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**Examining a Sample of the American-Mexican
Scientific Cooperation in the 1960s:
A Social Network Analysis of the CIDOC-Network**

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Epistemological Interest

In 1961, then-Monsignor Ivan Illich and two friends founded the Center of Intercultural Documentation (Centro Intercultural de Documentación; subsequently referred to with its acronym “CIDOC”) in Cuernavaca, 35 miles south of Mexico City.¹

The original intent was to respond to a papal order of the same year: United States and Canadian bishops were requested to send 10% of their available nuns and priests to Latin America. With the launching of John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress program and the foundation of the Peace Corps the same year,² a massive transfer of missionary personnel without much intercultural sensitivity was expected to hit Latin America. CIDOC’s founders sought to avoid this through the establishment of a center for cross-cultural studies that would adapt missionaries on the way to their stations. This mixture of language school, publishing house and research center soon evolved into what the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, Francis Spellman, called “*by far the best training center we have.*”³

CIDOC was aimed at teaching laymen and priests who wanted to come to Latin America as volunteers. Illich soon came to the conclusion that neither government agencies like the US Peace Corps, nor development projects of the Catholic Church should interfere in Latin America. Outside assistance would only make people of the region feel inferior and dependent. Accordingly, Illich’s motivation for CIDOC was “*to corrupt [volunteers] while they were still with us and ship them home under their own motivation.*”⁴ At the same time, the center was research and educational institute for the exploration of alternatives. It became a magnet for intellectual *enfants terribles*, from Brazilian educator Paulo Freire to American key thinker of the 1960s Paul Goodman.

¹ Already in 1956, still in Puerto Rico, Illich established a Center of Inter-Cultural Communications (CIC). After he had left Puerto Rico for Mexico, he founded the Center of Intercultural Formation (CIF) which resulted in a major rethinking in 1966 in “Centro Intercultural de Documentación” (CIDOC).

² For more details on this initiative, consult Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman (2000) *All You Need Is Love. The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

³ Francine du Plessix Gray (1970) *Divine Disobedience. Profiles in Catholic Radicalism*. Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 253.

⁴ James G. Lesniak (ed) (1992) *Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields*. Volume 35, new revision series. Gale Research: Detroit, 236.

In fact, numerous scholars from different countries sought out CIDOC to improve their Spanish, partake in stimulating discussions or to just meet Ivan Illich, a person whose reputation skirted a line between acclaim and infamy.

It is reasonable to believe that the people who surrounded Illich exerted influence on his work. I argue that without his social networks, much of his influential thought would never have emerged. Within the center's fifteen years of operation (1961 to 1976), numerous great thinkers from philosophy and theology to cultural studies, history, educational theory, and economics from many places in the world used the center's institutional setting as meeting place. Located in a slightly remote area in Mexico, CIDOC provided the ideal framework to analyze, discuss and exchange views on often controversial issues.

No research has so far been conducted on CIDOC's prominent social network; my work aims to bridge this gap in knowledge.

Three different types of literature provided the basis for my analysis. First, I consulted books and texts written by Illich himself. I then looked up writings by coevals on CIDOC or Illich. Finally, my third type of literature was the newly released Illich-biography in German language, compiled by Austrian researcher Martina Kaller-Dietrich.⁵

Aforementioned texts examine their object of investigation only from a qualitative point of view. They inspect *why* and *how* certain events occur. In contrast, quantitative research is more focused on *what*, *where*, and *when*. Nevertheless, the texts with qualitative approach on and by Ivan Illich are an apt starting point for what is supposed to be the first quantitative analysis. Following the previous literature, Ivan Illich will be the central character of my thesis. As CIDOC is intrinsically tied to his name, he is indispensable for any further consideration. But in contrast to other texts, the focus of my work will not be Illich himself, but rather will be directed at those who surrounded him during the center's existence, more precisely from 1961 to 1976.

⁵ Martina Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich (1926-2002). Sein Leben, sein Denken. Portraits Band 1. Bibliothek der Provinz: Weitra.

Despite aforementioned considerations, one could still rightly question the reasonability of this undertaking: Why is it essential to examine Illich's social networks during CIDOC's operation? What is the anticipated result?

With the closing of CIDOC's doors in 1976, Illich was deprived of his living. He no longer had constant incomes to rely on. Already in 1968 he had resigned from priesthood, hence, the practice of priestly ministry was no longer an option. After he tramped the roads of Southeast Asia, he made use of something which Illich himself might have termed differently: his social network. As CIDOC's long-time director, Illich had collaborated with scholars from numerous well-known educational institutions in the US. He now intentionally made use of these acquaintances as they facilitated access to visiting professorships and short-term teaching positions at universities across the US. From the late 1970s onwards, Pennsylvania State University, Fordham University in New York, and the University of California, Berkeley, all played large roles in Illich's professional and institutional relations in the US. Throughout the remainder of his life, he was an itinerant scholar.

To sum up, my thesis aims at disclosing and scrutinizing relations that form the basis of CIDOC in order to enable inferring the center's influence on Ivan Illich's life and work.

My topic of discussion evolved from a research class ("Forschungspraktikum") undertaken at the University of Vienna in fall and winter 2005/06. It was held by the supervisor of my final thesis, Illich-biographer Martina Kaller-Dietrich, in the Latin-American Institute in Vienna, which harbors the only stock of nearly complete CIDOC publications in the German-speaking world. The paper that I produced within the scope of this class offered a substantial basis for my present research work. The University of Vienna generously supported my endeavours to deepen the social network analysis in granting a research fellowship ("Förderungsstipendium") at Fordham University in New York and the Library of Congress in Washington DC. Due to this five-week research trip I could gather information which would not have been otherwise accessible.

Methodology

Forced to flee Austria during World War II because of his half-Aryan heritage, Ivan Illich knew from an early age how constraining the adjustment to life in a foreign environment can be. This experience surely influenced him later in life: his work as pastor to Puerto Rican immigrants in New York was full of empathy and respect for their customs. At the same time, their Latin American heritage sparked his interest in the American subcontinent.

Illich's interest for social and political processes in Latin America is also reflected in the studies published over the years by the Centro Intercultural de Documentación (CIDOC). As a permanent member in the Comité Directivo de Publicaciones, Illich had the final word on which papers were published. The selection of authors shows no coherent pattern. It appears that decisions were made based on personal interest and often benefitted those who had personal contact with Illich.⁶

CIDOC volumes, which come in five color-coded series, were published for slightly less than twenty years. CIDOC Dossiers, CIDOC Sondeos, CIDOC Cuadernos, CIDOC Fuentes and CIDOC Antología were privately published, first and foremost for subscription purchase. I assume that for the purpose of a social network analysis, the series Cuadernos is particularly insightful. No other volume as precisely reflects where the center directed its attention to. Cuadernos have strongly representative character. Cuadernos is a series of books by CIDOC associates: the collection encompasses background papers for courses, working papers, and the outcome of Cuernavaca gatherings. Illich-friend philosopher Carl Mitcham rightfully stresses that they “*remain a major and largely untapped source for the study of Illich's thought.*”⁷ It is therefore justified to consider them to be a consolidated source and starting point for deliberations on how to achieve social network identification and categorization.

⁶ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 35.

⁷ Lee Hoinacki / Carl Mitcham (eds) (2002) *The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection*. State University of New York Press: New York, 20.

The edition of CIDOC Cuadernos is to a large extent coherent and complete. Not only does it provide a reliable basis for research of Latin American history after 1945, but it also grants access to a group of intellectuals of whom Illich thought highly. With contributions from American, Latin-American and sometimes European scholars, rather abstract notions of interdisciplinary research were put into practice in the 1960s. CIDOC Cuadernos was first published in 1968. With the closing of CIDOC's doors in 1976, the series was also brought to an end. By then, the books consisted of ninety volumes, which can be divided into at least four clearly delineated subseries, namely Catálogo CIDOC, CIDOC Informa, CIDOC Documenta and CIF Reports. More than fifty authors' names are associated with the series. With Cuadernos as starting point, I hope to disclose and describe CIDOC's social network.

To unearth the aforementioned network, my primary methodological tool will be Social Network Analysis (SNA). Employing SNA essentially involves the collection of all relevant data from numerous sources, data which is then thoroughly examined to disclose relationships among actors.

SNA has become an established field within the social sciences. It is frequently deployed to display complex sets of relationships among social actors, from an interpersonal to international scale. SNA proves to be particularly useful for investigations of community structure.

In the 1930s, German immigrants in the United States were studying the cognitive and social psychology of groups. At the same time, sociologists and anthropologists at Harvard University were building on British social anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown's concept of social structure. Their work emphasized the importance of interpersonal, informal relations in social systems. In Britain, SNA was further developed in sociological and social anthropological studies of communities and factories. However, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that an efficient methodology for contemporary SNA was shaped by Harrison White and his students at Harvard University.

Social Network Analysis evolved into a key technique and a precious resource for researchers across the social sciences. Moreover, it is commonly regarded as the

interface between social sciences and other sciences: computer science, economic sciences and natural sciences deploy SNA to display information exchange or exchange of resources. However, at present, SNA is still predominantly viewed as an American and Canadian branch of research.⁸

Social Network Analysis regards social relationships as “nodes” and “ties”. “Nodes” are generally individuals or organizations within the network, whereas ties describe the relationships between social actors. They are held together by one or more specific types of interdependency, such as ideas, financial exchange, or as in this case, participation at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. In contrast to traditional social sciences, SNA completely disregards individual attributes. Instead, the importance is placed on ties and relationships with other social actors within the network. This also means that the ability of individuals to influence their success is constrained, as most of it is determined by the structure of the network. Individuals are not treated as separate units of analysis, but rather as subordinate part of a bigger picture. It is the structure of ties that counts, as it influences social actors and their relationships.

Research on networks differentiates five levels of analysis: ego-centric social network analysis, dyadic social network analysis, triadic social analysis, analysis of groups, and total network analysis.⁹ Ego-centric networks examine social relations emanating from a single actor. One single actor forms the center of the analysis. Dyadic social networks focus on a single pair of actors and the relation between them. Triadic social networks have three main actors and thus the analysis deals with three elements and the relations between them. The fourth level of analysis examines whole groups within the network: dyads and triads are thereby combined into groups that meet the requirements of the task. And finally, the analysis can also focus on the entire network.

As regards my thesis, I choose the ego-centric level of analysis. Although I hope to determine CIDOC’s pivotal actors within the network, Ivan Illich still remains

⁸ Compare John Scott (1991) *Social Network Analysis*. Sage: London. (Especially Chapter 2.) Charles Wetherell (1998) *Historical Social Network Analysis*. In: *International Review of Social History* 43, Supplement, 125-144.

⁹ Compare Dorothea Jansen (2006) *Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse. Grundlagen, Methoden, Forschungsbeispiele*. 3rd revised edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: Wiesbaden, 58-67.

the central target of my consideration and in this case, the data clearly favors the ego-centric network.

Ivan Illich's group of colleagues and friends during CIDOC's years of operation is certainly larger than the scope of a single diploma thesis. It was therefore necessary to narrow the scope of my work. First and foremost, my analysis only covers scholars who physically attended CIDOC. It is not enough to merely be an author of a CIDOC issue, physical presence in Cuernavaca between 1961 and 1976 is essential. Moreover, I decided to introduce a geographical focus. Accordingly, my thesis focuses on CIDOC's scientific co-operations within scholars from the Americas.

I am quite aware that numerous, often significant intellectuals from Europe also participated. It would have been appealing to include German author and researcher Wolfgang Sachs, then-student and lifelong follower of Illich. Despite his participation at CIDOC, Sachs's demonstrable collaboration with Illich did not intensify until the late 1980s. (Their eventual collaboration would result in "The Development Dictionary".¹⁰ Edited by Wolfgang Sachs, and featuring contributions from Ivan Illich and a close circle of friends, this renowned anthology challenged the widely held belief that international development helps less developed countries.) Moreover, I will exclude Belgian abbot Grégoire Lemercier. At the time of CIF, he and Illich were neighbors in Cuernavaca, but maintained a distanced relationship: "*The two men have hardly seen each other five times in the past ten years though they live less than three miles apart.*"¹¹ French adult educator Didier Piveteau and Peruvian philosopher Augusto Salazar Bondy will not be included due to the fact that I found very few references which actually establish ties.¹² They appear to have successfully stayed at CIDOC while leaving no detectable traces.

Yet I will add German educator and author Hartmut von Hentig. He would later break his friendship with Illich and would hardly mention him in his autobiography.¹³ Regardless, von Hentig went to school in the US and thus merits inclusion under my

¹⁰ Wolfgang Sachs (ed) (1992) *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power.* London: Zed Books.

¹¹ Plessix Gray (1970) *Divine Disobedience*, 271.

¹² Sole exception is a reference in Kaller-Dietrich (2008) *Ivan Illich*, 121.

¹³ Hartmut von Hentig (2007) *Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht.* Volume 1: *Schule, Polis, Gartenhaus.* Carl Hanser: München, 627-628.

geographic rule. Von Hentig twice visited CIDOC and his second stay even resulted in a book on CIDOC.¹⁴ As per Gerhart Ladner, Peter L. Berger and Erich Fromm, all from Europe, I include them due to their emigration to the US and/or Mexico. All three of them have spent decades of their lives in the Americas.

