

A SURVEY OF LITERATURE AND RESEARCH ON LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES*

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LITERATURE ON THE LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IS LARGELY OF A POLEMICAL and speculative nature, generally devoid of empirical grounding and theoretical significance. Research, in the sense of a systematic quest to enhance our powers to understand, predict, and control relationships among variables, is of recent origin. Parker (1964), in a review of over two hundred U.S. doctoral dissertations written on Latin American education, noted that few studies were concerned with university reform or the influence of universities on social, economic, and political improvement. Lipset (1966, p. 153), in a general survey of literature on university students in underdeveloped countries, observed that the influence of university studies, patterns of recruitment, modes of teaching on intellectual, professional, political and cultural standards and aspirations or the assimilation of students into the various spheres of adult activity is still *terra incognita*.

UNIVERSITY REFORM—PAST AND PRESENT

Although little research has been undertaken on university reform, a main stream of writing has consisted of a continuing debate on the role of universities and students in transitional and rapidly modernizing societies. A principal source of conflict and controversy has been the University Reform, which ranks as one of the most important social movements of the twentieth century in Latin America. Beginning with the eruption of student protest at Córdoba in June of 1918, the Reform spread throughout the continent and marked the students as a new force in national politics.¹ At a time when professional politicians neglected what Arciniegas (1952) calls the "invisible America," university students took up the banner of the alienated masses and called for a new national spirit and a continental solidarity.

The traditional university was transformed from a sanctuary of the privileged elites and classical studies to a center for political revolt. The image of the ideal student has become that of political combatant. According to Sánchez (1962), the student was no longer to be a sojourner in the university, a technical, scientific, or humanist apprentice, but a belligerent soldier in the social

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struggle. For Mazo (1955), leading chronicler of the Reform movement in Argentina, every educational aspect became a part of the struggle against political, economic, and social conditions impeding national development.

During periods of dictatorship, students formed the shocktroops of opposition forces. They were jailed, killed, martyred, and exiled. When periods of peace returned and new democratic regimes were installed, the students continued as apostles of the revolution of national aspirations yet unfulfilled.

The highly politicized university came to represent a disruptive force in national politics for democratic as well as dictatorial regimes. Critics charge that the principal outcomes of the movement—student participation in university co-government and university autonomy—have degenerated into excesses. Abuses include student intimidation of faculty, lowering of academic standards, and carrying the concept of autonomy to the *reductio ad absurdum* that the university exists as a refuge and political asylum outside the national territory.

The query of Lipp (1949, vi.), however, is still relevant: "That the Reform introduced many abuses is undeniable. The question is whether these abuses were as grave as those which the Reform sought to remedy?" Harrison (1961, p. 77) observes that there has been less interest in reforming university curricula and professional training to meet mid-twentieth century needs in those universities that closed their doors to the reform movement than in those where it found fertile ground.

Defenders of the Reform claim that students with a highly developed social and political conscience remain loyal to the ideals of youth as defenders of national interests. If the university is characterized by turmoil, it is because the times are unsettled and the university is a mirror of society. To change the structure of the university, it is necessary to change the backward and feudal nature of Latin American society. Only then, will the university conceivably settle down to an academic role, but never relinquishing its cultural and political missions in society.

Recent discussion on university reform has taken a new direction. The trend away from obsessive concern with politics finds its expression in new institutional arrangements, such as the Central American Higher University Council (CSUCA), and statements as that of Waggoner (1967, p. 48):

We must take an academic rather than an ideological view of the Latin American public universities. We must try to disregard Latin American politics and nationalism in the universities and concentrate all of our interest and attention upon the educational problem, the conflict between modernism and traditionalism.

