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ABSTRACT

These papers from the World Education Workshop on minority education present the question of minority education in its many guises around the world. Basic objectives of the workshop include bringing together people concerned with the polycultural and international dimensions in the preparation of professional educators, promoting recognition of a global perspective as a viable approach to many contemporary issues, and collecting materials that could be shaped into instructional curricula. The major presentations discuss minority education as it is defined and dealt with in Latin America, the Middle East and India. The 19 shorter papers discuss aspects of minority education in Wales, Israel, Turkey, South Africa, Africa, India, the Philippines, Peoples Republic of China, and the United States; discuss minorities as defined by race, color, religion, immigrant status, socioeconomic status, language, military and civilian status; and discuss the processes and programs that the recognition of minority rights necessitates. A list of the workshop participants is included. (JH)

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MINORITY EDUCATION IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Patricia A. Snyder and Frank A. Stone
Editors

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Proceedings of the World Education Workshop at the University of Connecticut

December 10, 1971

School of Education
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Storrs, Connecticut

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DEDICATION

The proceedings of this World Education Workshop on "Minority Education in Global Perspective" are dedicated with the highest esteem and sincere affection to Isaac N. Thut, Professor Emeritus and past head of the Department of Foundations and Curriculum, The University of Connecticut. Professor Thut has achieved in his long and distinguished career what many of us strive toward, a harmony and balance between humanitarian concerns and scholarly excellence.

It is our privilege to publish these proceedings in honor of Isaac N. Thut. They are a tangible expression of our gratitude for his varied contributions to the fields of comparative and international education. Those whose articles compose this volume wish Professor Thut many more years of creative and fulfilling labor in his chosen career as a teacher-scholar.

PREFACE

This World Education Workshop on "Minority Education in Global Perspective" was held in recognition of the United Nations Human Rights Day. It was composed of participants who possess unusual qualifications for considering the problems and challenges of minority education. All of the major world religions were represented among those who came. Workshop members were drawn from all races and a dozen nationalities. Fifteen colleges and universities were represented. And there was at least a fifty year range in the ages of the workshop members: who knows how many consciousness ones, twos and threes.

Three basic objectives led to the planning and preparation of the World Education Workshop. First, it was designed to bring together people who are concerned with enhancing the polycultural and international dimensions in the preparation of professional educators. It was felt that much benefit could be derived from bringing together a group of people who are teachers of teachers in order to share mutual interests and insights. Second, the sponsors of the workshop believe that many contemporary issues and problems require global approaches. Minority education is only one of these crucial topics, but it powerfully illustrates this principle. Third, by gathering and publishing the proceedings of this meeting, it was hoped to make available materials that might later be shaped into instructional curricula.

Minority education ought to reach elementary school children. It should become part of our high school courses of study. Adults must concern themselves with it informally, as well as through continuing education. It has to receive more attention in colleges and universities. And we prepare teachers who lack sensitivity to the needs and desires of the world's minorities only at their own peril and to the detriment of society. No defensible education can any longer afford to concentrate on the noncontroversial, while excluding the points of diversity, confrontation and explosion that abound in today's world.

The views of twenty-two educators regarding a variety of aspects in minority education make up these proceedings. They have been arranged to

reflect the process of the workshop, itself. The three major panel presentations are followed by the shorter papers that were originally given in the four interaction groups. These briefer contributions are grouped into three categories: papers concerned with minority education in regions overseas, articles on aspects of minority education in American society, and articles that deal with basic concerns in minority education.

"The Book of Revolution" was selected to conclude this collection because it expressed the urgency which has been felt by many who participated in the World Education Workshop. One member, for instance, said, "I hope that all we have said here tonight won't simply be forgotten. Let's do something about our words." Much of what was said about minority education on this occasion is recorded on these pages for all to read. It remains to be seen whether these facts, concepts and ideals can be instrumental in bringing about educational change. Who will teach them? Who will act on their basis? We hope that many educators will respond to this panorama of "Minority Education in Global Perspective."

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MINORITY EDUCATION AND
EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY:
A LATIN AMERICAN FOCUS¹

Ronald B. Bucknam
Catskill Regional Office for Educational
Planning

Trying to find commonalities so as to answer basic questions has long been a goal of comparative educators. Today's theme of "Minority Education in Global Perspective" obviously has the search of commonalities in mind, but what do we mean when we use the word "minority"? What type of "minorities" are there?

In my area of interest, Latin America, there seem to be three types of minorities:

The first type is the predominately socio-economic "minority" groups. Countries such as Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Haiti, Cuba, and El Salvador seem to be examples of this type. Please notice that in almost all of these countries the "minority" makes up a physical majority of the country's population.

The second type is the Indian sub-culture "minority" groups. Countries such as Bolivia, Peru, Equador, Columbia, Paraguay, Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico seem to be examples of this second type. Again note that the "minorities" make up the physical majority of inhabitants of most of these countries.

The third type is the skin color "minority" groups. Countries such as Panama, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic are examples of this third type. Again note that the "minorities" are the physical majorities of the countries involved.

The above typology leads one to redefine the term "minority" in relation to education in global perspective in general and specifically in relation to equality of educational opportunity in Latin America. We note that the

¹The data herein are taken from Equality of Educational Opportunity in the Chilean Middle School, by Ronald B. Bucknam, (PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University), (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1971), pp 330 + xxii.

term "minority", which was developed in the United States, has been identified with the lesser proportions of persons in a population. On the other hand, the term "minority" in many of the developing countries, including those of Latin America, is identified with the greater proportions of persons of a population. That is, in many cases, the "minority" is in actuality the majority.

It seems clear, therefore, that when talking about "minorities", especially in a global perspective, that we are not talking about proportions of populations, but are talking about the measures of power and influence that a group has over the structure and content of its society.

Thus, we here are focusing upon the educational sub-system of society and asking the questions:

1. Does equality of educational opportunity exist?
2. If it does not, then how can the educational sub-system change the balance of power and influence such that the "minorities" have their "fair" share? and
3. How can the "majority", which may be a physical minority, be convinced that they should allow the "minority" to use the educational sub-system to redress the balance of power and influence?

Today, I will focus upon finding an answer to the first question with regard to secondary education in Chile.

Why the first question? Simply because one must first prove that inequality exists.

Why secondary education? Because whatever inequalities that exist will be much more visible there than in the elementary school and because the higher education levels are not as amenable to change as the lower levels for they are not usually under the jurisdiction of the Ministries of Education.

Why Chile? Because in Chile equality of opportunity, though as yet not realized, is expressed as an important ideal, and the question of the extent to which the class, social, or economic group into which an individual is born furthers or hinders his life chances is, as Blau stated in another context, "... of special theoretical as well as political significance".²

²Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), p. vii.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity has been in the forefront of public attention and concern of late. The rhetoric about equal opportunity, social mobility, and equal life chances that surrounds the concept of equality of educational opportunity have democratic connotations that are considered "just" by many.

Chilean governmental policies have recently crystallized, reflecting political sensitivity to public pressures, regarding reform of the educational system so as to make it more compatible with equity norms. The Frei government was elected in 1964, according to the opinions of some Chilean political pundits, because of its promise of equal, or more equal, educational opportunity for all. The Frei government made educational reform one of its basic strategies for the social and economic development of the country, and Chile has recently undergone a dramatic revision and reform of its educational system. Many of these reforms were designed to overcome inequalities of educational opportunity that had previously been discussed and which had been summarized in Antecedentes³, published in 1964. Oscar Vera L.⁴ and Ernesto Schiefelbien F.⁵ indicated that inequality of educational opportunity with respect to economic, social, and demographic variables existed, but they did not document the actual proportions of the inequalities, nor did they define which meaning or "model" they used to ascertain the existence of inequality.

The concept of equality of educational opportunity, as discussed in the public forum, has seemed at times confused and vague, and even scholarly works have not, on the whole, clarified which "viewpoints" or "models" of equality are inherent in their arguments. Yet, the arguments implicitly or explicitly expound "solutions" that are presumed to be not only useful, but to be imperative.

³Ministerio de Educacion Publica, Comision de Planeamiento Integral de la Educacion, Algunos Antecedentes Para el Planeamiento Integral de la Educacion Chilena. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1964).

⁴Oscar Vera L., "Los Principales Problemas de la Situacion Educational Chilena y el Planeamiento de la Educacion", in Antecedentes, pp. 68 and 75.

⁵Ernesto Schiefelbien F. and Manuel Canales C., "La Reforma Integral de la Educacion Chilena", in La Superintendencia de Educacion y la Reforms Educacional Chilena. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones y Publicaciones INACAP, 1969), p. 40.

The study upon which this paper is based develops four "models"⁶ of equality of educational opportunity that can be seen in the literature and documents. Using the "models", the actual extent of inequality of educational opportunity existent in Chilean middle education is assessed with respect to selected social, economic, and demographic variables. The models deal with the "access" to, the "services" provided by, the "output" of, and the "effects" of the educational system.

Today I will focus upon the social and economic aspects of the "access" model which is concerned with the representation and participation in middle education of the various Chilean population groups. Thus, there are comparisons between students enrolled in middle education and the general population distributed according to a series of attributes. These comparisons are focused upon whether or not the student frequency proportions, when distributed by the attribute, could reasonably have come from the relevant subset of the general population. If the answer was no, at the 0.01 level of confidence, then the student distributions, according to that attribute, were considered to be unrepresentative of the relevant general population subgroup, and the systematicness of the significant differences were investigated. If the significant differences were systematic, then inequality of educational opportunity, with respect to that attribute, was considered to exist in terms of the "access" model. These attributes are, of course, the independent variables of the study.

The first of the two social and economic variables developed for the "access" model was one of occupational prestige. This index was generated using a method quite similar to that used by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in their 1947 study⁷ of American occupational prestige, which was repeated by Hodge, Tresman and Rossi in 1963.⁸

⁶The word "model" is used as a heuristic device for ease of expression, more like what Abraham Kaplan calls a "Semantic Model", i.e., one that presents a conceptual analogue to some subject matter [The Conduct of Inquiry (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 267-268], than as a mathematical device for prediction.

⁷See Albert J. Reiss, Jr. Occupations and Social Status. (New York: The Free Press, 1961), for a description of the NORC method of obtaining occupational prestige rankings.

⁸Robert Hodge, D. J. Tresman, and Peter H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige," in Class, Status, and Power, by Reinhart Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds), (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

Five hundred and thirty nine students of the study rated 119 occupations, existent in Chile, as to their general prestige, using the scoring system used in the NORCE study. The index is as follows:

Table 1

Occupational Prestige Rankings											
Index Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Prestige Rank	82	74	65	60	60	56	56	50	49	43	41
Census Class	0	1	2	7	6	3	5	8	4	X	9

The second independent variable developed dealt with the student's father's educational attainment level, and was arranged from the most education to the least education as follows:

Level 1 = Graduated from any higher education program of at least four years in length.

Level 2 = Attended some higher education.

Level 3 = Graduated from any middle school program of least five years in length.

Level 4 = Attended some middle education.

Level 5 = Graduated from primary education (6 year program).

Level 6 = Attended some primary education.

Level 7 = Illiterate or did not attend school.

Level 8 = Without information.

Using the two social and economic independent variables shown above, equality or inequality of educational opportunity in terms of the "access" model will be determined.

The student's father's occupations and the occupations existent in the Chilean society⁹ were coded. Since the two groups of occupations, after the coding process, were ordered by prestige, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test could be used in addition to the X^2 test to ascertain if the population consisting of the fathers of the students could be said to be representative of the general population.

⁹Ministerio de Economía, Dirección de Estadística y Censos, XIII Censo de Población: 29 de Noviembre de 1960, Seria A. Regumen del Pais. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta de la Dirección de Estadística y Censos, 1964).

The hypothesis to be tested is:

H_0 = The proportions of the various levels of occupational prestige in the students' fathers' population are the same as the proportions of those same levels of occupational prestige in the male work force of the general population.

TABLE 2

10

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of the Representativeness of the Students' Fathers' Occupational Prestige Levels Compared with the Occupational Prestige Levels of the Male Working Population of Chile

N = 1456	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expected Cumulative Distribution $F_0(X)$	.032	.053	.114	.340	.436	.824	.931	1.000
Observed Cumulative Distribution $S_N(X)$	.104	.198	.344	.550	.680	.821	.941	1.001
$D = \text{MAX} / F_0(X) - S_N(X) /$	.072	.145	.230	.210	.244	.003	.010	.001
					(MAX)			

The D value required for significance at the .01 two tailed level is .0428. The maximum difference is .2440 which is greater than .0428. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

¹⁰The Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-sample test (there is also a two-sample test) is a test of goodness of fit. That is, it is concerned with the degree of agreement between the distribution of a set of sample values (observations) and some specified actual or theoretical distribution. It determines whether the scores in the sample can reasonably be thought to have come from a predetermined population. The test involves using the cumulative frequency distribution that would or does occur in the population and compares that with the sample cumulative frequency distribution. The largest difference between the two distributions is determined and reference to the sampling distribution "D" indicates whether such a large divergence is likely to occur on the basis of chance. The statistic is:

$$D = \text{maximum} / F_0(X) - S_N(X) /$$

where $F_0(X)$ = a completely specified cumulative frequency distribution function, that under H_0

$S_N(X)$ = the observed cumulative frequency distribution of a random sample of N observations.

Again roughly speaking, the larger the value of D as computed from the formula above, the more likely it is that the frequencies observed did not come from the population on which the null hypothesis was based. (See Seigel, Non-Parametric Statistics, p. 48.)

TABLE 3

11
 The X^2 Test of the Representativeness of the Students' Fathers' Occupational Prestige Levels Compared With the Occupational Prestige Levels of the Male Working Population of Chile

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expected Frequency	46.6	30.6	88.8	329.2	139.7	565.0	155.8	100.3
Observed Frequency	151	137	213	300	189	205	174	87

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^k \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$X^2 = 1031.9$$

The X^2 value for significance at the .01 level is 20.2777. The observed value is much greater than 20.2777. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

11 The X^2 test is of the "goodness of fit" type in that it may be used to test whether a significant difference exists between an observed number of objects, responses or persons falling into a category and an expected number based upon the null hypothesis. The statistic is:

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^k \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where: O_i = observed number of cases categorized in "ith" category

E_i = expected number of cases in "ith" category under H_0

$\sum_{i=1}^k$ directs one to sum over all (k) categories

Roughly speaking, the larger the value of X^2 as computed from the above formula, the more likely it is that the observed frequencies did not come from the population on which the null hypothesis is based. (See Sidney Siegal, Non-Parametric Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1956), p. 43.

Since significant differences have been detected in the Kalmogorov-Smirnov tests as well as in the X^2 test, a look at the dichotomized binomial Z values¹² will show the extent of the inequality for each of the eight prestige categories.

