three main objectives. The first, a short term one, was the incorporation of all dissident groups already struggling. The second, a medium term objective, was the designing of a political programme. The third, a long term objective, was the full democratization of the SNTE (133). These objectives drew support from rank-and-file teachers, and were reinforced by the marches, one day strikes, and meetings at national level (134).

In spite of the ideological and tactical differences of the groups in the CNTE, their first actions were characterised by

the strength of their common objectives and demands. The marches showed that teachers' dissidence stemmed from mature organization giving it nationwide recognition. Teachers' dissidence "was not a scattered number of spontaneous mobilizations at regional level, but a national process for the achievement of teachers' demands as well as the reinstatement of the union as a voice for the rank-and-file teachers" (135).

Overall, the dissident groups forming the CNTE put pressure on the SEP and forced it to open new ways of negotiation. Secondly they made evident the weaknesses of the Revolutionary Vanguard as mediator between the State and teachers. Lastly they organized a commission to negotiate teachers' salaries (136).

The Revolutionary Vanguard, however, tried to jeopardize teachers' movements through propaganda aimed at the condemnation of teachers' struggle by much of society. The SEP also tried to reduce the strength of dissident teachers, and offered distorted information to the mass media. It tried to create division and confusion among parents and justify the violent reactions adopted by the State against teachers (137). Repressive measures were also used against demonstrators, but this could not conceal the strength dissidence had gained (138).



The SEP authorities, though forced to negotiate, refused to recognise the dissident CNTE, and only accepted talks with the leaders of SNTE's bureaucracy (139). With this recognition, the Revolutionary Vanguard tried to recover its power and control over teachers. The repressive measures adopted by the State were indeed harsh (140). This led to more demonstrations of dissident teachers whose radicalism had increased with their experience of struggle. Their fight assumed a different dimension. They marched to the main square of Mexico City and denounced to the whole nation the anti-democratic character of the State's manoeuvre (141).

Both the SNTE's bureaucracy and SEP refused to be responsible for the outbursts of dissident teachers. The former blamed the intervention of 'dangerous' political groups in problems exclusively related to teachers, and the latter argued its neutrality in the internal affairs of the teachers' union (142). Nonetheless teachers' movements obtained the support of other groups such as students, higher education teachers, labour workers, and peasants (143). The identification of workers and peasants with the teachers' struggle was evidence of the political impact it had on society. It opened the possibility for the organization of similar struggles and the alliance of different interest groups (144).

Thus the repression had led to a hardening of the united protest of different groups who realised that their only power lay in coming together against the ever growing authoritarianism of those in power. The pressure on the SEP authorities resulting from the teachers' movements forced new negotiations. This time members of the Government and Education Secretariats represented the State. The SNTE's bureaucratic elite, and a Negotiating Commission representing dissident teachers (the CNTE) negotiated for teachers (145).

The demands of the teachers however were not satisfied by the commission, and the agreement was not respected by Revolutionary Vanguard (146). The imbalance of conditions continued despite the State pronouncements of its intention to respect the 'revolutionary ideology' of 1910, and the rights of teachers established in the 1917 Constitution. Teachers dissidence therefore became more powerful and "from the small and isolated groups struggling in 1979, dissident teachers in the CNTE gained different levels of unity. And from isolated individuals fighting separately, teachers became responsible organizers of one of the most important workers' movements in recent years" (147).

Dissident teachers demanded major participation of the rank-and-file teachers in their union's affairs. The control of

the union in the hands of the bureaucratic elite prevented a democratic participation of grass roots teachers. Only those loyal to Revolutionary Vanguard, and linked with the hierarchy could aspire to mobility. The upward mobility of these members was evident in the posts won by them, i.e. Carlos Jonguitud Barrios became Governor of the State of San Luis Potosi, and at the same time was the principal leader and lifetime president of the Revolutionary Vanguard. One member of the SNTE became a Federal Senator, and in 1982, eleven Federal representatives in the Congress had been promoted from the bureaucratic elite of the union. More than one hundred local representatives at State Congress level as well as several alternate representatives and senators had come through this union route (148).

In this context, it was almost compulsory for those teachers who wanted promotions to important posts to be on good terms with the Revolutionary Vanguard. Mobility was possible only for those who acquiesced. Hence conflict was to arise between teachers who were using their jobs as stepping stones towards political power and those who were more concerned with teaching as a career and their role in society.

A lull in hostilities occurred while dissident teachers attempted to form groups which could counteract such powerful

vested interests. The pressure they experienced from the hegemonic bureaucracy controlling their union brought about the development of their radicalism and resistance. Primary school teachers then challenged their encapsulation by the SNTE.

This radicalism and struggle of primary school teachers was an example which stimulated the demand for changes in the professional status of UNAM teachers. The University teachers began to fight, strongly, against the authoritarian character of the structure governing the university as well as against the State. During this period a parallel between university teachers' response to oppression and that of primary teachers can be suggested.

#### **UNAM Teachers and Their Unionism.**

The changes that took place in the University such as large number of students, a considerable number of young teachers, and the lack of tenure as a result of the employment conditions controlling University teachers, began to affect their attitudes. This was reinforced by the closer relations between the State and UNAM resulting from the nomination of a new Rector, and the perspectives of mobility to political posts in the government open to the bureaucracy of UNAM. These themes are explored below.

During this period (1971-1986) the number of teachers without tenure gave an added boost to the number of dissidents. In the University 89.87% of teachers were part-time, and only 10.13% were full-time (career teachers), of whom 37.85% did not have a permanent contract. As for the 89.87% of part-time teachers, 65.9% were employed on a temporary basis, and 34.10% were employed under permanent contract (149). The problems were reinforced since the system of employment of teachers did not change bringing them more insecurity. Thus frustration among them was rife. Radical teachers formed themselves into groups demanding security of tenure and better salaries.

Unionism among UNAM academic staff, it is argued here, attempted to carry out two tasks. They wished first of all to change the views of conservative teachers, and secondly to convince UNAM authorities of the right to organize unions. Conservative teachers still held on to the old concept of being intellectuals and were unable to accept their condition as 'academic workers'. UNAM authorities reinforced this belief in an attempt to gain their support, and make them to reject teachers' unions in the University.

Leon Alvarez identifies three ways in which the employment system of UNAM prevented unionism among teachers. Firstly,

they were employed on an hourly basis which prevented them from carrying out research activities. Secondly, since their contracts offered such poor salaries, they sought employment in several schools in order to increase their income. Thirdly, they did not identify fully as members of the University since they were there only part time which made them less interested in general problems relating to the University and less interested in the employment conditions of other teachers (150).

Nonetheless, the first real attempt at unionism by UNAM teachers came with the organization of the 'Union Council of Teachers and Researchers of the University' in 1972 (151). The main proposal of this union was the change in the Statutes pertaining to the academic staff of UNAM in order to recognise the legal rights of this Union Council. Through these Statutes, teachers and researchers would have an official work contract which would spell out employment conditions and their relationship with UNAM authorities (152).

