

**Towards The 8<sup>th</sup> European Sociological Association Conference  
Glasgow, September 2007**

◆  
**Institute of Socio-Political Research,  
Russian Academy of Sciences (ISPR RAS)**

◆  
**The Russian Society of Sociologists (RSS)**

---

# **SOCIOLOGY: HISTORY, THEORY, & PRACTICES**

**Volume 8**

## **UNIVERSAL SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE AND NATIONAL SOCIOLOGIES**

**Materials of the XVI World Sociological Congress  
(Durban, SAR, July 2006)  
and the 9<sup>th</sup> Sociological Symposium of RSS  
(Moscow, May 22, 2007)**

***Edited by Vladimir Kultygin***

**Moscow–Glasgow  
Institute of Socio-Political Research  
Russian Academy of Sciences  
2007**

**Sociology: History, Theory, and Practices.** Volume 8. Universal Social Knowledge and National Sociologies. *Materials of the XVI World Sociological Congress (Durban, SAR, July 2006) and the 9<sup>th</sup> Sociological Symposium of RSS (Moscow, May 22, 2007).* Edited by Vladimir Kultygin. – Moscow–Glasgow, 2007. – 220 p.

**Социология: история, теория и практики.** Том 8. Универсальное социальное знание и национальные социологии. *Материалы XVI Мирового социологического конгресса (Дурбан, ЮАР, июль 2006) и 9-го Социологического симпозиума Российского общества социологов (Москва, 22 мая 2007).* Под ред. В.П.Култыгина (на английском языке). – Москва–Гласгоу, 2007. – 220 с.

*Издание подготовлено при поддержке  
Российского гуманитарного научного фонда  
Г р а н т 0 7 - 0 3 - 0 0 4 4 7 а*

ISBN 978-5-7556-0385-0

© 2007 by the Research Committee  
“History and Theory of Sociology”  
of the Russian Society of Sociologists

PRINTED IN RUSSIA

# Contents

---

## INTRODUCTION

Universal Sociological Knowledge and National Sociologies by <i>Vladimir Kultygin</i> .....	5
--	---

## QUESTIONS OF THEORY

<i>Alberto MARTINELLI</i> . Sociology in Common Sense, Political Practice and Public Discourse .....	10
<i>Sergey KRAVCHENKO</i> . Discontinuities and Continuities in the Development of Sociological theory .....	26
<i>Yulia MEKAEVA</i> . The Concept of Social Memory in Social Science .....	36

## FROM HISTORY OF EUROPEAN NATIONAL TRADITIONS

<i>Hans-Petter SAND</i> . Norwegian Contribution into the Development of Universal Sociological Knowledge .....	45
<i>Wiebke KEIM</i> . Shedding light on a dark chapter of the discipline: elements on the development of German sociology in the years 1933–45 .....	56
<i>Anna SAMARINA</i> . The development of actionalist approach in German sociology .....	73
<i>Galina SOKOLOVA, Larissa TITARENKO</i> . Sociology in Belarus: Contemporary Development .....	83
<i>Larissa TITARENKO</i> . The Modern Belarusian Identity: Problems of Its Construction and Reconstruction .....	95
<i>Vladimir KULTYGIN</i> . The Paths of Sociology in Russian Society .....	108

## FATES OF SOCIOLOGY IN ASIA

<i>Anirban BANERJEE</i> . The Evolution of a National Policy on the Social Sciences: The Case of Sociology .....	124
<i>Sayana MITUPOVA</i> . The Japanese Sociology at the Break of the Millennium .....	144

## SOCIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

<i>Diego PEREYRA</i> . The Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología: History of Regional Sociological Organization in Latin America (1950s–1960s) .....	155
<i>José Maurício DOMINGUES</i> . Sociología Brasileña, Latinoamérica y la Tercera Fase de la Modernidad .....	173
<i>Maria ARMINDA DO NASCIMENTA ARRUDA</i> . The Formation of Modern Sociology in Brazil: The São Paulo Sociological School ...	184
<i>Gina ZABLUDOVSKY</i> . Mexico: Sociology before Sociologists – Developments up to the 1950's .....	197

The sociologist Florestan Fernandes was, in fact, unique as a thinker, sociologist, academic, and professor. He combined diverse theoretical traditions, reflected on the aspects the discipline of sociology covered. Owing to his humble background, his career was resounding; he formed a group of students with whom he carried out correlated research. Comprehending it and his project requires interaction amongst the biography, the formation academia offered, the university institution, the career, the challenges Brazilian society presented at the time, and the country's intellectual tradition. From them all, he selected ingredients – and not one seems to have escaped him. Intersection of the various factors illuminates the advantage taken of the possibilities. Consequently, he was able to do, under more advantageous virtual conditions, what others could not.

**Gina ZABLUDOVSKY**

*UNAM, Mexico*

**MEXICO:  
SOCIOLOGY BEFORE SOCIOLOGISTS –  
DEVELOPMENTS UP TO THE 1950'S**

This paper addresses the development of sociology in Mexico during a period when degree programs in sociology had not yet been created in the country. University degrees in Sociology were first granted in the 1950's, however, despite the delayed emergence of trained sociologists, our discipline had held an important place in Mexico's intellectual and political life since the 19th century.

The period analyzed will be divided into four stages of around twenty years each, that correlate to various significant eras in the nation's political history.

1) The Liberal Stage of Positivism. From the founding of the National Preparatory School to the Porfirian Era (1868–1888).

2) Positivism and Evolutionism up to the Mexican Revolution (1889–1909).

3) Revolutionary Romanticism and the Institutionalization of the New Regime (1910–1930).

4) Mexico's Political and Social Reforms under the new regimes and its Intellectual History up to the end of the World War II (1930–1950).

### **The liberal stage of positivism (1868–1888): From the founding of the National Preparatory School to the Porfirian Era**

The concept of "sociology" was introduced into Mexico by Gabino Barreda<sup>1</sup>. While studying in Paris, this Mexican politician and intellectual attended Auguste Comte's lectures at the *Palais Royale* in 1851 and brought home the six volumes of Comte's monumental work the "*Cours de Philosophie Positive*," upon returning to Mexico in 1853. Based on the main premises in these writings, Barreda held that science is the only discipline capable of formulating truly universal beliefs<sup>2</sup>.