Of great importance to my analysis are Roman Catholic Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, Dom Hélder Câmara, as well as the bishop of the Cuernavaca Diocese, Sergio Mendez Arceo, and the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, Francis Spellman. All three of them were faithful supporters of CIDOC and Illich. Moreover, several texts of Dom Hélder Câmara and Sergio Mendez Arceo were published in CIDOC volumes.¹⁵ In addition, I will include Paul Goodman, a key thinker of the 1960s who, while in Berkeley, evolved into a guru of the youth movement. Any thorough analysis of this sort would require inclusion of the aforementioned subjects.

¹⁴ Hartmut von Hentig (1973) *Die Wiederherstellung der Politik. Cuernavaca revisited*. Klett: Stuttgart.

¹⁵ Compare CIDOC *Catálogo de Publicaciones 1973*. Cuernavaca (= Cuaderno 1018).

State of Art

The information and data that I work with comes from numerous sources. More precisely, names of potential network actors were obtained from three main types of literature.

The first biography of Ivan Illich¹⁶ was my key source in terms of information regarding CIDOC's participants. Although it has a declared focus on post-CIDOC networks in Austria and Germany, some chapters proved to be particularly useful for my work.¹⁷

I also consulted books of Illich's colleagues and contemporaries. Among them I highly valued the well-chosen collection of essays in "The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection."¹⁸ To determine significant actors, I used texts from Illich's colleagues and friends. Writings of former scholars at CIDOC would provide insight into CIDOC's network.¹⁹

I also found texts published by Ivan Illich during the early 1960s to the mid-1970s to be valuable resources. Acknowledgements and prefaces in his books often mentioned colleagues and friends with whom he worked and discussed ideas.²⁰ These acquaintances were often made or deepened during a joint stay at CIDOC. Interviews with Ivan Illich often were illuminative for my research purposes. Among these valued resources were David Cayley's books "Ivan Illich in Conversation"²¹ and "The Rivers North of the Future",²² which very well capture the man and his ideas.

¹⁶ Martina Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich (1926-2002). Sein Leben, sein Denken. Portraits Band 1. Bibliothek der Provinz: Weitra.

¹⁷ I am first and foremost referring to chapter 2.2 and chapter 2.6.

¹⁸ Lee Hoinacki / Carl Mitcham (eds) (2002) The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection. State University of New York Press: New York.

¹⁹ For example Francine Plessix Gray (1970) Divine Disobedience. Profiles in Catholic Radicalism. Alfred A. Knopf: New York or Hartmut von Hentig (1973) Die Wiederherstellung der Politik. Cuernavaca revisited. Klett/Kösel: München, but also Joseph Fitzpatrick's book, which is both autobiography and a collection of his articles, papers, and talks. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J. (1996) The Stranger Is Our Own. Reflections on the Journey of Puerto Rican Migrants. Sheed & Ward: Kansas City.

²⁰ Ivan Illich's "Medical Nemesis" (1976) is less relevant as it remains questionable whether cooperation among the contributors mentioned in "Acknowledgements" effectively occurred. In contrast, prefaces of the following books were instructive:

Ivan Illich (1971) Deschooling Society. Harper & Row: New York; Id. (1973) Tools for Conviviality. Calder & Boyars: London; Id. (1975) Medical Nemesis. Calder & Boyars: London.

²¹ David Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich In Conversation. Anansi Press: Toronto.

²² David Cayley (2005) The Rivers North of the Future. The Testament of Ivan Illich as told to David Cayley. Anansi: Ontario.

Presentation of the SNA Charts

Ivan Illich is the main actor in this ego-centric network and as such resides in the center of the SNA charts. For every other name in the chart, there is concrete evidence that he/she visited and participated at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. As CIDOC's founder and due to his steady presence at the center, Illich collaborated with all displayed network actors. Each tie that connects the grey dot (Ivan Illich) with a name is founded on at least one reference which confirms their collaboration at CIDOC. The four different colors indicate the person's relation to Illich; institutional relations are in brown, temporally restricted contacts are in red, the "Illichista" (life-long followers) are in orange and special acquaintances are in yellow.

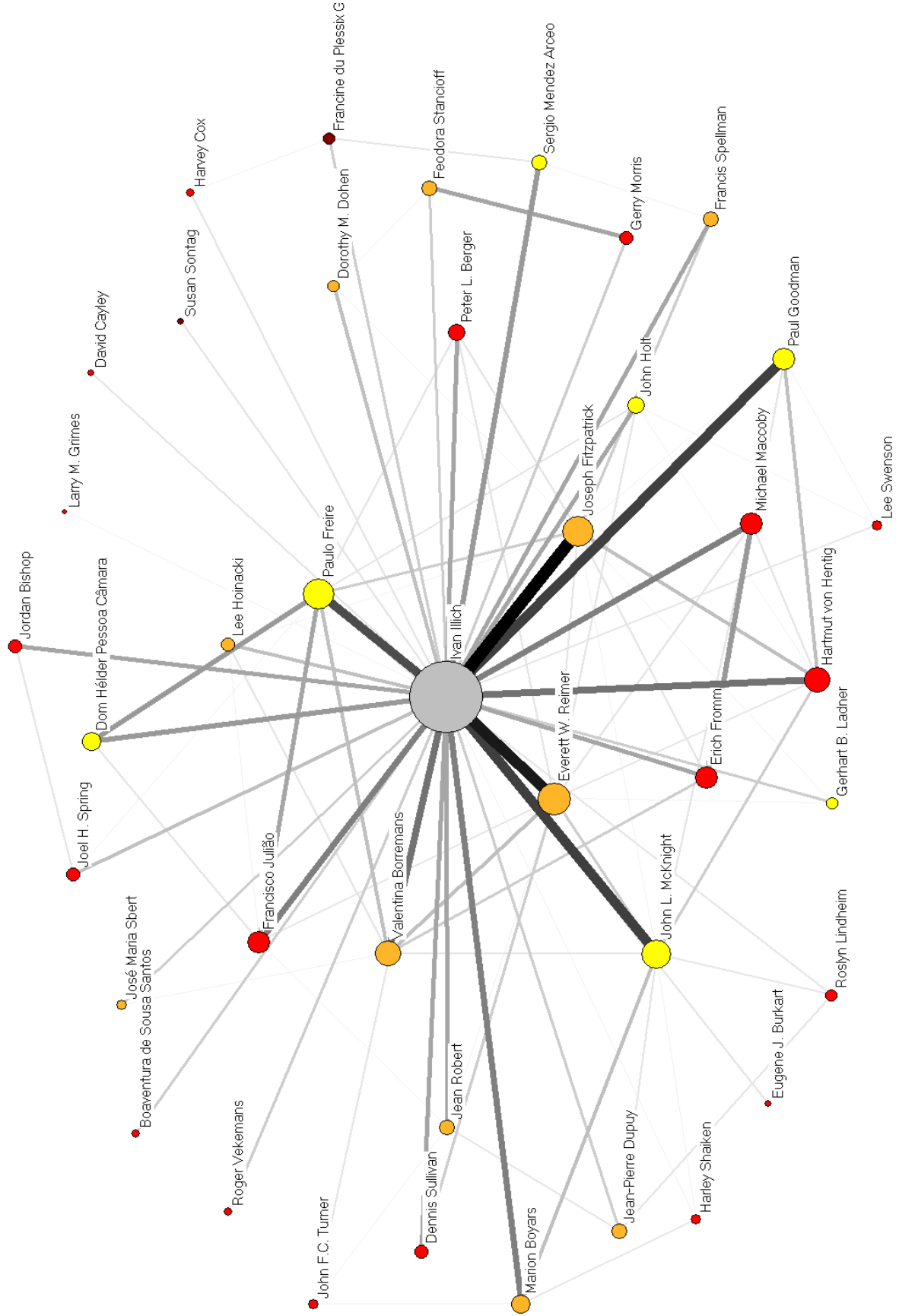
The two SNA charts reflect my two different theoretical approaches towards Illich's social network: The first chart, "Quantity of Scientific Cooperation", displays the strength of scientific cooperation among network actors. I determined this strength by considering the number of references obtained during my literature search which mention collaboration between two actors. The thicker the line between two dots, the more references, and, consequently, a greater amount of scientific cooperation was established. The weaker the tie, the less detectable cooperation occurred. If there is no tie at all, there was no relation detectable at all.

The second chart, "Mutual Acquaintances", displays important actors in the network, not according to quantitative findings, but rather on whether a tie between two actors was established. Again, in this chart, it is not related to the amount of ties with another person, but rather if a tie was established at all. The more ties a person could establish, the larger, and as a consequence, more important he/she is within the network. Numerous mutual friends have a stabilizing effect on an acquaintance. The less significant an actor is, the smaller the dot.

Whether a person belongs to Illich's main or extended circle of colleagues at CIDOC depends on his/her position within the social network. Both SNA charts present similar results. The overall structure of this thesis is dependent on the number of mutual acquaintances. A person with nine or more established ties will be considered to be in Illich's main circle of colleagues (Everett Reimer, Joseph Fitzpatrick and John L. McKnight). Eight ties or fewer and they will classify as someone in Illich's extended circle of colleagues.

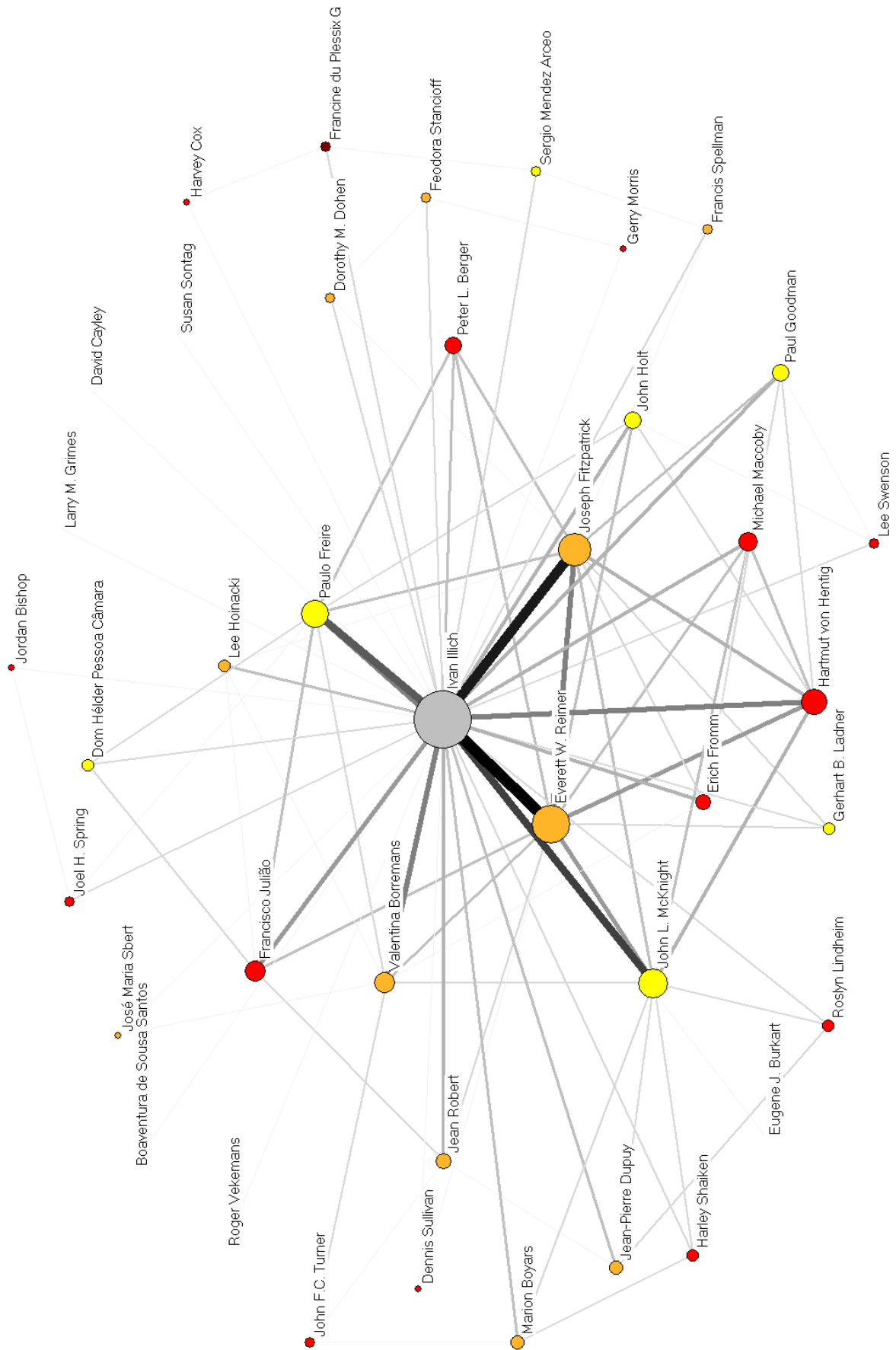
SNA Chart No. 1: Quantity of Scientific Cooperation

(by FAS.research Vienna September 2009)



SNA Chart No. 2: Mutual Acquaintances

(by FAS.research Vienna September 2009)



1 MAIN CIRCLE OF ILLICH'S COLLEAGUES AT CIDOC

The main circle of Illich's colleagues at CIDOC comprises three US-Americans. John L. McKnight and Everett Reimer both had close (but temporary) relationships with Illich, whereas Joseph Fitzpatrick resides among Illich's most significant acquaintances and lifelong friends.