The main obstacle faced by the Union Council was the traditional concept of teachers in relation to their high professional status. The Council considered University teachers "as 'academic workers', wage-earners, with

diversified ideologies..." (153). In order to reduce the opposition coming from conservative teachers, the Union Council presented, in 1973, the document 'Notes About Our Conception of the University' which analysed the characteristics of UNAM, and the employment conditions under which teachers, and other workers were employed by the University (154). In this document the unionism of the University teachers was considered under two main functions. The first to protect employment benefits of its members without taking into consideration ideological tendencies, and the second to propose solutions to the problems of teachers in the academic and research fields (155).

Through this debate and its associated document, the unionism of university teachers gained strength. The Union Council merged with the Association of Career Teachers and Researchers, and two other groups (the Federation of Unions of Teachers of the National Preparatory School, and the Commission of Unions of the College of Sciences and Humanities). From the merger of these groups the Coalition of Teachers' Groups of UNAM was created on October 1973 mainly to negotiate salary increases with the University authorities (156).

Conservative teachers continued their opposition to unionism arguing that it was not possible to 'unionise' knowledge (157). The opposition of these teachers to unionism was reinforced by the emphasis placed by the Coalition on salary demands.

In this salary campaign, conservative teachers backed the UNAM authorities who organized a campaign against the signing of a collective work contract and teachers' unionism. Manuel Perez Rocha considered that what was clear from this campaign was "...the lack of political consciousness, and apathy, ... of many of the University teachers and researchers... Indifference was also evident in relation to unionism. Only a minority supported it, the rest of the teachers were observers... they felt powerless to oppose a solution that, according to them, had already been adopted by UNAM authorities" (158). Thus less than a third of the academic staff appeared to be in favour of the Coalition and its demands.

The University Council reinforced the opposition to unionism of conservative teachers with the approval of the Statute of the Academic Staff of UNAM, in June 1974, but did not include the right of teachers to be organized into unions or the



signing of their collective work contract. Article 110 stipulated that "the University recognises the right of its academic staff to be organized into associations or colleges according to the principles regulating the University, mainly, its autonomy, and academic and research freedom" (159). But unionism was not officially accepted, only the academic associations.

This opposition was because teachers' unionism "represented a serious challenge to the adolescent bureaucracy of the University, mainly, through the repercussions this would have in UNAM or in other universities in the country" (160). The risk could not be taken lightly, and steps preventing the expansion of unionism had to be taken. This however did not prevent in July 1974 the formation of a 'Union of the Academic Staff of UNAM' (here after referred to as SPAUNAM). SPAUNAM was led by young radical teachers who, as students, had taken part in the 1968 movement (161). This radical union operated under two constraints. One constraint was internal, coming from the opposition of conservative teachers who did not accept changes in UNAM. The other constraint was external, coming from the traditional views about high status professionals which still dominated the public opinion.

In terms of internal constraint, UNAM authorities reinforced the conservative position of teachers with the creation of the Federation of Associations of the Academic Staff [FAPA] following Article 110 of the Statute. It blocked any proposal coming from SPAUNAM which was related to employment conditions. FAPA was more concerned with academic matters such as research and the role of the University. Conservative teachers supported FAPA because it claimed to be opposed to the creation of a union with the right to strike, and defended the freedom of association (162).

This confrontation was reinforced by the economic conditions of teachers which led SPAUNAM to organize a one day strike in October 1974 (163). It was the first of its nature ever organized at the University, and resulted in strong opposition from the conservative teachers and the Rector who declared his complete disapproval of the movement and its organizers. He alleged that the quality of teaching would be affected if the academic staff became organized into unions, and so would the professional character of teachers (164).

The radical character of the SPAUNAM actions was exploited by the Rector who declared that the teachers union was trying to control academic activities, and it was not possible "to

accept that the nomination of teachers and researchers was to be decided by a union meeting..., nor that syllabuses could be based on a union's criteria" (165). The Rector turned the strike to his own advantage by discrediting unionism among many of the academic staff, and outside the university by public speeches.

Nonetheless SPAUNAM tried to obtain legal status to negotiate with other official bodies, and proposed an official collective work contract with a 40% salary increase (166). The University Council did not reply to this demand, and SPAUNAM, reinforcing beliefs about its proletarian character and activism, resorted to strike action on 16 June 1975 (167). UNAM authorities declared this strike to be against the autonomy and academic freedom of the university, because, they argued, the "basic activity of the academic staff was the creation of culture" (168).

Dissatisfaction among teachers and the opportunity for better conditions brought support to the strike, indicating that teachers were becoming more convinced of the need for change (169). The University authorities denied the importance of this strike and tried to minimise the extent of the opposition. UNAM authorities also tried to reinforce

their control and stimulated the opposition of other teachers through the formation of new associations of academic staff which received economic support through payment for articles in the newspapers opposing strike action (170).

Despite this opposition, the strike proved to be very important and gained much support. Outside the University workers' unions supported the attack on the traditional concept of a profession dominating the minds of many teachers in UNAM. They declared that, "the recent movements organized by SPAUNAM brought to an end the elitist concept of intellectual work... [and] ...also initiated the integration of university teachers into the large and undefeated army of workers fighting against exploitation, and for a democratic society" (171).

The strike was useful in that SPAUNAM was for the first time included in negotiations with representatives of UNAM, and the FAPA, and an agreement was reached. The University authorities accepted the signing of a collective work contract for the academic staff which gave SPAUNAM a voice (172).

In an attempt to reduce the proletarian character that the strike had given to the union, the SPAUNAM directed its

attention to the creation of a new category of academic staff, the Special Career Professors, who would raise the quality of teaching in UNAM (173). This was finally approved by the University Council in July 1976. Teachers in this category were to have the security of tenure and an opportunity to apportion their time between teaching and further studies (174).

However SPAUNAM was still giving and receiving from workers unions support (175) which led conservative teachers to maintain their position against SPAUNAM which, they said, "was a disruptive element in society undermining the high status of academic learning" (176). This had further repercussions since SPAUNAM was not only supported by workers' unions but became an example to other universities, even private ones, which organized their own unions throughout the country. SPAUNAM also developed a campaign to support these unions. Thus their actions became a threat not only to UNAM authorities but to the State.

The reaction came from the University authorities. Rector Guillermo Soberon presented, to the President of the Republic, a proposition amending Article 123 of the National Constitution. This was an additional 'Clause C' to regulate

employment relations in higher education institutions (177). It was an amendment which divided University staff into workers (178) and teachers. They would have different regulations. Teachers would be restricted in their right to strike, and their collective work contract would be negated, and an evaluation for teachers would be carried out after three years of service in order to assess whether or not they were eligible for a permanent contract (179). This meant that the security of tenure of teachers would be available only after three years with temporary contract. The failure to qualify for the post would mean their resignation.