This theme was underscored by Walter (1965). He observes that the typical indictment up to recent times emphasizes the discrepancy between the needs brought about by major social change, and the inadequate response of the

universities, which continue to prepare professionals for only a limited number of fields, and to emphasize a metaphysical and speculative approach to knowledge, rather than an experimental, pragmatic one concerned with social realities (p. 259). Researchers who have addressed themselves to the inadequate response of universities to changing conditions include Solari (1966), Labbens (1966), Germani & Sautu (1965), Moreira (1963), Havighurst (1961, Echevarría (1963), Silvert (1964), and Bonilla (1967).

The list of desired reforms is generally well known and concerned with the overriding necessity to integrate loosely federated professional schools into an all-embracing university, coordinating its efforts with other levels of the education system and national development plans. Emphasis is placed on creation of university cities, bringing together isolated faculties dispersed throughout metropolitan areas; creation of general studies programs for all entering students; development of departments in the basic disciplines serving both pre-professional general studies programs and professional school curricula requirements; diversification of curricular offerings through the addition and combination of new and old programs; stimulation of interest in research as a necessary component of professional training and the university's contribution to social, economic, and industrial development; establishment of post-graduate studies programs, especially of a regionally planned type (Waggoner, 1966b, p. 193; also see Atcon, 1963; Enarson, 1963; Hatch, 1964; IDB, 1965; OEA, 1961, 1966; University of Kansas, 1963–66).

The success of this new reform movement depends on a corps of highly qualified and dedicated scholars and professors who look upon university teaching and research as a lifetime career (Waggoner, 1966a,b). At the same time increasing attention is given to the creation of full-time student bodies in a total "institutional environment," which supports and guides students in their academic pursuits.

According to Coombs (1965, pp. 23–4), these innovations collide with rather formidable obstacles: 1) the strong tradition of faculty autonomy; 2) the inadequacy of university administrative machinery for making decisions and carrying them out; 3) the low level of faculty responsibility and involvement in shaping academic policies and programs, due especially to the prevalence of part-time professors; 4) inadequate financial resources combined with inadequate admission standards, resulting in a low level of academic quality and of research capabilities; 5) the unrestrained proliferation of higher education institutions that often are too small to be efficient and too under-financed to be good; 6) the highly distracting influence on academic affairs imposed in some cases by the preoccupation of students and faculties with political affairs; and, finally 7) the inadequacy or in some instances the virtual absence of well conceived national economic development plans and overall educational development plans

with which higher educational plans can be integrated. These proposed changes also clash with attempts to make higher education available to the lower segments of society and particularly the upwardly mobile middle sectors by eliminating entrance requirements and de-emphasizing rigorous academic standards.

A further source of contention has been the establishment of a number of private universities and public universities with limited autonomy. These regionally based, technically oriented universities conceivably may serve as centers for curriculum innovation and independent research that will eventually have a "demonstration effect" on the more traditional State and Catholic Universities (see Albornoz, 1966, p. 252; Scherz-García, 1967; Williamson, 1964, p. 411; Benjamin, 1965, p. 204; Atcon, 1963; Harrison, 1961, p. 80). For others, these departures represent respectively a perpetuation of upper class interests and an unwarranted emasculation of university autonomy.

Heated debate over the structures and functions of universities and over the political and professional roles of students has not easily lent itself to systematic and dispassionate study. Similarly, the urge to modernize has led to widespread educational changes with little basis in research. In many cases, foreign models—for example, regional colleges and general studies programs—have been borrowed without examination of possible negative consequences. When data have been gathered or generated, distinction has not always been made between opinion and fact, between assertion and verification (see Kling, 1964, pp. 175–8; also Davis, 1965; and Ribeiro, 1967).

Within the last ten years, a growing body of scholarly work has challenged popular beliefs, sensitizing us to complexities and nuances, and indicating areas where further research is required. Collection of university census data, application of survey instruments, and intensive case studies have provided a reservoir of information, much of which remains to be analyzed.