Interestingly, all three shared a distinct, though often interconnected field of interest with Illich. To counter the destructive impact of most aid to Third World countries, Illich depended on sociologist Fitzpatrick. On the subject of the discourse of school bureaucracy, Illich would rely on frustrated bureaucrat Reimer, who would prove to be a loyal colleague. Illich would then join John L. McKnight to question the general necessity of such institutions themselves.

The three scholars owe part of their prominent status to their frequent participation at CIDOC and they would act as intermediaries bringing new scholars to the center. Hence, they were not only of great importance to Illich, but they also exerted great influence towards the development of CIDOC.

In having Fitzpatrick, Reimer and McKnight so closely affiliated to the center, Ivan Illich warded off CIDOC's reputation as residence of political activism. In aligning himself with renowned scholars, he aimed to fulfil the center's self-imposed mission to be "*a setting for understanding the implications of social revolution, not an instrument for promoting particular theories of social action.*"²³ More precisely, Illich considered CIDOC as "*a free club for the search of surprise, a place where people go who want to have help in redefining their questions rather than completing the answers they have gotten.*"²⁴

²³ CIDOC Catálogo de Publicaciones 1973. Cuernavaca (= Cuaderno 1018), 0/6.

²⁴ L. Glenn Smith / Joan K. Smith (1994) *Lives in Education. A narrative of people and ideas.* St. Martin's Press: New York, 435.

1.1 Key Personality Everett W. Reimer

1.1.1 Portrait of Everett W. Reimer (1910-1998)²⁵

“Home schooling” movement theorist and activist Everett Reimer is a significant figure among radical educational critics in the early 1970s. He authored a number of books on educational policy and was a proponent of the controversial movement to “deschool” modern society, which means the disestablishment of public school systems and the development of educational alternatives.

Reimer maintained a long career as a professional bureaucrat, university researcher and expert on national economic, social and educational planning. He then worked as consultant in Puerto Rico and John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress-program. His analysis during the period 1957-1968, initially aimed at universalizing and democratizing public schools, eventually led to the conclusion that schools are educationally inefficient. Even worse, they were responsible for retaining differences in privilege and power between nations and classes. Reimer, who still backed the US-American traditional educational goals such as equality of opportunity, was regularly disappointed.

Reimer’s most popular book, “School is Dead: Alternatives in Education”, reflects both his radical nature and his closeness to the 1967/1968 student unrests. To this day, Reimer’s work remains a touchstone in academic criticism of the American school system.

1.1.2 Reimer – Illich: In Search of Educational Alternatives

Illich met Reimer in 1956, during his assignment as vice-rector at the Catholic University of Puerto Rico. More than fifteen years older than Illich, Reimer held the office of chairman of the Human Resources Planning Commission for Puerto Rico and the Alliance for Progress. In 1968, CIDOC Cuadernos contained papers Reimer

²⁵ Compare Charles Jeffrey Mitchiner (1981) From frustrated bureaucrat to radical critic: Everett Reimer’s case against public schooling. PhD: Georgia State University.

wrote between 1957 and 1958.²⁶ Three years later, CIDOC published in Cuadernos another text of Reimer.²⁷

In the foreword of Illich's critical discourse on education "Deschooling society" (1971), he credits Reimer for sparking his interest in public schooling:

I owe my interest in public education to Everett Reimer. Until we first met in Puerto Rico in 1958, I had never questioned the value of extending obligatory schooling to all people. Together we have come to realize that for most men the right to learn is curtailed by the obligation to attend school.²⁸

Reimer and Illich had a productive intellectual relationship on the subject of public education criticism; their relationship was encouraged by dialogue but was not overly interdependent. An Illich interview reveals that Reimer lectured until August 1969 at least six times at CIDOC.²⁹ By 1968, Illich and Reimer declared that schooling was "*a craze, a mad religion, an initiation rite to power which is inaccessible to 95 percent of humanity, but which is being preached to them as their only way to salvation.*"³⁰ According to them, problems with schooling were a worldwide phenomenon. Thus, they agreed to seek disestablishment of public schools and the development of educational alternatives. Alongside John Holt and Ivan Illich, Reimer is considered as radical advocate of the "deschooling"-position. The origins of today's homeschooling movement can be traced back to these figures.

Like John L. McKnight, Everett Reimer was an essential acquaintance for Illich's examination of the necessity of certain institutions. Illich collaborated closely with both Reimer and McKnight, who were both established university graduates. They conveyed a reputation that Illich desired for CIDOC: an intellectually charged environment which would provide the suitable setting to challenge and even disrupt previously unquestioned assumptions and paradigms.

²⁶ Everett W. Reimer (1968) Social Planning Collected Papers 1957-68. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 22).

²⁷ Everett W. Reimer (1971) An Essay on Alternatives in Education. Second Edition, Revised and Amplified. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 58).

²⁸ Illich (1971) Deschooling Society, vii.

²⁹ Compare Wayne H. Cowan (1969) An Interview with Ivan Illich. Seeking the Relationship Between Development and Social Imagination. In: Christianity and Crisis. A Christian Journal of Opinion 29 (February 3, 1969) 1, 219.

³⁰ Smith / Smith (1994) Lives in Education, 436.

1.1.3 Reimer's twelve ties within CIDOC: Berger, Borremans, Fitzpatrick, Freire, Holt, Julião, Ladner, Maccoby, McKnight, Robert, Sullivan, von Hentig

In 1968, Illich began meeting with Everett Reimer regularly at CIDOC in Mexico.³¹ Reimer's high profile was founded on his close friendship with Illich and his periodic presence in Cuernavaca. It should come as no surprise that there is evidence for Reimer's scientific cooperation with numerous CIDOC-intellectuals.

Among them was Dennis Sullivan who linked groups of seminar attendees with CIDOC's administration. He also supported Illich in editing his books and served as secretary in Reimer's and Illich's conversations on the usefulness of schooling and education.³²

As a regular visitor in Cuernavaca, Reimer also got acquainted with Belgian librarian Valentina Borremans who acted as CIDOC's head of administration. Borremans joined their conversations and Illich credited her in "Deschooling Society" for evoking in him the opinion that the ethos of society should be "*deschooled*".³³ As rigorous administrative director and head of CIDOC's library, Borremans worked throughout years in close collaboration with Illich and enjoyed his full trust.

Paulo Freire is often considered as Reimer's and Illich's ally in the deschooling movement. Having left Brazil with the help of Illich, Freire spent two summers at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. Freire contributed with Reimer and other CIDOC colleagues to Illich's "Deschooling Society".³⁴ The book's foreword reveals that numerous scholars gave feedback and constructive remarks on distinct parts of the large work, among them Paulo Freire, Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Holt, Peter L. Berger and Gerhart Ladner. The reference not only provides a clear timeframe for the scientific cooperation, but also lists scholars that collaborated and discussed the issue.

On Wednesday mornings, during the spring and summer of 1970, I submitted the various parts of this book to the participants in our CIDOC programs in Cuernavaca. Dozens of them made suggestions or provided criticisms. Many will recognize their ideas in these pages, especially Paulo Freire,

³¹ Compare Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, vii.

³² Compare Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

³³ Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, vii.

³⁴ Compare Richard Kahn / Douglas Kellner (2007) Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich: technology, politics and the reconstruction of education. In: *Policy Futures in Education* 5 (2007) 4, 432.

Peter Berger, and José Maria Bulnes, as well as Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Holt, Angel Quintero, Layman Allen, Fred Goodman, Gerhard [sic!] Ladner, Didier Piveteau, Joel Spring, [...] and Dennis Sullivan.³⁵

It is thus quite reasonable to assume that they knew each other and were all acquainted at some point. At CIDOC Reimer also met educational philosopher Hartmut von Hentig.³⁶

Thanks to a statement of Austrian social-anthropologist and journalist Leo Gabriel, it is also possible to link up Everett Reimer with Brazilian peasant leader Francisco Julião and Swiss architect Jean Robert. Gabriel, who was present during 1968's student unrests in Paris, joined CIDOC after having earned his PhD. In a conversation, Gabriel refers to himself as well as the participants of his CIDOC-working group – in general terms as “un ciclo” – in 1970 as “*alle irgendwie Aussteiger*”³⁷ (they were all dropouts, of a sort). Among his colleagues in the “ciclo” were Paulo Freire and Francisco Julião. At CIDOC in 1970 Gabriel also recalls the presence of Everett Reimer, Jean Robert, Valentina Borremans, and Dennis Sullivan.³⁸ All four were, in a certain way, close to Illich and their steady presence contributed to the center's reputation. In summer 1972, participants of Illich's seminar provided assistance and valuable input submitting papers which would help him add to the draft of “Tools for Conviviality”. Among the participants were Michael Maccoby and John L. McKnight, who were both around 30 years old at the time. Through acknowledging the help of friends and colleagues in numerous texts, Illich also reveals how he authored them: After drafting the initial version of his texts, he would pass them on to his friends for critical examinations. Using their suggestions and input he would then revise and tweak them into a final draft.

³⁵ Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

³⁶ von Hentig (2007) *Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht*. Volume 1, 310.

³⁷ Kaller-Dietrich (2008) *Ivan Illich*, 130.

³⁸ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) *Ivan Illich*, 130.

1.2 Key Personality Joseph Fitzpatrick

1.2.1 Portrait of Joseph P. Fitzpatrick (1913-1995)³⁹

Jesuit sociologist Joseph Patrick Fitzpatrick (1913-1995) was an early voice in the call for the American Catholic church to find ways for dealing with challenge of an increasing Hispanic population. An expert on Latin American and Puerto Rican immigration, Fitzpatrick's long-time contribution to Fordham University's sociology department helped to elevate the university's reputation.

New Jersey-born Fitzpatrick entered the Society of Jesus in 1930. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1943, he obtained a doctorate in sociology from Harvard University. In 1949 he returned to Fordham University, the institution from which he had previously earned a masters degree, to join its department of sociology. His arrival coincided with the first wave of Puerto Ricans to New York City after World War II, an issue he would soon focus on.

Fitzpatrick became renowned for his migration studies, which would attract other students and scholars to Fordham and help establish one of the US's leading Catholic faculties. His call for tolerance, respect and brotherhood towards the Puerto Rican newcomers was both personal and pastoral. As advisor to three archbishops in New York, Fitzpatrick exerted wide influence on the Hispanic ministry of the New York Archdiocese. Under his sponsorship and in close collaboration with Illich the first Fiesta de San Juan Bautista, a mass for the Puerto Rican patron saint, took place on the Fordham Bronx campus in 1956. Throughout his life Fitzpatrick remained identified with the Puerto Rican community in New York City. He was active in numerous Puerto Rican organizations and played a decisive role in helping the people of New York City understand the new immigrants to the city.

United through the Puerto Rican concern, Fitzpatrick also regularly collaborated with long-time friend Illich at CIDOC. Fitzpatrick spent more than ten

³⁹ Compare The American Catholic Who's Who. Volume 23, 1980-1981. Edited by Joy Anderson. National Catholic News Service: Washington, DC, 254.

Joseph A. O Hare (1995) Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J.: 1913-95. In: America 172 (April 8, 1995) 12, 6-8. Lawrence Van Gelder (1995) Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, 82, Dies; Fordham Expert on Migration. In: The New York Times Biographical Service. A Compilation of Current Biographical Information of General Interest 26 (March 17, 1995) 3, 412.

James Kelly (1995) Joseph P. Fitzpatrick. In: Sociology of Religion 56 (Winter 1995) 4, 445.

Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Authors and Their Works (1976) Edited by Clare D. Kinsman Volumes 17-20, first revision. Gale Research: Detroit, 244.

summers in Cuernavaca and was associated with Fordham for 46 years. In 1959, Fitzpatrick founded Fordham's independent department of sociology and anthropology where he would become chairman until 1964. Author and editor of eight books and many articles, Fitzpatrick was a tireless advocate for priority of justice and respect for other cultures and people.

1.2.2 Fitzpatrick – Illich: Significant, Long-standing Cooperation

Joseph Fitzpatrick and Ivan Illich first met in spring 1953 in New York, immediately after the latter returned from his first trip from Puerto Rico. At that time Fitzpatrick was leading the social science department at Fordham University and had already studied about and travelled in Puerto Rico. Remembering Illich, Fitzpatrick remarked that *“his friendship has been one of the great blessings of my spiritual and religious life as well as of my professional career.”*⁴⁰ Thirteen years younger than Fitzpatrick, Illich referred to his friend as his teacher.⁴¹ Probably in modesty, Fitzpatrick stresses their tight, fruitful cooperation and the massive impact they had on each other:

Many of the ideas of culture and cultural differences, intercultural understanding, and communication that are characteristic of my writings, also appear in his. I never knew whether he got the ideas from me, or whether I got them from him, or whether both of us got them elsewhere.⁴²

In addition to Fitzpatrick's and Illich's common focus on cultural issues and Puerto Rican migration, they were also closely conjoined by institutional bonds, as CIDOC stood until 1976 under the aegis of Fordham University in New York. Yearbooks of Fordham's graduate programs provide evidence of these tight

⁴⁰ Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J. (2002) Ivan Illich as We Knew Him in the 1950s. In: Lee Hoinacki / Carl Mitcham (eds) *The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection*. State University of New York Press: New York, 35.