This attempt by UNAM authorities to control teachers failed since Clause C was finally rejected. With this, SPAUNAM gained strength, and the authorities of UNAM reinforced the formation of teachers' associations. The Associations of the Academic Staff of UNAM [AAPAUNAM] gathered 6,442 members and SPAUNAM only 4,677 members (180). Thus the AAPAUNAM gained the right to represent the academic staff in the negotiations with UNAM authorities for the revision of the employment conditions of teachers (181).

Despite this defeat, SPAUNAM placed demands for a salary increase, and a revision of the legal status of the work

contract. SPAUNAM called for a strike for the 7 February 1977, but this was put off when it agreed to merge with the union of administrative workers of UNAM [STEUNAM] in order to gain strength against UNAM authorities and the AAPAUNAM (182). The new union, named Union of Workers of UNAM [STUNAM], gathered together teachers and administrative workers, included cleaners and porters. This reinforced the proletarian character of the union, and some of the teachers felt that they were no longer a priority in their union. It has been argued by Eliezer Morales Aragon, that teachers are "intellectual workers therefore had expectations beyond working conditions... although the proletarian character of their contracts has been recognised, it has been difficult that teachers recognised themselves... as wage-workers" (183). Furthermore they were in a minority, 1983 figures show that there were 4,500 academics as opposed 17,000 administrative workers (184).

The STUNAM called for a strike on the 20 June 1977. The merger and the strike reinforced the proletarian character of the teachers union causing stronger opposition from conservative teachers. UNAM authorities adopted even violent measures against strikers with the intervention of the Federal District police in the University campus. Strikers were sacked. Thus the movement ended on 7th July 1977 (185).

After the strike, defections of teachers from STUNAM took place, and AAPAUNAM was strengthened. The reaction of radical teachers was to try to regain strength through the formation of a teachers' union at national level, the National Union of University Workers [SUNTU], created in 1979 (186). This union did not obtain official recognition and was only registered as federation. It faced the pressure of the National Association of Associations and Unions of the Academic Staff of Universities [ANASPAU] (187). ANASPAU was backed by the University authorities.

Overall the formation of the National Association was symptomatic of the unrest and insecurity felt by teachers with regard to their status and employment conditions. Radical teachers, in ten years, transformed the apathy of many teachers, and awoke interest in and awareness of employment conditions. Nonetheless their unionism gradually lost ground, and the University witnessed "the absence of union life among academic workers, and the lack of opportunities for the development of a project which would bring academic and administrative workers together. Only together, they would find the bases for an integrated union, and the definition of the role of UNAM in society" (188).



## CONCLUSIONS.

Thus, although radical teachers through STUNAM had forced some attention to be given to their working conditions and to issues of professional development, the university authorities had managed - and still manage at the time of writing - to reassert their considerable control over University teachers, with the familiar techniques of encapsulation and control over individual career opportunities. In this the University authorities have been greatly assisted by both the realities of university employment - which include a large number of part time teachers - and by the ideologies of many of those working in the University: the 'professionals whose social origin and self - definition makes union activity distasteful and whose reluctance to join struggles, for social and political space, outside the University is marked. This reaction is in marked contrast to both the framing (in inter - union disputes) and the tradition of primary school teachers' involvement in the social arena. On the other hand, it is also true that primary school teachers have failed fully to overcome the co-option of their union leaders, and the encapsulation techniques of the PRI and the Mexican authoritarian State.

There are some very contemporary changes (e.g. there was a struggle in April 1989 over the leadership of the SNTE); but it would, in the light of the historical experience traced in this thesis, be unrealistic to expect major changes to follow from the April events. While noting that Mexican teachers were again on strike in June 1989, it is perhaps more useful and more logical to review the full implications of the historical experience of Mexican teachers, as these have been explicitly illustrated in the main text of the thesis. This review is the work of the Conclusions of the thesis.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

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- 2) 'Education for all' was the policy adopted since the Luis Echeverria government (1970-1976), to satisfy the demand of primary education offering the opportunity to enter the system. Articles 48 and 10 of the Federal Law of Education, of 1973. MEXICO, LEY FEDERAL DE EDUCACION [FEDERAL LAW OF EDUCATION], Text and Comment by Rodrigo A. Medellin and Carlos Munoz Izquierdo, C.E.E., Mexico, 1980, pp. 24 & 35.
- 3) Ibid, p. 108.
- 4) Ibid, p. 73.
- 5) OSTERLING, Jorge P., "The Society and Its Environment", RUDOLPH, James D., MEXICO. A COUNTRY STUDY, Foreign Area Studies, The American University, Washington, D.C., 1985, p. 156.
- 6) LEY FEDERAL DE EDUCACION. [FEDERAL LAW OF EDUCATION.], Op. Cit., p. 50.
- 7) By the end of the Echeverria's government nearly 46,000 children had been enrolled in 950 Community Schools. Cf.

- LATAPI, Pablo, ANALISIS DE UN SEXENIO DE EDUCACION EN MEXICO, 1970-1976 [ANALYSIS OF SIX YEARS OF EDUCATION IN MEXICO, 1970-1976], Editorial Nueva Imagen, Mexico, 1980, p. 81.
- 8) Ibid, p. 81.
- 9) Ibid, p. 50.
- 10) SEGUNDO INFORME DE GOBIERNO [SECOND ADDRESS TO THE NATION].  
Quoted by: LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 81.
- 11) Ibid, p. 81.
- 12) The new curriculum emphasised the division of the syllabuses into areas of study as was already defined, and the modification of the textbooks with new emphasis in the development of pupils' abilities. LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 73.
- 13) LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 108.
- 14) Cf. Ibid, p. 109.
- 15) Cf. MINISTRY of Education, REPORT ON EDUCATION IN MEXICO 1981-1983, XXXIX General Conference on Education, Geneva, 1984, p. 12 and 18.
- 16) However, this increase did not reach the 6% target aimed at by the SEP, nor the 8% recommended by international agencies. SEP, MEMORIA 1976/1982. I. POLITICA EDUCATIVA [REPORT 1976/1982. I. EDUCATIONAL POLICY], Mexico, 1982, pp. 349 and 364.

- 17) FUENTES, Molinar Olac, EDUCACION Y POLITICA EN MEXICO [EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN MEXICO], Editorial Nueva Imagen, 2nd Edition, Mexico, 1984, p. 15.
- 18) MADRID, Miguel (De La), "Presentacion" (in) PROGRAMA NACIONAL DE EDUCACION, CULTURA, RECREACION Y DEPORTE 1984-1988 [NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, LEISURE AND SPORT 1984-1988], Poder Ejecutivo Federal, Mexico, 1984, p. 10.
- 19) Ibid, p. 35.
- 20) Rector Guillermo Soberon, as Rector of UNAM, reinforced the authoritarian character of the administrative body of the University. See: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF UNAM], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 2nd Edition, Mexico, 1987, pp. 193 and 245.
- 21) LATAPI, Pablo, . Op. Cit., pp. 89-90 and 158-159.
- 22) STEPHAN-OTTO, Erwin, "Organizacion del Trabajo y la Universidad" ["Organization of Work and the University"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Ediciones Foro Universitario, Mexico, 1983, p. 231.
- 23) LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 189.
- 24) WENCES, Reza Rosalio, LA UNIVERSIDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [THE UNIVERSITY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Editorial Linea, UAG, UAZ, Mexico, 1984, p. 149.