In general, the absolute value of the Z score indicates the number of standard deviations the observed proportion is from the population proportion. The higher the absolute value of the score, the further the observed value from the population value. The probability of a Z score occurring decreases as the Z score increases in absolute value, but the rate of decrease of probability is a function of the normal curve which is not linear in nature. Thus, while a Z value of 1.64 has one chance in 10

¹²A dichotomized binomial Z test allows one to test the frequency of each proportion of a sample against the expected frequency based upon the population proportions. This allows one to focus upon the significance of the difference (if any) contributed by the selected proportion. The test is concerned with the degree of agreement between the sample frequency and some specified population distribution. It determines whether the frequency in the sample can reasonably be expected to have come from a predetermined population. The statistic is:

$$Z_i = \frac{X_i - Np_i}{\sqrt{2 Np_i q_i}}$$

Where: X_i = the frequency in the sample of the ith category.
 N = the number of observations in all the categories.
 P_i = the proportion of the ith category in the population.
 $q_i = (1 - p_i)$

The closer the value of X_i to Np_i , the less the value of Z. That is, the more alike the expected frequency Np_i to the observed frequency X_i , the lower the value of Z. The higher the Z value, the more likely the differences are significant. The binomial distribution best approximates the "normal" distribution when the values of p_i and q_i equal 0.5. The further the values diverge from 0.5, the less appropriate the normal distribution for significance tests, all other things constant. If one controls the sample size such that $Np_i q_i$ is never less than 9, then the "normal" distribution can still be used as a good approximation to the actual distribution. See Siegel, Non-Parametric Statistics, p. 40.

of occurring by chance, for a 1 in 100 chance the Z score increases only to 2.58, a factor of 1.57 difference in the Z scores for a 10.00 factor difference in the chance. The factor difference between the Z scores decreases as the chance of occurring decreases, such that, there is only 1 chance in 1,000,000 of a score of 5.50 occurring by chance.¹³ The "+" or "-" indicates whether the difference noted is an overrepresentation (+) or an underrepresentation (-). That is, whether the observed frequency is greater or smaller than would be expected from the proportions existent in the population. In this study, a difference will be considered significant only if it has less than one chance in one hundred of being in error. The Z score, for significance at the .01 level, must have an absolute value greater than 2.58. The hypothesis to be tested for each of the eight cases is:

H_0 = The proportion of fathers having an occupation at the selected level of prestige in the student population is the same as the proportion of persons having an occupation at that same level of prestige in the male work force.

Starting with those occupations with the highest levels of prestige and continuing to those occupations with the lower levels of prestige, the following are the Z values:

¹³William L. Hays, Statistics for Psychologists (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1963), p. 673.

TABLE

The Binomial Z Scores For the Differences Between the Observed
and Expected Frequency Proportions For Each of the Eight
Levels of Occupational Prestige

The first level, "0" of the census code:	
Professional and allied occupations	Z = +15.58
The second level, "1" of the census code:	
Managers, administrators and directive personnel	Z = +19.51
The third level, "2" of the census code:	
Office employees and allied workers	Z = +13.60
The fourth level, "7" and "6" of the census code:	
Transportation and skilled workers	Z = - 1.84 (NS)
The fifth level, "3" and "5" of the census code:	
Sales and affiliated workers, miners, quarrymen and affiliated workers	Z = + 4.38
The sixth level, "8" and "4" of the census code:	
Operators and affiliated semi-skilled workers, farmers, fishermen, cowboys, hunters, lumbermen, and affiliated workers	Z = -19.35
The seventh level, "9" and "X" of the census code:	
Non-skilled and day workers, personal service and related workers	Z = + 1.55 (NS)
The eighth level, "Y" of the census code:	
Other workers not previously classified and unclassifiable workers	Z = + 1.38 (NS)

(NS = not significant)

The first thing that one notices is that the father's population is highly overrepresentative of professional, managerial, and office and clerical occupations, and highly underrepresentative of the agricultural and semi-skilled occupations. The degree of significance of the four differences is quite large. The overrepresentativeness of the 2nd level, the managerial level, or the underrepresentativeness of the 6th level, the agricultural and semi-skilled level, would be about 1 in 1 followed by enough zeros to fill up the rest of this page.

The second thing that strikes one is that there are three levels in which the Z values are not large enough to be significant. The 4th and 7th levels, those of skilled and unskilled workers are not significantly different from what would be expected from the male work force. These levels contain almost 88% of the secondary and tertiary workers, the other 12% being included in level 6, along with the primary agricultural workers. The secondary and tertiary workers included in the 6th level constitute only about 12% of the total of that level. Therefore, one is led to the hypothesis that the Chilean secondary and tertiary workers might be proportionally represented in the educational system, and the primary worker proportionally underrepresented in the educational system.

In order to test the following two hypotheses, the data pertaining to the students' fathers' occupations was reworked to determine the numbers of workers in each of the two classes: primary and secondary-tertiary. The hypotheses are:

H_{01} = Of the three types of workers, the primary, the secondary and tertiary workers are represented in the middle school by their children in such numbers as to be not significantly different than what would be expected from the male work force.

H_{02} = Primary workers are not significantly underrepresented in the middle school population.

The binomial Z test results are:

With regard to the representation of the secondary-tertiary workers, the Z value is: $Z = -0.90$.

With regard to the representation of the primary workers, the Z value is: $Z = -18.42$.

The first of the hypotheses cannot be rejected, and the second must be rejected. Therefore, the workers of industry and services, those most likely to be in urban areas, are not unequally represented in the educational system. That is, equality of access to education exists for these workers' children. On the other hand, workers in the primary category, mostly in agriculture and mining, those least likely to be in urban areas, are very significantly underrepresented in the educational system, and equality of access to education does not exist for their children.

The fact that the 8th level is not significant is comforting because there is no reason to expect that the proportion of fathers with "other" or "unclassifiable" occupations should be higher or lower in the sample than in the population. In fact, the nonsignificance supports the contention that the coding process of the sample was not that much different from that of the Census.

The conclusions to be drawn from the data are clear. In terms of the "access" model, inequality rather than equality of educational opportunity exists. The students' fathers represent a group which is not representative of the male working force. The students' fathers highly overrepresent the higher prestige occupations and they seem to be highly underrepresentative of the rural worker. Proportionally, 34.4% of the fathers' group fall into the top three levels of occupational prestige, while only 11.4% of the male working force falls into those levels. On the other hand, only 32.1% of the fathers' group fall into the lowest three levels of prestige, while 56% of the male working force falls into those three levels.

Taken together, the statistical tests prove two things. First, that the students' fathers have higher prestige occupations than would be proportionally expected from the male working force. Second, in conjunction with breakdowns that show the majority of the fathers of the overrepresented levels live in urban areas, that there is a definite bias in favor of the urban over the rural student, such that the fathers of urban areas are overrepresented in the educational system by their children, while the fathers of the rural areas are underrepresented in the system.

It has been shown that a person's occupation is highly associated with his educational level,¹⁴ and the association between the occupational prestige and the educational attainment of the students' fathers is $Tau_c = +.3443$. For comparative purposes, the Tau_c value presented is approximately equal to a Spearman r of $+.59$, a fairly high correlation. Therefore, we should expect that a comparison of the students' fathers' educational attainment level will lead to similar conclusions to those that have come from the investigation of the representativeness in terms of fathers' occupational prestige.

Blau and Duncan¹⁵ show that in the United States the combination of father's occupational prestige and father's education explains the major portion of the variance in socio-economic status. Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi¹⁶ have tried to show that the rankings of occupations by prestige are extremely similar cross culturally, and Silvert and Bonilla¹⁷ have shown how much more closely associated are occupational prestige and amount and type of education in Latin America than in more developed areas. Therefore, if it is shown, as is expected, that both occupational prestige levels and educational attainment levels are overrepresented at the higher levels and somewhat underrepresented at the lower levels, when the students' fathers are compared with the respective proportions from the general population, then the proof will have been presented as to socio-economic bias in the middle school and the inequality of educational opportunity in terms of "access" that the bias implies.

¹⁴Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), Chapter 4; James S. Coleman, et. al, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966), Volume 1; Otis Dudley Duncan, "Index"; Albert Reiss Jr., Occupations; Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Reinhart and Company, 1959), Chapters 2 and 10. This is only a very partial listing, the bibliographies of the above works are quite comprehensive.

¹⁵Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure, Chapter 4.

¹⁶Hodge, Treiman, and Rossi, "A Comprehensive Study."

¹⁷K. Silvert & F. Bonilla, Education and the Social Meaning of Development. (New York: American Univ. Field Staff, 1961).

The population against which the comparison of the student's fathers, in terms of educational attainment, will be made is the population of male adults 25 years of age or older in 1960. The information is available for Chile from the Census of 1960.¹⁸ This age group was chosen as being the most appropriate of the alternatives due to the fact that the parents of the present middle school students would have to be about 30 to 35 years of age or older in 1969. The data of the sample was collected so as to be compatible with the Census data.

¹⁸Ministerio de Economía, Census 1960, pp. 296-313.

The hypothesis to be tested here is:

H_0 = The proportions of the fathers in each of the educational attainment levels are the same as the proportions of males of 25 years or older in 1960 at those same educational attainment levels.

TABLE 4

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of the Representativeness of the Students' Fathers' Educational Attainment Levels Compared With the Educational Attainment Levels of the Male Chilean of 25 Years of Age or Older in 1960

N = 1478

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expected Cumulative Frequency $F_0(X)$	.006	.030	.078	.251	.412	.791	.970	1.000
Observed Cumulative Frequency $S_N(X)$	.083	.125	.278	.558	.690	.959	.976	1.002
$D = \max/F_0(X) - S_N(X)/$	.079	.095	.200	.337 (MAX)	.278	.168	.006	—

The value of D for the difference to be significant is 0.0425. The maximum difference observed is 0.3370, which is larger than 0.0425. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

Note that six of the seven meaningful differences are greater than the significant value. The conclusion that one must draw from that fact is that the distributions are, in reality, quite dissimilar in nature.

TABLE 5

The χ^2 Test of the Representativeness of the Students' Fathers' Educational Attainment Levels Compared With the Educational Attainment Levels of the Male Chilean of 25 Years of Age or Older

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Expected Frequency	9.45	34.7	71.2	256.2	237	559.1	263.6	44.9
Observed Frequency	125.0	58.0	223.0	412.0	194	397.0	25.0	44.0

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^8 \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$\chi^2 = 2018.72$$

The value for significance from the table for χ^2_7 at the 0.01 level is 20.28. The observed value is much larger than the value needed for significance. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

The rejection is so strong that not only is the observed χ^2 too large, but each of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th categories itself has a value larger than that needed for significance.

Again, the dichotomized Z test will allow the determination of the direction and the extent to which each of the eight educational categories diverge from the value that would be expected, based upon the proportions in the population of male Chileans of 25 years or older in 1960. The absolute Z value needed for significance is 2.58.

The hypothesis for each of the following tests is:

H_0 = The proportion of the fathers of the students in a given category of educational attainment will be the same in the sample as in the 1960 population of male Chileans of twenty-five years of age or older.

TABLE 6

The Binomial Z Scores For the Differences Between the Observed
and Expected Frequency Proportions for Each of the
Eight Levels of Educational Attainment

The Z scores for the various levels of education follow:

The first level of education:

Graduates of higher education $Z = +37.78$

The second level of education:

Those with some higher education $Z = + 4.01$

The third level of education:

Graduates of middle education $Z = +18.45$

The fourth level of education:

Those with some middle education $Z = +10.70$

The fifth level of education:

Graduates of primary education $Z = - 3.05$

The sixth level of education:

Those with some primary education $Z = - 8.70$

The seventh level of education:

Those with no schooling $Z = -16.22$

The eighth level of education:

Unclassified or non-response $Z = - 0.14$ (NS)

The Z values range from highly overrepresentative at the higher end of the scale, becoming less overrepresentative as the level of education decreases through some middle education, becoming underrepresentative at the primary graduate level and becoming progressively more underrepresentative as no schooling is approached. In the eighth level, the non-response, the observed frequency is not enough different from the expected

frequency to be significant. That is, the non-response is not significantly different between the student's father's group and the 1960 Chilean population of 25 years of age or older, nor is there any reason to expect that it should be, given that the same question was asked both in this study and the Census. The non-significance supports the idea, as it did with father's occupational prestige levels, that the methodology of the two studies was similar.

Looking at all eight Z values, the X^2 test, and the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, one draws the conclusion that the population of the fathers of the students is quite different from the 1960 population of Chileans of 25 years of age or older in terms of educational attainment. One also draws the conclusion that the fathers' group is highly overrepresented at the higher levels of years of educational attainment. One also draws the conclusion that the fathers' group is highly overrepresented at the higher levels of years of educational attainment, and, consequently, underrepresented at the lower levels of educational attainment.

In terms of equality of educational opportunity, the overrepresentativeness of those students with fathers with larger amounts of education and the underrepresentation of those students with fathers with lesser amounts of education indicates the extent of the inequality of educational opportunity in terms of the "access" model.

Taken together, both the tests for equality of occupational prestige and the tests for equality of educational attainment lead one to the conclusion that the Chilean middle school student population highly overrepresents students with fathers with high prestige occupations and high educational attainment, while underrepresenting students with fathers with low prestige occupations with low levels of educational attainment.

Since occupational prestige and education are two of the main factors of what has been called "Socio-Economic Status," one can say students with parents of low socio-economic status and/or low educational attainment levels are not provided with proportionally equal numbers of places in the middle educational system. That is, that inequality of "access" exists.

THE EDUCATION OF ARAB MINORITIES

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An exchange student was registering at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. As he was filling in the forms, he was asked, "What is your religion?" He replied, "I am an atheist." The perplexed registrar then asked him, "What kind of atheist are you? A Christian atheist? A Jewish atheist? Or a Muslim atheist?"

This story illustrates the importance of religious affiliation in determining one's identity in the Arab World. When we talk of minorities in the Middle East we generally are concerned with religious groups. The Ottoman Turks who ruled this region from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century until the end of the First World War had applied the 'millet system'. They recognized all of the various non-Muslim religious communities under their jurisdiction as autonomous entities in matters pertaining to 'personal status' laws and the practice of their own religion. They were also allowed to run their own parochial schools. Hebrew Schools were operated by the Jewish communities. The different Christian denominations concentrated on teaching their faith and liturgical languages in order to prepare men for the priesthood.

It should be noted that the Arab World is the heir to a rich and varied conglomeration of civilizations that have flourished and declined in the area. Vestiges of them survive to this day. They include the Sumerians, the first to attempt writing cuneiform on clay tablets, the Assyrians and the Babylonians. There was also the Nile civilization of Egypt within which the hieroglyphic form of writing on papyrus was developed. A Canaanite-Hebrew civilization evolved in Palestine and the Phoenicians in Lebanon were the first people to invent an alphabet.

In the Seventh Century A.D. the Islamic upsurge resulted in the conquest of the Byzantine provinces and the Sassanian Empire. At first

the Arab leaders preserved the Byzantine administrative system.¹ They utilized the Greek language and the indigenous personnel in their dealings. Thus in Syria, Egypt and Iraq the advisors, accountants, secretaries and physicians continued to be Christian. However, by the end of the century, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan who reigned 685-705 was ready to take steps to Arabize the administration and coinage. By doing that, he Islamized them as well.

In this early period the Caliphs adopted and used the laws and customs of the various lands over which they were ruling as long as these didn't seem to be incompatible with the spirit of the Qur'an and the example of the Prophet. This spirit of toleration led to the flowering of the Muslim religious sciences. Christian, and to a lesser extent, Jewish and Sabian, learning of the time regarding astrology, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy was emulated. This resulted in the development of Mosque Colleges and schools which prepared men for the various offices of the State. Here too, astronomers, engineers, literatures, musicians, religious functionaries and physicians were trained.