⁴¹ Compare Fitzpatrick, S.J. (2002) Ivan Illich as We Knew Him in the 1950s, 36.

⁴² Fitzpatrick, S.J. (2002) Ivan Illich as We Knew Him in the 1950s, 36.

institutional ties.⁴³ This cooperation was decisively backed and facilitated by the Cardinal of the Archdiocese New York, Francis Spellman, a high-ranking diplomat and church dignitary. A graduate from Fordham University himself, Cardinal Spellman was Illich's benevolent supervisor and Fitzpatrick's energetic principal supporter when it came to the subject of Puerto Rican newcomers.⁴⁴ Endued with a wide range of abilities, this mighty team founded in fruitful cooperation the basis of New York City's plan to counteract the social marginalization of Puerto Ricans. Throughout his life, Spellman remained a faithful and powerful protector of Illich.

Fitzpatrick's encouragement and influence on Illich during the 1960s to 1970s (i.e. the timeframe of my analysis) was invaluable. In 1957 Illich established, with Spellman's approval, the Institute of Intercultural Communication in Ponce, Puerto Rico. Even at that early date, Fitzpatrick was actively supporting his friend's endeavours. Bringing up "Joe" in an interview, Illich states that "[t]he two of us became very close friends."⁴⁵ For at least ten summers Fitzpatrick taught at the center.⁴⁶ His consistent presence not only cemented their friendship but also considerably contributed to the center's development.

With his professorship at Fordham University and steady participation at CIDOC, Fitzpatrick is considered as one of the most crucial acquaintances during Illich's life at CIDOC.

1.2.3 Fitzpatrick's eleven ties within CIDOC: Berger, Dohen, Freire, Fromm, Goodman, Hoinacki, Ladner, McKnight, Reimer: see above, Spellman, von Hentig

As a long-time, reliable participant at CIDOC, Joseph Fitzpatrick also plays a key role within the social network. He knew and collaborated with numerous other scholars and thus occupies a central position in the network. Apart from Illich, my

⁴³ E.g.: "Comparative Institutions: Latin America (3) Fitzpatrick. Intensive study of marginal populations of Latin America in contrast to marginal populations of the U.S.A. In collaboration with Ivan Illich, Center of Intercultural Documentation, Cuernavaca, Mexico." Fordham University (1975) The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Bulletin for 1975-1976, 11 (April 1975) 4, 90.

⁴⁴ Compare Fitzpatrick, S.J. (1996) *The Stranger is Our Own*, 15-16.

⁴⁵ Cayley (1992) *Ivan Illich In Conversation*, 87.

⁴⁶ Kenneth Westhues: *Joseph P. Fitzpatrick: God's Spoiled Child*. Internet: <http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/~kwesthue/fitzpatrick.htm> (March 14, 2009)

analysis unearthed twelve ties Fitzpatrick established from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s at CIDOC.

His student at Fordham and then colleague in the sociology department, laywoman Dorothy Dohen (1923-1984) was introduced to Fitzpatrick by Illich “*and thus began a three-way friendship.*”⁴⁷ Interestingly, Dohen was initially introduced to Illich by CIDOC co-founder and scion of an influential diplomat’s family, Feodora Stancioff.⁴⁸ Among the creators of the lay Catholic movements of the post-World War II period of the Catholic Church in the US, Dorothy Dohen was editor of “Integrity”, a monthly journal founded by lay members of the Roman Catholic Church aimed at evolving the spirituality of the laity.⁴⁹ Fitzpatrick characterized their friendship as “*source of unusual spiritual insight and grace*”,⁵⁰ which was marked by scientific cooperation; Dohen published Fitzpatrick’s first important article on Puerto Rican migration in July 1955 in “Integrity”, and under his guidance later became a graduate student and sociology professor at Fordham.

As Kenneth Westhues outlines in an obituary, it was the institutional setting of CIDOC that enabled Fitzpatrick to get in touch and collaborate with scholars such as German psychoanalyst Erich Fromm and Brazilian educator Paulo Freire: “*Fitzpatrick taught there every summer for at least ten years, alongside Erich Fromm, Everett Reimer, Paolo [sic!] Freire and Paul Goodman.*”⁵¹ Paulo Freire, who during the 1960s established precious ties in Cuernavaca for his later professional career, was for the first time brought to New York for a week through the efforts of Joseph Fitzpatrick.⁵²

The approval and support of Cardinal Spellman was a driving force for Fitzpatrick’s work on the Puerto Rican issue. At the same time, Fitzpatrick acted as Spellman’s advisor, which helped put a focus on the newcomers of the Hispanic ministry of the New York Archdiocese. In any case, Cardinal Spellman provided the

⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, S.J. (2002) Ivan Illich as We Knew Him in the 1950s, 38.

⁴⁸ Lee Hoinacki mentioned this acquaintance in an interview on September 25, 2008 with Martina Kaller-Dietrich who was friendly enough to make her transcript available to me.

⁴⁹ Compare Joseph P. Fitzpatrick (1984) A Lay Apostle. Reflection of an Era. In: *Commonweal* 111 (June 1, 1984), 325-327.

⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick, S.J. (1996) *The Stranger is Our Own*, 23.

⁵¹ Westhues: Joseph P. Fitzpatrick: God’s Spoiled Child, Internet.

⁵² Compare Fitzpatrick, S.J. (1996) *The Stranger is Our Own*, 132.

framework under which Fitzpatrick could occupy himself reasonably and successfully with the Spanish population, and in particular the Puerto Rican community of New York.

Fitzpatrick knew then-Dominican Lee Hoinacki before the latter became a lifelong friend and follower of Illich. Not initially attracted by Illich but rather his school in Puerto Rico, Hoinacki was told of the young, charismatic Monsignor by Joseph Fitzpatrick.⁵³ Unfortunately, it remains unclear where Fitzpatrick and Hoinacki initially met.

On the basis of Illich's acknowledgements in "Tools for Conviviality", it is possible to reconstruct additional ties Fitzpatrick sustained during his participation at CIDOC. Illich mentions by name participants of his seminar in summer 1972. Among them is Joseph Fitzpatrick, but also Hartmut von Hentig, John L. McKnight and Everett Reimer.⁵⁴ This source not only indicates that these men were at the same time at CIDOC in Cuernavaca, but also that they attended the same seminar and thus undoubtedly became acquainted. According to Illich's foreword in "Deschooling Society",⁵⁵ Joseph Fitzpatrick took part in CIDOC's spring and summer 1970-program, along with Austrian medieval historian Gerhart Ladner and Vienna-born sociologist Peter L. Berger. These scholars would also cross paths in Cuernavaca.

1.3 Key Personality John L. McKnight

1.3.1 Portrait of John L. McKnight (1931-present)⁵⁶

Social activist and Northwestern-University professor John McKnight has been active in the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in Chicago in the 1960s. Long-time loyal disciple of socialist agitator Saul Alinsky, McKnight recently retired from his professorship in Communications Studies and Urban Affairs at Northwestern University in Chicago, Illinois.

⁵³ This was mentioned by Lee Hoinacki in an interview on September 25, 2008 with Martina Kaller-Dietrich who was friendly enough to make her transcript available to me.

⁵⁴ Compare Illich (1973) *Tools for Conviviality*, vii.

⁵⁵ Compare Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

⁵⁶ Compare Internet: <http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/people/mcknight.html> (February 13, 2009)
Internet: <http://www.worldnetdaily.com/index.php?fa=PAGE.view&pageId=76170> (February 13, 2009)
Uwe Pörksen (1989) *Polymorphe. Ein mexikanisches Tagebuch*. Ernst Klett Verlag: Stuttgart, 37.

McKnight was a devoted student of Saul David Alinsky who is considered to be a pioneer in modern community organizing in the US.⁵⁷ In 1960s-Chicago, McKnight engaged in civil rights efforts and was responsible for executing governmental affirmative-action programs for then-US-Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Devoted teacher of Alinsky's radical tactics, in the early 1980s McKnight helped to train them to then-college graduate Barack Obama. Prior to earning his Law Degree at Harvard, the 44th US-President took up a consultancy with the Chicago-based community organizing institute Gamaliel.⁵⁸

Today, McKnight is board director of the Gamaliel Foundation, a network of grassroots organizations dedicated to bringing about social change. In 1969 he joined the Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research, where he conducted research on social science delivery systems, health policy, neighborhood policy, institutional racism, and community organizations. In addition to his professorship in education and social policy, McKnight sits on board of numerous community organizations. He is also co-director of the Asset-Based Community Development Institute in Evanston, Illinois.

McKnight is internationally recognized for his texts on social work. His major themes include the negative influence of social services and other organizations on people. "Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets" (1993) is his most successful book.

1.3.2 McKnight – Illich: Collective Contemplations on the Purpose of Institutions

John McKnight met Ivan Illich in the late 1960s at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. In periodic conversations over the years, they would reflect on issues that strongly influenced their work. Such issues included the nature and purpose of institutionalization, and effects of an institutionalized society on its inhabitants.

⁵⁷ This political practice with a clear set of rules is aimed at arranging communities to act in common self-interest.

⁵⁸ Compare Internet: <http://www.wnd.com/index.php?fa=PAGE.view&pageId=76170> (February 13, 2009)

Social commentator McKnight refers to America as a “serviced society”⁵⁹, meaning that the development of a new service industry leads to a spread in dependency. Modern services adopt and relocate our bodies and lives from birth to death; life is rarely “convivial” (in Illich’s and McKnight’s preferred language).

McKnight and Illich perceived contemporary incapacitation as a result of the professional services rendering themselves on society. Their steady exchange in ideas can be traced back to texts such as Illich’s “Tools for Conviviality” (1973) or “Medical Nemesis” (1975), in which he acknowledges McKnight’s contribution to his thinking on medical institutions. Their collaboration is also reflected in the anthology “Disabling Professions” (1977). Despite being close colleagues, McKnight and Illich only worked together for a limited period.

1.3.3 McKnight’s nine ties within CIDOC: Borremans, Boyars, Dupuy, Fitzpatrick: see above, Lindheim, Maccoby, Reimer: see above, Shaiken, von Hentig

John McKnight’s central position within the network is mainly based on his scientific cooperation with numerous CIDOC colleagues. This can be substantiated by consulting his publications.

The anthology “Disabling Professions”, which includes texts by Ivan Illich, Harley Shaiken and John L. McKnight, was published by Marion Boyar’s first publishing firm, “Calder & Boyars Ltd.”⁶⁰ US-citizen Marion Boyars was a long-time publisher and a close friend of Illich, and took part in at least one meeting in Cuernavaca.⁶¹ By virtue of being his publisher, it is reasonable to assume that she had made McKnight’s acquaintance. Co-author Harley Shaiken was a young scientist in his early 30s who participated in a CIDOC seminar. He contributed to the book entitled “Disabling Professions”, the product of a CIDOC class. Shaiken is currently

⁵⁹ John McKnight (1995) *The careless society: community and its counterfeits*. Basic Books: New York.

⁶⁰ Compare Sarah Lyall (1999) Marion Boyars, Publisher Of Eclectic Books, Dies at 71. In: *The New York Times Biographical Service. A Compilation of Current Biographical Information of General Interest* 30 (February 4, 1999) 2, 213.

⁶¹ Compare Marion Boyars (2002) *The Adventure of Publishing Ivan Illich*. In: *The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection*. State University of New York Press: New York, 43.

professor of education and geography, and director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

In the preface of Illich's renowned text "Medical Nemesis", he links John L. McKnight with Roslyn Lindheim, professor of architecture at U.C. Berkeley, and Jean-Pierre Dupuy, professor of social and political philosophy at the École Polytechnique, Paris and researcher at Stanford University.⁶² As Illich outlines in his book, their views were "*shaped over several years in periodic conversations*".⁶³ This steady exchange of ideas influenced "Medical Nemesis" – Illich's compelling challenge to medical institutions – and led to independent texts in which they further elaborated on the issue, such as McKnight's "The Medicalization of Politics" or Dupuy's "La trahison de l'opulence". Also Valentina Borremans contributed to "Medical Nemesis".

"Tools for Conviviality" documents McKnight's involvement in CIDOC activities. Published in 1973 by Calder & Boyars, the book mentions seminar attendees of an Illich-class during summer of 1972. In "Acknowledgements", Illich emphasizes the valued assistance of German educator Hartmut von Hentig, psychoanalyst and anthropologist Michael Maccoby, and education sceptic Everett Reimer: It can thus be established that they were not only at CIDOC simultaneously, but that they attended the same seminar and discussed the same issues.

⁶² Compare Internet: <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/fren-ital/cgi-bin/?q=node/25> (June 7, 2009)

⁶³ Illich (1975) Medical Nemesis, 9.

2 EXTENDED CIRCLE OF ILLICH'S COLLEAGUES AT CIDOC

Illich's extended circle of colleagues at CIDOC comprises five people – four men and one woman. The center's interdisciplinary approach was likely influenced by the international atmosphere: educator Paulo Freire and peasant leader Francisco Julião originated from Brazil. Pedagogue Hartmut von Hentig and librarian Valentina Borremans stemmed from Europe and Paul Goodman from the United States.

