



The Córdoba Reform of 1918: State of Knowledge Based on Scientific Articles (1978-2018)

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ABSTRACT

In the context of the Córdoba Reform's centenary, this study investigated how the scientific production on university reform is configured and presents a balance of research that analyzed from the meaning of this movement in Argentina in 1918, to its impacts and future projection in the context of universities in Latin America and the Caribbean. The exploratory and descriptive study analyzed scientific articles (n=90) available in databases of open access published in scientific journals (n=47) from different countries (n=13) in the period between 1978 and 2018. The methodology adopted combined the bibliometric and content analysis, and the methodological procedures were developed in the following steps: data collection and recording in a spreadsheet; reading the full texts of articles; this establishment of categories of analysis; description, synthesis and analysis of the data. The articles were categorized into two groups: those that dealt with the historical social and political context of the Reformation, the principles of the Liminal Manifesto and their impacts in Argentine universities (n = 51), and those that focused on the legacy as a moment of rupture and continuity in the history of Latin American universities (n = 39). Then thematic subcategories were established and the most frequent were: university autonomy and extension, intellectuals, students and student movement. Few studies have questioned issues such as gender, political theology in the reform movement, and opposition to university reform.

KEYWORDS

Córdoba Reform. State of knowledge. Scientific production. Bibliometric analysis. Content analysis.

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A Reforma de Córdoba de 1918: Estado do Conhecimento Baseado em Artigos Científicos (1978-2018)

RESUMO

No marco do centenário da Reforma de Córdoba, este estudo investigou como se configura a produção científica sobre a reforma universitária e apresenta um balanço das pesquisas que analisaram desde o significado desse movimento ocorrido na Argentina em 1918, até seus impactos e projeção futura no contexto das universidades da América Latina e do Caribe. O estudo exploratório e descritivo está consolidado em um estado de conhecimento que tomou como objeto de estudo artigos científicos (n=90) disponíveis em bases de dados de acesso aberto publicados em periódicos científicos (n=47) de diferentes países (n=13) no período entre 1978 e 2018. A metodologia adotada combinou a análise bibliométrica e análise de conteúdo e os procedimentos metodológicos foram desenvolvidos nas seguintes etapas: coleta e registro dos dados em uma planilha eletrônica; leitura dos textos completos dos artigos; estabelecimento de categorias de análise; descrição, síntese e análise dos dados. Os artigos foram categorizados em dois grupos: aqueles que abordaram o contexto histórico social e político da Reforma, os princípios do Manifesto Liminar e seus impactos nas universidades argentinas (n=51), e os que focalizaram o legado do pensamento reformista enquanto momento de ruptura e continuidade na história das universidades latino-americanas (n=39). Em seguida foram estabelecidas subcategorias temáticas e as mais frequentes foram: autonomia e extensão universitárias, intelectuais, estudantes e movimento estudantil. Poucos estudos problematizaram questões como gênero, teologia política no movimento reformista, e oposição à Reforma Universitária.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Reforma de Córdoba. Estado do conhecimento. Produção científica. Análise bibliométrica. Análise de conteúdo.

La Reforma de Córdoba de 1918: Estado del Conocimiento Basado en Artículos Científicos (1978-2018)

RESUMEN

En el marco de la Reforma de Córdoba, este estudio investigó cómo se configura la producción científica sobre la reforma universitaria y presenta un balance de las investigaciones que analizaron desde el significado de ese movimiento ocurrido en Argentina en 1918, hasta sus impactos y proyección futura en el contexto de las universidades de América Latina y el Caribe. El estudio exploratorio y descriptivo tomó como objeto de estudio artículos científicos (n=90) disponibles en bases de datos de acceso abierto publicados en periódicos científicos (n=47) de los diferentes países (n = 13) en el período entre 1978 y 2018. La metodología combinó el análisis bibliométrico y de contenido desarrollado en las siguientes etapas: recolección y registro de los datos en una hoja de cálculo; lectura de los artículos; establecimiento de categorías de análisis; descripción y análisis de los datos. Los artículos fueron categorizados en dos grupos: aquellos que abordaron el contexto histórico social y político de la Reforma, los principios del Manifiesto Liminar y sus impactos en las universidades argentinas (n=51), y los que enfocaron el legado del pensamiento reformista como momento de ruptura y continuidad en la historia de las universidades latinoamericanas (n=39). En seguida se establecieron subcategorías temáticas y las más frecuentes fueron: autonomía y extensión universitarias, intelectuales, estudiantes y movimiento estudiantil. Pocos estudios problematizaron cuestiones como género, teología política en el movimiento reformista, y oposición a la Reforma Universitaria

PALABRAS CLAVE

Reforma de Córdoba. Estado del conocimiento. Producción científica. Análisis bibliométrico. Análisis de contenido.

Introduction

The 100th anniversary of the Cordoba Reform motivates the revisitation of this movement occurred in Argentina in 1918 by scholars worried that in interpreting its political and academic meaning that spilled over the Latin American continent. The authors search new theoretical approaches revealing pluralities and discontinuities of this long process of change that affected not only the universities, but also the societies in which they operate, and that allow understanding the current situation of universities and higher education in the context of Latin America. The centenary provides, as stated by Buchbinder (2018, p. 176), "a new reading on the evolution, the current state of the situation and the scientific perspectives that were opened as a result of the renewed interest drawn by the 1918 processes."

In this year of the centenary, it is worth commenting on the initiative of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), which in partnership with Universidad Pedagógica de Argentina provides on its website an open access repository containing the full text of 45 documents and studies and on the Córdoba Reform, which have become classics, helping to keep alive the historical memory of the movement and allowing new perspectives on the reformist legacy that provoked or institutionalized changes in university systems and "undermined the foundations of universities in Latin America and the Caribbean." (CLACSO, 2018).

The scientific literature on the University Reform, throughout these one hundred years is extensive, including from the founding text - the *Liminar Manifesto* - through those drawn up by the protagonists of the movement, such as Deodoro Roca and Gabriel del Mazo, and others produced by intellectuals and politicians who supported and/or inspired the reformist movement, to the more current ones elaborated in the co-operative text of the centenary of the Reformation, such as that of Acosta Silva (2018, p.77) which resorted to the sociology comparative approach to show that the institutional construction and social representations of this movement sets "the basic structure of relations between institutional autonomy and academic political power in the national universities of the region."