The Arab cultural achievements and learning were severely curtailed by the Mongols who ravaged and burnt libraries and mosques. They brought the "Abbasid Caliphate in Bagdad to an end in 1258 A.D. The Mongols were conquered in turn by the Ottoman Turks who regained most of the eastern provinces for Islam.

Under the Turkish administration, education was reduced to small schools located at the mosque or church called 'kuttabs'. One teacher usually instructed a few children in them. The curriculum stressed the sacred scriptures, the memorization of texts, some writing and simple arithmetic. The only centers of higher learning which survived were in Constantinople, the capital of the Empire, at the al-Azhar Mosque College

¹ Later, in 750 A.D. when the 'Abbasids succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyads, the Sassanian (Iranian) administrative system was adopted.

in Cairo, which specialized in preparing men to be religious functionaries, and at the Zitouna Mosque College in Tunis, whose main feature was also religious training.

By granting a measure of autonomy to the Christian minorities, the Ottoman Turks helped to perpetuate a variety of languages. The Copts of Egypt used Coptic, the Syrians used Aramaic, while the Christians of Iraq continued to use Syriac. Furthermore, Chaldean Christians used Chaldean, the Armenians Armenian, the Greeks Greek, and the Roman Catholics Latin.

When Ottoman rule ended and Arab nationalism became an important force early in the Twentieth Century. We now become aware of another factor in the determination of identity: that of ethnic origin. Through the preservation of diverse languages and some degree of church autonomy the 'millet system' had formed centers for ethnic identity. Thus, the Christians were fragmented into cultural minorities such as the Assyrians, Armenians, Copts and Greeks. Likewise, the Muslim majority exhibits ethnic variety in Circassians, Iranians, Kurds and Turks.

Western education was introduced into the Arab World at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. This came about through the efforts of Muhammad 'Ali, who ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1849. He opened scores of new schools in the hope of raising a modern educated army and navy, and of establishing industry. Muhammad 'Ali also welcomed and encouraged missionary societies to come into his realm and inaugurate schools as part of his civilizing, or more correctly, Westernizing of Egypt. The first to come were the British Methodists who arrived in 1823. They were followed by the Anglican Church Missionary Society in 1826. In 1847 the Church Mission to the Jews (Anglican) came, then representatives of the Church of Scotland in 1858. The French Catholics had come in 1845, although they worked through religious orders rather than through independent churches. Finally, in 1863, American missionary societies started working in Egypt too.

All of the missionary bodies soon had organized schools that were begun with students who were drawn from minority groups such as the Copts, Greeks or Jews. This general pattern was also followed by missionaries in other Arab lands. Religious instruction according to the tenets of the sponsoring church was always included in the curricula of these schools. However, this was resented by the leaders of the indigenous minorities, who feared that their communities might disintegrate through proselytization. The missionaries insisted that they had no designs for making Protestants or Catholics of the other Christian groups. Rather, they claimed that their main goal was the conversion of Jews and Muslims. Within a very few years though, whether from conviction or through a desire for better employment opportunities, individual Arabs had formed a local Protestant Church. This development spurred the different Middle Eastern churches to establish new 'Western type' schools of their own for the members of their congregations. Independent Muslim schools were also soon in operation as a reaction to the missionary effort.

Some of the Arab countries such as Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia had been occupied by European colonial powers in the Nineteenth Century. After the First World War the rest of the Arab World, with the exception of Saudi Arabia, came under European sway. The new rulers recruited their civil servants from among the inhabitants who spoke their language. And most Arabs who spoke English, French or Italian were the products of Mission schools. As a result, the ratio of Christians and Jews who were employed in the colonial bureaucracy was extremely high. Furthermore, the colonial regimes, while still encouraging the Mission schools, also began operating public education in an attempt to create universal literacy. These were usually patterned after the public schools in the mother country. A great stress was usually laid on learning the tongue of the colonial power. But basically, their instruction was carried on in Arabic.

The Mission schools, in which most of the minorities continued to receive their education, followed a different policy. All of their instruction at the high school level, and even some of it in their middle

school, was conducted in a foreign language. They used American, English, French, German or Italian textbooks. Arabic was taught only as a language. Their courses in civics, history and geography discussed the glories of foreign lands. This produced generations of graduates who had acquired the culture and thought patterns of the missionaries' homelands. They were Anglo-philos or Francophiles who had adopted the prejudices of their teachers and looked only to the West for guidance and identity.

These educational policies followed by the various Missions created rifts, not only between Muslim and Christian Arabs, but even among the Christians themselves. Their schooling had caused them to acquire alien cultural orientations. This situation led the Egyptian government to declare its intention to bring this fragmentation to an end at the Montreux Convention in 1937. The Egyptian authorities stipulated that Arabic, national history and local geography must be taught in all foreign and private schools within their jurisdiction. This new policy would insure that these schools did not undermine the loyalty to Egyptian aspirations and culture of Egypt's Christian citizens. Similar policies were adopted by other Arab states as soon as they achieved independence from foreign rule.

Education, which proved to be the best agent of upward mobility under colonial rule, continues to fulfill this role in the modern Arab societies. However, the advantageous edge that was previously enjoyed by the minorities is diminishing. Their youth are now competing with educated Muslims who now possess equal competencies. The former Christian and Jewish monopoly on jobs with foreign business firms and banks has been curtailed. One exception to this may still remain in Lebanon, where the Christians still claim that they are the majority of the population. It is not surprising, therefore, that some minority groups resent the equality of opportunity that came in with national independence; for under the colonial regimes they had benefitted from a special status.

It is important to note here that Arab public schools are administered and financed by the State. These governments utilize education

as a tool for developing citizenship, for broadening the concept of identity with the nation and for inculcating receptive attitudes for social and economic reforms.

The Ministry of Education in each Arab country sets the curriculum and approves the textbooks that are used. The requirements for graduation are uniform in each nation, as the Ministry supervises the administration of standard tests. At first, the foreign, missionary and parochial schools were required to teach their courses in social sciences in Arabic using government approved textbooks. Most of these schools eliminated some of their electives, replacing these with government requirements. Actually, for several years the students in these schools concurrently were using two different sets of history and geography books that each propagated a different allegiance. These youth were caught up in alien points of view. Recently some of the Arab states, most notably Syria, have completely banned the use of any foreign textbooks that deal with these sensitive subjects.

Independence also brought a new chapter in religious instruction. The Qur'an and the Islamic faith were introduced as academic subjects from which only the non-Muslim minorities were exempted. Mission schools were ordered to halt requiring chapel attendance. Christian instruction to Muslim young people was prohibited. Later policies have required that both Mission and private schools provide instruction in the Qur'an and the Islamic religion for all their Muslim students. This was considered a necessity because getting a passing grade in religious studies became one of the requirements for graduation and obtaining the State Matriculation Certificate. Still, non-Muslim students were exempt from this rule.

In the mid-1950's the government of Egypt, a country that has almost always taken the lead, required that Christians should, like their Muslim colleagues, sit for an examination in their religion. In their case, the religion to be tested was Christianity. The leaders of the Christian sects were commissioned to devise the curriculum and to draft the requisite textbooks. This enforced project proved to be one of the hardest tasks ever to face the churches. Their doctrinal differences consumed endless hours.

The final comprise product was limited to non-controversial topics. These included the Lord's Prayer, the Twenty-third Psalm and an innocuous affirmation that the Christian faith provides salvation. The Christian students learn that their faith is the source of morality for daily living and provides an alternative to psychological complex. An optional appendix to one of the textbooks includes the Roman Catholic version of the Ten Commandments and a section on the death of the body. These same texts were also adopted by Syria when it joined with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. It must be noted, however, that Mission and parochial schools were permitted to supplement these materials if they deemed it to be necessary.

After the 1967 War, Iraq nationalized all foreign, missionary and parochial schools. Two years later, similar measures were adopted by Syria. Those schools that cooperated with the government directives were able to preserve some of their identity. They are now administered by principals who are appointed by the Ministry of Education. Their job is to insure that the government's curriculum is implemented. However, home economics, mathematics and the sciences may still be taught in a foreign language. The students continue to pay fees in order to receive this kind of instruction. And the supporting missionary societies still help to finance the operation. All of the schools that refused to cooperate were confiscated by the government. They are now operated on the same basis as the public schools, with the national government underwriting their deficits. Most of the former local teachers in these institutions were rehired and their students still pay tuition.

No one can tell whether or not this is the wave of the future. But the Arab states are finding that standardization and uniformity are necessary in order to forge a unified nation. This conformity eliminates waste and helps to harness all efforts for the purposes of nation building. There is a heavy price to be paid for this progress. Creativity and individuality tend to be stifled.

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Dimensions of Minority Education in India

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The concept of minority status epitomizes a social phenomenon of inherent complexities, and entails multi-faceted implications for societal living. In tangible and discernible terms, it denotes the segmentation and also fragmentation of the members of a given society on the basis of such inherited, ascribed or acquired factors as race, color, sex, caste, creed, religion, language and a myriad of other expedients. However, more significantly, and profoundly, minority as a status designation connotes the overt and covert denial of fundamental human and civil rights to these designated groups residing within the broader realm of the social matrix. Both in crude and subtle forms the existence and perpetuation of the minority status illustrate man's exploitation of man. On the pure negative side of the human value scale, this oppressive exploitation is a certain evidence of degeneration within the supposedly highly civilized and cultured world. A real or an imaginary fear of insecurity, a desire for power and to subjugate seem to be the primary reasons to divide the society into majority-minority blocks. Nevertheless, some of the justifications for the continuance and non-liquidation of the minority groups are not necessarily sanctimonious, but are national endeavors to protect and safeguard the especial rights and interests of particular groups and also to encourage them to nurture their unique heritage thereby enriching the superstructure of a pluralistic and heterogeneous society. In a democratic nation where mass homogenization is frowned upon, and individual self-expression, no matter how unregimented that becomes, support and sustenance of the minority status do seem to have social redeeming values.

It is both reassuring and inspiring to note that countries around the world are acknowledging the magnitude of this controversial problem. In dealing with the minority issue, a three-pronged approach becomes imperative. First, a positive and unambiguous statement of the philosophy pertaining to

the nation's minority policy. Second, an assessment of the statutory provisions protecting or abridging the rights of the minorities. Thirdly, taking an inventory to gauge the degree and extent of biases and prejudices suffered and practiced by groups within a given society.

The frame of reference applied in defining and determining the minority status, and the collateral educational opportunities in contemporary India, to a great extent, is the off-shoot of Gandhian philosophy. To Gandhi, the people approach to stipulate the physical, social, economic and spiritual wellbeing of the society is both ideal and feasible. Today, there seems to be greater concern over the population of India than the people of India. Obviously, one cannot ignore the trauma of sheer numbers, nonetheless, Gandhian philosophy of Humanism recognizes the man in man. Since, in Gandhian thinking if the quality of the man who directs all the human endeavors and enterprises, is high then as a natural sequence his actions will contain redeeming and regenerating values.

The adoption of a constitution in independent India based on the theme of social justice to protect and enhance the quality of man has a special significance for a country like India, which most certainly is not a monolithic society in terms of race, religion, language and socio-economic standing.

The Indian Perspective

In order to comprehend the full meaning of the minority status in India, enumeration and examination of the fundamental sub-continental characteristics of India are essential. An analysis of these characteristics will provide a necessary orientation to the land and its inhabitants, and furthermore, will enhance understanding and insight regarding the various factors which are minority status determinants.

Race: India, the world's seventh largest country, has a population of 547 million—a formidable figure defying a solid racial homogeneity, since the people belong to many races—Aryans, Dravidians, Mongols, and numerous combinations of these. These multitudes of people over the period of more than three thousand years through an unceasing process of synthesis and assimilation, have been acclimatized to the Indian way of life. Yet, due to the absence of any coercive method of indoctrination and proselytization

to conform to the life style of either the dominant or the majority group made Indian environment of tolerance and non-intervention a thriving ground for retaining and practicing one's own unique way of living. Since then, in India, one lives his unique life by speaking his own language, practicing his own religious faith, and following other cognate social and cultural codes and mores without the threat of any political or psychological pressure to get disintegrated into the "melting pot" process.

Religion: India is a land of many religious beliefs. It has been the guiding principle of Indian life since time immemorial to let a variety of doctrines and faiths flourish together in the quest and search for truth.

"During the freedom struggle the makers of modern India have visualized the birth of a nation in which religion would not determine nationality or a citizen discriminated against in any way on account of his or her religion. The concept of a secular nation, in this sense, was therefore embodied in the constitution adopted in November 1949. India thus has no state religion and people belonging to various religions enjoy equal rights and privileges of a single citizenship. The purpose of India's secular policy is not to create a godless society but rather to encourage the growth of all religions in harmony and without any prejudice."

Percentagewise, nearly 80% of the total Indian population are Hindus. Apart from being a religious doctrine, Hinduism also implies a philosophy, a way of life, hence, it would be accurate to state that statistically speaking, any Indian practicing either the cult or the culture of Hinduism hold the religious majority status, however, without enjoying any position of privilege.

Next to the Hindus in number, and perhaps equal in cultural significance are the followers of Islamic faith. The Muslim population in India is the third largest in the world.

Although Christianity as a religious dogma was first introduced to the Indians during the first century A.D. by Apostle Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Christ, in later years, Christianity in India disseminated western philosophy and ethics thus providing a new dimension to the Indian living. Over 12 million Christians now live in India.

Other religions of lesser membership but of unique cultural value include Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism. With the exception of some ten thousand Zoroastrians in Iran, all of the rest live in India. The Jewish contact with India's Malabar Coast, dates to 973 B.C. Today, Indian Jews live in different parts of the country though their major concentration is in the southernmost State of Kerala and the western States of India.

Language: A veritable cultural plurality is evident by the variety of languages being spoken in different regions of the country. The constitution of India recognizes 15 major languages, namely (in the order of the number of people speaking them): Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi and Sanskrit. The boundaries of the States have been drawn largely on the basis of the major languages.

Hindi became the official language of the Union in 1965. However, provision has been made for the continued use of the English language in addition to Hindi for certain official purposes. The States of India use their own regional languages as the official state language.

To avoid any hiatus in the understanding of the Indian perspective, a brief analysis of the Indian political structure, the national development strategy and the changing social system deems necessary.

Political Structure: India, the largest practicing democracy in the world is comprised of eighteen states, and a number of autonomous and centrally administered union territories. These states and territories are more than separate administrative units, virtually almost all of them represent unique cultural and ethnic identities.

The Constitution of the sovereign, democratic and secular republic of India provides for a single and uniform citizenship for the whole of India.

The Fundamental Rights of all citizens are guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, which countenances no discrimination on grounds of race, religion, creed or sex. Freedom of speech and expression, assembly and association, worship, migration, acquisition of property, and choice of occupation or trade are guaranteed.

There are also Directive Principles of State policy which require government to promote the people's welfare in a social order in which "justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of national life."²

Each of the abovementioned three components of the Indian political philosophy categorically rejects any explicit or implicit attempt towards establishing or patronizing special groups or denying or curbing privileges to others, especially singled out.