Of these five people, Paulo Freire and Paul Goodman were of special importance to Illich and, as a consequence, CIDOC. Their views on schooling and their search for educational alternatives were stepping stones for Illich's mediation and the center's development. They can be considered among Illich's most valued acquaintances, existing at the center of his main circle of colleagues and behind only John L. McKnight in overall importance. Throughout CIDOC's existence, Valentina Borremans was the guiding administrative hand, and as such she became interested in the topics Illich worked on. Until his passing, she would remain a loyal friend and supporter, a so-called "Illichista". Hartmut von Hentig and Francisco Julião engaged only for a limited period of time at CIDOC. Both of them established numerous ties within the network, however, their presence was temporally restricted.

2.1 Paulo Freire

2.1.1 Portrait of Paulo Freire (1921-1997)⁶⁴

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator and social justice activist who developed literacy programs throughout the world. He is one of the most widely read educational philosophers and was among the most popular members of Illich's circle of friends. His first book outside of Brazil was edited and published in Cuernavaca.

Paulo Freire was born and raised on the north eastern coast of Brazil, in the port city Recife, capital of Pernambuco. Child to a middle-class family which was stricken hard by the Depression, Freire entered Recife University, preparing to become a teacher of Portuguese. He taught at the University of Recife and as adult educator in the diocese of Dom Hélder Pessoa Câmara, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, and was thus influenced by liberation theology.

Freire specialised in the planning and implementation of literacy programmes. According to his theory of "conscientization", education is based on dialogue, and key words of literacy programs had to be related to the workers' daily experience. Freire was committed to the idea that there was a link between people's illiteracy and their lack of consciousness of their oppression. After successful literary efforts in his native state, Freire gained institutional support after the left-wing president Goulart's

⁶⁴ Compare John Elias (1998) Freire, Paulo. In: Latin American Lives. Selected Biographies from the five-volume Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture. MacMillan: New York, 392.

Sue Branford (1997) Obituary Paulo Freire. Word power to the poor. In: The Guardian (May 10, 1997), 019.

Without Name (1997) Literacy pioneer Paulo Freire dies. In: The Christian Century 114 (June 4-11, 1997) 18, 555.

Gary MacEoin (1997) Paulo Freire shared dreams of the poor. In: National Catholic Reporter 33 (June 20, 1997) 32, 2.

American Decades 1970-1979 (2001) Edited by Victor Bondi. Gale Research: Detroit, 128-132.

Encyclopedia of World Biography (1998) Second edition, Volume 6. Gale: Detroit, 95-96.

The Reader's Adviser (1994) 14th edition, Volume 3: The Best in Social Sciences, History, and the Arts. R.R. Bowker: New Providence, 261-262.

Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields (1991) Volume 132. Edited by Susan M. Trosky. Gale Research: Detroit, 129-130.

John Button (1995) The Radicalism Handbook. Radical Activists, Groups and Movements of the Twentieth Century. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 158-159.

Eric Pace (1997) Paulo Freire, 75, Is Dead; Educator of the Poor in Brazil. In: The New York Times Biographical Service. A Compilation of Current Biographical Information of General Interest 28 (May 6, 1997) 5, 729.

election. He was placed in charge of the national literacy campaign, which enabled him to send literacy teams across the country. Under Brazil's constitution, illiterates were not allowed to vote. Once literate, adults would automatically earn the right to vote, which explains the political significance of Freire's program. Reading and writing was, in a very literal sense, a means of political empowerment for the poor. His program would produce both literates and politically aware individuals.

By the mid-1960s versions of his method were being used in literacy campaigns across Latin America; later they would spread to Africa. However, before its full implementation in Brazil, in April 1965, a right-wing military coup would overthrow the government. The new regime banned his method. Unable to escape the country in time, Freire was jailed for preaching communism.

After 16 years of exile in Bolivia, Chile and Switzerland, Freire returned 1979 under political amnesty to Brazil. He became secretary of education in Sao Paulo and was one of the founder members of the leftwing Workers' Party. Freire wrote 25 books which were translated into 35 languages, among them his best-known work "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1970) which received international acclaim.

2.1.2 Freire – Illich: Close Friends with Separate Interests

In the early 1960s, Dom Hélder Câmara had invited Ivan Illich to Brazil, where he first met Paulo Freire. "*We hit it off immediately and became good friends*"⁶⁵, Illich recalls in an interview in the early 1990s. "*Our friendship has remained tender and completely untouched.*"⁶⁶ It was with the help of Illich that Freire was freed from military police jail in 1964 and shortly thereafter showed up at CIDOC where Illich would host him for two summers.⁶⁷ During that time their brainstorming on education would result in numerous texts.⁶⁸ In 1968 CIDOC Cuadernos published an anthology⁶⁹ and in 1974 four articles on the educational system⁷⁰ by Freire.

⁶⁵ Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich in Conversation, 205.

⁶⁶ Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich in Conversation, 206.

⁶⁷ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2007) Ivan Illich, 110.

⁶⁸ Among them the anthology "Education for social change": Paulo Freire / Ivan Illich / Pierre Furter (1974) Educación para el cambio social. Tierra Nueva: Buenos Aires.

⁶⁹ Paulo Freire / Raúl Veloso / José Luis Fiori (1968) Educação e Conscientização Extensionismo Rural. Introducción de Ernani Maria Fiori. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 25).

In the early 1970s, Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1972) and Illich's "Deschooling Society" (1970) became best-sellers, turning the authors into spokespersons for a generation of scholars who sought to revolutionize university life post-May 1968. But despite being close friends, colleagues and political allies, their collaboration eventually ended, possibly due to diverging views on ideological issues such as the overall necessity of schooling and Freire's relation to the World Council of Churches, but also due to geographic distance: in 1970 Freire moved to Geneva, Switzerland. Apart from rare occasions such as a seminar in Geneva in 1974, their dialogue on and prescriptions for education in the modern world was put to a halt. They were two prophets in education but were nevertheless pursuing separate intellectual paths.

A few years after their passing, it is fair to say that Freire's theories were particularly favored by North American theorists such as American cultural critic Henry Giroux, whereas Illich assumed the role of kind of an outsider critic, similar to his "home schooling" movement theorist colleagues John Holt and Everett Reimer. However, in recent years Neo-Illichians have been attempting to challenge the widespread leftist acceptance to the Freire approach.⁷¹

2.1.3 Freire's eight ties within CIDOC: Berger, Borremans, Dom Hélder Câmara, Fitzpatrick: see above, Holt, Julião, Reimer: see above, Spring

Invited by the mayor of Recife to develop a literacy program for the city in 1961, Paulo Freire would deploy new methods in the teaching of adult literacy. His approach was greatly influenced by Catholic collectivism and his activities in the Catholic Action Movement, a religious group for social change, in particular, social change for poverty-stricken Brazilian peasants. His ideas and work were strongly affected by a close association with the radical Archbishop of Olinda and Recife,

⁷⁰ CIDOC Documenta Ideologías / Iglesias. Enero – Diciembre 1973. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 85).

⁷¹ Compare John Ohlinger (1995) Critical Views of Paulo Freire's Work. Internet: http://www3.nl.edu/academics/cas/ace/resources/JohnOhliger_Insight1.cfm#II (September 4, 2009) Dana L. Stuchul / Gustavo Esteva / Madhu Suri Prakash (2005) From a Pedagogy for Liberation to Liberation from Pedagogy. In: Rethinking Freire. Globalization and the Environmental Crisis. C.A. Bowers / Frédérique Apffel-Marglin (eds) Lawrence Erlbaum: New Jersey, 13-30.

Dom Hélder Câmara, in whose diocese he instructed adult illiterates and who directed Brazilian Catholic Action until 1962. Freire adopted the term “conscientizacao” from his life-long friend Dom Hélder who was at the same time an avid promoter of Freire’s views.⁷² As outlined above, Dom Hélder put Illich in touch with Freire.

After being jailed in 1965, Illich intervened and Freire along with peasant league lawyer Julião, escaped to Cuernavaca. Both originated from Pernambuco, in northeast Brazil, a region where Dom Hélder had spread the gospel of liberation theology and empowerment movements for poor peasants. This endeavour was founded on literacy and land and was led respectively by Paulo Freire and Francisco Julião, who were two key players in empowerment of poverty-stricken Brazilian peasants. Persecuted for organizing peasant leagues, Francisco Julião then became coordinator of programs at CIDOC and – as Freire remembers – “*lived in Cuernavaca Northeast Brazilian style*”.⁷³ It was at CIDOC in the early 1960s that Valentina Borremans published Freire’s first book outside of Brazil.⁷⁴ Freire then spent time in Chile and the US, but returned to CIDOC in 1970, the details established by Illich’s introduction in “Deschooling Society”:

On Wednesday mornings, during the spring and summer of 1970, I submitted the various parts of this book to the participants in our CIDOC programs in Cuernavaca. Dozens of them made suggestions or provided criticisms. Many will recognize their ideas in these pages, especially Paulo Freire, Peter Berger, and José Maria Bulnes, as well as Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Holt, Angel Quintero, Layman Allen, Fred Goodman, Gerhard [sic!] Ladner, [...] Joel Spring, [...] and Dennis Sullivan.⁷⁵

Paulo Freire worked at the same time and on the same issue with Vienna-born theologian and American sociologist Peter L. Berger, Jesuit sociologist Joseph Fitzpatrick, popular proponent of homeschooling John Caldwell Holt and professor of education Joel H. Spring – all relevant for my network analysis.

⁷² Compare Peter Roberts (2000) *Education, Literacy, and Humanization. Exploring the Work of Paulo Freire*. Bergin & Garvey: Westport, 138.

⁷³ Paulo Freire (1996) *Letters to Cristina. Reflections on My Life and Work*. Routledge: New York, 125.

⁷⁴ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2007) *Ivan Illich*, 110.

⁷⁵ Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

2.2 Hartmut von Hentig

2.2.1 Portrait of Hartmut von Hentig (1925-present)⁷⁶

Hartmut von Hentig is a much-discussed author and among one of Germany's best-known and most influential educational philosophers post-1945. Von Hentig emphasizes certain educational values that he believes develop strong and free-thinking personalities in children. His progressive educational philosophy was linked to the attitudes of the 1968 generation.

Born in 1925 in Poznan, Poland, to a German diplomat and his wife, von Hentig spent his childhood and youth in the US, Colombia, the Netherlands and Germany. He studied classical philology in Göttingen, Germany, and from 1947 onwards at the University of Chicago. Before becoming Professor and Director of the Faculty of Education at the University of Göttingen, von Hentig taught in the Black Forest and Tübingen. In 1968, he moved to the University Bielefeld, where he founded the well-known "Laboratory School".

2.2.2 Von Hentig – Illich: Same Generation with Diverging Views

Hartmut von Hentig, already a recognized philosopher and professor of education by the late 1960s, belongs to the same generation as Illich. They had been close friends, but they later broke due to an unknown incident. Despite their familiarity during the CIDOC years, von Hentig barely mentioned Illich's funeral in his autobiography.⁷⁷

Von Hentig was the first to spread Illich's ideas in German. To help promote the first German language edition of "Deschooling Society", he wrote the preface.⁷⁸ He also wrote two books on the learning adventure that was the CIDOC. In "Cuernavaca

⁷⁶ Compare Who's Who in the World (2000) 18th edition, 2001. Marquis Who's Who: New Providence, 2300b.

Hartmut von Hentig (2007) Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht. 2 Volumes. Carl Hanser: München.

⁷⁷ von Hentig (2007) Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht. Volume 1, 310.

⁷⁸ Ivan Illich (1972) Die Entschulung der Gesellschaft. Entwurf eines demokratischen Bildungssystems. Mit einem Vorwort von Hartmut Hentig. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

oder: Alternativen zur Schule?“⁷⁹ von Hentig identifies five conditions that make the center a suitable setting for alternative thinking. One year later, von Hentig’s second text on CIDOC, “Die Wiederherstellung der Politik. Cuernavaca revisited.”⁸⁰, noted that the environment had changed, in the sense that it was better well-kept, neater and more civil.⁸¹

In contrast to certain scholars from the generation of 1968, von Hentig is not a extremist critic. Instead, he promotes disclosure of man-made conformities to enable self-determined approval of institutions. Clarification and self-determination are keywords within his view. Hartmut von Hentig thus opposed Illich’s proposals to deschool society.

2.2.3 Von Hentig’s six ties within CIDOC: Fitzpatrick: see above, Goodman, Holt, Maccoby, McKnight: see above, Reimer: see above

Hartmut von Hentig joined CIDOC at least two times. According to Illich’s acknowledgements in “Tools for Conviviality”, von Hentig also provided precious input on Illich’s draft. By attending Illich’s seminar, he reflected on technological development with above-dealt Joseph Fitzpatrick, John L. McKnight, and Everett Reimer, but also anthropologist and psychoanalyst Michael Maccoby:

During the summer of 1972, participants in my CIDOC seminar contributed very helpful papers. I’m especially grateful for the assistance of John Bradley, [...] Joseph Fitzpatrick, Amnon Goldworth, Conrad Johnson, Hartmut von Hentig, John MacKnight [sic!], Michael Maccoby, [...] Marta H. Reed, Everett Reimer, [...] and German Zabala.⁸²

At CIDOC Hartmut von Hentig also worked with an activist of the pacifist-left and popular public intellectual to that era’s student movement, Paul Goodman.⁸³ In the early 1970s, von Hentig would contribute the introduction to the German language

⁷⁹ Hartmut von Hentig (1971) *Cuernavaca oder: Alternativen zur Schule?* Klett / Kösel: Stuttgart / München.