Still on the commemorative track of the centenary of the reform, one could not miss the review studies that performs a stock of the scientific production on the subject, and fulfill this role by presenting a consistent roundup of these publications. For example, Bustelo's study (2018) focuses on texts that were oriented by institutional dimensions (BUCHBINDER, 2005; HALPERIN DO NGHI, 1962) and political-cultural aspects of the Reformation: the compilations organized by Ciria and Sanguinetti (1968); Portantiero (1978) and Cúneo (1978). Presents still a selection of primary sources on the reform movement covering the period from the early five years of the Reform to others that appeared between 1927 and 1941, which were compiled and organized by Gabriel de Mazo. Other sources mentioned were published in the late 1920s, such as those compiled speeches of Adolph Korn Villafañe, which lead the nationalist subdivision of the movement, and the text of his disciple Carlos Cossio with analyzes of the reform groups and concepts of the Reformation.

On the other hand, Buchbinder's (1988a, p.196) research on the 1918 Reformation focuses on "from the first contemporary interpretations of the event to the new approaches developed in particular since the 1990s." The object of study was composed of books and collections, as well as university theses, papers presented at recent events and articles published by young researchers who revisited the Cordovan movement. In establishing a dialogue with this literature, the author's analysis is guided by some guidelines. It begins with the texts of the protagonists who soon became their first interpreters of the movement: Deodoro Roca, Julio V. González, Gregorio Bermann, and Gabriel del Mazo. He then discusses works also commented on in Bustelo's study (2018) and published in the 1960s and 1970s: those of Alberto Ciria and Horácio Sanguinetti, Dardo Cúneo and Juan Carlos Portantiero, which in their view reveal the influence that student movements of the 1960s had in several countries, mainly in the Cordobazo occurred in Argentina of 1969. Buchbinder (2018) points out that since the 1990s, the interest in the Reform has diminished, reflecting on the productions on the theme, new productions arise with a plurality of approaches and with predominance of works that deal with the history of ideas and intellectuals. The author also noted in his literature review the presence of research that explores the history of university institutions and their role in building political and professional elites, and studies that address the Latin American dimension of the Reformation. In his final reflection, Buchbinder (2018a, 190) maintains that the scientific literature on the Reformation "has been constructed since the 1920s a reading that privileged the analysis of projections beyond the cloisters."

Studies of Bustelo (2018) and Buchbinder (2018) provided the motivation for investigating how to set up the scientific literature on the Reform of 1918 consolidated in scientific articles available in open access databases of Iberian American scientific literature. The aim of the study was to draw a picture that includes the temporal evolution of the publications, the titles and the place of publication of the periodicals, the most prolific authors, besides carrying out a thematic categorization from the articles. The study is justified considering that the knowledge base formed by the selected articles can contribute to future comparative studies about the Córdoba Reform and its impacts on higher education in Latin American and Caribbean countries. The next sections present the methodology adopted and the results obtained.

Methodology

From the methodological point of view, the study is characterized as exploratory and descriptive and had as guideline the concept of state of knowledge - also used as a synonym of "state of art" and "meta-analysis" - taken in its most precise and original meaning to describe quantitatively and qualitatively the scientific articles that composed the selected corpus.

The data analysis was based on the combination of bibliometric analysis methodologies - a quantitative approach that allows us to extract useful information from a

set of publications to understand the intellectual structure of a scientific field guiding the researcher in the elaboration of systematic and reproducible systematic reviews (FAGERBERG; FOSSAS; SAPPRASERT, 2012). The steps of bibliometric analysis include: choosing the database(s); definition of the search terms for access to the data source; elaboration of data collection and recording instruments; treatment and modeling of the data collected; constitution of the documentary corpus; use of statistics for the development of quantitative indicators; production of visual resources such as charts and tables for the presentation of indicators; analysis of results. (SILVA; HAYASHI; HAYASHI, 2011). Content analysis was also used, consisting of a set of techniques used to perform objective and systematic descriptions of messages, allowing the inference of knowledge extracted from the texts analyzed. (JANIS, 1982). These techniques unfold in the following steps: pre-analysis, which includes floating reading, constitution of the corpus and formulation of hypotheses; exploration of the material or codification and treatment of the results obtained by aggregation of the data and choice of the theoretical and empirical categories responsible for the specification of the theme; and, finally, the proposition of inferences and the realization of interpretations (BARDIN, 1977).

The data sources of the research were three indexers of scientific literature: the SciELO.org electronic library consisting of a digital bibliographic database that contains collections of books and scientific journals from Ibero-American countries and Portugal, Spain and South Africa, and provides 1,285 titles of periodicals with 754,182 articles of open access, free; the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) indexing 3,403,042 articles published in 12,177 journals from 128 countries, with open access and peer review, covering all areas of social sciences and humanities, science, technology and medicine; and the Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal (REDALYC), which offers open access to 1,278 scientific journals with a full text of 609,283 scientific articles (SciELO, 2018; DOAJ, 2018; REDALYC, 2018). These indexers were selected for their visibility, wide geographic coverage - including scientific literature from Latin American and Caribbean countries, Spain and Portugal, Germany, Denmark, the United States and Poland - and to cover several areas of knowledge, mainly the Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as offering open access to the content of indexed scientific articles.

The search for articles in these indexers was carried out in September 2018 using the following search terms: "Córdoba Reform", "University Reform of 1918", "Reform of 1918", without temporal clipping aiming to map all the existing scientific production on this subject, which resulted in the recovery of 150 articles.

Repeated articles, that is, present in more than one database, were set as exclusion criteria. After reading the titles and the summary of the articles, were also excluded those that did not meet the scope of the research and were characterized by citing the Reform of Cordoba in a single sentence treating it only as a background to introduce a theme and object of study that had no adherence to the theme of the reformist movement of 1918. After the application of these criteria, 60 articles were excluded, and the final corpus of the research was composed of 90 articles.