Barreda offered his own interpretations of Comte's positivism, stressing its anti-clerical tendencies. According to Comtean theses, the theological phase was the first stage of humanity's path to progress. Therefore, with the increasing importance of science, there was no reason for the Catholic Church in Mexico to continue having such an enormous influence over people's actions and thoughts.

<sup>1</sup> Barreda (1818–1881) studied law, chemistry and medicine and taught natural history and anatomy. He practiced medicine from 1863 to 1867. With victory of President Juárez' republican government, Barreda played a key role in the new public education policy. Some of his writings were compiled in 1877 in *Opúsculos, discusiones y discursos*. Gabino Barreda, *Estudios*, edited by José Fuentes Mares and Francisco Ligouri; UNAM, México, 1941; Dr. Gabino Barreda (SEP, 1967); *Enciclopedia de México*, Vol. 2, México, pp.116–118.

<sup>2</sup> *Barreda Gabino*. De la educación moral. El Siglo Diez y Nueve. 1863, №839, May 3.

From this viewpoint, the transformation Mexico underwent in the XIX century is one of the links of the development of humanity at large. The nation's independence and recent history should be considered as a road heading towards the people's political, spiritual and mental emancipation<sup>1</sup>.

Unlike Comte, who was concerned about what he viewed as a certain negative character of European liberalism, Barreda maintained that the liberalism that characterized Mexico's reform represented the positive path, in contrast to clerical thinking, that attempted to impede progress. From this viewpoint, Barreda called for a fight for freedom, order and progress, "Freedom as the medium, order as the basis and progress as the end"<sup>2</sup>.

Beginning in 1867, Barreda would play a key role in developing the liberal educational policies of President Juárez' administration. Positivism was pivotal to the secularization of public life in Mexico, comprising the initial thinking on the separation of Church and State and the implementation of compulsory, free and secular elementary education.

The *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (National Preparatory School), a public institution, was founded in 1868, where Barreda was director until 1878. In one course he taught, "Logic, Ideology and Morals," sociology was considered as part of inductive logical thought and as a guide for behavior. Starting in 1896, occasional sociology courses and general seminars were offered and then, four years later, "Sociology and Morals" was introduced as a regular subject<sup>3</sup>. However, due to opposition within his own faculty, which

<sup>1</sup> *Barreda Gabino*. Oración Cívica (Civic Prayer), discourse given on September 15, 1867, published in Opúsculo: Discusiones, Discursos, p.84, Mexico, 1877. Zea, Leopoldo, *El Positivismo en México: nacimiento, apogeo y decadencia* (Positivism in Mexico: birth, height, decline). México, D.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Both courses were taught by Alberto Escobar (1857–1908). See also, Chazaro, quoted by Hernández Prado, "Cuando los sociólogos mexicanos eran simples individuos" en *La sociología contemporánea en México*, Leal, Andrade et al, UNAM, México, 1999 pp. 169–174; Castañeda, Fernando, "La constitución de la sociología en México", en *Desarrollo y organización de las ciencias sociales en México*, J.Paoli, coordinador, Centro de Estudios Interdisciplinarios de Humanidades – Miguel Angel Porrúa, México. D. F.

evidently did not include a single sociologist, Gabino Barreda was hindered from giving the teaching of sociology the relevance assigned to it in Comte's view of the hierarchy of sciences<sup>1</sup>.

While carrying out his duties at the National Preparatory School, in 1877 Barreda called upon his students to found the *Asociación Metodófila*. United for the sort of education they considered was in accord with their criteria, the members endeavored to utilize the scientific method for studying and transforming Mexican life<sup>2</sup>.

Among the studies the *Asociación Metodófila* published were the *Ensayo sobre los deberes recíprocos de superiores e inferiores* (Essay on the Reciprocal Duties of Superiors and Inferiors)<sup>3</sup> by Miguel Macedo which discusses men's duties and obligations based on the social order and the rank of the position they hold, and Manuel Ramos' *La relación entre sociología y biología* (The Relationship between Sociology and Biology)<sup>4</sup> which upholds the similarities between biology and sociology, with the resulting conviction that analogies between social phenomena and natural organisms could be made.

The positivism Barreda introduced had an extremely important influence on subsequent generations. The effects of his work transcended the academic environment and had a broad impact on

---

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, Gabino Barreda's son wrote on the obstacles his father had faced in implementing positivistic education in the National Preparatory School and mentioned how many intelligent minds of the day were unable to conceive of "the importance of the intellectual discipline capable of establishing scientific and encyclopedic instruction, nor the need for doctors, lawyers or engineers to acquire wide-ranging knowledge of the world, mankind and society." With their narrow-minded views, the new specialists were the ones who caused the greatest harm to the new education. Therefore, sociology was not given its rightful place in the general program and it was only included as a part of the Logic courses. *Horacio Barreda*. "La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria: Lo que se quería que fuera este plantel de educación y lo que hoy se quiere que sea" (The National Preparatory School: What was it was wanted for this educational institution to be and what is wanted today) in the *Revista Positivista*, Vol. VII, pp.194-199.

<sup>2</sup> *Parra Porfirio*. "Prólogo" (Prologue) to the *Anales de la Asociación Metodófila*, the Dublan and Chávez Commercial Press; Zea, Leopoldo, pp.151-158.

<sup>3</sup> *Macedo Miguel*. *Anales de la Asociación Metodófila*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ramos Manuel* published in the *Anales de la Asociación Metodófila*.



Mexican life and the men educated at his school went into all sorts of fields<sup>1</sup>.

This was exemplified by the founding in 1878 of a periodical publication of Mexican positivism, *La Libertad*, conceived as "A Political, Scientific and Literary Newspaper," staffed by a group of young writers, most of whom had studied under Barreda<sup>2</sup>.

One of the most outstanding of these writers was Porfirio Parra, whose work appeared on a regular basis and who, like Barreda his teacher, defended positivism as the basis for practical education in Mexico<sup>3</sup>.

Parra upheld Comte's idea of the three stages, supporting positivism as a combative philosophy, useful for weakening the old theological spirit<sup>4</sup> while promoting progress<sup>5</sup>. These arguments placed Parra in opposition to the criticism of positivism made by such intellectuals as José María Vigil<sup>6</sup>.