- 25) Cf. LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., pp. 158-159.
- 26) Academically the ENEP's are organized into departments which gathered together several disciplines of the same area of knowledge. Each career offered in these schools has a study plan formed by several disciplines. IBARROLA, Maria (De), LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], CRESALC-UNESCO, Caracas, 1986, p. 9.
- 27) Cf. LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 203.
- 28) In the period 1970-1980, students entering higher education registered a rate of growth of 12.5% per annum which was one of the highest in Mexican records. This means that from 1970 to 1976 the number of students enrolled in higher education institutions grew from 256,752 to 545,182, and in 1984 this number went up to 939,513. This led to an increase in the number of teachers from 26,485 to 47,832 in the period 1970-1976, and 92,926 in 1984. CASTREJON, Diez Jaime, LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], SEP, Mexico, 1976, p. 77. IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 33. CUATRO ANOS DE POLITICA EDUCATIVA [FOUR YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY], SEP, 1975. Quoted by: LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 176. ANUIES, ANUARIO ESTADISTICO 1984 [STATISTICS OF THE YEAR 1984]. Quoted by: IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 35. LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 177.
- 29) ROBLES, Rosario, "La Revolucion Educativa en la UNAM" ["The Educational Revolution in UNAM"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA

EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., p. 207.

- 30) LATAPI, Pablo, Op. Cit., p. 177. The second data refer to all teachers regardless of their category who worked in the different institutions of UNAM.
- 31) OSTERLING, Jorge P., Op. Cit., p. 92.
- 32) Ibid, p. 130.
- 33) Ibid, p. 96.
- 34) Ibid, p. 96.
- 35) Ibid, p. 111.
- 36) Ibid, p. 112.
- 37) Ibid, p. 112.
- 38) Ibid, p. 125.
- 39) Cf. Ibid, p. 125.
- 40) Cf. Ibid, p. 120.
- 41) TORRES, Carlos Alberto, THE CORPORATIST STATE, HEGEMONIC POLITICS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN MEXICO (1970-1982), FLACSO, Mexico City, Edmonton, 1985, p. 21.
- 42) Ibid, p. 23.
- 43) Cf. FARRAND, John, "Mexican Primary School Teachers' Sense of Professional Responsibility", COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, Vol. 24, Num. 1, 1988, p. 107.
- 44) OSTERLING, Jorge P., Op. Cit., p. 114.
- 45) Extra incentives were offered to induce teachers to work in rural areas such as double salaries. SEP, MEMORIA 1976-1982 [REPORT 1976-1982], Op. Cit., p. 63.

- 46) The rate of inflation in 1982 was over 100%, and teachers salaries had received 56% of increase without considering the tax. The deductions from a teachers' salary are: union contribution, income tax, pension fund, and national insurance. Cf. Ibid, p. 144.
- 47) This decision is also supported by the power the SNTE has over different aspects of the professional life of teachers. See: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO, TOMO I [TEACHERS AND THE STATE, VOLUME I], Editorial Linea, UAG, UAZ, Mexico, 1984, p. 146.
- 48) A study carried out by Pablo Latapi of the Centre of Educational Studies about the social class origin of students found that in 1973, "found that 90.4% of UNAM's students came from families with monthly average income equivalent to 86 US Dollars". OSTERLING, Jorge P., Op. Cit., p. 158.
- 49) The sample of a study carried out by the Centre of Educational Studies in 1982, showed that 65.4% of the University teachers were less of 35 years old, and nearly 50% of them had at least five years of experience as teachers. HERNANDEZ, Medina Alberto & RENTERIA, Agraz Alfredo, ESTUDIO SOBRE EL PERFIL DEL NIVEL ACADEMICO DEL PERSONAL DOCENTE EN LOS SUBSISTEMAS DE EDUCACION SUPERIOR Y MEDIA SUPERIOR [STUDY OF THE ACADEMIC LEVEL OF THE



ACADEMIC STAFF OF THE SUB-SYSTEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND UPPER LEVEL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION], CEE, Mexico, 1982.

Quoted by: IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 51.

- 50) University teachers entered the teaching profession, sometimes before finishing their training, as assistants to their own teachers, and from here some expected to obtain security of tenure. IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., pp. 51-52.
- 51) ESTADISTICA DEL PERSONAL ACADEMICO DE LA UNAM [STATISTICS OF THE ACADEMIC STAFF OF UNAM], July 1984, p. 71. Quoted by: JIMENEZ, Mier y Teran Fernando, EL AUTORITARISMO EN EL GOBIERNO DE LA UNAM [AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE GOVERNMENT OF UNAM], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 2nd Edition, Mexico, 1987, 247.
- 52) GUZMAN, Ortiz Eduardo; FUENTES, Cardenas Raul A.; GOMEZ, Sanchez Pedro & VELA, Gonzalez Joaquin H., "UNAM: Crisis y Democracia (Situacion Actual)" ["UNAM: Crises and Democracy (The Present Situation)", FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 70, September 1986, p. 43.
- 53) In a study made by a group of teachers of the Faculty of Economy found that the resources dedicated to cover the teaching posts were not fully used. It pointed out that, in 1985, there was enough resources from the budget to cover 7,227 teaching posts, but in July of that year only 6,480 had been occupied, 11% of them were still vacant. Ibid, p. 48.

- 54) Ibid, p. 43.
- 55) Ibid, p. 44.
- 56) Ibid, p. 46.
- 57) Ibid, p. 46.
- 58) Ibid, p. 46.
- 59) The minimum monthly salary of workers is established by the Congress of Work.
- 60) GUZMAN, Ortiz Eduardo; FUENTES, Cardenas Raul A.; GOMEZ, Sanchez Pedro & VELA, Gonzalez Joaquin H., Op. Cit., p. 46.
- 61) Ibid, p. 46.
- 62) Ibid, p. 48.
- 63) "Formacion de Profesores" ['Teacher Training'] refers in this case to the particular programmes designed for higher education teachers. These programmes were a response to the national plans of higher education. IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., pp. 23-24.
- 64) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian (et al.) CIENTO CINCUENTA ANOS EN LA FORMACION DE MAESTROS EN MEXICO [ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF TEACHER TRAINING IN MEXICO], Consejo Nacional Tecnico de la Educacion, SEP, Mexico, 1984, p. 152.
- 65) LEY FEDERAL DE EDUCACION [FEDERAL LAW OF EDUCATION], Op. Cit., pp. 26 and 35.
- 66) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian (et.al.), Op. Cit., p. 152.