National Development Strategy

The national development strategy is based on two imperatives, one is social welfare with social justice as the goal, and, the other relates to the framework of a series of well-considered and coordinated Five Year Plans. Although India borrowed the idea of economic planning from the Soviet Union, she believes that planning can be carried out without the use of doctrinaire socialism and totalitarian tactics. In a nut-shell, these series of Five Year Plans are formulated to "combat the curse of poverty," increase productivity and national income, create more job opportunities, "build a technologically progressive economy," reduce disparities of income, provide various welfare services, "promote a socialist pattern of society," combat the tendency toward the concentration of economic power and provide "sound foundations for sustained economic growth." Hence, the Indian National Development dynamics represents a multidimensional task force geared not only to the gross national product output, but also mobilized to catapult various reform programs in the areas of health, education, social and community living, land ownership and so on. "Of course no one should underestimate the seriousness and the magnitude of the problems that lie ahead. What is being attempted is more than an economic phenomenon. A new social order is in the making."³

Changing Social System

Undoubtedly, one can find in India, the modern is in juxtaposition with the world's only continuing ancient civilization. This spells out one important factor about Indian Psyche that does not mind anachronism. The

reason that Indian society survived through some thousand years is not just due to tolerance and respect for the traditions and heritage, but more so, due to an on-going process of assimilation of renovating ideas to save the social system from decay and degeneration. The Indian leadership recognizes that the effectiveness of Indian democracy depends on a viable, vital and vibrant social system. Thus massive social reform programs launched in India, especially after the attainment of total political independence, have been spearheaded to eradicate discrimination, deprivation and lack of privilege, and to ensure equality of opportunity among the members of the society. One of the most controversial social practices which embodies arbitrary social classification, and engenders inequality and discrimination against human and social rights, is the caste system. Since this social system which divides people into groups of unequal privileges has a special significance for minority education in India, it seems that a closer look at the caste system per se becomes necessary.

"The western version of the word caste has been derived from the Portuguese." It is generally used to denote both the four original groups and also the far more numerous ramified sub-groups. Indians usually refer to two different words for the two distinct kinds of grouping. The word VARNA refers to the fourfold division into BRAHMANS, KSHATRIYAS, VAISHYAS and SUDRAS. This fourfold grouping that was conceived shortly after the ARYANS entered India approximately 2,500 years ago could be linked to three factors—broad division of labor, sustain racial distinctions and perpetuate the religious belief mentioned in the ARYAN religious scripture RIGVEDA that the four castes have a irreversible divine origin.

The other word JATI is generally translated as sub-caste. The most accepted modern sociological explanation of JATI system is that this system arose out of the organization of society into hereditary monopolistic guilds, and also of mixed marriages among the four basic castes, and the almost continuous arrival over the centuries of new ethnic groups.

In evaluating the overall impact of caste system in India, one has to admit some positive gains. Caste system provided a degree of social cohesiveness, balanced manpower supply in many vocational areas, protected,

enriched and transmitted the unique cultural heritage and craftsmanship of the numerous caste groups thereby according color and richness to the Indian society. However, on the negative side the system did impose staggering liabilities by perpetuating hereditary class lines which kept a large section of the Indian population outside the perimeter of the privileged society.

It is encouraging to note that, currently, the caste system is going through a revolutionary change. Legally, the system has been completely liquidated through the directive principles of the Indian Constitution. However, the total phasing out of the various manifestations of the system from the Indian social consciousness will take some time. Some of the abhorrent practices such as untouchability of the low caste is practically extinct. To a large measure, industrialization and urbanization are also making the hard core caste line fluid. In conclusion, it would be fair to state that although Indian public policy is crusading against the liabilities of the caste system, nevertheless, it supports the caste system in so far as it enables the individuals to retain their rich cultural and ethnic identity.

Minority Education Issues in India

An examination of the Indian perspective clearly reveals the pluralistic nature of Indian society. Because of racial, religious, linguistic, and socio-economic heterogeneity, the Indian population tends to fall into groups. Applying any of these frame of references, each Indian can simultaneously attain a majority-minority status. For example, a Hindu-Bengali residing in the State of Kerala, belongs to the majority group since he is a Hindu, but is a minority because he speaks the Bengali language in a Malayaian language speaking area.

In discussing the minority education issues in India, the criteria or the frame of references to demarcate the minority groups will be -Degree and extent of equal opportunity and privileges enjoyed, Religion and Language.

National Policy on Education

Since the problem of minority education in India needs to be treated as an integral part of the total Indian educational system and not as an

autonomous, supra or infra-structure either superimposed or linked to the larger super-structure, a brief examination of the national policy on education seems vital.

The Indian system of education like most other societies around the world endeavors to manifest the ethos of the country. The Indian ethos represents a conglomeration of philosophical, political, cultural, economic and ethical ideologies of hope and aspiration. The immediate and most crucial problem besieging the Indian nation at the wake of independence was the difficult task of combating the staggering adversaries of poverty and illiteracy. Education was recognized as the double-barrel gun to fight these two evils. Ironically, education as a combat mechanism needed its own revitalization. One of the major drawbacks of pre-independence Indian education was the unequal educational opportunities. The high cost of education, and a narrowly conceived curriculum made education unavailable and unattractive to the majority of the economically and culturally deprived sections of the Indian populace. The very selective nature of education, in fact, was further sub-dividing and fragmenting the members of an already caste-ridden society.

Equal Opportunity and Privilege As A Minority Education Frame of Reference

To purge the educational system of its demoralizing and stagnating legacies and supplanting that with progressive democratic practices, the following national policy on education was enumerated by the government of India. Some of the major policy statements which are stated below have direct implications for minority education.

"The Government of India is convinced that a radical reconstruction of education is essential for economic and cultural development of the country, for national integration, and for realizing the ideals of a socialist pattern of society. This will involve a transformation of the system to relate it more closely to the life of the people, a continuous effort to expand educational opportunity; a sustained and intensive effort to raise the quality of education at all stages; an emphasis on the development of science and technology, and the cultivation of moral and social values."⁴

Because of the highly selective character of Indian education, the majority of the Indian grass root retained a minority status in terms of educational opportunity and privilege. To do away with this inequality in educational opportunity the following constitutional provisions have been made:

"Provision of free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14. Furthermore, suitable programs should be developed to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools and to ensure that every child who is enrolled in school successfully completes the prescribed course."⁵

In spelling out the specifics in equalizing educational opportunities the National Policy of Education states that:

1. Regional imbalance in the provision of educational facilities should be corrected and good educational facilities should be provided in rural and other backward areas.
2. To promote social cohesion and national integration the Common School System as recommended by the Indian Education Commission should be adopted. Efforts should be made to improve the standard of education in general schools. All special schools like public schools (private) should be required to admit students on the basis of merit and also to provide a prescribed proportion of free-studentships to prevent segregation of social classes. This will not, however, affect the rights of minorities under Article 30 of the Constitution.
3. The education of girls should receive emphasis, not only on grounds of social justice, but also because it accelerates social transformation.
4. More intensive efforts are needed to develop education among the backward classes and especially among the tribal people.
5. Educational facilities for the physically and mentally handicapped children should be expanded and attempts should be made to develop integrated programs enabling the handicapped children to study in regular schools.⁶

The extensive programs of Social Education for the neo-literates and illiterate adults are other innovative measures introduced in India as parallel programs to make education available to all.

To comply with the egalitarian approach in educational policy, implementation of an especial scholarship and financial aid program has been introduced by the administration to facilitate the educational growth of the so-called backward communities of India. For administrative purposes these groups have been classified under the titles of scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. These groups, as the names indicate, constitute the section of the Indian people who for historic reasons have suffered most from social and economic deprivation. Some of these state compensatory and facilitative educational programs for the special groups, such as free education at the elementary level, and especially earmarked scholarships and financial aids at the secondary and post-secondary levels have been regarded by some as positive discrimination in education. Between 1950 and 1970 various legal and other measures have been taken in India for implementing educational discrimination in favor of certain "weaker sections of the people." Various other names for this policy are "protective discrimination," "progressive discrimination," and "reverse discrimination."⁷ This positive discrimination of the selected minorities seeks to accomplish educational as well as a set of socio-economic objectives. By granting special scholarships and maintenance allowances, by allocating certain percentage of places in professional colleges of high admission standards and, by abolishing segregated schools and student dormitories, it is being hoped that all these measures will act as catalysts in dissolving the narrow concentration of power limited to few privileged groups, and, eventually, in creating a broader leadership base among the greater masses. However, a time will come, when this kind of progressive discrimination on the basis of caste alone has to be replaced by other factors of deprivation and isolation to ensure equality of educational opportunity for every Indian.

Religion As a Frame of Reference in Minority Education

Under the Constitution of India, religious education cannot be given in government (public) schools, and the state cannot give grants-in-aid to

Institutions in which the study of religion is compulsory. The principle of secularism as embodied in the policy of separation of the state and church has unequivocally rejected the idea of establishing and patronizing preferential treatments to any of the numerous religious groups in India. In fact, the government strictly maintains a laissez faire policy towards the manner in which a person wishes to practice his religion.

Numerically, the Hindu majority or the Muslim or Christian minority has no especial civil right to claim any especial set of privileges from the government. The dual-faceted state principle of non-intervention and non-patronization regarding religion has created a very healthy and stimulating influence in sectarian and denominational educational efforts in India. Besides this prerogative of religious freedom, another widely prevalent condition in the Indian education enterprise has greatly enhanced the growth of minority sectarian education in India. The large majority of the schools in India are not publicly owned and managed, instead, these are controlled and operated by various private groups. These groups represent diverse religious denominations, as well as a wide spectrum of other special interests. As a result of these conditions, there has been a proliferation of educational institutions run by widely divergent minority groups. Supposedly, they aim to preserve such interests as religion, ethnic identity and language through education. However, these minority educational efforts often face the same financial plights as their American counterparts. Sectarian minority schools have to depend solely on tuition and private funding for financing. Thus only few schools can offer a truly enriching and progressive educational program. The government's policy of neutrality and non-interference has resulted in the creation of a diversified competitive educational market. The state does not hold monopoly over the educational enterprise. The privately funded sectarian schools provide the minorities diversified educational culture in being responsive to the needs of their especial interests. Perhaps it would be worthwhile at this point to illustrate the status of Islamic education in secular India. The restrictions imposed on state's funding of religious institutions "has had a very healthy effect on the Muslims."⁸

The DAR AL-ULUM (theological seminary) of Deoband in India now receives more contributions from the public and has a larger number of students than before independence. Other institutions of this nature may not be as flourishing but they are carrying on their work of education and dissemination of Islamic culture.

"What is more significant is that the religious education of children, almost altogether neglected in practice before independence, is now being organized on a voluntary basis by persons and by associations formed for this particular purpose." Several Indian universities already have, and several want to establish institutes of Islamic studies. All the Muslim educational endeavors are not necessarily geared to the fostering of sectarian religion.

"In South India, several colleges have been established with funds contributed by the Muslim Community. They are secular institutions, open to students of both sexes and all communities. They fulfill their cultural function by bringing together Muslim and non-Muslim students and teachers, and cultivating a spirit of goodwill and solicitude for each other."⁹

"The JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA (Islamic University) in Delhi was founded in the hope that it would become a living example of the composite culture of North India. Today, in this institution, Muslims and non-Muslims are not only taught but educated together. The working language of JAMIA is URDU, and Hindu parents send their sons and daughters here to acquire the habits of refined behavior which characterized the Islamic culture of India. Provision is made for the study of his own religion by a student, if he so desires, and the Islamic obligation of tolerance for other religions is thereby fulfilled."¹⁰

The Muslim sectarian and cultural schools in India epitomize the present general status of minority sectarian education. This status is characterized by diversity which is essentially the result of the individual's

freedom to pursue his culture and religion. Hopefully, one can expect that this kind of educational freedom will further thrive under the secular principles enumerated in the constitution, and will sustain religious harmony and social cohesion in India.

Language As a Frame of Reference in Minority Education

Unlike the state's strictly neutral and laissez faire policy towards minority religious education, a set of very positive and directive principles guide the language policy in education in India. One of the most complex and intriguing problems that modern India faces is that of language. The country is a veritable "tower of Babel, and the multi-lingual nature of the land affects every aspect of Indian life."¹¹ It greatly complicates the already difficult and complex problem of education. At present, an intricate tug of war is going on between advocates of Hindi (spoken by the majority, especially in Northern India) and advocates of the regional languages. This language controversy has many implications for education, not just the problem of medium of instruction. Entangled with the language issue are such basic matters as the right of the individual to receive education through one's mother tongue which might not be the same as the medium of instruction of the school which most generally happens to be the regional language, and the right of the states to make it mandatory for all schools in the states to teach the respective state languages.

Examination of some aspects of the administration of education in India might explain the language dilemma. Education is an activity of the state government, with the Union (Federal) government providing coordination, direction as well as substantial financial aid. However, a discernible conflict between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies are quite evident in the area of educational administration. An analysis of the national educational policy on language will manifest this tendency to some extent.

The national policy on education gives top priority to the Regional languages. This is to comply with the State's right to use the State or the Regional language as the official state language, and also as the medium of instruction in the schools located within the State boundary.

However, to ensure equality of educational opportunity and, the individual's right to achieve self-realization, the rights of the linguistic minorities of a given state to receive education in their mother tongue also needs to be protected. Thus the Federal Government of India in stating its national policy on language in education lays down the following specifics.

1. Regional Languages. The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a sine qua non for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain, if not widen further.
2. Three-Language Formula: At the secondary stage, the State Government should adopt, and vigorously implement, the three language formula which includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking states and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi-speaking states. Suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in Universities and Colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards.
3. Hindi: Every effort should be made to promote the development of Hindi. In developing Hindi as the link language, due care should be taken to ensure that it will serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. The establishment in non-Hindi states, of colleges and other institutions of higher education which use Hindi as the medium of education should be encouraged.

4. Sanskrit: Considering the special importance of Sanskrit to the growth and development of Indian languages and its unique contribution to the cultural unity of the country, facilities for its teaching at the school and university stages should be offered on a more liberal scale.
5. International Languages: Special emphasis needs to be laid on the study of English and other international languages.¹²

Since it is not obligatory for the state residents to send their children to the schools where the state (regional) language is the medium of education, the linguistic minorities residing in any given state, therefore, are not restricted by law from founding and operating their own vernacular schools as long as these do not violate the national language policy framework. The vernacular schools symbolize the ethnic pride and achievement, as well as the freedom and opportunity one enjoys in a democracy to exercise one's right to perpetuate and enrich one's own cultural heritage.

In summarizing the status of minority education in the Indian subcontinent, it becomes evident that the minority-majority educational issues are basically apolitical in nature. In fact, the various dimensions of the problem of minority education mostly hinge on academic-cultural matters related to the freedom of fostering one's self-realization—the fundamental right of a citizen in a democracy. Unlike the educational systems stifled by the Apartheid Laws of the segregationist countries, the Indian minority education, as a redefined structure and a well-defined movement, is an attempt to provide equality of educational opportunities to all within a democratic setup. Yet every precaution should be taken to protect the educational system as a whole from being fragmented and esoteric in purposes. This becomes even more significant for India—a land of diversities. Here the schools have to play a very special kind of role that will enable their students to discover the "unity in diversity" that India essentially is, and in fostering a "sense of national solidarity transcending narrower loyalties."