In 1892, the Unión Liberal published its first manifesto, signed by Barreda's former students Miguel S. Macedo, Justo Sierra, José

<sup>1</sup> *Díaz Covarrubias Dr.* Gabino Barreda, Propagador del positivismo en México (Dr. Gabino Barreda, Propagator of Positivism in Mexico), Mexico, Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Aragón Agustín.* Essai sur l'histoire du positivisme au Mexique (Essay on Positivism in Mexico), Paris, Société Positiviste, 1898, quoted by Zea, p.238.

<sup>3</sup> *Parra Porfirio.* "La educación intelectual", *La Libertad*, México, 1881-1882, Zea, Op. Cit., pp.179-181.

<sup>4</sup> *Parra Porfirio.* "La educación intelectual", *La Libertad*, Mexico, 1881-1882; Zea, pp.346-347.

<sup>5</sup> *Porfirio Parra.* "Importancia de los estudios lógicos: en *La Libertad*, 4th year, Nos. 264, 267, 271, Zea pp. 350-352.

<sup>6</sup> José María Vigil (1829-1906) was a poet, philosopher and writer on many subjects, active in the scientific and cultural associations of the time and took a critical stance against positivism. He published writings demonstrating the differences between Comte and Spencer, among other topics. Various criticisms of Mexican positivism were published in the periodical *Revista Filosófica*. For further information, see Vigil, José María, *Discursos sobre las antinomias y deficiencias del positivismo con motivo del texto para lógica* (Talks on the Antinomies and Weaknesses of Positivism Related to the Logic Textbook) Mexico, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1885; Vigil, José María, *Revista Filosófica*, Mexico, 1992; See *Vigil J.M.* "Discurso" // *Ramón Manterota.* *La Escuela Ecléctica ante el Positivismo y la Metafísica*, México, imprenta del gobierno, 1898.

Yves Limantour and Joaquín de Casasús. This was the initial political statement of a group that would come to be known as *Los Científicos* (The Scientists)<sup>1</sup> and would play a fundamental role in early 20th century history. One of the most outstanding members was Justo Sierra, who may be considered as the movement's most intelligent and intellectually productive thinkers<sup>2</sup>.

### **Positivism, evolutionism and porfirianism, up to the Mexican Revolution (1889–1909)**

As we have seen, after the overthrow of Emperor Maximilian of Hapsburg (who ruled Mexico from 1867 to 1867), the secularization of education during the administration of President Benito Juárez was able to achieve, not without setbacks, the enactment of a law for free, public, and compulsory, non-religious education for all children, as a basis for a new national solidarity. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the intellectual climate in Mexico was dominated by the demands for building the nation's unity and moral foundations on secular bases.

From 1876 to 1909, during Porfirio Díaz' presidency, many intellectuals applied Comtean concepts as guidelines for reorganizing intellectual life. These tenets were viewed as the only possible means for bridging the gap between everyday life and the nation's imperatives, between realities and the aspirations for democracy and the new republic.

Concerning the teaching of sociology, by 1906 general courses were first offered in some Mexican regional law schools and in 1907 the subject "Principles of Sociology" was included in the National Law School's course of studies<sup>3</sup>. In fact, this educational institution

---

<sup>1</sup> Zea Leopoldo. Op. Cit., pp.179–181.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.2.

<sup>3</sup> The historian Carlos Pereyra from the state of Coahuila taught this course (1871–1942). See Hernández Prado. "Cuando lo sociólogos mexicanos eran niños", La sociología contemporánea en México, coordinado por J. F. Leal y Alfredo Andrade, UNAM, México, 1994, p.170.

changed its name to the "National School of Social Sciences and Law" incorporating a new curriculum that listed specialized courses in criminology, constitutional history, statistics, psychology, as well as in economics and sociology. However, for various reasons, the specialized sociology courses were never taught.<sup>1</sup>

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a copious production of publications. In 1900, Horacio Barreda (Gabino's son), Ezequiel Chávez (1858–1976) and Agustín Aragón<sup>2</sup> founded the *Revista Positiva* (Positivism Journal) where various sociological works appeared.

The 100th issue of the journal contained an article by Horacio Barreda, entitled *Apreciaciones de la vida y obra de Augusto Comte* (Assessment of Auguste Comte's Life and Work), that viewed Comte as "the greatest thinker of all time"<sup>3</sup>.

One of the most important intellectuals and politicians of the day, who had also been on the faculty of the National Preparatory School, was Justo Sierra. He would later be the Minister of Public Education during the Porfirian era<sup>4</sup>. A promoter and founder of the UNAM, the National Autonomous University of Mexico, he supported changing the name of the National Law School, where the

<sup>1</sup> *Mendieta y Núñez Lucio*. Origen, organización, finalidades y perspectivas de la FCPYS // *Revista Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, año 1, núm. 2, octubre-diciembre, UNAM, México 1955, pp.35; *Colmenero Sergio*. Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales 1951 a 2001, UNAM, México, 2001, p.34.

<sup>2</sup> Agustín Aragón (1870–1954) studied engineering, specializing in geography. He was the dean of the Sociedad mexicana de geografía y estadística and president for life of the Academia Mexicana de Ciencias. He was also founding member of various scientific associations and editor of the *Revista Positiva*, the leading publication for disseminating positivism in México. *Rovira Carmen*. Pensamiento filosófico mexicano, UNAM, *Lecturas Universitarias*, Tomo I, 1998.

<sup>3</sup> *Barreda Horacio*. *Apreciaciones de la vida y obra de Augusto Comte* // *Revista Positiva*, num 100, octubre de 1908, pp.599–623. among other important articles published in the journal we found "Elementos de sociología general" (Basic Principles of General Sociology) by Alberto Escobar, 1903, and "La sociología abstracta y su aplicación a algunos problemas fundamentales de México (Abstract Sociology and its Application to Some of Mexico's Basic Problems) by Carlos Pereya, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Justo Sierra was Minister of Public Education from 1905 to 1991 and earlier had been Under Minister at the same Secretary.

attempt was made to introduce the social sciences into the curriculum<sup>1</sup>. Justo Sierra's wide-ranging, extraordinary writings include various books on history<sup>2</sup> and innumerable essays, political commentary, articles, speeches and poems<sup>3</sup>. As an active intellectual and politician, he was opposed to all religious interpretations and stressed the need to view history in the light of scientific data<sup>4</sup>.