- 67) Cf. REYES, Esparza Ramiro, "Lucha por un Nuevo Currículo: Lucha por una Nueva Institución" ["Fight for a New Curriculum: Fight for a New Institution"] (in) SIMPOSIO EXPERIENCIAS CURRICULARES EN LA ÚLTIMA DÉCADA, TOMO I [SYMPOSIUM CURRICULA EXPERIENCES IN THE LAST DECADE. VOL. I], Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas, Centro de Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados del IPN, Mexico, October 1983, p. 7.2.
- 68) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.2.
- 69) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.3.
- 70) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.3.
- 71) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.3.
- 72) Cf. Ibid, p. 7.4.
- 73) The criticism was that "teacher training did not have flexible basis to meet the national needs". Cf. ROBLES, Martha, EDUCACION Y SOCIEDAD EN LA HISTORIA DE MEXICO [EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN THE HISTORY OF MEXICO], Siglo XXI Editores, 6th Edition, Mexico, 1983, p. 229.
- 74) Cf. REYES, Esparza Ramiro, Op. Cit., p. 7.2.
- 75) CARDENAS, Vazquez Sebastian (et.al.), Op. Cit., p. 162.
- 76) Cf. Ibid, p. 162.
- 77) Cf. SEP, MEMORIA 1976/1982 [REPORT 1976/1982], Op. Cit., p. 144.
- 78) Cf. TORRES, Carlos Alberto, Op. Cit., pp. 27-28.
- 79) See: REYES, Esparza Ramiro, Op. Cit., pp. 7.2-7.7.

- 80) REPORT ON EDUCATION IN MEXICO (I), Ministry of Education, Op. Cit., Appendix 3, p. 9.
- 81) ELIZONDO, Huerta Aurora & GOMEZ, Maria Guadalupe, "El Proyecto Curricular de la Universidad Pedagogica Nacional" ["The Project of Curriculum for the Nacional University of Pedagogy"] (in) SIMPOSIO EXPERIENCIAS CURRICULARES EN LA ULTIMA DECADA, TOMO II [SYMPOSIUM EXPERIENCES OF THE CURRICULA IN THE LAST DECADE, VOL. II], Op. Cit., p. 15.6.
- 82) Ibid, pp. 15.6-15.7.
- 83) Ibid, p. 15.7.
- 84) REPORT ON EDUCATION IN MEXICO, 1981-1983 (II), Ministry of Education, XXXIX General Conference on Education, Geneva, 1984, p. 72.
- 85) FUENTES, Molinar Olac, "Los Maestros y el Proceso Politico de la UPN" ["Teachers and the Political Process of the UPN"] CUADERNOS DE EDUCACION DEMOCRATICA [NOTEBOOKS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION], Num. 7, Editorial Movimiento, Mexico, No-Date, p. 16. Quoted by: ELIZONDO, Huerta Aurora & GOMEZ, Maria Guadalupe, Op. Cit., p. 15.7.
- 86) ELIZONDO, Huerta Aurora & GOMEZ, Maria Guadalupe, Ibid, p. 15.8.
- 87) Cf. FUENTES, Molinar Olac, Op. Cit., p. 104.
- 88) ELIZONDO, Huerta Aurora & GOMEZ, Maria Guadalupe, Op. Cit., p. 15.8.

- 89) Cf. FUENTES, Molinar Olac, Op. Cit., p. 104.
- 90) ELIZONDO, Huerta Aurora & GOMEZ, Maria Guadalupe, Op. Cit., p. 15.20.
- 91) FUENTES, Molinar Olac, "Los Maestros y el Proceso Politico de la Universidad Pedagogica Nacional" ["Teachers and the Political Process of the National University of Pedagogy"], CUADERNOS POLITICOS [POLITICAL NOTEBOOKS], No. 21, Mexico, July 1979. Quoted by: SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 103.
- 92) IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 85.
- 93) The "Colegio de Bachilleres" ['College of Bachelors'] is an institution at the upper level of secondary education created in 1973 by the Luis Echeverria government (1970-1976). It tried to reduce the pressure on the National Preparatory Schools of UNAM, and also offer more opportunities of schooling to the popular classes.
- 94) IBARROLA, Maria (De), Op. Cit., p. 85.
- 95) The other three elements are: first, the university should respond to the needs of the productive apparatus, creating new careers, and designing syllabuses according to the demand. Second, to rationalize the growth of the higher education institutions. Third, to create planning units. Cf. MENDOZA, J., "El Proyecto Ideologico Modernizador de las Politicas Universitarias en Mexico (1965-1980)" ["The

- Ideological Modernizing Project of the Policies of the Universities in Mexico (1965-1980)"] (in) PERFILES EDUCATIVOS [EDUCATIONAL SHAPE], No. 12, UNAM. Quoted by: DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.2.
- 96) Cf. INFORME DEL SEMINARIO [REPORT OF THE SEMINAR], 23 January 1976. Quoted by, DIAZ, Barriga Angel, "El Programa de Especializacion de la Docencia. Una Experiencia Curricular del Centro de Didactica de la UNAM" ["The Programme for the Specialization of Teaching. An Experience of the Curriculum of the Centre of Didactic of UNAM"], (in) SIMPOSIO DE EXPERIENCIAS CURRICULARES EN LA ULTIMA DECADA [SYMPOSIUM OF EXPERIENCES OF THE CURRICULA IN THE LAST DECADE], Op. Cit., p. 2.6.
- 97) The Didactic Centre was created in 1968. It did not implemented its programmes after 1970 during the government of Luis Echeverria (1970-1976).
- 98) DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.5.
- 99) Cf. Ibid, p. 2.6.
- 100) Cf. PARDO, S. (et.al.), "Estudio Sobre la Influencia del Curso de Didactica General Sobre Profesores de la UNAM" ["Study of the Influence of the Course of General Didactic on UNAM Professors"], Centro de Didactica, UNAM, 1974, p. 18. Quoted by: DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.6.
- 101) Cf. CUADERNOS DEL CENTRO DE DIDACTICA [NOTEBOOKS OF THE CENTRE OF DIDACTIC], p. 15. Quoted by: DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.10.

- 102) Cf. Ibid, p. 2.10.
- 103) The Didactic Centre also focused attention on the type of skills required by the professional teacher in the University which the new programme of in-service courses would try to develop: psycho-pedagogy, techno-pedagogy, and sociology of education. DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.12.
- 104) Cf. Ibid, pp. 2.11-2.14. And ROBLES, Rosario, Op. Cit. pp. 213 and 225.
- 105) This measure was adopted to prevent overlapping activities between the two centres. DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.17.
- 106) Cf. Ibid, p. 2.18.
- 107) Cf. Ibid, pp. 2.27-2.28.
- 108) ESQUIVEL, Juan Eduardo & CHEHAIBAR, Lourdes (et al.) "Utopia y Realidad de una Propuesta de Formacion de Profesores" ["Utopia and Reality of a Proposal for the Training of Professors"] (in) SIMPOSIO SOBRE FORMACION DE PROFESORES [SYMPOSIUM ON THE TRAINING OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS], Universidad Veracruzana, Jalapa, 1982, p. 19. Quoted by, DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., pp. 2.31-2.32.
- 109) DIAZ, Barriga Angel, Op. Cit., p. 2.33.
- 110) Ibid, p. 2.33.
- 111) ROBLES, Rosario, Op. Cit., p. 225.