RESEARCH: FINDINGS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND ANALYSIS

Student Values, Vocations, and Orientations

Most of the research to date has consisted of descriptive and exploratory studies of the role of students in politics and their origins, values, and attitudes as future elites. If these studies have not provided us with testable generalizations, they have at least challenged the stereotypical images of university students as constituting a well-organized mass of proletarian revolutionaries exploited by outside political interests.

To the contrary, data reveal the following: 1) the generally middle-to-upper class character of universities and secondary schools which, according to Silvert & Bonilla (1961, p. 22), have worked more often to certify inherited advantages than to expand social and economic opportunities; 2) the relative

inactivity and non-political involvement of the majority of students during periods of institutional normalcy; 3) and the growing concern of students with adequate professional training for future occupational roles. Williamson (1964, p. 397) writes that the portrait of the Latin American student as a revolutionary has partial validity but little is known of him. The profile that emerges is that of an individual who is inevitably confused as to his role in a changing and unpredictable society with its political, social, and economic implications, both domestic and international (p. 411).

Surveys conducted by Williamson (1962), Glazer (1965), and Nasatir (1966a,b) have broken down the homogeneous university environment into smaller units in order to analyze the influence of different academic and social contexts on the political and professional orientations of students. Findings and interpretations vary.

Working with data collected from Williamson's survey of some 600 students at the National University of Bogotá, Walker (1965, pp. 104–5) found that greater exposure to the university subculture tends to increase support for Castro, a political figure who symbolizes a radical reordering of the society. The effect is greater among the social sciences and humanities than among the natural sciences. When the variables of field of study, religious commitment, residence, and year in school are considered simultaneously, support for Castro is nearly unanimous in what Walker calls the most "radicalizing" contexts. About 90% of the Castro supporters are among those who live away from home, are in the fourth to sixth years at the university, are in the social sciences or humanities, and are low in church attendance. Although the number of students (nine) on which this percentage is based is too small to be reliable, Walker notes that the cumulative effects of field of study, residence, year in school, and church commitment are apparent.

Nasatir (1966a,b) found contrasting results in a study noteworthy for its scope, involving quota sampling of some 1,600 university and non-university youth in Argentina. His cross sectional study of the ten faculties of the University of Buenos Aires (1966b) fails to reveal a pattern of steadily increasing political interests over the years, even for those students spending proportionately larger amounts of time in "high interest" contexts. A marked curvilinearity is to be observed instead. A steady increase in the proportion interested in political matters over the first four years is followed by a marked dropping off among the most advanced students (p. 280).

Full-time students express a high degree of political interest less frequently than do the part-time students. But, according to Nasatir, all students become in time more like the context in which their studies are carried out.² It is even possible for political interests among older students to be less intense than would have been expected had they not entered the university (p. 281).

Glazer (1965, 1966) represents the first systematic attempt to study the relationship between the student's political-critical role and trainee-contract role during a period of heightened national tension. His sample is limited to four schools of the University of Chile in Santiago—Medicine, Engineering, Secondary School Teaching, and Physics—all essential to national development but varying along important dimensions of prestige, nature of professional tasks, orientation toward clients, and degree of politicization.

The study reveals that students in contexts normally associated with political conservatism and exclusive concern with professional matters, instead evince high political awareness and social commitment. High professionalism, found to be a key characteristic among those willing to pioneer in new and difficult types of urban employment, becomes even more potent when combined with political involvement. According to Glazer, his evidence strongly leads to the conclusion that "political ideologies which are supportive of social change . . . and which emphasizes the responsibility of youth to engage in this process as part of their student role, can be highly functional in directing youthful energies into those channels most needed by their society" (1966, p. 293).

Inconsistencies in Self-Image

Whether student idealism and commitment to social action becomes constructively channeled appears to depend on a complex interaction between aspirations and opportunities for realizing them. Bakke (1964, p. 227) outlines a theoretical framework which enables us to view the frustrating inconsistencies existing between a) the "image" of the students which provides expectancies as to the contribution the university *should* make to the individual's standing at the university and in the society, b) the actual experiences provided by university life, and c) the actual opportunities in the society grounded in the traditions and current operation of the entire range of educational, social, economic, and political institutions. Imbalance between elements of this system constitutes stimuli to corrective action, which may be either functional or dysfunctional for the individual and his society.