In 1899, he had written the article, *México social y político: apuntes para un libro* (Social and Political Mexico, Notes for a Book) which considered that the greatest political challenge of the day was to reconcile freedom and order. The author defended the relevance of the sociological approach based on a positive realism that could advance beyond the romantic period of social reflection<sup>5</sup>.

Sierra gave Positivism a different turn upon manifesting his greater affinity with English rather than French thinking and by developing a world view closer to that of Mill and Spencer than to Comte and Saint Simon. He stated that society, as Spencer described it, could be considered a "super-organism." From this standpoint, the new social order represented by the Díaz government, of which Justo Sierra was a part, was shown to be the natural result of Mexico's social evolution<sup>6</sup>.

"Social and Political Mexico, Notes for a Book" was followed by the anthology "Mexico, Its Social Evolution"<sup>7</sup> which Sierra compiled and published in 1902 and could be considered the work

<sup>1</sup> Sierra effected this reform in collaboration with Pablo Macedo. See Moya Laura., "La Nación como Organismo". México su Evolución Social, 1900-1902; Miguel Ángel Porrua. UAM, México, 2003, p.43.

<sup>2</sup> Among Sierra's pedagogical history writings are Elementos de historia general, Elementos de historia patria, Catecismo de historia patria and Los cuadros de historia patria (Basic Principles of General History, Basic Principles of National History, Catechism of National History and Tables of National History).

<sup>3</sup> His complete works were compiled by Agustín Yañez in fifteen volumes; Moya, Op. cit., pp.45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Sierra Justo. Obras Completas IX. Ensayos y textos elementales de historia, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984, p.85.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.132.

<sup>6</sup> Sierra Justo. Historia de la Antigüedad // Obras Completas. Vol. X, p.15, UNAM, México, 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Sierra Justo. México, su evolución social, originally published in 1901 and 1902.

that best characterized early 20<sup>th</sup> century sociological thought. The book consists of twelve chapters by different authors, mostly writers and lawyers<sup>1</sup> all of whom had held some public office<sup>2</sup> and had a strong analytical and logical background in the treatment of historic sources.

All the authors who contributed to *México, su evolución social*, Ezequiel Chávez and Agustín Aragón had the most interest in sociology and were concerned about learning and spreading the ideas of such thinkers as Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. Of special note is their interest in disseminating the parts of the aforementioned work related to sociological logic and method, moral principles and the study of ethology or the science of character. The works written by E. Chávez include *Síntesis de los principios morales de Spencer* (1894), *Resumen sintético del sistema de lógica de J.S. Mill con notas complementarias* and the *Resumen sintético de los principios de moral de Spencer*. Porfirio Parra, in turn, stood out because of his prolific writings in various genres, including *Lutero* (1866), the descriptive lyric poem *Oda a las matemáticas* (1877) and his *Estudios filosóficos* (1896). One of Parra's most talked about works was the novel *Pacotillas* (1900) and the highly debated *Nuevo sistema de lógica inductiva y deductiva* (1903). He also excelled for his *Estudios histórico sociológico de la Reforma en México* (1906), various articles in the *Gaceta Médica* and the *Revista Positiva*<sup>3</sup>. Agustín Aragón, in turn, had written *La*

<sup>1</sup> Eight of the authors were lawyers (Sánchez Mármol, Zárate, Raigosa, Sierra, the Macedo Chávez brothers and Vera Estaño), two were engineers (Gilberto Crespo y Martínez and Agustín Aragón), one was a physician (Porfirio Parra), one was a general (Bernardo Reyes) and the one who was a journalist, was the only author who had not completed his university studies. Most of the lawyers had graduated from the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia (National Law School), the engineers graduated from the Colegio de Minería (Mining College) or the Escuela de Ingenieros (School of Engineers) and the doctor from the Escuela Nacional de Medicina (National School of Medicine) (Moya, Op. cit., pp.23-39).

<sup>2</sup> All the authors had held at least one government position in the Executive, Legislative or Judicial Branch of government; Ibid., pp.44-46).

<sup>3</sup> According to José Hernández Prado, Porfirio Parra (1856-1910) was the first Mexican positivist who examined the problem of using the scientific method to explain individual behavior. Rafael de Zayas followed the phenomenological

*educación del estado y el positivismo* and (1901) published the journal *Revista positiva, científica, filosófica y política*.

All but two of the authors were teachers and founders were also or directors of various professional institutions and associations, such as the *Sociedad Positivista* founded in 1900<sup>1</sup>. Some had belonged to the *Sociedad Metodófila*, created by Gabino Barreda in 1877 to examine the positivistic method's contributions to intellectual life<sup>2</sup>.

"*Mexico, Its Social Evolution*" responded to a government initiative that intended "to inform the nation and foreign countries of the progress achieved in all activities and fields of knowledge"<sup>3</sup>. The work can be considered "the most complete and systematic production of a group of modern thinkers, who viewed constitutional reforms as the best road to social and political change." It was the first publication to approach Mexico's history from a division of subjects that reflected the influence of organicism. Each chapter is presented as a "subsystem" with specific functions in a complex social whole<sup>4</sup>.

The concepts of Comte and Spencer were the starting point for the assumption that all peoples hold a place in the development of civilizations. Evolution was the basis of an interpretive framework that explained the development of the "Mexican people," the unity of which could be broken down into territory, population, economic

---

thinking adapted by Parra, enriching it with a certain early evolutionism that took the races living in Mexico into account (Indian, Mestizo, European), which would shortly afterwards be developed in depth by Andrés Molina Enriquez (1895–1940), who viewed the social triumph of mestizos as the only possible path for the progress of Mexico. He sketched out this thinking in his famous work, *Los grandes problemas nacionales*, of 1909 (Hernández Prado. "Cuando los sociólogos...", pp.169–170).

<sup>1</sup> Parra and Aragón founded the so-called *Sociedad Positivista*, which the former directed in 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Moya. Op. cit, pp.42–50.