- 112) UNAM, "Evolucion y Marco de Referencia Para los Cambios Academicos y Administrativos" ["Evolution and Reference Framework for the Academic and Administrative Changes"], GACETA UNAM [UNAM LETTER], December, 1983, p. 13. Quoted by: ROBLES, Rosario, Op. Cit., pp. 213-214.
- 113) SNTE, DECLARACION DE PRINCIPIOS [DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES], Editorial Magisterio, Mexico, No Date, pp. 13-32.
- 114) TORRES, Carlos Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 23.
- 115) "ROBLESMARTINIZTA": is the name given to the group of followers of Jesus Robles Martinez, who was a General Secretary of the SNTE during the Miguel Aleman government (1946-1952). This group was in control of the SNTE through the persons occupying the post of General Secretary, who were normally nominated by Robles Martinez himself.
- 116) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., p. 58.
- 117) Ibid, pp. 58-61.
- 118) Ibid, p. 62.
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- 120) FUENTES, Molinar Olac, Op. Cit., p. 69.
- 121) PELAEZ, Gerardo, HISTORIA DEL SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACION [THE HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS IN EDUCATION], Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Mexico, 1984, pp. 166-168. and FUENTES, Molinar Olac, Op. Cit., p. 71.



- 122) Cf. SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Op. Cit., pp. 212-214.
- 123) Ibid, pp. 218-220.
- 124) Ibid, pp. 99-100.
- 125) Ibid, pp. 206-207.
- 126) AGUILAR, Flores Ernesto, "Vanguardia Revolucionaria del SNTE" ["Revolutionary Vanguard of the SNTE"] (in) APUNTES SOBRE EL SINDICALISMO EN MEXICO [NOTES ABOUT UNIONISM IN MEXICO], Primer Seminario de Orientacion Ideologica y Capacitacion Sindical, Editorial Magisterio 'Benito Juarez', No Date, Mexico, p. 58.
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- 129) PELAEZ, Gerardo, Op. Cit., p. 179.
- 130) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & Imaz, Gispert Carlos, MAESTROS Y ESTADO, TOMO II [TEACHERS AND THE STATE, VOLUME II] Editorial Linea, Universidad Autonoma de Guerrero, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas, Mexico, 1984, p. 71.
- 131) TORRES, Carlos Alberto, Op. Cit., p. 26.
- 132) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, VOL. II, Op. Cit., p. 69.

- 133) Ibid, pp. 102-103.
- 134) Ibid, p. 71.
- 135) Ibid, p. 186.
- 136) Ibid, p. 97.
- 137) PELAEZ, Gerardo, Op. Cit., p. 210. And SALINAS, Alavarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Vol. II, Op. Cit., p. 165.
- 138) PELAEZ, Gerardo, Op. Cit., p. 210.
- 139) SALINAS, Alvarez Samuel & IMAZ, Gispert Carlos, Vol. II, Op. Cit., p. 213.
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- 142) Ibid, p. 194.
- 143) Ibid, p. 193.
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- 158) Cf. PEREZ Rocha, Manuel, "La Verdadera Alternative" ["The True Alternative"], EXCELSIOR, 28 June 1974. Quoted by: WOLDENBERG, Jose, "El Estatuto del Personal Academico" ["Statute of the Academic Staff"] (Historia del SPAUNAM VII) [History of SPAUNAM VII], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 21, Epoch II, Mexico, D.F., August, 1982, p. 18.
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- 163) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "La Exigencia de Aumento Salarial" ["The Demand for a Salary Increase"] (Historia del SPAUNAM X) [History of SPAUNAM X], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 24, November 1982, pp. 14-15.

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- 168) The regulations controlling this contract were the Employment Conditions of the Academic Staff, which were to be revised every two years by representatives of UNAM authorities, and academic staff. WOLDENBERG, Jose, "No a la Contratacion Colectiva" ["No to the Collective Contract"], (Historia del SPAUNAM XXI) [History of SPAUNAM XXI], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 35, October 1983, p. 13.

- 169) Cf. WOLDENBERG, Jose, "El Ambiente Pre-Huelga" ["The Pre-Strike Atmosphere"], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 34, September 1983, pp. 15-17.
- 170) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Se Inicia la Huelga" ["The Strike Begins"] (Historia del SPAUNAM XXII), FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 36, November 1983, pp. 17-18.
- 171) "La CU Paralizada Parcialmente al Iniciarse Ayer la Huelga" ["CU Partially Paralyzed after the Beginning of the Strike"] EXCELSIOR, 17 June 1975, pp. 1,9 & 10. Quoted by: WOLDENBERG, Jose, "La Huelga" ["The Strike"] (Historia del SPAUNAM XXIII) [History of SPAUNAM XXIII], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 37, December, 1983, p. 23.
- 172) Ibid, pp. 18-19.
- 173) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "En el Trayecto al Segundo Congreso" ["In the Path Towards the Second Congress"], (Historia del SPAUNAM XXXIV) [History of SPAUNAM XXXIV], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 48, November 1984, p. 12.
- 174) Ibid, p. 14.
- 175) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "La Solidaridad Antes del Segundo Congreso" ["The Solidarity Before the Second Congress"], (Historia del SPAUNAM XXXV), FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 49, December 1984, pp. 21-28. and WOLDENBERG,

- Jose, "El Mitin del 20 de Marzo" ["The Meeting of the 20 March"], (Historia del SPAUNAM XXXVI) [History of SPAUNAM XXXVI], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 50, January 1985, pp. 21-26.
- 176) Cf. WOLDENBERG, Jose, "La Primera Fase del Segundo Congreso" ["The First Phase of the Second Congress"] (Historia del SPAUNAM XXXVII), FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 51, February 1985, pp. 19-25.
- 177) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Foro Universitario" ["University Forum"] (Historia del SPAUNAM XLIII) [History of SPAUNAM XLIII], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 57, August 1985, p. 11.
- 178) Workers in the University refer to the administrative staff as well as porters, cleaners, gardeners, and other manual workers.
- 179) Ibid, p. 15 and WOLDENBERG, Jose, "El Apartado C" ["The Clause C"] (Historia del SPAUNAM XLIV) [History of SPAUNAM XLIV], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], NO. 58, September 1985, pp. 15-18.
- 180) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Sindicato y Autoridades Mueven sus Primeras Piezas" ["Union and Authorities Move Their First Pieces"], (Historia del SPAUNAM LIII) [History of SPAUNAM LIII], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 67, June 1986, pp. 12-15.
- 181) A new attempt to judge the representation of teachers was made in 1980 when 23,000 teachers in UNAM were asked to