⁸⁰ von Hentig (1973) *Die Wiederherstellung der Politik. Cuernavaca revisited.*

⁸¹ Compare von Hentig (1973) *Die Wiederherstellung der Politik. Cuernavaca revisited*, 18.

⁸² Illich (1973) *Tools for Conviviality*, vii.

⁸³ Compare von Hentig (2007) *Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht. Volume 1*, 310.

version of Goodman's "Growing up Absurd".⁸⁴ He was also the German translator for Goodman's works. There is no doubt that von Hentig's criticism towards schooling was influenced by Goodman.

Von Hentig also met American educator John Holt, one of the best known proponents of homeschooling. After CIDOC they would meet again in Bielefeld, Germany, before von Hentig's started his "Laboratory School".⁸⁵

2.3 Valentina Borremans

2.3.1 Portrait of Valentina Borremans (1930s-present)⁸⁶

There is not much biographical information to be found on Valentina Borremans. A native of Belgium, Borremans served as CIDOC's administrator and librarian. A graduate from a Belgian convent school at the age of 18, Borremans had experience in deep-sea diving, but not in running a language school or accounting. Despite the lack of know-how, as administrator, she enjoyed an established, severe reputation. Moreover, Bruce Rusk, editor of the anthology "Alternatives in Education", identified her as "*driving force behind CIDOC*"⁸⁷. Rusk states:

*On my first visit [to the Center] I heard Valentina referred to as the enigmatic power-behind-the-throne, but I never saw her. On my second visit I spent an hour with this charming, intelligent, obviously strong-willed woman who has a very clear conception of the role of CIDOC, but who prefers the obscurity of the administrator to the limelight of the teacher.*⁸⁸

From the very beginning until CIDOC's liquidation, Borremans remained strongly committed to the center's endeavours. Akin to Illich, she then moved to

⁸⁴ Compare Hartmut von Hentig (1971) Eine Warnung an den Leser. – In: Paul Goodman: Aufwachsen im Widerspruch. Über die Entfremdung der Jugend in der verwalteten Welt. Verlag Darmstädter Blätter: Darmstadt, 9-22.

⁸⁵ Compare von Hentig (2007) Mein Leben – bedacht und bejaht. Volume 1, 311.

⁸⁶ Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 85.

⁸⁷ Bruce Rusk (1972) CIDOC Revisited. W.P.: Windsor, 1. Cited in: William R. Garner (1980) The "Politics" of Iván Illich and Small Group Political Behavior at CIDOC – Cuernavaca, 1972. In: Religion in Latin American Life and Literature. Edited by Lyle C. Brown / William F. Cooper. Markham Press Fund: Waco, 182.

⁸⁸ Rusk (1972) CIDOC Revisited. Cited in: Garner (1980) "Politics" of Iván Illich, 182-183.

Ocotepec, a village not far from Cuernavaca. To this date, Valentina Borremans looks after Illich's personal library and sections of CIDOC's card indexes.

2.3.2 Borremans – Illich: The Center's Administrative Heart and Soul

Valentina Borremans' influence on both Illich's scholarly life and CIDOC's existence can't be overestimated. Borremans, who had been with CIDOC since its founding in 1961, was its director and main administrator. She played a crucial role in developing its library "*into a unique research tool*".⁸⁹ From 1967 onwards she was responsible for CIDOC's photos and microfiches-collection on the history of religiosity in Latin America (ca. 1830-1870). It entails almost 50'000 fiche pages.⁹⁰ Borremans was an administrative and scholarly aid to Illich; she assembled and carefully edited his texts,⁹¹ and she was also a scholar who joined intellectual conversations. She even directed Illich's thoughts on certain issues⁹² and co-authored texts with him. Moreover, both of them were permanent members in CIDOC's Comité Directivo de Publicaciones. Personal and institutional ties reflect the close contact they maintained.

2.3.3 Borreman's six ties within CIDOC: Freire: see above, Fromm, Hoinacki, McKnight: see above, Reimer: see above, Sbert

Then-juvenile José Maria Sbert was among the very few Mexican contributors at CIDOC who formed part of the center's staff. From 1966 on he was editor-in-chief of CIDOC Cuadernos. In assuming editorial responsibilities of a major series published by the center, it seems inevitable that Sbert would meet and work with one of Illich's closest friends, CIDOC's main organizer and administrator Valentina Borremans.⁹³

Human psychologist Erich Fromm and CIDOC maintained institutional ties and the relation between Fromm and Illich was of special value. Fromm was, since 1953, a

⁸⁹ Cowan (1969) An Interview with Ivan Illich, 214.

⁹⁰ Borremans later donated this extensive collection to the Biblioteca Cosío Villegas at the "Colegio de México" (COLMEX) in Mexico City. Part of the collection can be consulted on microfiche at the Library of Congress in Washington DC.

⁹¹ Compare for example Illich (1975) *Medical Nemesis*, 10.

⁹² Compare for example Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

⁹³ Compare Emilio Cárdenas / Lourdes Álvarez (2006) José Maria Sbert (1945-2006). In: *La Jornada Semanal* (September 3, 2006), w.p.

resident of Cuernavaca. He and Illich had something of a sibling-like relationship.⁹⁴ Illich, more than a quarter century younger than Fromm, greatly valued his advice. Interestingly, despite this close association, Illich never engaged in deeper considerations on contemporary psychology. Fromm consulted CIDOC's library for his works and in one of his books, "Theory of Aggression", he specially acknowledges help of "*Miñ Valentina Boresman*" [sic!]⁹⁵ in using bibliographic facilities of CIDOC. Apart from her activities as the center's main administrator, the library provided an ideal setting for Borremans to meet and work with CIDOC's visitors. In 1964, ex-Dominican Lee Hoinacki moved to Mexico and became Illich's assistant at CIDOC for a period of three years. At the center he closely collaborated with Valentina Borremans. Both Borremans and Hoinacki were essential administrative aids for Illich and CIDOC.

2.4 Francisco Julião

2.4.1 Portrait of Francisco Julião (1915-1999)⁹⁶

Francisco Arruda de Paula Julião was a Brazilian politician and peasant leader. He forcefully defended agrarian reform and gained international fame as an organizer and sponsor of peasant leagues in north-eastern Brazil.

Born into a prominent landowning family in the coastal sugar plantation zone of Pernambuco State, he graduated from Recife law school. As a student he consulted peasants and helped other peasant leagues organize and was one of the few lawyers willing to represent them in legal matters. Julião then entered politics and was twice elected to the Pernambuco legislature (1954 and 1958). At the same time, he began to build a reputation as a chief spokesman and organizer for the rural

⁹⁴ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 124.

⁹⁵ Erich Fromm (1999) Gesamtausgabe in zwölf Bänden. Edited by Rainer Funk. Volume 7: Aggressionstheorie. Dtv: Stuttgart, xv.

⁹⁶ Compare Cliff Welch (1996) Julião Arruda de Paula, Francisco. In: Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture. Edited by Barbara A. Tenenbaum. Volume 3. MacMillan: New York, 339-340.

Rollie E. Poppino (1974) Encyclopedia of Latin America. Edited by Helen Delpar. McGraw-Hill: New York, 316.

Cliff Welch (1998) Julião Arruda de Paula, Francisco. In: Latin American Lives. Selected Biographies from the five-volume Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture. MacMillan: New York, 536.

workers of the sugar zone. Throughout Pernambuco, peasant leagues multiplied rapidly and Francisco Julião entered Congress in 1962. After the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état, Julião was stripped of his political rights, jailed and exiled. In 1966 he was sentenced to seven years in prison for having incited the peasants and tried to overthrow the government. Along with educator Paulo Freire also from north-east Brazil, he was forced to flee, arriving at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. Until being amnestied in 1979, Julião lived in Mexico.

In 1986 Julião returned to Brazil in order to again run for Congress. After being rejected by voters, he returned to Mexico. In 1999, he died in Cuernavaca of a heart attack.

Francisco Julião's role within the rural labor movement remains controversial. Outside of this controversy, however, there is a certain truth: Julião helped to popularize the cause of the rural poor in Brazil like no other. His principal goal was radical agrarian reform, the redistribution of large landholdings without compensating owners in cash. Interestingly, as scion of a landowning family Julião was, in reality, a member of the status quo the Peasant League was fighting against. Eventually, key supporters of the rural movement, among them the Brazilian Communist Party, would also distance themselves from Julião.

2.4.2 Julião – Illich: Peaceful Approach to Violence

The details of the first meeting between Brazilian leftist revolutionary Francisco Julião with Ivan Illich remain vague. Less uncertain is Illich's commitment to liberate him from jail, along with Paulo Freire during the Brazilian dictatorship.⁹⁷ Illich inherited from Julião the idea that "*the only violence which does not corrupt you is that which you do without tools.*"⁹⁸ Founded on this idea is Illich's pamphlet "Violence: A Mirror for Americans"⁹⁹, a warning directed at Washington about countering violence with violence.

⁹⁷ Compare Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich in Conversation, 206.

⁹⁸ Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich in Conversation, 109.

⁹⁹ Ivan D. Illich (1970) Celebration of Awareness. A Call for Institutional Revolution. Introduction by Erich Fromm. Doubleday & Company: Garden City, 19-28.

CIDOC Cuadernos contained two volumes authored or compiled by Francisco Julião. First, in 1969, Julião edited a volume with selected articles on Brazilian peasants and their form of organization.¹⁰⁰ Then, in 1970, Julião discussed in his autobiography “Cambão”¹⁰¹ society’s situation in his home-region, the Northeast of Brazil in concluding that his observations would apply to all of Latin America. Two years later it was publicly published, and translated into foreign languages. In 1972 it was released in English.¹⁰²

2.4.3 Julião’s five ties within CIDOC: Dom Hélder Câmara, Freire: see above, Hoinacki, Reimer: see above, Robert

Francisco Julião, spokesman for the rural workers of the sugar zone, and Dom Hélder, director of Brazilian Catholic Action stem from the same region in Brazil, Pernambuco. Both of them were progressive and revolutionary minds and they were major exponents of social movements in Brazil. Dom Hélder with his truly “Catholic” vision would become, following the military coup in 1964, Bishop of Olinda and Recife, whereas Julião would be imprisoned for having organized the peasants to overthrow the government. With their common goal of popularizing the cause of the rural poor in Brazil, Dom Hélder and Julião both spent considerable time at CIDOC. During one of his stays, Julião would meet Lee Hoinacki.¹⁰³ He also got acquainted with Swiss Architect Jean Robert (1928-present).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Francisco Julião (ed) (1969) Ligas Camponesas Outubro 1962 – Abril 1964. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuadernos 27).

¹⁰¹ Francisco Julião (1970) Cambão. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuadernos 13).

¹⁰² Francisco Julião (1972) Cambão – The Yoke. The Hidden Face of Brazil. Penguin Books: Middlesex.

¹⁰³ Lee Hoinacki mentioned this acquaintance in an interview on September 25, 2008 with Martina Kaller-Dietrich who was friendly enough to make her transcript available to me.

¹⁰⁴ Martina Kaller-Dietrich mentioned this acquaintance to me in draft on September 3, 2009.

2.5. Paul Goodman

2.5.1 Portrait of Paul Goodman (1911-1972) ¹⁰⁵

Writer Paul Goodman (1911-1972) was a public intellectual and social critic. An anarchist pacifist, he criticized militarism, attacked the government's centralism and bureaucracy, and challenged traditional schooling. Goodman always refused to accept society's terms and approached the improvement of society with creativity and imagination. In the 1960s he became an inspiration to that era's student movement.

The youngest of three children, New York City-born Paul Goodman graduated in 1931 with a B.A. from the College of the City of New York. In the late 1930s, Goodman started a doctorate at the University of Chicago but was expelled one year later for his sexual behavior. Avowed bisexual, he encountered problems with several schools' administrations. However, in 1954 he eventually was awarded his PhD from the University of Chicago. During the late 1940s, Goodman underwent psychotherapy, and he quickly became an expert, practicing as lay psychotherapist with the New York Institute for Gestalt Therapy.

In 1960, Goodman experienced a breakthrough, when his work "Growing Up Absurd", and the re-issue of "Communitas", were published. The former was a fierce argument in defense of America's youth which would make him a popular speaker at college campuses. Goodman criticized society in the US for its conformism, for its lack of honesty, creativity, and its weak sense of community. His poetry, fiction, and plays are no less inventive and provocative than his social essays. During the 1960s, his books "The Community of Scholars" (1962) and "Compulsory Mis-Education" (1964) challenged traditional universities and are widely considered to be cornerstones for the alternative education movement.

¹⁰⁵ Compare Anne Becher (2000) *American Environmental Leaders. From Colonial Times to the Present. Volume 1: A-K. ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara*, 331-334.
Contemporary Authors. *A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields* (1991) Edited by James G. Lesniak. Volume 34, new revision series. Gale Research: Detroit, 170-173.
Contemporary Authors. *A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Authors and Their Works* (1979) Edited by Ann Evory. Volumes 37-40, first revision. Gale Research: Detroit, 207.
Ruby Cohn (1994) *Contemporary American Dramatists*. Edited by Berney, K.A. St. James Press: London, 208-213.

Despite his excitement about creating major changes with the 1960s youth movement, Goodman was eventually disappointed by its unrealistic goals. Fading out of the public eye, he died of a heart attack in 1972.