The methodological procedures were performed in the following steps: a) record the data in an Excel spreadsheet containing the following bibliometric variables in relation to the profile of publications: authors (individual or co-author); gender of authors; title of the article; summary; title and country of the journal; publication date; country focused on the article; and content parameters related to the topics addressed; b) reading the complete texts of the articles; c) establishment of categories of analysis; d) description, synthesis and analysis of the data.

At first, the articles were categorized into two groups, according to their objectives: those that approached the historical, social and political context of the Reformation, the principles of the Liminar Manifesto and its impacts on Argentine universities (n = 51), and those who focused on the legacy of reformist thinking as a moment of rupture and continuity in the history of Latin American countries and universities (n=39).

Subsequently, 15 thematic categories were extracted based on the set of guidelines on university reform expressed in the Liminar Manifesto - for example: university autonomy; university extension - in the descriptors of the articles, that is, the keywords assigned by the authors, and according to the objectives expressed in the articles. In the results section, Chart 1 details each of these thematic categories, presented according to the authors and year of publication of the articles.

Based on these categories, the results obtained were analyzed and interpreted, and are described in the next section.

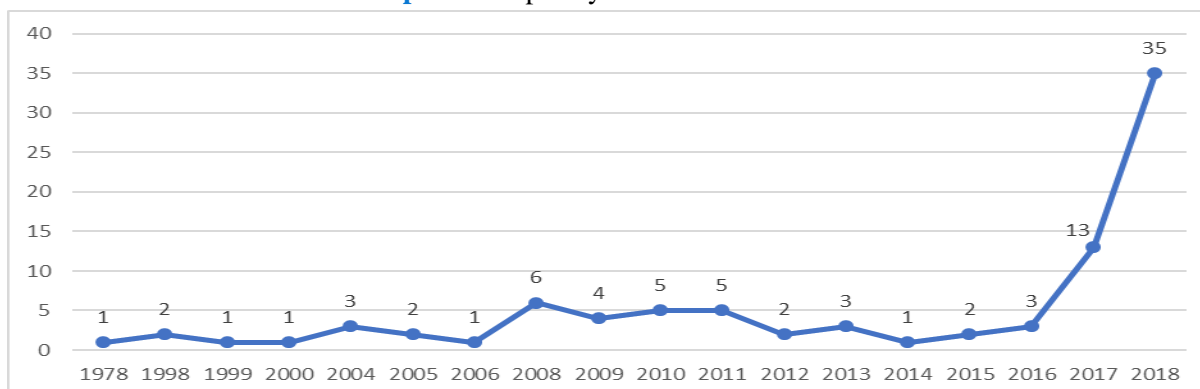
Results

The results are presented in the following subsections: the first, describes and analyzes the selected corpus with the aim of providing a bibliometric overview of the scientific literature on the Córdoba Reform. The second section presents a content analysis of the selected articles according to thematic categories.

Bibliometric overview

The articles selected for analysis (n = 90) made it possible to trace the temporal evolution of these publications in the period between 1978 and 2018 (Graph 1).

Graph 1. Temporary distribution of articles



Source: Elaborated by the authors

Note the absence of articles in the databases until the first six decades after the Reform of Córdoba and in the 1980s when the movement turned 70 years, followed by a still timid presence of articles until 2016. That is, between 1978 and 2006 the articles ($n = 11$) accounted for 12.2% of the total. However, this does not mean a study gap, since comparing these findings with those found by Bustelo (2018), we find that in that period this absence was supplied by the publication of several books on Argentine universities including reflections on the 1918 reform movement - for Halperin Donghi (1962); Buchbinder (2005) - and other works that specifically addressed the Córdoba Reform, for example, Cuneo's texts (1978); Ciria and Sanguinetti (1968, 1983); Portantiero (1978); Biagini (2000). Moreover, as argued by Buchbinder (2018a), substantive work on this subject has considerably diminished in the 1980s, which may have reflected in the publication of articles.

From 2008 to 2016, the annual total of articles represented by 34.4% ($n = 31$) of the analyzed corpus is noted, with a mean of 3.4 articles per year, and in the year celebrating 90 years of the Córdoba Reform there is an expressive increase in the total of articles. The data also point to the concentration of articles in the years between 2017 and 2018 represented by 53.3% ($n = 48$) suggesting that the centenary of the Reformation encouraged scholars to revisit the 1918 movement.

It is worth mentioning that in 2008 the collection organized by Sader, Aboites and Gentili (2008) edited by CLACSO was launched. The first section, entitled "Actualidad de la Reforma Universitaria", contains 17 chapters with texts by Latin American scholars who analyzed the meaning and repercussions of the reformist movement of 1918. The section "Las huellas de la Reforma" reproduction of ten texts of protagonists, intellectuals, militants and students, published between 1935 and 1959. The book closes with a selection of imagery documents composed by facsimile of the Manifesto of the University Federation of Córdoba of 1918, and sixteen photographs of some leaders of the movement, of ceremonies and conferences, of student demonstrations that took place in the years of 1918, and of images of the building and classrooms of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences.

The articles analyzed (n = 90) were published in 47 journals distributed according to their geographical location, of which 35 are from South America, six from North America; four from Europe, and two from Central America (Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution by journals according to countries and total articles