- support one of the groups representing them, STUNAM or AAPAUNAM in order to negotiate their collective work contract. Then 14,101 teachers voted of whom 7,316 (51.8%) supported the AAPAUNAM, and 6,582 (46.8%) gave their vote to STUNAM (203 votes were invalid) WOLDENBERG, Jose, FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 67, Op. Cit., p. 16.
- 182) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Se Anuncia la Fusion SPAUNAM - STEUNAM" ["The Merger Between SPAUNAM-STEUNAM Is Announced"], (Historia del SPAUNAM LVI) [History of SPAUNAM LVI], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 70, September 1986, p. 10.
- 183) STEPHAN-OTTO P., Erwin, "Organizacion del Trabajo y la Universidad" ["Organization of Work and the University"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., p. 232.
- 184) Cf. MORALES Aragon, Eliezer, "Apuntes Para la Rectificacion y Cambio del Sindicalismo Universitario" ["Notes for the Rectification and Change of University Unionism"] (in) ACTUALIDAD DE LA EDUCACION SUPERIOR EN MEXICO [PRESENT SITUATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MEXICO], Op. Cit., pp. 265-266.
- 185) WOLDENBERG, Jose, "Fin" ["The End"], (Historia del SPAUNAM LVIII) [History of SPAUNAM LVIII], FORO UNIVERSITARIO [UNIVERSITY FORUM], No. 72, November 1986, p. 6.



- 186) "Las Tareas del Sindicato Nacional Universitario" ["The Tasks of the National Union of Universities"] (in) SOLIDARIDAD [SOLIDARITY], Epoca IV, No. 1, November 1980, pp. 2-4. (in) SOLIDARIDAD Y EL SINDICALISMO UNIVERSITARIO [SOLIDARITY AND UNIONISM IN THE UNIVERSITY] (1972-1980), WOLDENBERG, Jose (Recopi.) Collection: "Documentos Sobre la Historia del Sindicalismo Universitario", Volume 1, Foro Universitario, STUNAM 1982, pp. 283, 289.
- 187) "Los Anti-SUNTU" ("The Anti-SUNTU") (in) Ibid, pp. 393-395.
- 188) Cf. STEPHAN-OTTO P., Erwin, Op. Cit., p. 234.

## CONCLUSIONS.

The purpose of the conclusion section is not to summarise the thesis. Inside each of the descriptive chapters, there is a great deal of detailed information on each period. To summarise this, over and above, the introductions and conclusions already in place in each chapter, would reduce a complex period in Mexican history to a few headlines.

Instead of summary, the purpose of the concluding section is to identify horizontal themes. In other words, to identify some themes which are present in every chapter, although the detailed form of the theme changes. Identifying horizontal themes is also a useful way to conclude because the chapters tell a story vertically around time periods. What themes cut across the chapters; what are the continuities of Mexican educational history (within the topics of the thesis)?

The State itself is a major continuity. What is noticeable is that the bureaucratic-authoritarian Mexican State is still in 1986 dominating the definition of what a teacher is and controlling by a variety of means the professional and political actions and reactions of teachers in ways rather similar to what it was doing 50 years earlier.

The techniques by which the State achieves this are by now reality and in this thesis, familiar. The detailed techniques include repression where necessary, but more normally corruption, co-option and employment. The State is a major employer. It can offer chances for social and economic promotion, particularly to these at the top of their (teachers') professional associations or, by indirect means, to those in charge of (teachers') unions. The history of the SEP, for example, is a history of struggles between teachers and between unions, in the face of State efforts to co-opt union leaders.

But the techniques of the State in the control of teachers and their leaders are more complicated than terms such as 'corruption' imply (though corruption is clearly an endemic part of Mexican political life).. The political structure through which State has managed its control of teachers unions has been the PRI; and the sociological processes through which control has been exerted have been both 'incorporation' and 'encapsulation' among the other social and political processes of the (non-military) authoritarian State.

The actual struggles between State and the primary teachers, or between the State and the University have been surprisingly

clear in Mexican history. There is no ambiguity that a struggle is going on: strikes are repressed; Rectors are changed; salaries are suddenly increased; 'confidence posts' are suddenly available in large numbers; alliances are formed with other parts of the trade union movement.

What is perhaps surprising is not that some teachers or University professors have become radicalised; it is that the State continues to win the struggle. The structures of limited pluralism, of Presidential power, and centralization, of domination by one political party, the techniques of incorporation and encapsulation, continue to work into the 1980's; even after the violent unrest of the late 1960's, and even without the lurch into militarism of, for example, Argentina.

That the bureaucratic-authoritarian State of Mexico has continued to exert very considerable domination over the struggles of its teachers for social and professional space, does not mean that the State itself has remained unchanged in 70 or 80 years. In fact the State has changed quite dramatically from time to time, especially in its ideological formation. The governments after 1910 used as their legitimising ideology the idea of 'the revolution'; the more

conservative governments after 1940 used the themes of 'nationalism' and 'national unity'; and even later in the 1970's the theme of 'modernization' was used.

Interestingly enough, these shifts in ideology made little difference to the role which the State accorded to teachers: teachers were important. What varied were the detailed demands and detailed definitions of what a teacher would be and do. Sometimes the teacher was expected to be a revolutionary missionary; sometimes an a-political pursuer of pure knowledge; sometimes a highly trained technocrat. What the State demanded, then, changed with its political views. What it offered in salary terms was sometimes generous (e.g. double salaries in rural areas). Unfortunately, even when the State was generous - and that was not always the case - the improvements in salaries were typically wiped out by inflation; or diminish in effects by the gap between the "profesionista" and the ordinary teacher in social status; or affected badly by a sense of personal and professional blockage by a union structure that favoured only a few.

The reactions of teachers varied. Some teachers undertook social struggle directly in conjunction with workers and peasants movements. Sometimes such teachers died, especially

in rural areas. Others teachers drifted with apathy and professional despair. Others teachers used their unions or their professional 'teams' for personal advancement.

But here the differences between the two groups of teachers, the primary and the University, were important. For many years different social origin of the University teacher and different life chances provided by his career structure meant that the University teacher could hold a professional identity separate from a university job - where he might teach part-time. On the other hand primary school teaching has been historically an important route outwards (from the countryside) and upward (socially) for children of peasants; and since industrialization, children of workers.

This theme of social mobility of the elementary school teachers was constant throughout this century; and was increased in force and significance by the effects of urbanization and industrialization of Mexican life in the 1930's and the 1940's. For University teachers, the change has come in the 1960's and 1970's - where the chance of a university job has begun to offer mobility for some; but where a university job has also meant an increased stress on professional competence within a career and appointment

structure that remains bureaucratic and complex, and discriminatory (between for example part and full-time teachers). The consequence has been a slow but steady growth in expressions of dissatisfaction by young University teachers.