In this context, Goldrich (1961) has attempted to show the connecting links between a stagnant economy and radical nationalism aimed at increasing the supply of high-ranking positions and wealth to which students aspire. Soares (1967) has focused on the discrepancy between the self-image of diffuse competence held by intellectuals and the progressive division and narrowing of professional and occupational roles brought about by industrialization. Either forced into professional roles incompatible with psychological needs or marginal jobs inconsonant with social and economic expectations, the intellectual may then find adequate self-expression in political radicalism of one type or another (also see Prates, 1966). Glazer has noted the conflict which may arise when in-

dividuals with specific role commitments developed in the university setting encounter ill-defined professional roles with inadequate rewards. In part, the inconsistencies and conflicts which buffet the individual are but a reflection of the dual character of transitional societies, where the clash between modern and traditional norms has yet to be resolved.

The relationship between levels of stable political democracy and the effect of student political action within the university on future role performance is studied by Walker (1967). His evidence tentatively supports the conclusion that the consequences of political activity for political socialization depend upon the characteristics of the environment, so that political activity appears to enhance acceptance of the norms and commitments to the values of a democratic culture only where such a culture exists both in the university and the larger society (p. 428). Whatever the particular level of democracy, Silvert & Bonilla (1961, p. 159) encountered the belief that the state should guarantee a university education as a "universal part of the ideological constellation of Latin America, a matter beyond discussion." Moreover, increasing pressure will continue to be placed on the universities by expansion of secondary school enrollments and recognition of the value of higher education as the main avenue for social mobility (Williamson, 1964, p. 397; also see Muñoz, 1964; Briones & Waisanen, 1966; Miguens, 1964).

The opening of universities to greater numbers of upwardly mobile students with high aspirations but inadequate academic preparation is likely to result in further tension and student hostility to political regimes. The situation in Latin America bears resemblance to Clark's (1960, p. 571) description of junior colleges in the United States. "Students who pursue ends for which a college education is required, but who have little academic ability, gain admission into colleges only to encounter standards of performance they cannot meet. As a result, while some students of low promise are successful, for large numbers failure is inevitable and *structural*."

Teacher-Student Interaction

Important sources of student disaffection include the lack of opportunities to interact with competent professors and the generally poor quality of teaching. Bonilla (1965, p. 204), for example, reports the following:

The apparent excess of professors to pupils—there is a teaching staff member for every 4.4 students in Brazil—masks with few exceptions a system of irregular, haphazard, routinized instruction with few contacts between students and the teaching staff outside of those situations in which the fulfillment of some bureaucratic transaction requires such an encounter.

Research is only now being directed to the consequences of autonomous

student subcultures, largely divorced from faculty influences and committed to non-academic issues. Scott (1965, p. 59; and 1967), after interviewing students in two national and two private universities in Mexico and Peru, observed that when students were unable to identify with professors as role models or social referents they eventually find a substitute model in "co-gobierno." They fall back upon themselves and the political organizations they have created.³

Recruitment Patterns and Manpower Requirements

Concern with the efficient allocation and utilization of scarce resources, of which highly skilled manpower is perhaps the most important, has led to a number of studies on the pivotal role of universities in educational and economic development. Attention, consequently, has been drawn to questions of differential recruitment patterns and systems of incentives to attract students to academic fields essential to national development. Invariably, the appropriateness of present admission policies has been debated, although little research has been undertaken on their validity (Orellana, 1962; Bowles, 1963, pp. 147–152; and Almeida & Oliveira e Silva, 1961).