Countries	Journals	Articles
South America		
Argentina	1. Integración y Conocimiento	14
	2. Revista Latinoamericana de Educación Comparada	7
	3. Corpus: Archivos Virtuales de la Alteridad Americana	4
	4. Ulrico: Revista Digital de História y Cultura de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires	4
	5. Cuadernos de História, Série Economia y Sociedad	3
	6. Estudios: Revista del Centro de Estudios Avanzados	2
	7. Anuario de la Escuela de História Virtual	1
	8. Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana “Dr. Emilio Ravignani”	1
	9. Derecho y Ciencias Sociales	1
	10. Diálogos Pedagógicos	1
	11. Estudios Sociales	1
	12. Questión: Revista Especializada em Periodismo y Comunicación	1
	13. Quinto Sol	1
	14. Revista Escuela de História	1
	15. Sociohistórica	1
	16. Tiempo de Gestión	1
Brazil	1. Educação & Sociedade	2
	2. Anos 90	1
	3. Avaliação: Revista de Avaliação da Educação Superior	1
	4. História da Educação	1
	5. Políticas Educativas	1
	6. Práxis Educativa	1
	7. Revista Educação em Questão	1
	8. Revista Ensino Superior	1
	9. Revista Internacional de Educação Superior	1
Colombia	1. Revista de História de la Educación Latinoamericana	5
	2. Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura	1
	3. Ciencia Política	1
	4. Historia y Espacio	1
	5. Memórias: Revista Digital de Historia y Arqueología desde el Caribe Colombiano	1
Venezuela	1. Educere: Revista Venezolana de Educación	3
	2. Educación Superior y Sociedad	2
Chile	1. Revista Izquierdas	3
	2. Cuadernos de História	1
Ecuador	1. 593 Digital Publisher	1
Central America		
Costa Rica	1. Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos	1
Cuba	1. Revista Cubana de Educación Superior	2
North America		
Mexico	1. Universidades	4

	2. Revista Iberoamericana de Educación Superior	2
	3. Andamios	1
	4. Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México	1
	5. Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa	1
United States	1. Journal of Social History	1
Europe		
Spain	1. História de la Educación	1
	2. Oxímora: Revista Internacional de Ética y Política	1
Denmark	3. Sociedad y Discurso	1
Italy	4. Società Mutuamento Política: Rivista Italiana di Sociologia	1
TOTAL		90

Source: Elaborated by the authors

It can be observed in Table 1 that most of the articles ($n = 86$) were published in journals of countries in South America, Central America and North America, all authored by researchers native to the countries of those regions. Among the journals in South America, those published in Argentina ($n = 16$), the country in which the Reform of Cordoba occurred, predominate. There is a minority of articles ($n = 4$) published in three European journals: Spain ($n = 2$), Italy ($n = 1$), Denmark ($n = 1$). Although some authors of these articles are also native to Argentina and work in universities in that country (PITTELLI; HERMO, 2010, TCACH, 2018a, AMBROSINI, BERALDI, 2015), there is one exception: the Argentine Hugo Cancino Troncoso (2004), published in the journal *Sociedad y Discurso* published by Aalborg Universitet of Denmark, that is to say, the same institution to which the author is linked. This was also the case with Argentine author Natalia Milanesio, who published an article in the *Journal of Social History* (2005) published in the United States and was linked to Indiana University - Bloomington. It is valid to emphasize that in Table 1, the geographic criterion for the categorization of journals was assumed. Thus, the historical and cultural references that insert Mexico in Latin America were deprecated in the classification adopted.

Regarding the type of authorship of the articles – single or co-authorship – individual authorship ($n=77$) prevailed. Coauthorships with two authors accounted for 12.2% ($n=11$) of total articles. Coauthorships with three authors ($n=2$) were rarer. These findings on the domain of unique authorship in the articles are in accordance with the characteristics and patterns of scientific communication in the humanities area, unlike what occurs in other sciences, especially those in experimental areas that are quite technical and require greater interaction and collaboration between the researchers. However, the pattern of scientific communication in humanities has undergone changes, as shown in studies by Soares, Souza and Moura (2010) and Lopes and Costa (2012) who investigated scientific production in the areas of Political Sociology and Education, and noted a growth in co-authorship.

Considering the different types of authorship (single and co-authorship), 99 authors were found, since some authors ($n=13$) participated in more than one article in the total analyzed ($n=90$). That is, the majority of the authors ($n = 86$) made only one contribution. In turn, a small contingent ($n = 13$) of authors can be considered the most prolific because they contributed with more than one article, either in individual authors ($n = 9$) or co-authorships

(n=4). Integrate this group of most prolific authors: Alvaro Acevedo Tarazona (n = 3); Carlos Tünermann Bernheim (n = 3); César Tcach (n = 3); Gabriela Alexandra Schenone (n = 3); Natalia Bustelo (n = 3); Pablo Buchbinder (n = 3), Adriana Chiroleu (n = 2); Claudio Suasnábar (n = 2); Javier Moyano (n = 2); Pablo Manuel Requena (n = 2); Rodrigo Arocena (n = 2); Sebastian-Gerardo Fuentes (n = 2); Hélio Trindade (n = 2). In addition, only three authors - Natalia Bustelo, Álvaro Acevedo Tarazona and Javier Moyano - made contributions in co-authoring, in addition to the individual ones.

When examining the authors' gender (n = 99) - considering those who made more than one contribution - the majority (n = 65) were men, while women represented 34.3% (n = 34) of the total. These findings contradict the occurrence of the social phenomenon of horizontal segregation in science, which is expressed in the choice of certain areas and culturally considered specialties as female and male. From this perspective the human and social sciences, and certain specialties of the health sciences, for example, are areas considered as a feminine academic niche, whereas the exact and technological sciences are dominated by men. (SCHIEBINGER, 1999) The results of this research reveal the masculine supremacy in the studies on the Reform of Cordoba, since it is a topic that is commonly associated with, among others, Sociology, History, Philosophy, that is, human and social sciences predominate in the scientific production of these studies.

The themes addressed in the articles

Initially, articles were categorized into two groups: those that dealt with the historical, social and political context of the Reformation, the principles of the Liminar Manifesto and its impacts on Argentine universities (n = 51), and studies that focused on the legacy of reformist thought as a moment of rupture and continuity in the history of Latin American countries and universities (n = 39). Among these, we identified some comparative studies that focused on more than one country or region (n = 10), as shown by the Table 2 data.

Table 2. Distribution of studies by focused countries and regions

Countries and Region	Total of articles
Argentina	51
Latin America	12
Brazil	5
Colombia	5
Cuba	2
Mexico	2
Honduras	1
Uruguay	1
Venezuela	1
Comparative studies	
Latin America and Brazil	2
Latin America and Argentina	2
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Latin America and Caribbean	1
Latin America and Cuba	1
Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Bolívia, Peru, Paraguay, Cuba, Uruguay, Mexico	1
Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Colombia	1
Argentina and Peru	1
Argentina; Peru, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Bolivia, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Mexico and Central America	1
Total	90

Source: Elaborated by the authors

As expected, Argentina, the host country of the Córdoba Reform, was the most focused country among the studies that addressed this issue in the context of Argentine society and universities. The repercussion of this movement in other countries represented 43.3% of the total studies. Secondly, the articles were analyzed based on 15 thematic categories based on the guidelines of the Liminar Manifesto, in the descriptors of the articles and according to the objectives expressed in the articles, as shown in the data in Chart 1.