2.5.2 Goodman – Illich: A Brief but Productive Intellectual Relationship

Goodman-literary executor Taylor Stoehr states that *“Illich was profoundly influenced by Goodman”*.¹⁰⁶ In 1952, Illich first saw him at a public debate, where he ardently campaigned for the decriminalization of drug consumption. Four years later they met formally, while Illich organized the Fiesta Patronal at the Fordham University in New York. Illich later confessed that he initially did not understand Goodman’s logic, but he later found himself falling in line with Goodman’s views. His book *“Compulsory Miseducation”* (1964) conveyed ideas about education that would be expressed by Illich a few years later in a similar way in *“Deschooling Society”*. In 1969, Goodman spent a few months at CIDOC in Cuernavaca, where he lectured about legal systems.¹⁰⁷

From the late 1960s to his death, the famous sociologist and writer became an important person in Illich’s American social network. Illich wrote the preface of Goodman’s book *“Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life”*¹⁰⁸ and Goodman *“most radically obliged”*¹⁰⁹ Illich to revise his thinking on *“Deschooling Society”*. Goodman spent the last months of his life giving feedback on Illich’s book *“Medical Nemesis”*.¹¹⁰ Illich gratefully recalls his friend: *“[D]uring the last part of his life he would spend considerable time with me in Cuernavaca. I consider Goodman one of the great thinkers I’ve known, and also a tender, touching person.”*¹¹¹

Perhaps due to their closeness and productive intellectual relationship, Illich took lesson from Goodman’s life; rather than allowing himself to be used by society

¹⁰⁶ Taylor Stoehr (1994) *Here Now Next. Paul Goodman and the Origins of Gestalt Therapy*. Jossey-Bass Publishers: San Francisco, 9.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Paul Goodman / Percival Goodman (1994) *Communitas. Lebensformen und Lebensmöglichkeiten menschlicher Gemeinschaften*. Edition Humanistische Psychologie: Köln, viii-ix.

¹⁰⁸ Ivan Illich (1994) Geleitwort zur deutschen Ausgabe. In: Paul Goodman / Percival Goodman: *Communitas. Lebensformen und Lebensmöglichkeiten menschlicher Gemeinschaften*. Edition Humanistische Psychologie: Köln, vii-ix.

¹⁰⁹ Illich (1971) *Deschooling Society*, viii.

¹¹⁰ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 156.

¹¹¹ Cayley (1992) Ivan Illich In Conversation, 201.

as had happened with Goodman during the cultural revolution of the 1960s, Illich warded off all attempts to make him into a trademark or turn into a political commentator. After CIDOC's closing and receiving harsh reviews on his book "Gender" (1983), he turned his back on public intellectual life.¹¹²

2.5.2 Goodman's four ties within CIDOC: Fitzpatrick: see above, Fromm, Swenson, von Hentig: see above

Lee Swenson is a peace and community organizer and was director of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence and the Farrallones Institute. In 1961 he met Goodman at the Peninsula School. Eight years later, he went to CIDOC where he attended John Holt's class.¹¹³

Goodman-biographer Stoehr mentions, in a book on the origins of Gestalt Therapy, that Goodman's colleague Fritz Perls, a German-born psychotherapist and psychiatrist, was unsure of the success in opening up a psychoanalytic practice in New York: "*Erich Fromm finally convinced him to give it a try.*"¹¹⁴ Perls, a friend of Fromm, worked closely with Goodman. It is reasonable to believe that during this time they became acquainted – either in this context or at CIDOC in Cuernavaca.

¹¹² Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 132-133.

¹¹³ Lee Swenson mentioned this in a phone conversation on October 23, 2008 with Martina Kaller-Dietrich who was friendly enough to make her transcript available to me.

¹¹⁴ Stoehr (1994) Here Now Next, 48.

3 PORTRAITS OF OTHER SIGNIFICANT PEOPLE AT CIDOC

3.1 Jordan Bishop¹¹⁵ – Former Dominican becomes Professor of Humanities

Former member of the Dominican Order, Jordan Bishop¹¹⁶ (1926-present) worked from 1970 to 1971 as historical researcher at CIDOC. Emigrating to Canada, he became Professor of Humanities at The University College of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, from which he retired in 1989. In 1971, he served alongside Joel H. Spring as editor of CIDOC Cuaderno 57.¹¹⁷

Born 1926 in Gurnee, Illinois, Jordan received a degree from Marquette University, a Catholic, Jesuit University in Wisconsin, and a Masters from the Aquinas Institute in Missouri. In 1954 he completed a Doctor of Canon Law in Italy.

A member of the Dominican Order since 1946, he worked for twelve years in Italy, France and Bolivia in numerous post-secondary institutions, such as the Seminario Nacional in Cochabamba, Bolivia, where he lectured in church history.

In 1969, Bishop left the Dominican Order and worked from 1970 to 1971 as a historical researcher at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. He then emigrated to Canada where he taught at Atkinson College, OISE and The University College of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. During the university's formative years, Bishop was a significant figure, particularly for the University's Philosophy and Religious Studies Department. Bishop, whose teaching spanned history, religious studies, and philosophy, retired from Cape Breton University as professor of Humanities in 1989. A Canadian citizen, Bishop is married and has two children. In addition to teaching assignments, Bishop worked as farm labourer and as journalist. Between academic postings he has

¹¹⁵ Compare Directory of American Scholars (1982) Eighth edition, Volume 4: Philosophy, Religion, & Law. R.R. Bowker: New York, 43.

Internet: <http://www.vana.ca/articles/natocanandnucleararms.pdf> (January 23, 2009)

¹¹⁶ In literature, Bishop's first name is rarely spelled with an "i", hence, Jourdain.

¹¹⁷ Jordan Bishop / Joel H. Spring (eds) (1971) Formative Undercurrents of Compulsory Knowledge. Some comparative Historical Observations on Learning and Schools. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 57).

contributed for 35 years to the American journal of opinion “Commonweal”, a journal edited and managed by lay Catholics. Bishop has also served as editorial writer for the Cape Breton Post.

3.2 Boaventura de Sousa Santos¹¹⁸ – Internationally Recognized Author and Mouthpiece of the World Social Forum

Yale-graduate Boaventura De Sousa Santos (1940-present) is a sociology professor at the University of Coimbra, Portugal and professor of both sociology and law at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, US. A Portuguese citizen, De Sousa Santos is a well-known participant and driving force of the World Social Forum principally based in Puerto Alegre and founded in 2001 with the purpose of creating an opposition to the present direction of globalization. De Sousa Santos currently is one of the main intellectuals in social sciences. His text “Law against Law”, published in CIDOC Cuaderno volume 87 in 1974, showed the importance of normative processes in socio-legal phenomena.¹¹⁹

Born 1940 in Coimbra, Portugal, De Sousa Santos studied law at Coimbra University in Portugal and earned his doctorate in Sociology of Law at Yale University in 1973. He then spent a year studying in Berlin and after teaching assignments in Rio de Janeiro and Coimbra, lectured in September 1974 on law and social reform at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. He is now Professor of Sociology at the School of Economics at Coimbra University, Portugal, and Distinguished Legal Scholar at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School, US. In addition, at Coimbra University De Sousa Santos is also director of the Center for Social Studies and director of the Center of Documentation on the Carnation Revolution of 1974. In addition, he has served as

¹¹⁸ Compare Internet: <http://www.boaventuradesousasantos.pt/pages/en/homepage.php> (January 24, 2009)

Internet: http://www.ces.uc.pt/bss/documentos/Boaventura_de_Sousa_Santos.pdf (January 24, 2009)
Robert A. Rhoads / Carlos Alberto Torres (eds) (2006) The University, State, and Market. The Political Economy of Globalization in the Americas. Stanford University Press: Stanford, xiv-xv.

¹¹⁹ Boaventura De Sousa Santos (1974) Law against Law: Legal Reasoning in Pasagarda Law. Cuernavaca (=CIDOC Cuaderno 86).

visiting professor to numerous law schools and graduate programs abroad, such as the University of São Paulo, Brazil, and the London School of Economics, UK.

De Sousa Santos participated as keynote speaker of the first, second and third World Social Forums which took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January 2001, 2002 and 2003. He has published widely on issues related to law and globalization, multiculturalism, legal pluralism, and human rights.

3.3 Lee Hoinacki¹²⁰ – Illich’s Self-proclaimed Secretary and Loyal Friend

US-American with European roots Lee Ceslaus Hoinacki (1928-present) was a former Dominican priest who had worked as Illich’s personal assistant at CIDOC before resigning from priesthood in 1967. Then, in the 1990s, he again became a close and loyal friend to Illich. Illich referred to him in a text as “*my oldest companion*”¹²¹, - and travelled with him in the US, Mexico, and Germany.

Scion with polish background from German grandparents, Hoinacki’s grandparents emigrated to the US in 1890. Born in Lincoln, Illinois, he joined in 1951 the religious order of the Dominicans and was ordained to priesthood eight years later. In 1956 Hoinacki enrolled in the US Marine Corps and was deployed in Taiwan whereupon he found himself experiencing culture shock.

He became parish priest on the Upper East Side of Manhattan but didn’t meet Ivan Illich until 1960, when he was in Puerto Rico with the goal of learning Spanish. In the following years, the Dominican order would send Hoinacki to Chile and then CIDOC in Cuernavaca. There he would become Illich’s personal assistant, closest friend, and assistant manager of the institute. After a petition for a dispensation from the priesthood, he married former nun Maria Dubar in 1967 and returned to the US to enter graduate school at UCLA, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation. He then

¹²⁰ Compare Kaller-Dietrich (2008) Ivan Illich, 223.

Hoinacki / Mitcham (eds) (2002) The Challenges of Ivan Illich, 245.

¹²¹ Ivan Illich (2002) The Cultivation of Conspiracy. In: Lee Hoinacki / Carl Mitcham (eds) The Challenges of Ivan Illich. A Collective Reflection. State University of New York Press: New York, 235.

taught at a university in Venezuela and at alternative universities across the US. In 1978 he resigned from his professorship and became a subsistence farmer and freelance writer. After a temporary absence due to his marriage and professorship, Hoinacki was a steady travel companion of Ivan Illich (particularly in the 1990s) and would share his teaching and writing. Hoinacki wrote three unpublished texts on Illich.¹²²

3.4 Michael Maccoby¹²³ – Fromm’s Colleague in Mexico

Anthropologist and psychoanalyst Michael Maccoby (1933-present) is an expert on leadership who, over the last 35 years, has consulted for governments, companies, the World Bank, universities and other research and development centers across 26 countries. He became internationally recognized for his books on leadership, such as “The Gamesman” (1977) and “The Productive Narcissist” (2003).

Born into a Jewish family in Mount Vernon, New York, Maccoby obtained 1954 a B.A. at Harvard and studied philosophy at Oxford on a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship. He then returned to Harvard for a Ph.D. in Social Relations in 1960.

Between 1960 and 1968, Maccoby and his wife lived with their children in Mexico. He was awarded to train as psychoanalyst with social psychologist, psychoanalyst, and humanistic philosopher Erich Fromm (1900-1980) at the Mexican Institute of Psychoanalysis in Mexico City: “*I did work with Erich Fromm from 1960-1968.*”¹²⁴ Under his mentor, Maccoby carried out a ten-year, multidisciplinary social science study, published under the title “Social Character in a Mexican Village”

¹²² Lee Hoinacki (1991) On Reading Ivan Illich; Id. (1991) Illich – Conversations; Id. (2005) Why Philia?

¹²³ Compare Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Authors and Their Works (1978) Edited by Ann Evory. Volumes 33-36, first revision. Gale Research: Detroit, 531-532.

Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields (1985) Edited by Linda Metzger. Volume 14, new revision series. Gale Research: Detroit, 301.

The Writers Directory 2009 (2008) 24th edition, Volume 2: M-Z. Edited by Lisa Kumar. Gale: Detroit, 1354.

Internet: <http://www.maccoby.com/MMaccoby> (January 22, 2009)

¹²⁴ From an email Michael Maccoby sent to Elisabeth Lemmerer on August 11, 2009.

(1970). Portions of Maccoby's work were also published in CIDOC Cuaderno number 55.¹²⁵ Upon his return to the US, Maccoby practiced clinical psychoanalysis.

With a grant from Harvard's Program on Technology and Society, he studied the managers and companies who developed new Information Technology (IT). The results, presented in "The Gamesman: The New Corporate Leaders" (1976), made his book a bestseller; it was the very first application of socio-psychoanalytic understanding to business leadership. He also directed projects to improve the quality of working life in the car industry and the US Department of Commerce. He helped to develop innovative factories with the management of Volvo and for the Swedish Council on Leadership he helped sketch out the kind of leader the country needed for its future. From the late 1960s to 1990 Maccoby was director of the Program on Technology, Public Policy and Human Development at the Kennedy School at Harvard. He also founded Maccoby Group, a consultancy based in Washington, DC.

In addition, Maccoby taught at leading universities in the Americas and Europe, such as Cornell University and Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.

3.5 Don Sergio Mendez Arceo¹²⁶ – Ultra-Progressive "Red Bishop" of Cuernavaca

"Don Sergio", the preferred name of Mendez Arceo (1907-1992) was the seventh Bishop of Cuernavaca (1952 to 1983) and a key figure of liberation theology in Mexico. He was the Second Vatican Council's leading character of the ultra-progressive ecumenical wing. His informal manner, progressive views and approachable character made him quite infamous within the conservative episcopate of the Mexican church.