Pioneering studies of manpower planning at the university level include those of Colombia (Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, 1961; and ICETEX, 1965), Chile (INSORA, 1962), and more recently, Central America (CSUCA, 1966). In general, manpower studies have been useful in revealing the changing patterns of higher education, in identifying bottlenecks to sustained growth, and in stressing the necessity of coordinating higher educational plans with other levels of the educational system (see Moreira, 1965).

Although the long-time domination of liberal professions in the universities has been frequently criticized, the data indicate shifts of students into technical and scientific fields related to development (see UNESCO and ECLA, 1966). Moreover, a number of assumptions have been proven misleading. Contrary to the belief that universities are overproducing doctors, the evidence from countries such as Colombia and Chile indicates that there is instead a serious shortage. The critical questions here are those pertaining to the distribution of professionals between urban and rural areas and the ratio of highly trained personnel to middle-level supporting technicians. Heifetz (1964, p. 35) writes that in certain professional areas, personnel are actually being overtrained for the jobs they eventually hold, leading not only to a misuse of educational resources, but also to low morale on the job.

An interesting field of research is suggested by Olivera (1965) in "The University as a Production Unit." His paper examines the application of economic and administrative principles to answering the query: "Given the available resources, how can they best be distributed among the various fields and activities of the university?" (For a recent doctoral dissertation on Instructional

Unit Cost Analysis in Selected Central American Universities, see Duncan, 1965). Olivera's suggestions for further research in this area include analysis of different policy implications of scholarships and loans as well as study of marginal returns to investments in education (see Carnoy, 1965).

THE NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In spite of the recent, promising studies conducted by U.S. researchers in collaboration with Latin American scholars (Fraser, 1967, pp. 66–67), the Latin American university still remains the *terra incognita* described by Lipset (1966) with many regions unpenetrated and uncharted. A survey of the field fails to reveal a cumulative body of research in the areas of teaching, curriculum, administration, and student services. Almost nothing is known about the interaction between different institutional environments and the entering values and motivations of students, the effects of varying residential patterns and student subcultures on individual attitudes, and the later incorporation of students into adult roles.

Although several surveys have been conducted that included samples of opinions and attitudes of university professors (Silvert & Bonilla, 1961; Muñoz, 1964; and CENDES, 1965), there is no systematic line of inquiry concerning the professionalization of university teachers or of the "personological" and behavioral aspects of teachers which influence student orientations and achievements. Scott and Glazer are among the few researchers to look at teachers as a "significant other" or role model in the formation of the student's professional-self. Glazer's (1965) dissertation also represents an important attempt to examine the inclusion of professionally relevant tasks and experiences in the curriculum. Further research in this area is needed as well as follow-up studies to determine the relevance of present curricular offerings to the actual job performances and skills elicited from university graduates.

University reward systems comprise an important but neglected area of research, for examining incentives by which students are attracted into academic fields, maintain their motivations, and eventually are channeled into specific roles required by developing societies. As Meyer (1965) has noted, through reward systems, colleges can either attract less interested students or alienate them. For students committed to scholarly and scientific roles, occupational identity is primarily developed in and by the college, being dependent on extensive academic guidance, interaction and approval (also see Miguens, II, 1965).

By contrast, certain areas have been overworked, if not exploited, and found to be lacking in either practical or theoretical significance. Researchers have perhaps satisfied their curiosity as to the opinions of students towards communism, democracy, and capitalism, as well as a diverse array of topical

issues without ever tapping underlying psychological dimensions or constellation of cognitions, beliefs, and evaluations which determine future social and political actions (see Almond and Verba, 1963). To what extent have we studied the conditions under which student hostilities are aroused or frustrations activated? More importantly, what variables within the educational experience of the student influence his political and professional orientations? What inconsistencies in the socialization process that takes place during the university years are critical determinants of the student's future success in his adult roles?