Chart 1. Thematic categorization of the articles on the Cordoba Reform

Thematic / (n =articles)	Authors/Years
1. Origins, legacies, scope and repercussions of CR (n=23)	Tünnermann Bernheim (1998); Buchbinder (2000); Trindade (2004); Vidal (2005); Pastrana Rodríguez (2008); Vallejo (2009); Recalde (2010); Acevedo Tarazona (2011); Freitas Neto (2011); Mazzola (2015); Dias (2016); Mato (2016); Dutra (2017); Agüero (2018); Buchbinder (2018b); Follari (2018); Imen (2018); Leite (2018); Martín Sabina (2018); Martínez Larrechea; Chiancone (2018); Nosiglia (2018); Tcach (2018a); Torrijo (2018)
2. Student movement (n=19)	Cancino Troncoso (2004); Pereira (2008); Riquelme (2008); Sarria Materón (2008); Schenone (2009; 2010a; 2010b); Palma Bobadilla (2010); Samacá Alonso; Acevedo Tarazona (2011); Trindade (2011);Tcach (2012); Bragheto (2013); Moraga Valle (2014); Ambrosini; Beraldi (2015); Rodríguez Trillo (2017); Avedaño (2018); Azevedo; Braggio; Catani (2018); Carreño (2018); Rodríguez (2018)
3. University autonomy; cogovern (n=13)	Ares Pons (1998); Tünnermann Bernheim (2008); Pittelli; Hermo (2010); Múnera Ruiz (2011); Donoso Romo; Contreras Muhlenbrock (2017), Dridkisson (2017); Marsiske (2017); Moyano; Requena (2017); Murillo (2017); Tatian (2017); Acevedo Tarazona; Lugos (2018); Acosta Silva (2018); Erazo Coral (2018)
4. Intellectuals (n=7)	Requena (2009; 2017); Suasnábar (2009; 2018) Moyano (2018); Navarro (2012); Vera de Flachs (2018)
5. University Democratization (n=5)	Torres (1999); Arocena (2004; 2018); Chiroleu (2018a; 2018b)
6. University Extension (n=4)	Tünnermann-Bernheim (1978); Fraga (2017); Del Huerto Marimon (2018); González Gonzáles; González Fernández-Larrea (2018)
7. Antagonism and absence of CR (n=4)	López (2008) Fuentes (2013; 2016); Moyano (2017)
8. Collective memories, visual memory; biographical reports (n=3)	Porta (2018); Prieto (2018); Echezuri; Vázquez; Luverá (2018)
9. Student magazines	Bustelo; Domínguez Rubio (2017); Biagini (2018); Tcach (2018b)

(n=3)	
10. Liminar Manifesto (n=2)	Muñoa (2009); Mariz (2017)
11. Gender and generations in the CR (n=2)	Milanesio (2005); Toranzo Calderón (2018)
12. Literature review (n=2)	Buchbinder (2018a); Bustelo (2018)
13. Gramscian reading of CR (n=1)	Bustelo (2013)
14. Typography of CR (n=1)	Ares (2018)
15. Political Theology (n=1)	Vázquez (2018)

Source: Elaborated by the authors

The selected articles (n = 90) treated the Cordoba Reform under different theoretical and methodological perspectives. Table 1 shows that 46.6% (n = 42) of the total articles focused on two themes: the origins, legacies, reaches and repercussions of the Córdoba Reform (n = 23) and the student movement (n=19). Another set of articles, represented by 26.6% (n = 24) of the total, covered four categories that refer to the main assumptions of the Córdoba Manifesto: university autonomy and cogovern (n = 13); university democratization (n = 5); the university extension (n = 4), and the Liminar Manifesto (n = 2). The articles (n = 7) that approached the subject of the intellectuals of the Reform of Cordoba focused on, among others: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento; Raúl Orgaz; Arturo Orgaz, Arturo Capdevila, Saúl A. Taborda. Then, there are two themes, represented by 5.5% of articles (n = 5) of literature review (n = 2) and analysis of student journals (n=3).

Finally, six categories represented by 14.4% (n = 13) of articles dealt with themes and perspectives not explored in the Cordoba Reform studies: antagonism and opposition to the proposals of the Cordovan reform movement (n = 3), as well as the absence of CR in Venezuelan and Colombian universities (n = 1); the memories of the Reformation - collective, visual, and those obtained through narratives of biographical reports (n = 3); the theme of gender and of generations in university reform (n = 2); the composition of a new typographic family (n = 1) denominated Reformation based on drawings with styles that refer to the Reformation of Córdoba of 1918 and its centenary, and another that alludes to the movement of Cordobazo occurred in 1969; and three themes with articles that present respectively: a Gramscian reading and the political theology of the Reformation (n = 1) and the question of gender and generations in the university Reformation (n=2).

Far from privileging a specific theme among the fifteen in which the articles analyzed were categorized, but for reasons of available space for this text, we chose to synthesize the main aspects addressed in the studies referring to the six categories less explored in the studies on University Reform.

We began with the theme of opposition or antagonism to the Reform of Cordoba and the absence of the reformist assumptions in Latin American universities treated in four articles. The text of López (2008) recovers the postulates of the reformist movement of 1918 related to teaching, research, extension, administration and university services, and other aspects related to national and international politics. The author aims to show that although this movement has spread to most Latin American universities, in some of them there was no reception of these reforms due to internal conditions or the political regime of their respective countries, as happened in universities of Caracas and Mérida. The study focuses on the case of the Central University of Venezuela and the Universidad de Los Andes in Venezuela between 1908 and 1935, a period that precedes and also covers the one of greater incidence of the Córdoba movement, to show that the reformist guidelines were absent from the transformations in these universities.