<sup>3</sup> The government initiative to finance the work stated that it would be published in Spanish, English and French; Ibid., p.7.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the index to the first volume is comprised of the analysis of the land and its inhabitants. Volume II contains specific chapters on the "agricultural development," "mining development," "industrial development," "commercial development," etc.; Ibid., pp.31–33.

institutions, scientific life and literary expressions. This principle allowed the structuring of the work as an organic whole constituting a "backdrop" for the various studies<sup>1</sup>.

Strong connection was developed between the general principles of sociology and the history of Mexico<sup>2</sup>. History had to be secular, tempered and, above all, scientific, with neutral values that would provide an identity and validity to the authors of the new lines of thought that sought to differentiate themselves from the political historiography prior to 1884<sup>3</sup>. History as a subject was no longer centered on individuals but rather on organized groups and collective forces. The observation of facts was based on the examination of documents and the efforts to make predictions with a certain degree of exactness.

The new sociological systems constituted a guiding principle for consolidating a morality developed from a significant reconstruction of the origins of the nation based on objective knowledge<sup>4</sup>. Social phenomena were subject to laws, the discovery of which was fundamental for orienting political actions, so that government decisions would be supported by scientific and rational foundations. The purpose for gaining knowledge about society was an eminently practical one, with legal, moral and cultural objectives that promoted the application of scientific methods to economic development, social change and political and governmental organization<sup>5</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p.55-69.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.36-37.

<sup>4</sup> The emphasis on objective knowledge for understanding the nation was particularly evident in the chapter entitled "Political History," written by Justo Sierra that comprised the backbone of the book. In the work of the different contributors there was a convergence between the positivist interpretation of Mexican history and the liberal and modern evolutionist stance. The emphasis of objective knowledge for understanding the nation was particularly evident in the chapter entitled "Political History" written by Justo Sierra that comprised the backbone of the book; Ibid., p.7-35.

## Revolutionary Romanticism and the Institutionalization of the New Regime (1910–1930)

This period was marked by the Mexican revolution and the consolidation of the new regime. The Civil War against the old regime took place during the first stage (1910–1920), followed by intense infighting among the various factions involved in the conflict. The official party, founded in the late 1920's, would go on to govern the country until 2000<sup>1</sup>.

Some important cultural and educational institutions were created at this time, such as the Dirección de Antropología (Direction of Anthropology)<sup>2</sup>, which, under Gamio, began the formal study of the nation's different ethnic groups<sup>3</sup>.

A proto intellectual community started to take shape around Manuel Gamio that endeavored to provide itself work, an identity, a literature and a set of practices leading to rationally organized thinking on social matters<sup>4</sup>. One example of the intention to create a channel of communications among the anthropologists interested in Mexican Indian matters was the founding of the periodical publication *Ethnos* in 1920, that would set the pattern for later social science journals<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The uninterrupted continuity of the official party in power in Mexico up to the year 2000 would give rise to what the Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa would call "the perfect dictatorship".

<sup>2</sup> The Direction of Anthropology was first a branch of the Ministry of Promotion and later would give rise to the Department of Indigenous Studies.

<sup>3</sup> Girola Lidia y Olvera Margarita, "La sociología en México en los años cuarenta y cincuenta" en Estudios de Teoría e Historia de la Sociología en México, UAM-UNAM; México, 1995, p.91; *Mendieta y Núñez Lucio*. Origen, organización, finalidades y perspectivas de la ENCPyS // Revista Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, año 1, num. 2, octubre-diciembre, 1955; Colmenero, Op. Cit., pp.34–35.

<sup>4</sup> *Olvera Margarita*. "Análisis historiográfico de la obra de Lucio Mendieta y Núñez. Una historia de la institucionalización de la sociología en México, Tesis. p.84. (Historiographic Analysis of the Work of Lucio Mendieta y Núñez. A History of the Institutionalization of Sociology in Mexico).

<sup>5</sup> *Mendieta y Núñez Lucio*. Homenajes: Augusto Comte, Emiliø Durkheim, Manuel Gamio (Homage to Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Manuel Gamio), IISUNAM, Mexico, 1961, Olvera, Op. Cit., p.84.



Mexico's post-revolutionary era was viewed the world over as a highly attractive one from a cultural point of view and was perceived as a romantic period. The twenties were the time of Mexican mural painting, when many foreign intellectuals and photographers (such as Edward Weston and Tina Modotti) were working in the country. André Breton visited Mexico and made his pronouncement that it was a surrealist country.

The younger generation launched a campaign against Positivism and started organizing to free themselves from the confines of a doctrine they no longer found convincing and thus founded the journal *Savia Moderna* in 1906. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were set up against Comte and Spencer. In their revolt against Positivism, their ideal was to once again focus on the humanities and fight to restore imagination, freedom and philosophy<sup>1</sup>.

A few years later this group of thinkers would form of one of the most important intellectual movements of the time, the *Ateneo de la Juventud* or "Youth Athenaeum" founded in 1909 in response to the nationwide political and social interest in renovation and which intended to distance itself ideologically from the old regime. Its membership was made up of politicians, artists, writers and social thinkers, including José Vasconcelos, Alfonso Reyes, Martín Ruiz Guzmán, Pedro Henriquez Ureña, Isidro Fabela and Diego Rivera.

This generation's struggle against positivism and the spirit of the movement were evident in a conference given by José Vasconcelos at the Ateneo that praised Barreda's work, while taking a critical attitude towards positivism. Vasconcelos stated that Positivism killed spontaneity and nullified non-scientific expressions, criticizing the law of the three stages and Comte's theory of progress<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Henríquez Ureña Pedro*. "La Cultura de las Humanidades" (The Humanities Culture) in the magazine *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, p.212; Habana, Cuba, July–August, 1914; *Zea*. Op. Cit., pp.438–439.

<sup>2</sup> *Vasconcelos José*. "Don Gabino Barreda y las ideas contemporáneas" (Gabino Barreda and Contemporary Ideas). Discourse given at the Ateneo de la Juventud, Mexico, 1910; *Zea*. Op. Cit., p.443.

Another member, Antonio Caso, (1883–1846), a man of great oratory gifts, became a sort of unofficial spokesman for the anti positivism campaign led by this group<sup>1</sup>.

Caso assumed the direction of the National Preparatory School in 1909 and taught the course "Principles of Sociology"<sup>2</sup>. Later on he also taught Sociology at the National Law School and was the first Secretary and later the President (1920–1923) of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, the UNAM (the National Autonomous University of Mexico)<sup>3</sup>.