In conclusion, it could be said that minority education endeavors to materialize the concept of the revolution of rising expectations. A psycho-ethical orientation to understand and appreciate the values, aspirations and plights of the minorities is paramount to the consideration of minority

education in its proper perspective. The ultimate goal of all minority education ought to be in maintaining harmony through social justice and in avoiding polarization in a humanistic social order.

Footnotes

1. India (Republic), Embassy of India (U.S.A.) Information Service of India. India. Washington, D.C., p. 3
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. L.K. Jha, Growth with Social Justice: An Assessment of India's Development Strategy.
4. National Council of Educational Research and Training, Ministry of Education and Youth Service, Government of India. Educational and National Development, Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66, (New Delhi, India, 1970) pp. XV-XVI
5. Ibid, p. XVI
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7. Mathew Zachariah, "Positive Discrimination in Education in India," Comparative Education Review (vol 16, No. 1, February 1972) p. 16.
8. M. Mujeeb, "Islamic Culture in Independent India," India News, (Vol. IX, No. 51, March 12, 1971) p. 3.
9. Ibid, p. 3.
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11. Beatrice Pitney Lamb, India: A World in Transition. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p. 162.
12. Educational and National Development, Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66. pp. XVI - XVII.

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LANGUAGE AND SCHOOLING IN WALES

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Since the time of Christ, the people of Wales have been faced with the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism as a result of a succession of conquerors: the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, and finally the "English". During these centuries, the Welsh people have had to endure a sort of colonial status with subjugation of their own language and culture to that of the dominant and numerically superior English. Under the terms of the Act of Union between England and Wales in the 16th century, it was decreed that, "no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner, Office or Fees within this realm . . . upon pain of forfeiting the same Office or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language."

At the present time, only about 25% of the almost 3 million Welsh people speak the language, but a significant percentage of the others use the English language to give vent to their nationalistic and cultural aspirations and to denounce the fact that it is only through the English medium that one can become a success in the mainstream of British life. Examples of Welshmen who have achieved renown by this means include such notables as World War I Prime Minister Lloyd George, Dylan Thomas the poet, H.M. Stanley the explorer, Richard Burton and Emlyn Williams in the theatrical world, and Tom Jones the popular singer.

Unlike the Celtic Catholic countries such as Ireland and Brittany where Latin was the language of religion, Wales became a stronghold of Methodism, and by means of the Welsh Bible (translated in the 16th century) and the long tradition of Sunday Schools, survival of the Welsh language was promoted not only with nationalistic but with religious fervor.

Generally speaking, the industrialized and urbanized South has been deeply penetrated by English speech and culture, but in the central and northern parts of the Principality, Welsh has remained the language of the home to the extent that there are five of the twelve counties where from 68-88% of the population are Welsh-speaking. This being so, a

major question in Wales is the extent to which the native language should be used in education. There can be no doubt that the 17 Welsh local education authorities have fully rejected the declaration of the 1846 Commission that, "The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilization." Instead, the Department of Education and Science (London), the Welsh Education Office (Cardiff), and the L.E.A.'s have accepted the principle included in the 1967 report on "Primary Education in Wales" (also known as "The Gittins Report") that, unlike England, Wales should provide a fully bilingual educational program for all students regardless of the home language.

A consequence of this at present is that there are many areas in Wales where only bilingual teachers and school inspectors are eligible for employment. The implications of the Gittins Report for bilingualism in Welsh education are far-reaching and range from acceptance "as a basic principle that every child in Wales should have the opportunity to be taught through the medium of his mother-tongue during the infant stage of education," to the belief that "bilingual primary education is a waste of time unless it is continued into the secondary school (which) implies the establishment of more bilingual secondary schools . . ."

As might be expected, a certain amount of polarization has taken place in Wales between those at the one extreme who seek to bring about a strong revival of spoken Welsh, and those who would be perfectly happy to see the native tongue simply fade away as it had done in Cornwall. From parental attitude surveys and other investigations, however, it appears that on the whole, the majority considers the Welsh language to be necessary and desirable for the special identity of the country.

Contributing appreciably to this nationalistic viewpoint have been the activities and influences of such groups as the Welsh Language Society, the Welsh Nationalist Party (which has sent members to Parliament in recent years), the Welsh League of Youth, and the National Eisteddfod Committee (which operates chiefly in the area of song, dance and poetry). Also

important to education and nationalism in Wales has been the greatly increased production of books and other publications in Welsh, and the popular appeal of a greater number of regular radio and television programs in Welsh. With education as the key weapon in their arsenal, it now appears as if the centuries-old struggle of the Welsh people is meeting with a fair measure of belated success.

MINORITY EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

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In Israel, the social aspect identified as the problem of Minority Education pertains to the Majority of school children—60% of them—, a phenomenon not without precedence among the nations. The history of it in Israel is fairly recent, starting with the large influx of immigration to the newly established State, itself a society of immigrants, twenty-three years ago. During this period, and especially during the first decade of it, 1,500,000 immigrants joined the host-population of 650,000 in a process involving the nation in constant adaption, absorption and integration, on all levels of its being. On a national level this stream of immigrants is called the "Ingathering of the Exiles,"¹ and is considered to be of supreme national and humane importance: the Ingathering of the Exiles as the basis for renewed and complete nationhood and brotherhood in the Jewish state, is both the reason and the aim of new Israel. The education-conscious society of Israel quickly recognized that the chief means of the reunion of all Diasporas - more than seventy of them - will be found in education. Great vigor and resources were needed to facilitate this educational absorption.

Beside the large percentage of recent immigrants in the population - an unprecedented occurrence in world history - the demographical structure of it presented, and still presents, many problems.

Until 1948, the year of independence, the major part of the population was of European and other Western origin. The overwhelming majority of the new immigrants came from Asian and African, often underdeveloped societies. They are the "Oriental," "Eastern" or "Sephardic" Jews, the latter being the name of a tradition in Judaism developed in Spain in the Middle Ages. The three terms are interchangeable to a great extent - There are differences between those two bodies of immigrants:

¹ "Exile," "Diaspora" - both are terms for any Jewish community living outside Israel.

There are differences between those two bodies of immigrants:

"The educational levels of these 'Orientals', as compared to the educational attainments of immigrants from Europe and the Western hemisphere are significantly lower. For example, the rate of illiteracy among Oriental Jews is about 45% as contrasted with 4% among European and less than 3% among Orientals born in Israel. A key problem, therefore, is how to integrate into the Israeli educational system, and into Israeli society generally, those of Oriental background and bring them to educational levels approximating those of 'Europeans' and 'Westerns'."²

In addition:

"It is here important to point out that, generally speaking, those Jews who came from Oriental Sephardic background are economically and socially disadvantaged."³

The closing of the cultural gap, then, became Israel's national task par excellence.

Basic education, for children and for adults, was considered as the most urgent among priorities. Since education is free and compulsory between the ages 5 - 14 (to be gradually extended, by recent legislation, to ages 3 - 15 by 1975), this compulsory state school-system became geared to the specific needs of those children "in need of fostering," of "Teunei Tipuach" in Hebrew, the Israeli term for disadvantaged. While no child is classified as disadvantaged, schools containing significant numbers of needy Eastern children are entitled to special remedial facilities and, administrationally, are entrusted with carrying out programs designated for the Teunei Tipuach - or TT in the professional vernacular.

The following programs are employed for TT children:

Preschool Education

Although compulsory Kindergarten starts at five, private nurseries are extremely popular. In predominantly TT areas, day-care centers and

² Education in Israel, Report of the Select Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, August 1970, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 2.

³ Ibid.

nurseries are free, and registration greatly encouraged.

The activities in them reflect the well-known assumption that disadvantaged children are deprived of such intellectual and creative stimulations in their homes as might ensure their success in school.

Elementary Education

There is no busing in Israel, for there are no purely Eastern neighborhoods or schools. Institutions classified as TT schools receive priority in state and municipal support, spent on the following projects:

1. Extended school day: 8 - 4 vs. 8 - 1 in regular schools.
2. Extended school year: 11 months instead of the regular 10 months.
3. Homogeneous grouping in grades 6 - 7 - 8 in the three problem subjects: Hebrew, Math, English.
4. Tutoring and remedial instruction in classes of 2 - 3 children.
5. Free lunch.
6. Enrichment centers in the afternoons, outside the school, for the upper 25% achievers in order to prepare them for high schools, through advanced studies in many fields.
7. Special consideration at the Seker examinations. The Seker is given in the last, 8th, year and is aimed at measuring nationwide achievements; to advise in the vocational field; to serve as criteria in the graded tuition-system in high school, based on parents' income and students' achievements. This consideration is given to all Eastern children, even if not attending TT schools.

Children in these institutions who would otherwise not qualify for special fostering, nevertheless benefit from all programs, except the Seker criterion.

Secondary Education

Israel is in the process of reforming its educational system in two directions:

- a. Extending the free compulsory age.
- b. Changing the prevailing structure of K + 8 + 4 into Nursery + K + 6 + 6.
- c. In addition, many secondary schools will be comprehensive.

Until recently, not all Eastern children tried to continue in academic or highly demanding vocational schools. According to the reform, all those between 12 - 15 will be in high schools assigned to them, and many

will have to commute, for there should be the highest degree of integration in all secondary schools. Those will receive state support, especially for their TT programs. Schools already involved in the reform have set up their own programs, featuring tutoring and experiments with grouping or, on the contrary, with widely heterogeneous classes. The aim of the project is to increase the number of Eastern citizens in the professions.

Although secondary education in Israel is not yet free (not by principle but by merely financial reasons), 50% of all students already are exempt from any tuition. Lack of money is in no case a reason for dropping out.

Higher Education

Scholarships are offered to Eastern students and candidates. Since their number in universities is so alarmingly low - 12% - there is much encouragement for registration.

There are many other institutions catering for TT children, along with other children: Youth-villages and youth-groups in Kibbutzim, sponsored by various organizations. In those boarding-institutions study, work and intensive social life are integrated.

The cultural level of Eastern Jews rises constantly, in direct proportion with the number of years spent in Israel. Whereas, years back parents had to be cajoled into letting their girls attend high school, such practice is now a matter of fact. The young themselves did much to elevate the general standard of the families. As a result, the upward social mobility of the second immigrant generation is nothing short of dramatic.

EDUCATING TURKISH MINORITIES

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Policies which the Ottoman authorities followed for centuries have shaped the varieties of education which today's minorities in the Turkish Republic receive. The type of minority education which Turks are most likely to bring to mind occurs in the schools that are maintained and operated by the main non-Muslim religious sects as a result of the Ottoman millet system.¹ Each religious community was viewed as an entity within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, according to the millet concept. It was encouraged to maintain its heritage, structures and institutions. The remnants of the millet schools are now concentrated in Istanbul and a few other coastal cities. They cater to the children of Armenian, Assyrian, Greek Orthodox and Jewish citizens who comprise less than 2% of Turkey's population.

Instruction in the tongue that is associated with the particular religio-ethnic group is one of each minority school's chief functions. Aside from this aspect, however, their curricula must follow the standard course of study prescribed by the Ministry of National Education. The minority schools have their largest enrollments in their elementary sections, but many of them include middle schools and lycees as well.

All higher education in the Turkish Republic had been entrusted exclusively to the official institutions of the State until a boom in private higher schools which were recently declared unconstitutional. Robert College had long been the sole exception in the national pattern of higher education and until the current academic year, many youths from the non-Muslim minorities were accommodated in the Robert College Division of Higher Studies. This has now become the Bosphorus University, an official institution under Turkish direction, so it will remain to be seen whether the previous trend will continue.

Another form of minority education in modern Turkey derives from the capitulations granted to foreigners by various Ottoman Sultans. These contained educational privileges which were confirmed by the Republican regime under the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. A number of academic secondary

schools that are called kolej's are the result of these arrangements. Often originally intended to educate expatriate or minority youths, they today prepare the tiny minority which will achieve top positions in the Turkish social structure. About half of their program is taught in a European tongue (English, French, German or Italian), sometimes by foreign teachers, and the remainder is in Turkish. They may still be sponsored by agencies of the foreign country or have the backing of a foreign philanthropic organization. In the last decades the Turkish Ministry of National Education has organized its own kolej's. The Ankara Koleji is maintained by an indigenous, non-profit society, the Turkish Educational Association.

The elitist notion at the secondary educational level in Turkey isn't limited to these prestigious schools that reflect foreign influences, however. Compulsory education, when it is available, still includes only the five years of elementary school. Secondary and higher education in Turkey is theoretically free, but only a small proportion of Turkish youth can attend the middle schools and lycees which provide academic preparation for university entrance. Their families live in the 40,000 villages which dot the landscape or reside in the shantytowns which surround every city and large town. They can't afford to maintain their sons and daughters away from home or to sacrifice their earning power. Purchasing the requisite clothing and books would strain the resources of as many as 70% of Turkish families.

The elite of the Empire in the Ottoman tradition were trained at a palace school located in the capital. As time went on new institutions for preparing leaders were opened, but they are still located almost exclusively in towns and cities. The public lycees are packed with young Turks who aspire to upward mobility, but who will have great difficulty in gaining university admission. Due to the crowded conditions, many private secondary schools which are also called kolej's have been opened during the last decade. They service the children of families who can afford to pay tuition and board, and usually feature English as a second language in their programs.

It would not be unfair to maintain, then, that contemporary Turkish education is still largely the privileged domain of the country's urban minority. Despite the best of intentions and considerable effort to diffuse educational opportunities, Turkish villagers are still heavily discriminated against. The children of displaced villagers who live in the urban shanty

towns are also very unlikely to complete secondary school or gain access to a university. And the Kurdish and Arabic speaking Muslim minorities in the East and Southeast of Turkey have little possibility of penetrating their country's power structure because of their cultural and linguistic handicap.²

The stream of traditional Muslim institutions based on the old mektep and medrese which have been revived since 1950 is a final form of minority education within Turkey. Thousands of the faithful are served by Kuran courses in practically every town and in many villages. A system of eighty-one Prayer Leader-Preacher Schools has been established by pious contributions. This educational track culminates in four High Islamic Institutes which with the Faculty of Divinity of Ankara University are actually alternatives to secular higher education. This religious trend in education has already produced a new educated Turk who is dedicated to preserving his Islamic heritage and is militantly opposed to youthful supporters of radical Socialism.³

Outside the borders of the Turkish Republic, sizeable communities of Turks reside in neighboring lands. School systems for these minorities are maintained, for example, in Cyprus, Greece, Iraq and Yugoslavia. The Ministry of National Education has some responsibility for the Turkish schools on Cyprus and in Iraq. Turkish language publications from the Macedonian Republic of Yugoslavia circulate in Turkey and the Turkish press often contains articles about Turkish schools in Greece. Thus, modern Turks are touched by several varieties of minority education within their own country and they are also physically and emotionally involved with the education of Turkish minorities abroad.

¹ Bozkurt Güvenç, "The Role of the Churches in Education: Turkey", World Year Book of Education, 1966, pp. 92-112 contains data on several matters that are touched on in this paper.

² A detailed study of this problem was made in Sevim Tunç, Türkiye Eğitim Esitliği (Educational Equality in Turkey). Ankara: Buşnur Matbaası, 1969. This was a doctoral dissertation.

³ See R.B. Scott, "Qur'an Courses in Turkey," The Muslim World 61(4), October 1971, pp. 239-55 for information and bibliographical data.

BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA
THE MAJORITY AS MINORITY

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Of the nearly 20,000,000 inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa, the adult voters of the European (White) minority of 3,500,000 alone are franchised, and it is they who control the lives and destinies of the 14,000,000 Africans (Black) of the Bantu language group, the 1,500,000 Coloured (of mixed ancestry), and the 600,000 Asians (chiefly of Indian origin). Acting as the country's majority, the minority has developed one of the most comprehensive and intricate systems of social, legal, economic, and educational control of any nation on earth, accompanied by an elaborate planning mechanism and a police state.

This system of control and development emanates from the official policy of "Apartheid," or separate development. To insure both present and future separation of the several races the Government has placed special emphasis upon education. The Bantu Education program, designed in the early 1950's for the children of the African community, embodies ". . . the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."

Among the fundamental characteristics of the Bantu Education program are education in the mother tongue (the appropriate one of seven recognized African languages, as opposed to English or Afrikaans); expansion of schools in the rural areas set aside for African occupancy, at the expense of schools in the urban areas (which are defined as White areas); emphasis upon practical and agriculturally oriented subjects; replacement of White teachers by Black; careful supervision of schools by the Government Bantu Education Department; increasing participation in school affairs by parents and community members on advisory boards; coordinating both the capacity and the curricula of post-primary schools with the stage of economic development of the African

areas; discouraging involvement in Bantu education by White church or missionary interests; and requiring the African community to bear a gradually increasing portion of the cost of African education.

Initiated in 1955, and modified frequently since, Bantu education has largely liquidated the system of education for Africans that existed prior to 1955. The older system, modeled on the same lines as that for European children, was sponsored by a variety of interests: churches, missions, central government, provincial government, local government, philanthropy, and parents. Today Bantu education has embraced even university studies, with three African universities (each for different tribal groups). The number of schools, the number of pupils, and the percentage of pupils of school age attending school have all increased. Today more than 80% of children attend school; but this high figure is vitiated by a high drop-out rate after the first three or four years.

In general, Africans have consistently opposed Bantu education, preferring an education for their children that equates with that for White children. While admitting that there have been some slight gains, they assert that the system is inherently separate, unequal, and different, designed to perpetuate African deprivation. The Government responds that Bantu education is the only system which can prepare a Black child for life in a Black, rural society—and refuses to discuss the merits of this objective.

EDUCATING MINORITIES IN AFRICA

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All independent African nations share a common limitation basic to the issue of education for minorities—at the present stage of their development, access to education, at least beyond a few years of primary schooling, is available only to a minority of school age children. Those who complete the secondary stage represent an even smaller minority of the larger minority that gained access to the system originally. The critical need is for African governments to insure that the characteristics of the minority who profit from formal education mirror in some equitable and realistic way the characteristics of the majority that comprise the total society.

Because of such factors as lack of funds, scarcity of qualified personnel and the inequities of the recent colonial period it is unreasonable to expect that today the few who gain access to schools accurately represent the total school age population. Inequities in educational opportunity based on sex, geography, religion, race, citizenship, political persuasion, tribalism and socio-economic status still persist in most African countries. Perhaps the most that can be asked of independent African governments is that each year a reduction occurs in inequities of educational opportunities so that increasingly the schooling minority accurately represents the non-schooling majority.

In efforts to reduce educational inequities, African nations have moved in diverse ways with varying degrees of success. Because of the distasteful racial overtones of colonialism (an experience that the majority of present independent African governments shared) it is hardly surprising that racial inequities in educational opportunity were the first to be attacked and alleviated. The East African countries; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, exemplify nations which have impressively tackled racial inequities in education. Other African countries, like Nigeria, have attempted to correct regional (or regional-tribal) inequities by extensive federal plans for educational development. Less ambitious and less successful efforts to alleviate, sexual, religious and urban-rural inequities in educational opportunity have

been tried. Overall, the efforts by independent African governments to reduce inequities in educational access, if measured by the records of previous colonial administrations, have been fruitful and impressive.

Less impressive, perhaps, have been efforts to insure that African schools produce a majority of graduates both willing and able to enter and profit from the dominant life style of their societies. Increasing concern exists that African schools remain more successful in preparing their graduates for urban, modern life in the cities than in preparing them for life in the rural-agricultural sector. "Education for Self-Reliance", a Tanzanian effort, has taken an uncommonly hard look at how African schools can best prepare graduates for entry into the rural-agricultural sector.

Educating minorities in Africa requires that both the minority who originally gain access to schools and the even smaller minority that graduate from schools truly represent the total composition and aspirations of the majority of Africans.

THE EDUCATION OF CHRISTIANS IN KERALA, INDIA

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In India Christians form a minority comprising only 2½ percent of the population. Though they are distributed all over India there is concentration of Christians in some states and Kerala is one among them. In this state, about 4 million (22 percent) people are Christians in a population of 18 million. Christians lived in that part of India for nearly 2000 years and they secured a high position in society.

Minority situation is decided not just by the number because there are places where the majority of the people live in a minority position. The minority is characterized by the differential and unequal treatment of a group of people who regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. Based upon this definition of Louis Wirth, Christians in Kerala do not form a minority because they enjoyed several privileges for centuries.

It is believed that St. Thomas, the disciple of Christ, came to South India and established the church. There is historic record for the existence of a Christian Church in Kerala from the 3rd Century when there was a Christian immigration from Syria. Even today Christians take pride in their Syrian ancestry. Since the early converts were from the Brahmin caste, Christians were placed along with the upper castes. Bishops were regularly coming from foreign lands, especially Antioch. Privileges were granted to the Christians by the local rulers. In modern times the contact with the West brought numerous changes in the Christian community. The portuguese forced the indigenous Christians to join the Roman Catholic Church. The missionaries who came from the West worked among the low castes and made converts to Christianity. As a result there are many denominations in the Christian Church of Kerala.

Christians in Kerala followed the customs and practices of the place. While identifying with the culture they kept their own faith. Hinduism with its characteristic tolerance allows such difference and hence Christians were accepted by the former. However Christianity could not function as a missionary religion in Kerala. Since they did not attempt the conversion of others they managed to live there harmoniously.

Hinduism consists of many castes which differ from one another a great deal in their social practices. The upper caste has only minimum interaction with the lower castes while the former moved very closely with the Christians. The contact between Christians and upper caste Hindus is much higher than between Hindus at two extremes. The lower caste Hindus are treated as minority while taking into account the discrimination which they are subjected to.

In modern times Christians took an active part in establishing schools and providing education. Various Hindu religious groups also competed with Christians in the matter of education. Hence Kerala is a state with the highest percentage of literacy and education. Being well educated, the Christian community occupies higher positions in society.

MINORITY GROUPS AND EDUCATION IN THE
PHILIPPINES

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An opening question which should be answered prior to any discussion of minority groups and education in the Philippines is, who are the majority and who are the minority groups? Certainly it is impossible to make absolute distinctions. However, in the literature and in daily social interaction it is evident that the majority is considered to be lowland Christian Filipinos who comprise about 90% of the population. There are four major minority groups: hill people, Moros (Muslim Filipinos), Chinese, and Westerners.

Throughout Filipino history there has been an official tendency to identify "minority groups" as non-Christians. In 1894 the Catholic Church conducted a population survey in which they conceptualized two groups: the civilized (Christian) population and the wild (non-Christian) population. Under American rule a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was established to disseminate education to the pagan hill people and the Moros. After independence the Filipinos continued this dichotomy by organizing a Commission on National Integration in the late 1940's. This Commission recognizes 53 national cultural minorities who are either hill people (@ 3% of the total population) or Moros (@5%).

Aside from these two minorities recognized by the Filipino government, there are at least two other prominent cultural minorities who hold a monopoly on wealth: The Chinese (@ 1/60th of the total population); and Westerners (an even smaller percentage).

How do these four minority groups participate in the Filipino educational system? The various hill people are generally subsistence farmers of great cultural variety who are denigrated by the lowland Filipinos. Those who have been reached by public education tend to achieve poorly because they regard themselves as inferior via-a-vis the lowland Filipinos.

The Moros have historically maintained a rather flourishing separate culture. Although not notoriously prosperous, the Moros have a high degree of cultural pride and their children have until recently attended madrasa (Islamic schools). Public education is becoming more popular among the Moros and recently Mindanao State University was established in the Moro area. (30% of the students at this university are Moro.) There still exists a great deal of suspicion and superstition in social relations between Moros and lowland Filipinos.

The Chinese continue to dominate retail trade in the Philippines. Chinese run their own private schools and have, in some cities, their own Chambers of Commerce. There have been numerous governmental restrictions placed upon them and in general they are the target of prejudice by lowland Filipinos.

Westerners, including Spanish mestizos, are usually rather wealthy. They tend to send their children either to Filipino private schools with a Western bias or to schools in Spain. Certain aspects of Western culture are idealized by the lowland Filipinos but there is a distinct social distance between them.

There are serious problems facing the Filipino nation regarding education and these minority groups, especially in view of the foreign political allegiances of some Chinese and Moros. Most concern is expressed to integrate minorities into the mainstream of Filipino culture by means of public education. Yet this education would clearly be destructive of their distinctive cultures. The three culturally and/or economically strongest minorities are unlikely to enthusiastically surge into public schools even if they were available. The hill people have their own shy ways of avoiding the humiliation they feel in government schools.

I would tentatively suggest consideration of one approach to this problem of national integration based upon a sociological principle which is endorsed by a number of Filipino social scientists. The principle is that, "acceptance of cultural differences promotes cultural similarity." The possibility exists that government encouragement and support of private schools for their minority groups might better promote a sense of national integration than would the enforcement of attendance in public schools.

MINORITY EDUCATION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Minority Groups. Besides the majority Hans, China has 54 identifiable minority groups, representing one-fourteenth of the entire population. The five largest groups are settled in Autonomous Regions, namely (1) Inner Mongolia, (2) Sinkiang Uighur, (3) Kwangsi Chuang, (4) Ningsia Hui and (5) Tibet which are strategic border regions in relation to the USSR, India, Burma and North Vietnam. The smaller groups scatter in 15 of the 21 provinces of China.

General and Educational Policies toward Minority Groups in Early 50's. The 1954 Constitution states that China is a "unitary multi-national state" in which all nationalities are equal, that all peoples have the freedom to preserve their languages, customs and ways, and that, however, all the autonomous areas are inseparable parts of the nation. Under these general principles, the educational policies were to develop elementary education quickly, to establish adult and youth literacy classes, and to emphasize the training of minority teachers. The native language was the medium of instruction in lower schools. Where a written language was nonexistent, attempts were made to create a script. If desired by the minorities, Han Chinese might be used.

Policies Since the Great Leap Forward in 1958. Based on the ideological premise that education must be combined with productive labor, half-work (or half-agriculture) and half-study schools sprang up all over the country, the minority regions were no exceptions. At the secondary level, emphasis was placed on vocational schools to supply the nation with trained middle-and-low ranking workers. Among them normal schools were more numerous than others. Twelve institutions of higher education had been established in the autonomous regions by 1958. However, some minority students attended the Han comprehensive universities and professional or technical institutions. Admission policies fluctuated according to the national political policies. In the earlier years, minority students from the ruling classes

of their own groups were given preference, hoping that after being politically indoctrinated and culturally assimilated, they would use their traditional leadership roles to facilitate integration with the Hans. However, after 1958, minority students from the working and peasant classes were selected. This was in accordance with the national policy to produce proletarian intellectuals and specialists.

The Central and Regional Institutes for Nationalities. The Central Institute in Peking is responsible for training political cadres for administrative levels above the county, with emphasis on inculcated Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theories, and for training teachers and researchers in minority art, history and languages. The Regional Institutes are of a practical and professional nature in fields contributing to nation building. The most significant achievement of these Institutes seems to be in the field of language for the minorities.

Attempt at Integration. Since 1958 Maoist ideological mass campaigns intensified, and minority resistance stiffened to the extent that the Central authorities had to mount a socialist education against "regional nationalism". The measures employed were: moving large numbers of Han Chinese into the autonomous regions by force, splitting some minority peoples into separate administrative areas, accelerating the integration of the minority languages with the Han language, and in the Cultural Revolution, purging all factions closely identified with minority interests. Thus China has manifested its determination to consolidate Han Chinese control in minority areas and to assimilate them into the Han majority for the sake of national unity. This is a far cry from the position stated in the Constitution. One may safely infer from this trend that efforts are being intensified to integrate the education of the minorities with the education throughout the nation, although the Chinese media seldom mention minority groups, or education in general these days.

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND W.E.B. DU BOIS
ON THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN BLACKS

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Beginning about 1895, two great Americans, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, engaged in a generation-long dispute over the appropriate format for the education of black men and women, particularly as that education took place in the Southern states. Their respective approaches to education grew out of their own life experiences. Washington was born in slavery and poverty. Such formal education as he achieved was secured only through backbreaking labor. Du Bois was born in moderate circumstances in Massachusetts and had one of the finest educations available to a man of his generation at Fisk, Harvard, and the University of Berlin.

Washington's experience led him to place a high value on productive manual labor, which he made the central feature of the curriculum of Tuskegee Institute. His success at Tuskegee catapulted him into a position of leadership, and he used that position to foster a system of industrial education for Negroes throughout the South. Du Bois valued intellectual and cultural excellence, and fought for a system of black colleges that would provide liberal education for talented Negroes. Forced away from his academic position by the politics of the times, he took up the cause of the black man from his new post as editor of The Crisis, journal of the newly formed NAACP.

In the fifteen years after the death of Washington in 1915, Du Bois came to recognize the shortcomings of his own position as well as that of Washington. Narrow trade school education collapsed in the face of industrialization while the traditional liberal curriculum grew increasingly irrelevant in advanced capitalist society. Du Bois therefore developed a new concept of a black university. Such an institution would begin, as the old college had not, in the cultural heritage and current conditions of the black man. It would grow from the history of the people it served, rather than be a transplant from another cultural experience. On the other hand, it would not repeat the error of the industrial school by only training the black man to participate in existing society. It would also proceed,

as the industrial institute had not, to draw on the finest human achievements to give the black man the skills, the power, and the will, not simply to live in existing racist, capitalist society, but to transform it into something better.

We have yet to realize Du Bois' ideal of the university. However, it remains a model which should be considered, not only by American blacks, but by all peoples who face an oppressive society.

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION: CROSS-CULTURAL
PERSPECTIVES FROM AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

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Over four hundred years of American Indian education offer educators a tremendously varied resource for studying minority relations. It represents the maximal range of relationships since the Indian minority was once the first American majority. Dr. Brewton Berry, author of the most definitive historical study of Indian education, told me that not only were the same basic mistakes remade for over four centuries, but that there was a singular lack of imagination in recognizing the problem. It is remarkable how little impact the prolonged and total institutional efforts have contributed to educating American Indians. One significant reason is the basic European ethnocentrism wherein education is conceived essentially as a model of how to become like us. Cross-cultural communication and limited participation by Indians in the total educational process is still the exception in most school environments. That assimilation might be acceptable to many is not the issue, but that it could be considered the only model or even the most effective model is most debatable. It is as myopic as the missionary who is able to perceive the importance of integrated belief systems but who is totally closed to the reality that other belief systems are equally valid.