The theme of reaction and opposition to the reformist movement in Cordoba was also discussed in two articles by Fuentes (2013, 2016). The author addresses the practices of a group of young people who opposed university reform by founding in 1918 a social and sporting association called Club Universitario de Buenos Aires (CUBA). This association, composed of young people from the upper and middle sectors, for whom the university would no longer be sufficient to build a differentiated social space, defined according to its rules and values, distanced itself from the process of politicizing university institutions. Fuentes seeks to understand the Reform Movement from the perspective of those who felt disconnected from it and/or opposed to it, and analyze the relevance of education (university education in this case) in the construction of social hierarchy and prestige at a time of social and cultural changes in the Argentine republic of the early twentieth century.

Subsequently, Fuentes (2016, p.61) returns to this theme of opposition to the reformist movement in the social field of university youths in Argentina in 1918, to show how these young people "conceive education, society and its role by positioning and differentiating themselves around a social and political process - reformism - that indicates the heterogenization of the middle and upper classes of Buenos Aires." For the author, CUBA was a club in which "students could keep out of political and/or politicized struggles and movements within national universities" (FUENTES, 2016, p. 66).

Moyano's study (2017) addresses two issues related to the events of the Cordoba Reform: cleavages that predispose to conflict and oppose reformist students with university authorities in a confrontation that lasted several months; and the definition of reformist allies and antagonists in the context of this conflict. The former include "civil servants of the national (non-Cordovan) government, groups of workers, professors of liberal ideology, political leaders and conservatives of secular ideology", while among the opponents, stood out "clerical professors and students, radical leaders, and conservatives of clerical ideology" (MOYANO, 2017, p.55).

Three authors dealt with the theme of collective memories (PRIETO, 2018), visual memories (ECHEZURI, VÁZQUEZ, LUVERÁ, 2018) and memories obtained through

narrative biographical reports (PORTA, AGUIRRE, 2018) on the Reform of Córdoba.

The study by Prieto (2018, p.212) shows that the mobilization of collective memories about the Reformation "was a key element in the politicization of students that allowed greater openness of civil society participation [...]. This occurred "in a context of Catholic participation in the defense coalition, and made the debate a negotiated process".

In turn, Echezuri, Vázquez and Luverá (2018) present a series of iconic photographs related to the University Reform. The images depict the steps of the Reformation, the clash between reformers and anti-reformists; Deodoro Roca speaking; the facsimile of the first page of the *Gaceta Universitaria*, with the publication of the Liminar Manifesto, the students' occupation of the University of Córdoba; armed soldiers forcing the entrance doors of the university and the same occupied military; the group of students of the University Federation of Córdoba; and student demonstrations, among others.

Porta and Aguirre (2018) use the metaphor of the centennial epiphany of the Córdoba Reform to characterize the implications that this assumed from narratives of those who lived their legacy as students, researchers and teachers. To do so, the authors use the biographical-narrative method that allows "to recover meaning and qualify the understanding of reality, in addition to factual illusions" (p.120), conducting 14 in-depth interviews with questions related to the life trajectory of the interviewees. The voices and reports of academics of recognized trajectory in the university scope, mainly in relation to the reformist principles that are currently reinterpreted, were organized in narrative archipelagos that give meaning to the events lived by the subjects. Thus, the narratives provide elements to understand the following aspects: the link between personal life and university life (p.121); the Argentine university as a "sounding board of society" (p.123); and university reform as the "heart of the university system" (p.126). In the authors' view, thinking the Reformation as a key to epiphany means "highlighting the full relevance of some of its postulates and inspiring principles" in such a way that "celebrating and actualizing its legacy presupposes recognizing and understanding it in its historical dialectic" (PORTA; AGUIRRE, 2018, p. 130).

Another theme that was presented among the articles analyzed was the one that introduced the Gramscian reading of the Córdoba Reform, proposed by Juan Carlos Portantiero in the 1970s. The study by Bustelo (2013, p.1) recovers this theoretical perspective to "explain the intellectual-political project of Portantiero concentrating on the main thesis of the author." Throughout the text, the author shows that by using this Gramscian key of reading, Portantiero can explain "the failure of the local reformists in their attempt to extend student claims to the more general plane of political claims" (p.2-3). The text of Bustelo (2013) begins with some theoretical approaches on the Reformation of Córdoba from interpretations that resort from the theory of generations by Ortega y Gasset, through the lines and theoretical interpretive lines outlined by Gregory Bermann, one of the main militants and ideologues of the reformist movement, until reaching the Portantiero essay where he, "through Gramscian notions of the situation of Kulturkampf (cultural struggle) and of "historical block" and

[...] dynamizes the keys provided by Bermann, but also polemics with the reading of the Reformation that the Communist Party has diffused through the articles of Ernesto Giudici and, since 1964, of the voluminous Bernardo Kleiner essay of 20 years of the reform student movement. (BUSTELO, 2013, p. 6).

Throughout the text, the author points out "the changes introduced in the theorizations of the Reformation by the Gramscian reading carried out by Portantiero and the way in which reading relates to the concerns of the "new left" (BUSTELO, 2013, p.18). In her view, the Gramscian matrix of studies on the Reformation allowed Portantiero to dynamize the syntheses of student ideologies that had been offered by Gregorio Bermann, another socialist interpreter of the Reformation. Bustelo (2013, p.18) also points out that

[...] while Bermann pointed out how the task of the Reformation produced a philosophical vanguard for the proletariat in the late 1970s (when almost all of Latin America has experimented with populist regimes and is undergoing both the defeat of democracy and the left, marked by authoritarian regimes) the Reform, along with Peronism, appears as the political processes to be revised to establish the turning point in which the division - which has already revealed its profoundly tragic character - is consolidated between national-popular thinking and the left.

Two themes present among the articles selected for analysis stand out for their originality: Vázquez's study (2018, p.1), which addresses the prevalence of the political theology approach "in the reformist youth and in their later derivations" and the typographic composition of a new type of typographic design inspired by the Reform of Cordoba, presented by Ares (2018). Let's see how these studies developed.