Like the earlier criticism of Positivism in Mexico, made by José María Vigil and Ezequiel Montes<sup>4</sup>, and inspired by the ideas of Bergson, Dilthey and Spranger (1862–1963), Caso rejected the ideas of Comte, Mill, Darwin and Spencer and adhered to a tradition that differentiated between the natural sciences and the humanities and considered that psychology, of all the sciences, was the one most closely related to sociology. Stressing the importance of studying social behavior from a perspective that promoted social comprehension over causal determination, Caso developed an important program of cultural philosophy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Enciclopedia de México, Volume 1. p.926; *Monsivaís Carlos*. "Notas sobre la cultura mexicana del siglo XX" en *Historia general de México*, Tomo 4, México, El Colegio de México, 1973, p.343; Colmenero, Op. Cit., p.35.

<sup>2</sup> Caso followed Pereya in this course.

<sup>3</sup> Cardiel quoted by Hernández Prado, "El replanteamiento de la sociología profunda de Antonio Caso" en "La sociología en México. Una aproximación histórica y crítica". *Revista Sociológica*, UAM-A, México, D. F. p.36, 1994; *Enciclopedia de México*, Vol. 2, 1977, p.814.

<sup>4</sup> In a bill for the Public Education Law, submitted in 1881, Ezequiel Montes, Minister of Public Education in the cabinet of President Manuel González, criticized the Law of March 15, 1869 that had established positivistic education. He argued that the contempt shown by positivism for philosophical thought and the reduction of the concept of science to simple observation. See *Diario Oficial*, Mexico, April 1887. Montes' ideas, in turn, would be criticized by Justo Sierra and Porfirio Parra. In this respect, see Justo Sierra, "El Plan de estudios del Sr. Montes" in *Libertad*, year IV, no. 93, Mexico, 1881; *Porfirio Parra*. *La educación intelectual: en Libertad*, Mexico, 1881–1882; Zea, Op. Cit., pp.341–344.

<sup>5</sup> *Caso Antonio*. *Sociología*, Publicaciones Cruz, México, 1980. p.7; *Prado Hernandez*. "El replanteamiento...".

As a university professor, Caso followed the approach of the book *General Sociology*, written by Peruvian thinker Mariano Cornejo. Later, in his own work *Genetic and Systematic Sociology*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1927, he stated that Comtean sociology failed to take into account the multiple aspects of social realities and, despite the importance Comte had given to progress, his sciences were in fact a philosophy of history, to which the synthetic thought of sociology should not be reduced<sup>2</sup> (Caso, 1980, p.6–7)

At the time his *Sociology* was published, Caso had to contend with the radical criticism aimed at him by one of his most brilliant students, young philosopher Samuel Ramos (1867–1960), who accused his teacher of having closed his mind to renewal, after having spent over a decade as a philosopher, teacher and author of twelve books. Ramos argued that Caso's attitude was mistaken and unconvincing, since, he confused positivism with science itself, without considering the risks of "advocating intuition in a country that lacked intelligence," in a nation that needed to give a major impetus to science. Caso's irrational intuitionism, concluded Ramos, fell into the tendency characteristic of "Hispanic-Americans, to skip over anything that called for work and discipline..."

Similarly, other contemporary authors have indicated that, this criticism aside, Caso's sociology could not in fact be applied to implementing a progressive research program because it lacked a technique that could be taught and applied to research that would allow gaining clearly useful knowledge "and therefore he did not pave the way for the birth of a specialized community sharing

<sup>1</sup> The book "Sociología, genética y sistemática" was first published by the Ministry of Public Education in 1927 and various editions later appeared, which Caso always enriched. The last published during the author's lifetime was the 1945 edition, entitled *Sociología*, which has been reprinted several times. *Gardía José Mario*. "Introducción" // *Antonio Caso*. *Sociología*, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> An example of how heated the debate became is found in the writings of Ramon Manterota. One in particular depicts a conversation of a positivist, a defender of a metaphysical perspective and eclectic. *La escuela ecléctica ante el positivismo y la metafísica Teoría y doctrinas filosóficas del Licenciado Ramón Manterota*, México, imprenta del Gobierno, 1898, pp.127–138.

common methodological knowledge, which did not favor the institutionalization of sociology”<sup>1</sup>.

## **Mexico's Political and Social Reforms under the new regimes and its Intellectual History up to the end of the World War II (1930–1950)**

The thirties are characterized by the importance of Lázaro Cárdenas' presidency, his innovative policies of social equality and his support to the migration of Spanish Republicans and some political figures of worldwide importance (such as Leo Trotsky, whose coming to Mexico had been promoted by the painters Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo, and who was later assassinated here). The second decade of this period, the 1940's, coincided with the Second World War and, under President Manuel Avila Camacho, the industrialization of Mexico got underway.

Mexican social thinking was imbued with Caso's anti-positivism and post-revolutionary nationalism that led to philosophers' ongoing interest in incorporating political and social reflections in their work. The philosopher Samuel Ramos, inspired by these ideas, together with his knowledge of some trends in social anthropology and the psychological thinking of Alfred Adler, published *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México* (The Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico) in 1934, clearly one of the most influential works of the era. This essay on the personality, the unconscious and the philosophy that defined what is “Mexican” opened up an entire new field of research and may be considered as the precursor to Nobel Prize winner Octavio Paz' 1959 work “*The Labyrinth of Solitude*”, that would have a major world-wide impact<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Hernández Prado*. El replanteamiento de la sociología profunda de Antonio Caso, pp.34–46; *Murguía Adriana*. Cuatro décadas de análisis del desarrollo de la sociología en México // Leal, Carreño el tal, La sociología contemporánea en México, UNAM, México. 1994.

<sup>2</sup> *Ramos Samuel*. El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México, Colección Austral, México, 1987; *Gina Zabudovsky*. Samuel Ramos y su visión sobre lo mexicano // Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, 146, UNAM, México. 1991.

One of the most important events of the era was the migration of the Spanish Republicans in 1939, an event that would have profound repercussions on the intellectual history of both Mexico and Spain. The facilities given by the Mexican government and the favorable inclination of most of the Spanish Republicans to this country, made possible one of the largest intellectual migrations in history<sup>1</sup>.