Moreover, there appears to be a surfeit of the type of comparative study criticized by Eulau (1962, pp. 397–98)—works primarily consisting of descriptive statements about formal institutions, made seriatim or in juxtaposition, with little generalized comparison of processes or functions. Notable exceptions are Havighurst and Moreira (1965) in their study of culture in Brazil which, according to Fraser (1967, p. 67), has relevance as a model for further comparative education research in other selected parts of Latin America, and Walker's (1966) application of Neil Smelser's theory of collective bargaining to the development and outcome of the university reform movements in Colombia and Argentina. Silvert (1964) and Benjamin (1965) each have outlined a broad frame for analyzing overall university performance and student political action according to different stages of development, although their classificatory schemes require considerable translation into operational terms before being useful in field research.

The most promising comparative undertaking is the Comparative Analysis of Students and Universities (see Lipset, 1966, pp. 130–31) initiated at Berkeley. Surveys have been conducted on university student values, vocations, and political orientations in Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Mexico, Panama, and Puerto Rico. While much of the data remain unanalyzed, the intent of this cooperative enterprise may be discerned from Lipset's statement:

Such comparisons between universities within a society should be supplemented by international comparisons, in order to determine the extent to which national variations in culture and in student political traditions account for variations in the extent and character of student political activity (p. 153).

Another important step in theory building would be a series of descriptive and analytic case studies at the micro-level, complementing the broader international surveys and providing insights into the specific conditions which influence student behavior. Studies, such as those conducted by Bonilla (1959, 1960), Nasatir, and Glazer, represent a useful approach to testing under more limited conditions. Lipset hypothesizes that the intensive involvement of students in politics is least likely where their universities have high standards, ade-

quate study and research facilities and a teaching staff deeply committed to teaching and research.⁴

Areas that are recommended for further study include the following: 1) educational innovation and institutional development—problems encountered, compromises required, and principal results of important organizational and curriculum reforms in representative public and private universities; 2) decision making within universities as well as between them as members of newly constituted inter-university councils and regional planning organizations; 3) formulation of educational objectives and definition of institutional boundaries in such fields as rural transformation and industrial improvement; 4) communication of educational objectives and mobilization of support, both from within the university and its surrounding communities (alumni, business, etc.); 5) resource allocation to higher education and returns to investments whether in terms of economic development or political democratization; and 6) creation of institutional arrangements to safeguard academic freedom and insure that universities will remain responsive to national development plans.⁵

As Albornoz (1966, p. 255) has written, "research on the effects of co-government, autonomy, and other factors on academic freedom is just beginning to be done" (see Ben-David & Collins, 1966; also Canton, 1966). Recent attacks on the freedom of universities in Argentina and Brazil have raised the question of the further opportunities confronting intellectuals and scientists in these societies and the extent to which different professional groups accommodate themselves to outside interferences in academic matters (see Bunnett *et al.*, 1967; and "Brazilian Universities under the Castelo Branco Regime," 1965).⁶ A particularly serious problem meriting further study is the emigration of scholars and the incentives and safeguards which governments can offer to utilize their high level manpower (see Survey of International Development, 1966; and Soares & Soares, 1966).

The general outcome of these studies, hopefully, would be an emerging set of propositions or testable generalizations concerning important parameters of the Latin American university. Unfortunately, there has been little cooperative effort of the type undertaken by the Comparative Analysis of Students and Universities; little agreement on the dependent variables to be studied; uncertainty as to the meaning and empirical referents of frequently encountered variables as alienation, radicalism, and university autonomy; and almost no attempt to integrate underlying conceptual premises into a common theoretical framework.