This expression of dissatisfaction by the younger teachers has been difficult to create and to sustain. One of the stronger horizontal themes has been the extent to which the teachers of UNAM have held a very clear sense of separateness: of the University from society; and of themselves from radical movements and of alliances with workers. A sense of 'profession' has been a sense of class; and of sharp social division and of class stratification in Mexico. In almost all important struggles, the radical wing of the University teachers' union has been defeated. Where it has 'won' (e.g. over pedagogic training), the battle has usually been fought by the State in the name of 'modernization', rather than by the radicals.

All these themes or horizontal continuities in the analysis do of course take place against a social and historical context which is unique: 1910 is not the same as 1920 or 1930 and so on, in the detailed and concreted array of economic and

political forces which are inter-acting. Nevertheless, amid the details of changes, and at the risk of some violence to the uniqueness of history, certain continuities - amid change - can be identified in social, political and economic terms.

One of these continuities is the creation of the official political party, in 1929, and the way its name changes to capture the politics and ethos of the time. The first name given to the party was the National Revolutionary Party [PNR] which captured the theme of uniting a nation - and also of incorporating various groups and classes within a tightening party discipline, and around a populist and socialist platform. Later, in 1938, the name of the party was altered to the Party of the Mexican Revolution [PRM], with the theme of Revolution stressed - as foreign oil companies were also to be expropriated. Later in 1946 (when the modernization of the country encouraged policies that allowed the investment of overseas capital) the name was changed to the Revolutionary Institutional Party [PRI] which saw both a relaxation of pressure on business and the church, and the incorporation of self-employed professionals and those working for the State into the official political party. Teachers in the primary schools were also incorporated into different unions with a socialist ideology were later on incorporated into the official political party.



The work of this Party was to be put against another set of continuities: rapid changes in the socio economic context of Mexico as it was brought into the world economy and underwent changes in its economic changes in its economic and social stratification through urbanization and industrialization. Mexican industrialization oscillated between the confiscation of foreign investments and their encouragement. Inflation, periods of austerity, economic crises were a correlate. At the same time there were major shifts of population from the country to the cities.

The effects of inflation were noticeable on teachers, especially University teachers in the post-war years. The effects of urbanization on primary school teachers were also considerable - opportunities and basic employment conditions worsened for those who stayed in the countryside (despite government efforts). The results included the beginnings of radicalism among UNAM teachers and an increased radicalism by SEP teachers, and an increasing identification with the struggles of other workers, in both the town and country, with both urban workers and peasants. Most SEP teachers came from these classes anyway.

It is against this social and political context that the union struggles need to be understood. For example efforts

to break the SEP primary teachers out of this identification with other workers were related to policies (that were being pursued for a variety of reasons) to raise the level of their training. The 'professionalisation' of primary school teachers became a political issue exploited by the State, through the SEP, using the bureaucratic elite of the National Union of Workers in Education [SNTE]. This union, nominally representing its members, has encapsulated primary school teachers - although this had the side - effect of creating dissident groups.

Dissidence of primary school teachers of the SEP became an important issue challenging the power of the State and the SNTE's bureaucracy. This dissidence became more evident at the beginning of the 1980's when the economic pressures on teachers' salaries and employment conditions produced their strikes throughout the country. As a result of this the National Coordinator of Workers of Education [CNTE] was formed as an umbrella organization gathering different dissident groups and became the path for teachers resistance against the State. It was formed within the SNTE because, only in this way, would teachers be able to gain representation to negotiate with the State authorities. The CNTE also served to denounce the corruption and co-option of the Union's bureaucracy: Revolutionary Vanguard.

The internal organization of the CNTE did not allow the formation of a leader representing all the groups gathered in it. This was evidence of its democratic character, but this type of organization also became its handicap since the attacks of the State went directly to the individual groups resulting in the division of the CNTE. Disagreements between the groups were in relation to the strategies used to demonstrate their resistance as well as their ideological tendencies. The CNTE was then weakened and the movement came close to ending. The parallel case among University teachers was when a group of radical teachers managed to organize the first union of academic staff of UNAM [SPAUNAM]. This organization represented a challenge to the authoritarian structure of the University itself as well as the authoritarian State. However the counter-attack was provided by the formation of AAPAUNAM, which for the time being has seen the movement of radical University teachers come close to ending.

This particular pair of victories by the State are illustrative of the major techniques of the State in its strategies for the control of teachers. In the case of the SEP primary school teachers, the strategy was to dominate the hierarchy of the teachers' union, the SNTE, through alliances

and/or co-option of leaders. In the case of UNAM teachers it was through the close relation between the State and University authorities manifested in two ways: the infiltration of the State into the governing body, and the attraction of professionals from the University hierarchy to important posts in the bureaucracy of the State.

Primary school teachers in this context developed strong radicalism and resistance in the social arena. UNAM teachers, though anxious about their professional status and salaries, were less radical and tended to remain within the a-political character of the University arena in contradiction with the unrest developing among their students and other workers whose radicalism found grounds of development during the 1960's. Some of the variations in radicalism between the two groups of teachers is found in their opportunities for and styles of upward mobility within UNAM and SEP. UNAM teachers, as a result of the length and content of their training in a higher education institution, are the "profesionistas" of society. Thus they are likely to become members of a 'team' which will promote them to the important post within UNAM or the State's bureaucracy. SEP primary school teachers with a shorter training at a secondary level of education, obtain lower professional status. Thus their membership to a team is

within the SNTE which will promote teachers to posts in the union's hierarchy or the political arena of the country. Struggles between different factions within the SNTE are therefore for the power and control over teachers, and the alliances with the State.

The differences between both groups of teachers are reinforced by their social class origin which also determine their participation in the social arena, in the case of the SEP primary school teachers, or in the University arena, in the case of UNAM teachers. The participation of primary school teachers in the social arena is used to confirm their proletarian character in society which represents one of the elements of their low professional status. On the contrary, the high professional status of UNAM teachers resulted in divisions between conservatives and radicals. Confrontations between them became stronger when radical teachers took their struggle to the social arena. This produced opposition from the group of conservative teachers who defended their exclusive involvement in teaching and research activities. Radical teachers, on the contrary, saw the proletarian side of their employment conditions (low salaries, and lack of security of tenure). This was used against them, with success, by the State.

The struggles of teachers in the social arena became struggles against the authoritarianism of the Mexican State which has always stressed the revolutionary principles as its identity, and nationalism as its ideology. But the processes of its politics takes it far from its formal ideology, into the classic themes of authoritarianism - inclusion, encapsulation, limited political pluralism and produce the classic responses to authoritarianism, struggles for social, professional and political space by these affected. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that those affected will be successful in creating more social, professional and political space for themselves - as this account of Mexican teachers has demonstrated.

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