Educational evaluation must concern itself with at least three levels of behavioral analysis: (1) On the psychological level the evaluator assumes that behavior is the individual's response to coping with tasks, problems and learning experiences. (This tends to be response specific), (2) The sociological level—which assumes that behavior is determined by the role that the person occupies in a social group. (This tends to be role specified), and (3) The cultural level—here the evaluator assumes that behavior is rooted in the groups' culture, the unique ways and values that surround and perpetuate both of the above aspects, (tends to be group specific).

The fact that school success and failure can be statistically correlated with ethnicity, logically requires an explanation beyond the individual and sociological levels and the continuity of patterning through time suggests a need for some cultural explanation.

Educators usually rely on monocultural tests. The psychometric hazards of cross-cultural testing are more desirable to contend with than the current implicit assumption that Indians should be more like us, hence our tests are adequate. In fact the latter tests are so poor that the best single predictor of acculturation and educational potential is frequently found to be the Indian/Angle "blood quanta" ration. This is undoubtedly an artifact of the degree of primary group exposure but is more often subject to racist interpretations than linked to non-Indian experiences associated with having an Anglo parent or grandparent.

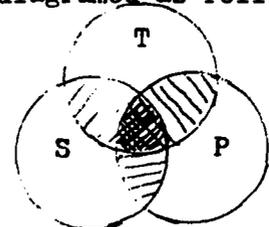
A more ethnographic way of examining cross-cultural aspects of education has been outlined by Jules Henry, in which a broad range of categories are considered. These include: educational content, methods, personnel, participants, relational modes, differential instruction, discontinuities in the learning process, behavior controls, actual learning versus formal intent (concomitant learning), types of self concepts reinforced, and the duration of educational processes.

A minimal-bias model has been devised by Dr. G. Lang and the author in which the educational categories for comparison are given by the communities and compared in the following manner. The idea may be extended to comparisons across communities and cultures if one wishes to consider differential perception and response patterns. It may be diagrammed as follows:

S = students' perceptions & comparative responses.

T = teachers' perceptions & comparative responses.

F = parents' perceptions & comparative responses.



The degree of overlap represents the amount of mutual understanding between the respective individuals, or groups, or cultures. The utility of the model is accentuated when one is working with groups who may lack a statistical background as well as with those who are too sophisticated to trust statistics as results without behavioral confirmation on a cross

cultural level. Additional dimensions are possible for making comparisons of meta-perceptions (perceptions about others perceptions) for example, the student's aspirations as compared to his perception of the teacher or parents' expectations for him. Another example is the differential perceptions of parental participation in the school. Often differential responses were associated with differential belief systems of the Indian and Anglo. It was found that Anglo teachers stressed educational objectives of personality development, socialization and citizenship, while Indian parents stressed giving their kids a better chance than they'd had, while the students were oriented towards peers, jobs, and college.

Understanding cross-cultural differences is predicated upon being able to see them and to respect them. A useful approach which gives many illustrative examples is, "Ethno-pedagogy: A Manual in Cultural Sensitivity, with Techniques for Improving Cross-Cultural Teaching by Fitting Ethnic Patterns," by Henry A. Burger.

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Bilingual educational activities may be designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture related to their language and to establish closer cooperation between the school and the home.

There is little doubt that the key to improve instruction for culturally unique children is nothing short of bilingual education. Let us consider the child who enters school knowing no English, speaking only his native tongue. If the school forbids him to speak anything but what is to him a foreign language, if it insists that he struggle along in the foreign language, understanding it only dimly, if at all, this child is led to believe from his first day of school that there is something wrong with him because of his language. Because language is a function of life style, his fear will soon spread to the image that he has of his culture, the history of his people, and his own family in particular.

Let us contrast what we have just described with the possibilities inherent in bilingual education. The child's first day in school is a rewarding one because his teacher speaks his native language and recognizes the traditions and folklore of his people. Instruction is in his native tongue. Books, toys, games, instructional aids, and pictures reflect (his people) his heroes, and a life style with which he is acquainted. School is but an extension of home for him as "regular" schooling frequently is for the middle class child.

Providing bilingual education for Spanish speaking children is a great challenge; however, the Bilingual American Education Act seems to be a vehicle with the provisions to make it go. The Act is intended to meet the special educational needs of large numbers of students in the United States to whom English is a foreign language. Financial assistance is available to educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative programs designed to meet these special educational needs.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND MINORITY GROUPS

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In preparing a discussion on the topic World Education with particular reference to the education of minority groups and the culturally disadvantaged my first query was . . . to what extent American Catholic education has been committed to and involved in this endeavor?

Traditionally, in common with her fellow Christians, the Roman Catholic Church has been a missionary church. During the 18th and 19th centuries the United States of America was the mission territory for several congregations of religious teachers who sent their members to establish schools for the religious instruction of the children of an emigrant population. Hence small companies of Spanish, French, German, and Irish teaching sisters and, to a lesser extent, teaching brothers came to the growing North American melting pot.

By the late 19th century and the early decades of the present century the United States of America was no longer regarded by the European Catholic hierarchy as a mission land. Indeed, already from the large cities where the Church had a firmly established educational system, American priests and sisters were being sent to the Orient, to Africa, to South America, and to the islands of the Pacific. Although their first efforts were concentrated on the socio-temporal welfare of the population, mindful of the Christian concept that "Man does not live by bread alone . . .", educational work quickly became a point of emphasis.

Because the natural law gives man the right to share in the benefits of his culture, and therefore the right to a basic education or to technical or professional training in keeping with the stage of educational development in the country to which he belongs, the task of the Catholic missionary-teacher is to insure that persons be enabled on the basis of merit and capability to go on to higher studies so that, as far as possible, they may occupy posts and take on responsibilities in human society in accordance with their natural gifts and the skills they have acquired.

For these reasons the Catholic missionary educator is engaged not only in teaching children, but, to a greater and greater extent, he or she is involved in the areas of adult education. As a result, there has been remarkable success in many instances in preparing native clergy and sisterhoods to carry on the work of education at all levels.

Paradoxically enough, this success in the field of World Education brought about the present renaissance in the education of the underprivileged, the disadvantaged minority groups. Since World War II the direction of American Catholic education's commitment has veered homeward. Under the aegis of the pope who gave Pacem in Terris to the world, and of his successor who personally pleaded with the general assembly of the United Nations, Catholic education in America has been forced to take a long look at its policies at home. If knowing the truth will make men free, as the Gospel proclaims, then something has gone terribly wrong. Not only peoples of foreign countries, but scores of Americans are not free by any standards.

Catholic schools come in for a fair share of the blame with public schools for not combating more vigorously the educational pattern which has inexorably locked racial minority groups in the urban ghetto. However there are reasons for hope. While there is a regrettable pattern of segregation in both public and parochial schools of the large cities due to the housing situation, many Catholic schools, at a great sacrifice, (since public funds are still denied the private schools) have made provisions in classrooms for thousands of pupils from the ghetto who are not affiliated with the Catholic parish.

More and more Catholic educational leaders have begun courageously to apply the Church's concern in schooling the economically underprivileged of urban America, and, I think, there is a widespread realization that this concern will have to be much more universal. There are three characteristics of the Catholic school system: (1) The Catholic system is mainly metropolitan and hence well suited to dealing with the problems of the city. (2) Catholic schools are free from the political considerations that so regularly clog the administration of the public systems. (3) The diocesan boundaries of the Catholic school system include both cities and suburbs, a factor that makes for a regional approach to integration. Here

the words of former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe, merit quotation. Addressing the 1969 convention of the National Catholic Education Association, Mr. Hoew said:

"By refusing to abandon the inner cities as your traditional clientele moves to the suburbs, you can serve an American society that has not yet overcome the political fragmentation and economic myopia which make our cities powerless to help themselves...Indeed you can seek new adventures of cooperation with public schools, if you can locate school leaders who are unafraid to challenge some of the unconstructive assumptions of traditional church-state separation."¹

The truth which will make men free in the Gospel sense regards human society above all as a spiritual reality; one in which men communicate knowledge to each other in the light of truth; in which they can enjoy their rights and fulfill their duties, and are inspired to strive for goods of spirit. The order which prevails in society is by nature moral. Grounded as it is in truth, it must function according to the norms of justice. It should be inspired and perfected by mutual love and respect. Finally, it should be brought to an ever more refined and human balance in full freedom.

Now an order and balance of this kind, whose principles are universal, absolute and unchangeable, have their ultimate source in the Divine Creator, who is the first truth, the highest good, who is personal and transcends human nature. As Saint Thomas Aquinas states:

"Human reason is the norm of the human will, according to which its goodness is measured, because reason derives from the eternal law which is the divine reason itself...It is evident, then, that the goodness of the human will depends much more on the eternal law than on human reason."²

I submit that if we accept this as a description of the society our American founding fathers envisioned nearly two hundred years ago, then is not the time long overdue for those of us privileged to be dedicated as educators in both the public and parochial sectors to give an answer to the Creator's first question to man, and acknowledge that we are indeed our brother's keeper?

¹ National Catholic Educational Association, Proceedings and Addresses of the National Catholic Educational Association Convention.
(San Francisco, April 18, 1969.)

² Summa Theologica, Ia-IIae, q. 19, a. 4

MINORITY EDUCATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

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When one steps back and looks deeply at the philosophical underpinnings of our educational efforts, whether they be focused on minority populations or a given society at large, one realizes that the issues are not only social, economic, and political. At the heart of the matter are divergent images of man.

Is the underlying purpose of education to assist man to serve the institutions he has created? Or is it to assist man to revise or create new institutions to serve him. Put most simply, is man dependent or autonomous? The answer, of course, is both. Recognizing the importance of cultural influences, I think most would agree that man is not simply willing to be. The history of human development suggests that man desires to be more than what he is now. And furthermore, he has the capability of transforming his existing world in a direction that he deems important.

He does this by means of his praxis, i.e., by a combination of reflective thought and action, a testing of theory through practice—which is what true learning is all about. However, this praxis promotes a kind of backlash. The knowledge gained through theory and practice eventually becomes patterned such that it turns back on man and "overdetermines" him. It conditions him and defines his cognitive meanings and actions—what many anthropologists refer to as culture.

Formal education, as an important aspect of socialization, tends to reinforce this "overdetermination." Yet education does have an inherent ambivalence. Along with the passing on of existing knowledge (a kind of static practice strongly emphasized in primary and secondary education), there is the search for new knowledge. The former tends to overdetermine; the latter brings out that which is least determined.

If we look at education from this perspective, we can see that it is never neutral. It is either conditioning or deconditioning, adaptive or transformative, it promotes domestication or liberation. It is at this point that the educator faces a crucial question. Essentially, he has two options: he can choose either an "adaptive" or a "critical" pedagogical

approach. The former is what the educator, Paulo Freire, calls the "banking method" of education; the latter with a "problem" approach. In the banking methods, the student is the depository, the teacher is the depositor. The more students store up deposits of knowledge, the less likely they are to develop critical skills. The more students adapt to existing "reality," the less likely they are to engage in transforming those features of society they feel are in need of change. The problem approach, in contrast, challenges students from the beginning to look critically at the "reality" which they are studying. Again, this involves a combination of theory and practice, reflection and action.

Reflecting on western educational approaches, one rapidly comes to the conclusion that most educational efforts place far greater emphasis on the "banking method" than on the critical problem approach. While I would criticize this educational philosophy in general, its application to American minority and third world populations is particularly devastating since it encourages them to adapt to a social world which is, for the most part, oppressive and de-humanizing. (Of course, it also de-humanizes us! Our schools and universities continually condition us to live at peace with an uneasy conscience. As Jonathan Kozel recently state, "They teach us to think about, not into, our social reality.")

At least this is my experience over the past fifteen years with northern minority populations. Most educational and research literature concerned with Indians and Eskimos in northern America largely disregard the fact that these people are a highly oppressed population. Among other statistics, they have the highest mortality rates and lowest standard of living of any minority group in the United States. These people are clearly on the periphery of society, but like most minority populations, they are not on the periphery by choice. They are kept there through discrimination of varying kinds including economic exploitation and racism.

In another sense, these people are not really "marginal" to the broader society as they are dependent upon it. This poses a very fundamental question: Can highly alienated racially distinct people overcome their dependency by involving themselves in the very structure responsible for their dependency?

Implicit in this question are two hypotheses and recommendations for action:

(1) Minority people are marginal to society. The educator must therefore "assist" them to enter the society. This is in many respects an "empty consciousness" theory in which the alienated people are not perceived as having a cultural history.

(2) Alienated minority people are exploited within the society. They and the educator must heighten their awareness of this exploitation, i.e., de-mythologize their social reality, and take action to reduce the exploitation.

In the first instance, minority people are perceived as objects to be integrated into society. In the second, they develop their own sense of history and their own role as "culture-makers."

What I am suggesting is that most educational efforts in the United States promote what Freire calls a "culture of silence" in that the minority member learns how others make history, but it does not enable him to develop an identity with his own history. As a result, he becomes dependent.

Given these conditions, we can see that the issues of educational reform for minority populations are not simply those of increased facilities or improved quality of existing programs. Equally important is the question of how the minority population increase their level of social awareness or consciousness—such that they perceive themselves as "culture-makers," capable of engaging in transforming action toward a new and more humanizing social institution.

Three levels of consciousness appear to be involved. The first is characterized by a "culture of silence" in which the minority member is seen as an object by others. He has no consciousness of self except in a dependent relationship to those in a more dominant economic, social and political position. Recognizing this dependence tests the limits of his "self-other" perception. The concept of himself as subject, as culture-maker, is lacking. At this level, he remains silent, even in the face of extreme economic hardship or social conflict.

In the second or transitional level of consciousness, a man becomes aware of the dichotomy between himself as object and subject. He not only realizes that he is alienated from the dominant sector of society, and as

such is largely powerless, but that this alienation has deep societal roots. Reflecting on this new consciousness, he then begins to take action to remove the alienation. This action commonly promotes a backlash or reaction which then increases his understanding of the contradiction between the ideal reality he has been taught and the social reality he meets in practice. This is the crucial point at which he attempts to de-mystify the social world he previously accepted.

At the third transforming level of consciousness, man not only denounces de-humanizing social institutions and cultural practices, but he undertakes to formulate new humanizing institutions and values. Again, the role of the educator working in conjunction with, rather than over, the student is of major importance in stimulating learning geared to transforming action.

Shifting from minority populations to the larger American society, an interesting parallel emerges. Many middle class Americans, and particularly the young, are attempting to move from a transitional to a transforming level of awareness and resultant action. The increasing polarization in our society stemming from this second level heightens the contradictions between the "old" and "new" culture. The so-called old culture emphasizes property rights over personal rights and social justice, competition over cooperation, efficiency over participation, means over ends, secrecy over openness, and similar value conflicts. The new culture emphasizes just the reverse.

The issue here is not whether middle class college students are going to enter a highly individualized "Consciousness III" as envisioned by Charles Reich, but whether students and their teachers are going to join with oppressed populations in undertaking to transform society. Seeking a type of Consciousness III without developing a broader economic and political awareness leading to action is simply self-seeking individualism. At the same time, politicalization without developing a sense of humanity is manipulation. The goal must be to combine the political and the human dimension into one. And the place to begin is by looking critically at the social reality which we presently perceive.

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN THIRD WORLD EDUCATION

John Caruso, Jr.