This period is distinguished by the founding of various publishing companies and some institutions that would become the pillars upholding the development of the social sciences in Mexico and Latin America. One of the most outstanding publishing houses was the *Fondo de Cultura Económica*-FCE, founded in 1934 by a group of lawyers and economists (including J. Silva Herzog, with the historian Daniel Cosío Villegas as the first director). The Fondo would play an especially relevant role, due to the closing of most of the publishing houses in Spain after the Civil War and General Franco's ascent to power. Constituted as a partially autonomous organization with government financial support, the FCE has been a truly innovative publishing company for the social sciences, one that fueled the advance and consolidation of our discipline, which in Europe had been cut short with the rise of fascism. The FCE would contribute to strengthening the humanistic viewpoint and the diversification of available vocations<sup>2</sup>. By 1947 the Fondo had already become the most prestigious publishing house in Latin America and had begun to establish branches in the region.

In its early stages, the Fondo would publish Spanish translations of some of the most important classics in the social sciences. The books translated from French included the first of Comte's

<sup>1</sup> *Guarnier Vicente*. Los exiliados españoles del 39 y el México de ahora" El exilio español en México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, D, F.1983, p.705; PORTILLA, 1978, pp.80-81; *Zabludovsky Gina*. La emigración republicana española y el pensamiento alemán en México, la traducción de Economía y Sociedad // En el centenario de La ética protestante y el espíritu del capitalismo, coordinado por Javier Rodríguez Martínez, Centro de Estudios Sociológicos Madrid, 2005, p.498.

<sup>2</sup> *Monsivais*. Arnaldo Orfila y la ampliación del lectorado // Arnaldo Orfila Reynal, la pasión por los libros Universidad de Guadalajara, 1993, pp.28-29; *Zabludovsky*. La emigración... p.497.

sociological essays and works by Voltaire, Proudhon, Fourret and Diderot (Pozas, p. 118, France in Sociology and Thought, p. 138). The translations from German would be particularly important. The works available by the early 40's were Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* (1941); Karl Marx' *Das Kapital*, (1944), Tönnies' *Principles of Sociology* (1942) and Alfred Weber's *History of Culture* (1941). One of the most notable translations was Max Weber's *Economy and Society*, which the FCE published, unabridged, in 1944. This was the first time the work had been translated anywhere in the world and preceded the 1964 English version edited by Gunther Roth by twenty years. The impressive dynamism of the sociology collection was due to the direction of the distinguished Spanish immigrant José Medina Echavarría. Between 1939 and 1946 this section alone would publish forty-one books<sup>1</sup>.

Various educational institutions were also founded during this period, such as the Instituto Politécnico Nacional (National Polytechnic Institute) (1937), the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National School of Anthropology and History) (1938) and the Colegio de México (1940). The intellectual pillars of the Colegio de México were the writer Alfonso Reyes, the historian Daniel Cosío Villegas and various Spanish exiles. In fact this institution was initially founded under the name of the Casa de España (House of Spain). The Colegio de México is now known as one of the world's most important graduate research and teaching institutions in the social sciences. José Medina Echavarría founded a degree program in sociology at the Colegio, however, it only lasted four years<sup>2</sup>.

Some other organizations that came into being at this time were the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano (Inter American Indigenous Institute) (1940), El Colegio Nacional (the National College) (1943), Instituto Nacional para las Bellas Artes y la Literatura (the National

<sup>1</sup> Alarcón Victor. Notas sobre la obra de José Medina Echevarria, los caminos de una vocación. Tesis de licenciatura, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, UNAM, 1991; Krauze Enrique. El Fondo y Don Daniel. FCE Medio Siglo, México, FCE, 1984, pp.14-18; Zabludovsky. La emigración... p.458-508.

<sup>2</sup> Zabludovsky. La emigración republicana española... pp.509-510.

Institute of Fine Arts and Literature) (1946) and the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (National Indigenous Institute) (1948). Concerning Latin America as a whole, the Economic Commission for Latin America was founded at the end of the 40's and would play a leading role in the discussion of development problems<sup>1</sup>.

With respect to the specific history of the social sciences and sociology in the country, one of the most important events was the 1939 founding of the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales-IISUNAM (Social Research Institute of the UNAM). This institution was created over twenty years earlier than the National School of Political and Social Sciences, where the nation's first sociologists got their degrees. The people who originally collaborated in the institute in the 1940–50's were mostly lawyers, economists and anthropologists. The IISUNAM brought together a group of scholars on social matters that approached reality from different viewpoints, following a fundamentally descriptive strategy.

The origins of the IISUNAM can be linked to an initiative of some intellectuals active in public life, namely Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Narciso Bassols, Luis Chico Goerne, Alfonso Caso and Miguel Otón de Mendizábal. Therefore, this was a project created by an educated elite that had close ties to the government<sup>2</sup>. The first IIS director was Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, a specialist in agrarian law, who had previously been the director of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Económicos y Sociales del PNR (Institute of Political, Economic and Social Studies of the governing political party, the PNR, which later became the PRI)<sup>3</sup>. In line with Mexican government requirements, the members of the institute at that time

<sup>1</sup> Colmenero. Op. Cit, 2001, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> According to some authors, This situation provides a key explanation to the entire subsequent history of Sociology, that was torn between either providing legitimate support or criticizing the successive governments, between supporting autonomous scientific discussion and collaborating with government policies; *Loyo Aurora*. El Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales y la sociología mexicana (1930–1990) // La sociología mexicana desde la universidad, México, UNAM, 1990; *Girola and Olvera*. Op. Cit., pp.75–76.

<sup>3</sup> Lucio Mendieta was director of the Institute until 1965.

wanted to participate in the modernization of society and find solutions to the nation's major problems<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, it is interesting to note that in Mexico the moral foundations of sociology were drawn from the "national project" (Castañeda, *Ideology and Sociology*, p.291). In contrast to other countries, the institutionalization of sociology in Mexico was not preceded nor accompanied by the development of major outputs of theoretical research. Rather, institutional conditions were created first and only later did sociology develop<sup>2</sup>.