¹²⁵ Compare Michael Maccoby (1970) *Social Change and Social Character in Mexico and the United States*. Texts in English and Spanish. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuadernos 55).

¹²⁶ Compare Du Plessix Gray (1970) *Divine Disobedience*.

Robert Sean Mackin (2003) *Becoming the Red Bishop of Cuernavaca: Rethinking Gill's Religious Competition Model*. In: *Sociology of Religion* 64 (Winter 2003) 4, 499-514.

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Giuseppe Alberigo (2006) *Geschichte des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils (1959-1965)*. Vol. 4: *Die Kirche als Gemeinschaft*. Matthias Grünewald: Mainz, 188-196.

Born 1907 as the son of a lawyer of Southern Mexico, Mendez Arceo studied at the Pontifical Gregorian University of Rome, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on early sixteenth century humanism.

In 1952 he was appointed to the diocese of Cuernavaca in the state of Morelos, the territory of Zapata's revolution. Mendez Arceo was, like other progressives in Latin American Catholicism, deeply ecumenical. Arceo was proposing ecumenism as key to Christian lives as early as 1962 and he supported it actively in his diocese. Ecumenism was probably source and foundation for his open-minded manner, which was radicalized through the rising leftist independent labor movement in Morelos in the 1970s and his experiences at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

Don Sergio Mendez Arceo saw the roots of liberation theology in Vatican II. He was a leading proponent of liberation theology in Mexico and a firm believer in socialism, notions which resulted in his nickname "The Red Bishop".

3.6 Dom Hélder Pessoa Câmara¹²⁷ – International Advocate of the Catholic Left

Spokesman for the favelas, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife Dom Hélder Pessoa Câmara (1909-1999) was an early proponent of liberation theology and in this context an important character at the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican (1962-1965). He was a relentless campaigner for a radical transition of the Catholic Church and called for a peaceful but radical social transformation in Brazil.

¹²⁷ Compare Dictionary of Christian Biography (2001) Edited by Michael Walsh. The Liturgical Press: Collegeville, 258.

Edward Vernoff / Rima Shore (2001) The Penguin International Dictionary of Contemporary Biography from 1900 to the Present. Viking Penguin: New York, 241.

Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields (2000) Volume 183. Gale Research: Detroit, 78.

Kenneth P. Serbin (1999) In memoriam: Brazil's "bishop of the poor". In: NACLA Report on the Americas 33 (November/December 1999) 3, 51-54.

Alex Bellos (1999) Obituary: Helder Camara Brazilian cleric who eschewed pomp in his battle against injustice and inequality. In: The Guardian (August 31, 1999), 24.

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David S. Toolan (1999) Of many things. In: America 181 (October 2, 1999) 9, 2.

Giuseppe Alberigo (2000) Geschichte des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils (1959-1965). Vol. 2: Das Konzil auf dem Weg zu sich selbst. Matthias Grünewald-Verlag: Mainz.

As one of 13 children, Hélder Câmara was born in 1909 to a wealthy family in the Northeast Brazilian city of Fortaleza. Ordained priest at the age of 22, he was temporarily attracted to certain aspects of fascism. He would quickly abandon these views and later, as auxiliary bishop of Rio de Janeiro (1952-1964) and archbishop of Olinda and Recife (1964-1984), he became involved in the liberation theology movement. One of its first proponents, Dom Hélder Câmara believed that the poor should not have to wait until afterlife to free themselves from misery. He was also an outspoken critic of his country's military dictatorship (1964-1985).

Possessing a talent for appealing to all groups and his extraordinary organizational skills, Dom Hélder Câmara began directing the Brazilian Catholic Action in 1935. The Brazilian Catholic Action consisted of groups of lay Catholics who tried to encourage Catholic influence on society. He also helped to set up the regional Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) in 1952 and was a member of the preparatory commissions for the Second Vatican Council, where he put world development on the Church's agenda and successfully spread the idea of a "church of the poor". In 1961, Dom Hélder gave CIDOC's opening address.

At the 1968 gathering of CELAM in Medellín, Colombia, Dom Câmara and other progressive bishops promoted grass-roots church communities, human rights, and social justice, which led conservatives and Brazilian military leaders to label him as communist. While in France in 1969, he denounced the practice of torture in Brazil, the country's repressive military officers prohibited mentioning his name in the media. Until the military left power, he spent time making speeches abroad. When Dom Hélder retired, his conservative replacement in the archdiocese of Olinda and Recife dismantled many of his programs.

International advocate of the Catholic left who lived in great simplicity and modesty, Dom Hélder was a lifelong warrior for human rights. Well into his eighties he was an outspoken critic of growing social inequalities and of the involvement of industrial nations in the Third World.

3.7 Joel H. Spring¹²⁸ – Education Professor with Indian Descent

Joel Henry Spring (1940-present) is a Professor of Education. He received his PhD in educational policy studies from the University of Wisconsin – Madison in 1969. He lectured from 1970 to 1971 at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. In 1971, two CIDOC Cuaderno-volumes contained texts that he authored.¹²⁹

Born 1940 in San Diego, California, to naval officer William C. Spring and his wife Hazel, Joel Henry Spring studied at Roosevelt University, Illinois (B.A. 1964), and the University of Wisconsin – Madison, Wisconsin (M.A. 1965, Ph.D. 1969). His father's ancestors were citizens of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory, before its government was abolished and the state of Oklahoma was created. Spring's Indian descent is reflected in his major research interests: the history of education, multicultural education, the politics of education, and Native American culture. Spring had visiting professorships at the University of Wisconsin – Madison, Wisconsin, and Case Western Reserve University, Ohio. Since 1976 he has been Professor in History of Education at the University of Cincinnati, Ohio.

¹²⁸ Compare Contemporary Authors. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide to Current Writers in Fiction, General Nonfiction, Poetry, Journalism, Drama, Motion Pictures, Television, and Other Fields (1981) Edited by Ann Evory. Volume 3, new revision series. Gale Research: Detroit, 511. Directory of American Scholars (1982) Eighth edition, Volume 1: History. R.R. Bowker: New York, 728. Leaders in Education (1974) Fifth edition. R.R. Bowker: New York, 1034.

¹²⁹ Joel H. Spring (1971) Education and the Rise of the Corporate State. Cuernavaca (= CIDOC Cuaderno 50). Bishop / Spring (eds) (1971) Formative Undercurrents of Compulsory Knowledge.

Conclusion

Experts on Social Network Analysis believe that having a great number of mutual friends / colleagues has a stabilizing effect on an acquaintance. The more mutual colleagues, the more positive the effect of a contact.¹³⁰

The chart “Mutual acquaintances” displays Illich’s colleagues according to the number of ties a person established. As Everett Reimer, Joseph Fitzpatrick and John L. McKnight all established at least nine ties and, accordingly, are well-linked within the network, it is reasonable to assume that within the examined period of time they maintained an important position in Illich’s social network at CIDOC and exerted great influence on his thought and his intellectual work.

By examining the chart which displays scientific cooperation at the center from a quantitative point of view, it is interesting to see that aforementioned names are again crucial; Reimer, Fitzpatrick and McKnight were also scholars that contributed to and engaged into the activities at CIDOC. There is a great amount of scientific cooperation with other CIDOC colleagues detectable. Also, actors of Illich’s extended circle of colleagues were, according to their established ties, both close colleagues to Illich and active contributors to the center’s scientific activity.

Consequently, it can be argued that the relation to Ivan Illich was of importance with regard to the center’s activities: the closer the scholars were to Illich himself, the more they would engage in CIDOC and scientifically collaborate with each other.

Outlook

My dissertation is an attempt at analyzing Illich’s Center of Intercultural Documentation from a quantitative perspective. By means of Social Network Analysis and with the aid of CIDOC Cuadernos, this work determines CIDOC’s main actors

¹³⁰ Compare Jansen (2006) Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse, 82-83.

from 1961 to 1976. However, it is only a first step. There are still many more issues to be explored from a scientific point of view.

In my work, I named prominent representatives of several discourses with whom the center dealt through the years. It would be interesting to put forth more research in order to see at which time and for how long each topic was discussed. Through analyzing a meeting's minutes and its subjects of discussion, we could likely discern which issues were considered to be especially important to the participants. With that information, we could begin to map the development of the center's principles and pedagogy.

In having consulted CIDOC Cuadernos as starting point for my analysis, I intentionally narrowed the scope of my thesis. Further research could build on my findings and expand the Social Network Analysis to all CIDOC publications, which would namely include *Sondeos* and *Dossiers*. It would also be enriching to analyze Illich's social networks around CIDOC according to languages; names of actors of his Spanish-speaking network can be obtained from Kaller-Dietrich's biography on Illich. Additional Dates and figures would help to formulate the row data for a SNA sample. Also post-CIDOC networks in Austria and Germany could be displayed in the context of a SNA chart. Until now, research has completely disregarded Illich's prominent American faction, which would reveal certain things about his professional and institutional relations to the United States. Such analysis would include names of outstanding professionals such as literary theorist and author Susan Sontag and sociologist and writer Paul Goodman.

My analysis also adhered to a clear time frame and thus only represents the situation within a limited period of time. However, it would be quite interesting to expand the analysis to the post-CIDOC years. Ivan Illich kept in touch with many CIDOC colleagues even after the center's closing; it is clear that his network did not disappear. Rather, it changed its shape, size and geographical focus. With this insight, by creating numerous SNA charts from the late 1970s up to Illich's passing in 2002, one could display main intermediaries and could further enrich the map of Illich's circle of colleagues. This analysis would also reveal Illich's devoted lifelong companions, so-called "Illichistas", and their steady presence and prominent status within the network throughout the years.

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A B S T R A C T

Das „Center of Intercultural Documentation“ (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexiko, stand von 1960 bis 1976 unter der Leitung des aus Wien stammenden Historikers und Philosophen Ivan Illich (1926-2002). Als Bildungs- und Ausbildungszentrum für US-amerikanische Missionare gegründet, avancierte das CIDOC sukzessive zu einer Mischung aus Konferenzzentrum, Sprachschule, freie Universität und Verlag mit reicher Publikationstätigkeit.

In Bezug auf Tagungsinhalte und Teilnehmer kommt der CIDOC-Publikationsreihe Cuadernos (erschieden von 1968 bis 1976) stark repräsentativer Charakter zu; von diesem zentralen Publikationsorgan ausgehend wird mithilfe der sozialwissenschaftlichen Methode der Sozialen Netzwerkanalyse (SNA) das CIDOC erstmals einer quantitativen Analyse unterzogen: Illich bleibt im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung, doch der Fokus liegt auf den Personen in seinem engeren Umfeld. Ergebnis bzw. Produkt der Analyse sind zwei SNA Charts; eine visualisiert die stattgefundenen Wissenschaftskooperationen nach ihrer Häufigkeit, die andere eruiert gemeinsame Freunde.

CIDOC war ein beliebter Treffpunkt für viele Humanisten, darunter auch für namhafte radikale amerikanische Schulkritiker. Im Zuge der Analyse wird deutlich, dass sich im engsten Umfeld Illichs drei vielfältige Denker befanden: Der radikale Schulkritiker Everett Reimer, auch Joseph Fitzpatrick, Soziologieprofessor an der Fordham Universität New York, und John L. McKnight, Professor in Chicago. Weitere wichtige Akteure waren Paulo Freire, Hartmut von Hentig, Valentina Borremans, Francisco Julião und Paul Goodman. Feststellen lässt sich: Je enger die Bekanntschaft mit Illich, desto aktiver die Teilnahme an CIDOC und in weiterer Folge auch die Wissenschaftskooperationen mit anderen Netzwerkakteuren.

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EDUCATION

**University of Vienna – History
Mag.phil.**

**Vienna, AUSTRIA
10/2003 – 10/2009**

**Institut d'Études Politiques ("Sciences Po") ERASMUS
scholar**
Masters Courses in International Affairs (Program "International
Security")

**Paris, FRANCE
09/2007 – 06/2008**

- Thesis: Examining a Sample of the American-Mexican Scientific Cooperation in the 1960s: A Social Network Analysis of the CIDOC Network (in English)
- Research fellowship ("Förderungsstipendium") granted by the University of Vienna to conduct research at Fordham University, NY and the Library of Congress, Washington DC (November-December 2008)

**University of Vienna – German Language and Literature
Studies
Mag.phil. (Passed with Distinction)**

**Vienna, AUSTRIA
10/2003-08/2007**

- Thesis: Peter Turrini: "Ich bin ein Gefangener meiner Biographie". Ein monographischer Versuch. (in German; co-author Monika Lemmerer.)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**European Parliament
Robert Schuman-Trainee with the DG for Communication**

**Brussels, BELGIUM
March-July 2009**

**Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations
Intern with the 1st committee**

**New York, USA
Sept-Oct 2008**

**United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
Intern with UNODC's Anti-Human Trafficking Unit**

**Vienna, AUSTRIA
February-March 2007**

**Austrian Embassy
Intern during the Austrian EU-Presidency**

**Washington DC, USA
April-June 2006**

**Kaiservilla Besichtigungsbetrieb
Tour Guide for groups in German, English, and French**

**Bad Ischl, AUSTRIA
July 2003, Aug 2004, Aug
2005, Aug 2006, July 2008**