The starting point that inspired the Vázquez approach (2018), according to the author, appeared in a commemorative event of the Reformation occurred at the National University of Cordoba. At that time, Luis Vitin Baronetto, the panelist and activist of the 1970s base of Peronism, marked a possible axis for rethinking reform through the use of religious metaphors by young reformers. Vazquez (2018) reports that Baronetto extracted a few phrases from the Liminar Manifesto - "Cordoba redeems itself", "sacred right to insurrection", "holy revolution", "the souls of young people must be moved by spiritual forces" - to show that anticlericalism was inspired by a certain religiosity. In Vazquez's view (2018, p.3) there was "a form of political theology that took religious metaphors as a force without renouncing the liberalism that moved it." For the author, "the language of respect for the figure of Christ and the civil use of the evangelical metaphor is similar, although it is not associated with the figure of any messianic leadership as in Yrigoyenism." (Vazquez, 2018, p.4). The author also shows that the student newspaper *Gaceta Universitaria* uses similar metaphors in the Yrigoyenist discourse, "from the parable of the Good Samaritan, who assimilated workers' solidarity", and in the text "The Sheep-Pharisees and Dr. Martinez" in the discussion after 18 June".

Vázquez (2018) continues his presentation on the presence of referents of political theology in both writings and episodes related to inspiring figures and others who played a prominent role in the Cordoba Reformation. He cites, for example, the episode in 1906, in which the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó disagreed with the removal of the crucifixes from

the walls of the Hospital de Caridad, on the grounds that he did so "from a position of 'purely human' admiration for the figure of Christ and his connection with charity" (VÁZQUEZ, 2018, p.3). The author also mentions another episode that demonstrates the presence of political theology among reformers. For example, the one in which at the end of his life, Enrique Barros carried in his pocket a note that said:

I, Enrique Barros, in the full exercise of my mental faculties and knowing that I am afflicted with a condition that can cause a crisis at any moment, forbid that in such a case, neither alive nor dead, a priest of the Roman Catholic apostolic religion come to me, for which I consider the denial of the doctrine of Christ. (VÁZQUEZ, 2018, p.5)

In his conclusions Vazquez (2018, p.6) argues that the vitalism of the voices of the reformists "should also be explored through the theological-political path."

On the other hand, Ares's article (2018) introduces a new theme in the studies on the Córdoba Reform of 1918: the composition of an institutional typographic design called Reforma that composes a type family elaborated for the visual communication of the National University of Córdoba (UNC), and was inspired by this movement. The work of creation lasted two years and was designed by Alejandro LoCelso and post-produced by Guido Ferreyra, being presented to the public in the framework of the celebrations of the centenary of the Reformation. Ares (2018, p. 34) comments that in the UNC site can be found the explanation for the elaboration of this drawing:

The new family had to interpret, on the one hand, the intellectual heritage of a four-hundred-year-old institution, a multifaceted protagonist in the history of the continent and, on the other hand, the spirit of public education prevailing in Argentina today, identified with values such as democratic practice, collective knowledge, horizontal exchange, equal opportunities.

Ares (2018) explains that the font Reforma is a system of drawing that incorporates three different styles: *Reformation 1918* - in honor of the University Reform; *Reformation 1969* - in honor of the Cordobazo, and *Reformation 2018*, in commemoration of the centenary of the reform movement and with a view to the future. It also emphasizes that the typographic design is freely accessible to the interested community under license from Creative Commons, a non-profit, non-governmental organization aimed at expanding the quantity of creative works available, through its licenses that allow for the copying and sharing with fewer restrictions than in the traditional "all rights reserved".

It is also worth mentioning among the analyzed articles two studies that deal with the theme of gender and of the generations in the Reform of Cordoba. Milanesio (2005, p. 505) presents an essay that "analyzes the collective self, the representation of the reformists, the young students, the socially privileged men who participated in the University Reform movement." The study aims to examine the process of building the reformist identity and analyze what the author considers its two most significant and interrelated aspects: a particular form of masculinity and a different generation. Throughout the text the author shows that "the status of women as a minority within the university system was not

approached as a problem by the reformers" (MILANESIO, 2005, p.507). The analysis of Milanese (2005, p.507) focuses on how "fundamentally men (the reformist students) constructed their identities in their interactions - opposition and/or collaboration - with other men (teachers, workers, nonreformist students)". However, in presenting women, the author wants to demonstrate that "the construction of masculinities in intra-masculine lines is, by itself, shown as a male privilege". (p.507). The object of the author's analysis, therefore, is the relation between student mobilization, identity construction and masculinity. The idea of generation and masculinity, for the author, has strong resonance with conflict and rupture. In his conclusions, Milanese (2005: 521) argues that "the fact that students are young and belong to the privileged classes did not place them outside the complex relations of power and control"; nevertheless, their gender placed them in a "position of power and privilege in relation to women in general and to girls in particular, while their class differentiated them from industrial workers with whom students united forces".

Recognizing that the reformers who carried out the Reform of Córdoba and participated in the occupation of the University on September 9, 1918 were all men, Toranzo Calderón (2018) shows that despite this there was female participation in the reformist movement in Córdoba. The author cites the name of Prosperina Paraván, one of the four women who in 1917 entered the career of dentistry at the Faculty of Medical Sciences of UNC. He also notes that in 1918 there was no women at the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Exact Sciences, and Physical and Natural Sciences, while half a dozen attended Chemistry, and did not reach ten those who attended Medicine. Although without resorting to the phenomenon of horizontal segregation to explain the low female presence in these areas, the author comments that

[...] in an environment in which higher education was almost exclusively for men, few women could have difficulty accessing the scarce centers of higher education that allowed them to enter (TORANZO CALDERÓN, 2018, p. 22)

The author mentions a series of events related to the gender issue that occurred with Prosperina Paraván during the course of dentistry at UNC, such as the prohibition of women to engage in joint practices with their male colleagues, since they considered that the facilities were not adequate for women to attend these classes. Later, in June 1918, Prosperina joined the student protests against the appointment of Antonio Nores as rector, facing police repression. Toranzo Calderón (2018, p. 22) reports that "in the celebrations of the centennial of the Reform, the courtyard of the School of Dentistry of the UNC was baptized with the name of Centennial Garden of the Prosperina Paraván Reformation". The author still lists other feminine names in Argentine universities in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and considers that the Córdoba Reform movement was "the initial kick in the search for a university open to all, secular and free". (TORANZO CALDERÓN, 2018, p.23)