The founding of the IIS led to the creation of the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (Mexican Journal of Sociology) (1939) that has been published quarterly without interruption ever since. The journal became an important publication in Latin America and included articles by such Argentinean thinkers as Poviña and Treves<sup>3</sup>. In the first issue, the director of the journal, Luciano Mendieta, expressed the need to promote studies of a sociological and scientific nature to find ways to take the proper actions to solve the nation's most important social problems (1989, p.7)<sup>4</sup>.

The topics most often addressed in the early issues of the RMS were related to law, which may be explained by the collaborators'

<sup>1</sup> *Arguedas Ledda y Loyo Aurora*. La institucionalización de la sociología en México // *Sociología y Ciencias Políticas en México*. México, FCPyS, UNAM, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> The Institute of Social Research of the UNAM (the ISUNAM), as well as its journal *la Revista Mexicana de Sociología* hold an important place, in the history of sociology in Mexico, since without them, the foundation of the discipline as a profession was unlikely to have taken place Farfán, Rafael; *La contribución de Pablo González Casanova a una teoría crítica de la sociedad en México* // *Sociológica*, num 24, México, UAM-A, p.62.

<sup>3</sup> *Zabludovsky Gina*. La recepción de Max Weber en México // *Zabludovsky G*. Teoría sociológica y modernidad, Balance del pensamiento clásicos, Plaza y Valdés, México, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, the program developed by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez had a positivistic trend, which was suitable and congruent with the new historic conditions of the relative stability of the Post Revolutionary Government. *Giola y Olvera*. Op. Cit, p.70; *Hernández Prado*. 1994, pp.46 G.47; *Sefcovich Sara*. Los caminos de la sociología en el laberinto de la *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* // *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, Num, 1, IISUNAM, 1989, p.12.



legal background<sup>1</sup>. Another important topic were the studies on Mexican indigenous groups<sup>2</sup>. The National Indigenous Institute would not be founded until 1948, so that in the interim the IISUNAM itself took on the research related to this question. Thus, in the forties, under the direction of Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, the heart of this field of study focused on the country's ethnic groups. The fieldwork that formed the basis for study gained knowledge of the anthropological and ethnographic models<sup>3</sup>.

Although there was no clearly defined editorial policy<sup>4</sup>, it can be stated that, in a sense, the RMS followed two lines of interpretation: the scientific, that was represented by the IIS and proposed the observation, experimentation and measurement of social questions and, on the other hand, the hermeneutic philosophy, that proposed the interpretation of singular social phenomena<sup>5</sup>.

The philosophical hermeneutic trend was mainly represented by some Spanish Republicans (José Gaos, Joaquín Xirau, García Baca, Roura Parrella, Recasens Siches and Eduardo Nicol), all of whom had a background in German historicism (especially that of Dilthey) and in particular the modified version of José Ortega y Gasset<sup>6</sup>. These authors also began to write for other publications such as *Cuadernos Americanos*, one of the most important Spanish language intellectual journals of the 1940's<sup>7</sup>. Although the contributions made

<sup>1</sup> *Girola and Olvera*. Op. Cit., p.79.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars have found forty-eight groups of Indians in the country and talk about races and cultural groups, they measure and classify, they create portraits of racial diversity and explain the plurality of origins of the Huastecos, Huicholes, Seris and others. In fact, under Mendieta's leadership various task projects were proposed, one of which was the study of Mexico's indigenous groups. See *Sefcovich*. Op. Cit.; *Girola y Olvera*. Op. Cit.

<sup>3</sup> Olvera, thesis, p.104.

<sup>4</sup> As Sefcovich indicated, this was characterized by the lack of a clear editorial line of thought although having an orientation to empirical, quantitative and experimental research. See *Loyo*. Op. Cit.; *Farfán*. Op. Cit. and *Sefcovich*. Op. Cit.

<sup>5</sup> *Girola and Olvera*. Op. Cit., p.71; *Sefcovich*. Op. Cit., p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> We can also find the presence of existentialism, both that of Heidegger as well as Sartre's French version; *Girola and Olvera*. Op. Cit., p.71.

<sup>7</sup> This publication responds to the initiative of Juan Larrea, León Felipe, Bernardo Ortiz de Montellando and Jesús Silva Herzog en Pozas Ricardo, "Francia en la

by these writers did further the renewal of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Mexican anti positivism trend, it is also true that the hermeneutic position they represented was fundamentally based on philosophical grounds and consequently failed to develop systematic research alternatives, that would have evolved into a school of sociology<sup>1</sup>.

The coming of the 1950's marked a new stage in the institutionalization of the discipline and the founding of sociology degree programs. Although this period will not be covered in the present paper, two facts should be mentioned that transformed and gave significant impetus to our discipline: 1) the holding of annual sociology congresses from 1950 to 1965 and, 2) the founding in 1951 of the National School of Political and Social Sciences at the UNAM, where the first degrees in sociology were offered.

### **Recapitulation**

In this article, we have seen how the institutions required to launch sociology as a discipline in Mexico were created in the 1930's and 1940's. Although, degrees in sociology were not granted in the country until 1951, in the two preceding decades the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales (Institute of Social Research) and the Colegio de México were founded; the journal *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* was first edited, and has continued to do so without interruption to date, and the publishing company Fondo de Cultura Económica was founded and consolidated, one of today's most important social sciences publishers.

In fact, interest in sociology was manifest in Mexican culture and politics long before the conditions existed for it to become an academic discipline. After the Revolution of 1910, with the romantic influence of major painters and writers, important figures were

---

sociología y el pensamiento social Latinoamericano" // Estudios de Teoría e Historia de la Sociología en México, p.11.

<sup>1</sup> *De la Garza Enrique*. Historia de la epistemología, la metodología y las técnicas de investigación en la sociología mexicana // *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, México, IISUNAM, 1989; *Girola and Olvera*. Op. Cit., p.74.

present that defended the work of sociology as closer to humanism and philosophy, in opposition to the positivism inherited from Comte and Spencer that had predominated in Mexican thinking since the triumph of the Liberal Government in 1868 and without which it is impossible to understand the development of high school and college education in Mexico.

Due to the importance of the work of authors from various fields of knowledge, who took up the thinking of European sociology, then gave it an original adaptation to the interpretation of Mexican history, it may be stated that although sociological studies leading to a degree were not available until just after the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, in fact sociology already had accumulated an important history prior to the existence of sociologists in Mexico.