With few exceptions, research on the Latin American university is in a pre-theoretical stage, largely divorced from main streams of social science literature. New directions are provided by Silvert & Bonilla's (1961) study of the meaning of class, social mobility, and national identification to the pro-

cess of social modernization and the role of the educational institution in that development. Promising lines of inquiry also are provided by Bakke (1964), Walker (1966 and 1967), Nasatir (1966a,b), Glazer (1965), and Soares (1967). It would appear to the writer that studies following these leads could make a significant contribution to our understanding of the identity crises and role conflicts experienced by intellectual elites in developing areas of the world.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The changing roles played by universities and students in transitional societies provoke controversy, invariably touching upon questions of values, philosophy and ideology. Since the student revolt and manifesto of Córdoba (1918), a debate has raged over the structures, functions, and orientations of Latin American universities. Within the past ten years, and particularly in the 1960's, a growing body of descriptive and exploratory studies, using more rigorous social science techniques, has challenged prevailing myths and indicated areas where further study promises to increase our powers of understanding and predication.

The greatest payoff might come by focusing attention on: 1) the educational experiences which influence student attitudes, commitments and behavior in their adult roles; and 2) the responses of universities to the principal challenges of development—the tasks confronting the universities in the generation of new knowledge, in the definition and solution of national problems, and in the formation of skilled manpower, allegiant citizens, and national leaders.

The universities are changing rapidly. In this situation, research can serve practical ends in undergirding educational reforms by pointing out the feasibility and implications of change. Research on higher education may also make a significant contribution to social science theory. The university can be viewed as a unique social structure influencing generic social processes, a locus for sub-cultures transmitting and modifying cultural values, and as a production unit processing scarce human capital. As the university interacts with the surrounding environment, it represents an important social institution that may either contribute to or block the forward thrust of modernization and development.

Research on the Latin American university is a venture into an unknown and sometimes hostile environment. Although the risks are many the opportunities may be highly rewarding—in the application of social science principles to the resolution of immediate and pressing problems of continental significance as well as in the long-run contribution to theory and new knowledge. What is required is a spirit of inquiry and a suspension of premature judgment

rather than the dogma, complacency, or cynicism that has prevailed but failed to enlighten.

FOOTNOTES

1. However, as Lipp (1949, p. 158) points up, "Let it not be supposed that the University Reform erupted suddenly in 1918, as did Minerva from the brow of Jupiter and that no agitation had occurred prior to that date." For historical reviews of the antecedents of the University Reform of Córdoba and the evolution of student movements throughout the hemisphere, see (Walter, 1965; Aguirre, 1961; Sánchez, 1949; Mazo, 1946; COSEC, 1959; Rodriguez, 1959; Washington, 1959; and Cortinas Peláez, 1963).
2. The extent to which these findings are attributable to selective attrition is not examined, although the patterns between the different professional schools tend to support Nasatir's argument that political interest does not develop over time even with "insertion in highly politicized contexts."
3. An interesting conjecture is the extent to which different patterns of interaction with teachers may help account for the greater radicalism found among lower class students by Scheman (1963, p. 252) and Goldrich (1961, pp. 7, 9, 19); also see Lipset (1966, p. 149). To cite one example, lower class students in the Williamson (1964, p. 149) survey perceived teachers as being less friendly than did "uppers"; and they also indicated greater support for full-time instructors.
4. Lipset's hypothesis would merit testing in the U.S.A., for example, at Berkeley. In Latin America, evidence from Glazer's doctoral dissertation tentatively supports Lipset's thesis. Glazer (1965, p. 384) reports: "The greater the difficulty of the curriculum and the training process, the lesser is the likelihood of political involvement. Even where a dearth of future professional opportunities might lead to a predication of greater political action to effect social change, the challenge of a difficult training program serves to reduce this type of activity."
5. One major source of strain between universities and national governments is the umbilical cord of financing, which according to Aguirre Beltrán (1961, p. 31) prevents the university from being truly independent and autonomous. For further discussion of this problem see Atcon (1962) and Ribeiro (1967, pp. 371-74).
6. Interestingly enough, authoritarian regimes of both the left and the right have not hesitated to infringe upon the traditional autonomy of the universities, either to quell student hostilities or to make the universities more effective instruments of social reconstruction, as in Cuba (see Atcon, 1962, pp. 42-43; Cuenca, 1964; Seers, 1964, pp. 253-63).

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