Last, but not least, three studies on University Reform were identified that used journals and student journals as data sources. Bustelo and Domínguez Rubio (2017) reconstruct the intervention of a series of student groups and magazines from Argentina,

which between 1918 and 1922 tried to have the nascent movement of the University Reform linked to the international revolutionary movement inaugurated by Russia, to the left Bolsheviks of Argentina. The authors carried out what they called the "biblio-hemerographic search" and resulted in the location of collections of magazines and leaflets preserved in the Center for Documentation and Research of the Left Culture (CeDInCI), at the Dr. Emilio Azarilli Museum of the National University of La Plata, in the Provincial Historical Museum of Rosario and in the collection of newspapers of the Argentine Libertarian Federation. These magazines allowed the reconstruction of a previously unknown Bolshevik student network woven in different Argentine cities. The following newspapers were part of this network: the reformist magazines *Bases* (Buenos Aires, 1919-1920), *Clarín* (Buenos Aires, 1919-1920); *Insurrexit* (Buenos Aires, 1920-1921); *Mente* (Córdoba, 1920); *Alborada* (La Plata, 1920-1921), *Verbo Libre* (Rosário, 1920-1921), *La Antorcha* (Rosário, 1921-1923), *Germinal* (Rosário, 1922-1923) and *Germinal* (La Plata, 1919-1920). The authors argue that these journals show that many students have defined their participation in the reform based on the conviction that

[...] the Bolshevik success inaugurated an international revolutionary hour that required both the student-worker union and common revolutionary projects between three political families until then (and shortly) strongly opposed: the socialist, the anarchist, and the trade unionist (BUSTELO; DOMÍNGUEZ RUBIO, 2017, p.36).

In view of these findings, the authors' hypothesis is that the Latin American and anti-imperialist identity of the Reformation was preceded in Argentina by an internationalist revolutionary identity. From this perspective Bustelo and Domínguez Rubio (2017, p.36) intended to refine not only the approach of the origins of the student movement, but also the studies on the reception of the Russian revolution and the map of the Argentine left.

The study by Biagini (2018, p.38) addresses an Argentine student journal, *Verbum*, of the Center for Students of Philosophy and Letters (CEFYL) at the University of Buenos Aires. The objective was to investigate the image of this center of studies and its reformist movement between 1912 and 1942. The author comments that José Ingenieros and Ricardo Rojas were there, as well as reformist leaders such as Gregorio Bermann. From the pages of *Verbum* also emanated a range of divergent and convergent positions that "reduced the reform proposal to purely didactic and/or union demands, or extended it to civil, community and international terrain." (Biagini, 2018, p.39). Throughout the study, the author shows, for example, that in the *Verbum* magazine, positions could be identified that were "frankly adverse to the reformist platform, arguing that it should disseminate both the views of supporters as well as those who saw it as 'incalculable evils'." (BIAGINI, 2018, p.46).

In turn, the study of Tcach (2018b), retrieves the path of the *Gaceta Universitaria*, the student newspaper and official organ of the Federación Universitaria de Córdoba (FUC), founded in 1918, when it started the student rebellion which led to the movement of the University Reform. The words of the author offer the exact measure of the representativity of this student newspaper:

Allegedly heretical and iconoclastic, revolutionaries in some plans and reformers in others, those Córdoba pioneers that Mariátegui alluded to, had in the *Gaceta Universitária* something more than a mere tool of diffusion. This was the birth and covenant at the same time. It was birth because its constitution marked the birth of the University Federation of Córdoba. It functioned as collective organizer of the student centers and its first edition - in first of May of 1918 - preceded the formation of the FUC in fifteen days. To a large extent, the first steps of the University Federation of Córdoba were organized around this publication. The *Gaceta Universitária* also assumed a kind of constitutive pact marked by respect for ideological and political diversity, under a common cultural background. (TCACH, 2018b, p. 158).

The *Gaceta Universitária* was a true "alpha and omega of the 'strong and courageous boys' who, according to Deodoro Roca, idealized 'against the university, against the Church, against the family, against property and against the state.'" (TCACH, 2018b, p.162). The author also marks the name of Enrique Barros, as the first director of this periodical. He also mentions that in the extraordinary edition of June 29, 1918, the *Gaceta* printed on its front page the celebrated Liminar Manifesto. Tcach (2018b, pp. 172-173) points out that in 1919, the *Gaceta* published the note of the National Feminist Association presented to the Senate requesting the dispatch of the bill on the civil emancipation of women. Finally, the author argues that by making the original edition of the *Gaceta Universitária* available for the first time, after 90 years of the Córdoba Reform, "the five Argentine national universities are not alien to this legacy".

IN CONCLUSION

Upon finalizing this article, we retrieved the initial goal of presenting a balance of research on the Córdoba Reform consolidated in scientific articles available in databases of free scientific journals. Through the bibliometric survey and analysis of the content of this scientific literature, it was observed that in the period between 1978 and 2018, almost a hundred articles were published that, from different theoretical and methodological perspectives, analyzed from the meaning of this reformist movement occurred in Argentina in 1918, to their impact and future projection in the context of the universities of Latin America and the Caribbean.

From the total number of papers analyzed (n = 90), the bibliometric survey allowed us to outline the authors' profile, the authors' genre and the journals that published the articles. On the other hand, the content analysis of the articles made it possible to identify fifteen thematic categories of this scientific production. The list of articles analyzed can be found in the Appendix in the format of references as a way of contributing to serve as a starting point for future analyzes that can be carried out through other theoretical and methodological approaches.

Finally, although the set of articles that were the object of analysis in this study is expressive, there is still much to be recovered through access to other databases, especially if we consider that after one hundred years of the Córdoba Reform, this scientific production

only tends to grow, given the current relevance of the Liminar Manifesto assumptions for the improvement of higher education policies in Ibero-America.

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