Western Connecticut State College

The ensuing conflict between India and Pakistan and the protracted hostilities in the Middle East clearly demonstrate that many Under Developed Countries (UDC) continue to emphasize military prowess in lieu of general educational and economic development. The term UDC covers a range of countries who have the following common characteristics:

1. A low real income per head (average annual \$100)
2. An economy which depends on only one or two crops or minerals.
3. Natural resources which are not being used or not for the benefit of the inhabitants.
4. Widespread un and underemployment.
5. A small amount of capital equipment in relation to the number of workers.
6. A high proportion of the population engaged in agriculture.
7. Widespread illiteracy.
8. The largest segment of the population is under 21 years old.

According to the United Nations the UDC's constitute 70% of the world's population (1970 - 3.5 billion) and geographically includes all the world except Eastern and Western Europe, the U.S.A. and Canada, Japan, Turkey, Israel, Union of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The continental illiteracy rates are: Africa and Asia 80-85%, Latin America 40-45%.

Of the 98 UDC's involved in massive educational reform, 85 had institutions at the national level concerned with education. With few exceptions all 98 nations had national armies which annually consumed 25-50% of the budget. The annual cost of maintaining a single soldier (full-time) in the UDC's in 1970 was approximately \$5300. The average annual expenditure per school-age child ranged between \$25 and \$100.

During the period 1945-68 the United States allocated \$133.5 billion in foreign aid. Approximately \$40 billion was in the form of direct military assistance and 80% of this amount went to the UDC's. In 1969 the world spent 40% more on national defense than on education. The annual increase in military expenditures in the UDC's (1960-70) has been 7%, while

educational expenditures increased only 3%. The UDC's are spending approximately 4% of their GNP on education and from 6-10% of the GNP on the military establishment. Military aid to the UDC's and arms purchases were over \$21 billion in 1968, or double the total developmental aid contributed by all Western nations.

The two major types of military forces in the Third World are:

1. "Professional," which is under civilian control.
2. "Political," which dominates the civilian government.

Potentially the military in the UDC's could be used to:

1. Combat illiteracy.
2. Produce large numbers of recruits trained/skilled in health, sanitation and personal welfare.
3. Prepare technicians and engineers.
4. Assist in public works and agricultural projects.
5. "Stabilize" the political situation.

Unfortunately there is little evidence to view the military as a force for democracy. Militarism rests upon the despotic use of force to repress extreme political movements, stemming from military claims of being the only truly national force. In fact, the claims of the military are usually no less partisan or parochial than any other.

In conclusion, until the forces of right and left-wing military despotism are nullified and international disputes are settled by peaceful means, the military establishment in the Third World will continue to consume a major share of natural resources and developmental aid desperately needed by the educational establishment.

THE GROWING MINORITY OF CIVILIAN MAN AND
INTERNATIONAL MILITARISM

Lawrence D. Klein
Central Connecticut State College

Evidence increases daily to suggest that a new minority is being created in the world today. This is the minority of "civilian man" living in a world-wide military culture. War and militarism are not new features to the landscape. But it is the thesis of this writer that the sociology of war has changed drastically in recent years in such a way that a major threat has been created for the existence of all non-warring men. I would like to explore briefly some dimensions of this problem, which are highly suggestive to international educators concerned with maintaining peace.

The subject of pacifism and peace has long been a topic of concern in many countries, irrespective of political ideology and nationalism. It is not merely toward this traditional problem that the writer wishes to focus upon. Rather, the changing nature of war, as a culture and world-wide profession, is an area of study with which we should become familiar. The ordinary world civilian attempts to maintain his peace, security, and position of power over the professional military. General Shoup has described this culture previously in American society.¹ The changing sociology of war suggests that no longer does man in society have control over war technology and decision-making mechanisms for going to war. This is a far cry from World War II where Americans accepted reluctantly the idea of a temporary draft. Only 25 years later do we read of apparent resignation to the military impregnation of civilian life:

However distasteful it may be to some, it seems likely that the military will form an important part of our society for a good many years to come. Consequently, we will be better serving the needs of our students by preparing them to deal more effectively² with the social—including military—institutions of our culture.

¹ General David M. Shoup, "The New American Militarism," ATLANTIC, 1969, pp. 51-56.

² This is quoted from a recent position paper in support of R.O.T.C. on a college campus. "Proposal to Establish an R.O.T.C. Program at Central," Faculty Senate Ad Hoc Committee on R.O.T.C., James N. Snaden, Chairman, November 30, 1971, Central Connecticut State College, p. 1.

Perhaps many questions should be explored of the military relationship to civilian life before we educators accept this kind of resignation.

There are other suggestive evidence for the writer's thesis of militarism and its international threat to the growing minority of civilian man. Recently, for example, in the United States a meeting of military leaders from over 20 countries met to discuss the strategies of their "profession," and the latest advances of their military hardwares. It appears now that militarism enjoys a world-wide prominence and visibility which it has never had before. The allegiance of these military people is bound together by its own needs and aspirations, independent of any particular ideology, national purpose, or religion. The net result, so it seems, is to threaten man's traditional control of war-making powers. In democratic countries, where peoples have prided themselves on control of the military, the impending threat of losing this control seems very great.

The concern in this paper is not, thus, simply with pacifism. The writer wants to suggest that educators become concerned with this problem from many perspectives and to explore the possible alternatives to help man control war. There is the need to seek other avenues of social change. Reinhold Niebuhr, several years ago, in 1932, pointed to one of the perennial problems facing us in helping man adjust to his social existence. He said:

The inevitable hypocrisy, which is associated with all of the collective activities of the human race, springs chiefly from this source: that individuals have a moral code which makes the actions of collective man an outrage to their conscience.

He noted at that time the modern threats of militarism and economic aggrandizement, in all countries of the world, which were not part of civilian man's interests. Without having a euphemism of "military-industrial complex," Niebuhr noted the growing centralization of decision making in the world, which was to threaten the freedom of the individual. Also, there was the frustration for the average civilian man who would

³ Reinhold Niebuhr, "Man and Society: The Art of Living Together," in Moral Man and Immoral Society, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932

become the "tool and victim of the imperial ambitions of the group."⁴ The peace seeking civilian fast became a minority.

Perhaps the growing field of international and comparative education is in a position to do something about the new military culture in the world today. There is first a need to fully identify the problem, employing many knowledge disciplines available. We need to know more about how school systems have taught about war to the young and the values attached to this teaching. One historical study done in the U.S. suggests that American public schools have traditionally indoctrinated a false picture of the American military in the role of American affairs.⁵ Educators should be concerned with more objective histories of militarism and the role it has played in the movement of civilization. They would be found apart from nationalistic pictures and histories of any one country.

Once we have achieved a clearer picture of what different educational systems have done generally in "teaching about war," we should face the normative problem of constructing new policies and curricular objectives. This writer asserts that international and comparative educators more readily establish their authority and responsibility in this field of study. Space in this paper does not permit a further exploration of this thesis. It does seem, however, that national systems of education will not turn toward this subject area on their own. Enough evidence may be found to support the thesis that a military culture of world-wide dimensions has recently come into existence concomitant with the rise of advanced industrial countries. It seems perfectly logical to develop a continuing study of this phenomenon, which more readily becomes a threat to a new minority: civilian man.⁶

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Professor Richard Stevens, Department of History and Philosophy of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, has done research and published on this subject.

⁶ The reader can be referred to a beginning book on the study of war and society: Walter Millis and James Real, The Abolition of War. New York: Macmillan, 1963.

GETTING THE MINORITY-EXPERIENCED

VALUES TO THE MAJORITY

Thomas J. Howell

Rhode Island College

Political power, money, knowledge, and perceptions are keys to change.

Political power is the direct and most extensive way to cause minority experienced values to be incorporated into the life of a majority. Yet it is beyond the ken of academic personnel. None among us probably can make move a political spring of change. Also, my observation of the politicians confirms the belief that power is never simply given away to anyone else either for moral education or for Christmas joys.

Hope is not to be yielded, nonetheless; for people do give money, knowledge, and their perceptions away, and they are much with which transform experience. I propose three uses of them.

1. Change General Education. City education must be general education. Which city? The city in which minority-experienced values clearly form many of the conditions of cultural problems today. New York, Los Angeles, Hartford, Providence, Boston, Dallas, Chicago, Washington, and San Diego, each is an essential candidate.

It is ironical for a non-Aristotelian like myself to return to the crux of Aristotle's contentions. The "polis" is the teleological center of education. Yet the limitations of the Aristotelian view must be discarded, for no one must be admitted to be a natural slave. The limitation is a way of ignoring minority-experienced values. That limitation destroys a city and a culture. General education can avoid its error.

General education will become city-disciplined, and both the current departmental and inter-departmental structure of education will be subordinated. A city is usually multi-cultured, whether one talks about European, African, American, or Asiatic cultures in one grouping, or black, white, yellow, red, or brown cultures in another grouping, or the culture of poverty, wealth, or the middle-class in yet another. In a city like Providence, the cultural structure—which institutions are dominant, which reinforce others, which deracinate others, etc.—must be studied as general education

in universities and high schools of the area. Yet, the unit must be equally the minority—culture area, e.g., South Providence, or Federal Hill, and the majority—culture areas, e.g., East Side, or Mount Pleasant.

2. Curriculum Domains for Teacher Education. My perception is that professional teacher education has changed in favor of city education more quickly than heretofore admitted. Public school teachers have found they need the help of grasping changed minority-valued experiences, and have helped get the latter into the curricula of teachers' colleges. Such values have gone into the student teaching courses, the practice teaching courses, and the foundations of education courses. What is needed now is a systematic device for the process.

A system of immediate and on-the-spot curriculum-change responses is needed. Curriculum centers located in colleges and universities must be changed from college adjuncts to public school catalytic structures. I propose "curriculum domains." Course structures in high school could originate from them; teachers could consult with curriculum change specialists who would staff and maintain them; and principals, superintendents, and school board members could understand the cost of education better in terms of their productivity.

Teachers' colleges and universities that train teachers would benefit greatly from the existence of "curriculum domains." For one, foundations of education departments could function practically and effectively with them. For another, the belief that the best course in education is to practice teaching would be seen quite clearly as a tautology for the first time, and that perception would free everyone from its strictly vocational view of experience. Ben Franklin was quite right to state that experience is a very expensive school in which to learn.

Moreover, the idea of general education as city education would find an appropriate reinforcement in "curriculum domains." Departments of physics, philosophy, sociology, American studies, Black studies, and psychology would continue, but they would not determine interdisciplinary work (as they now do) and they would not negatively reinforce continuing inter-institutional studies (as they now do). "Curriculum domains" and city education would be sufficient to ensure progressive inter-institutional study, and it would benefit immensely.

3. Institutional Duplex Manpower Act. If minority-experienced values are to reach the majority via educational and non-educational institutional experience, then institutional personnel are going to have to be duplexed for vital cultural functions. I call for a "Institutional Duplex Manpower Act." The federal government spends taxpayers' money. I believe it might best spend their money in employing minority and majority personnel at the same function in public institutions.

It's a dream, but government and public business, labor and education, each must do it. Two labor leaders in a Providence Union, one black and one white, for example, are needed. Two bankers in the same New Haven bank, one black and one white, are needed. Two department chairman of secondary education, one white and one yellow, or one black and one yellow, are needed in City University of New York, for example.

Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka (1954) specified that separate and equal facilities are unequal. Equality must accommodate cultural inherence of function in a majority institution. To duplex personnel positions in major public institutions will achieve the inherence. To duplex personnel positions will avoid a situation in which a black banker is simply a ghetto banker-creditor who is actually in less debt than the blacks who are his debtors. To duplex personnel positions will set the conditions for shared perceptions and knowledge of public functions by minority and majority personnel alike.

THE INTERCULTURAL SCHOOL OF THE ROCKIES, INC.

Nancy Michener

The University of Connecticut

The Intercultural School of the Rockies was an attempt to bring into existence a high school and community which used the cross-cultural, interdisciplinary, "student-centered" curriculum, with an experience-to-concept focus, and the surrounding environment as its classroom (headquartered at a winterized YMCA camp in the Rocky Mountains, spending three days/week in the city of Denver and at the University of Colorado nearby). The educational principles were applied to the secondary level and included minimal college-preparatory requirements because of the enormous need among Indians of the Southwest and Colorado Mexican-Americans (who are 22% of that state's population) for more of their own teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen. We aimed at (and nearly approached) an equal distribution among economically advantaged and disadvantaged, and rural and urban teenagers. We developed means of selecting and recruiting potential leaders from these groups. The goals were:

- to provide experiences which continually demand both creative, logical, independent thinking and cooperative interaction;
- to cultivate self-respect and appreciation of his own heritage for each, along with understanding of others and their culture, values, background;
- to apply and demonstrate effective learning methods;
- to provide an experimental model of community interactions among people of diverse backgrounds (both students and staff);
- to evaluate the programs behavioral-scientificly and then "sell" the successes through continuing dialogue with educators, parents, concerned citizens, legislators.

Well over 150 Denver-area educators, "minority" leaders and other community leaders, and many relevant organizations were involved in the development of the school, along with potential students and parents. It was an entirely volunteer effort, without seed money or a planning grant and with no official sponsorship, though many significant organizations

cooperated and were eager to be part of the school's operation. For example, curriculum-study groups including B.S.C.S. and the Social Sciences Education Consortium contributed to and verified the plans and helped locate outstanding teachers. Top librarians at the University of Colorado supervised the media-resources development, and instructed our students in information retrieval, and allowed small groups of them to spend Monday mornings in the University library. Professors who developed the Black Studies, Mexican-American Studies and Indian Studies programs at nearby colleges and the University of Colorado worked with our teachers and students. The University provided and trained tutors from its Indian, Chicano, Black and White college student population. Rocky Mountain National Park rangers and several businessmen, architects, lawyers, a newspaper publisher and others agreed to give apprenticeships to our students. An organization which developed "Participative Education" programs for Teachers Corps and Peace Corps agreed to develop and supervise our community government interactions.

The enthusiasm and cooperation from significant people and groups was huge; the only great problem was money! Most of the 2½ years spent in preparing for the school's opening were devoted to fund-raising! The director (a Black woman) and business manager (an Indian) only started on salary one month before the school opened, in September 1970.

The structural organization of the Intercultural School's curriculum facilitated—in some ways required—one-to-one student-teacher interactions and group discussions. In the sciences and humanities, the knowledge or content/information aspects of the curriculum were handled primarily through in-depth projects—both individual and group, shared and evaluated in groups. All the social studies and humanities were regarded as an interdisciplinary-core approach to understanding Man and Society, with each student initially focusing on studies within his own cultural/historical background (whether Afro-American, Irish-American, Indian-American). The Physical Sciences and Math attempted cooperation and team teaching wherever possible. Harvard Project Physics was the basis for physics, chemistry, astronomy and astrogeophysics. This, math, and the foreign languages received a somewhat independent and classroom-laboratory

focus of their own while working with other areas and using field trips in the area. The Ecology program: geology, geography, botany, meteorology, zoology were handled the first year entirely through out-of-doors experiences and in independent projects with a group discussion sharing-evaluating follow-up.

The Intercultural School recognized the skills-processes dimension of a curriculum, especially the cognitive processes of organizing, abstracting, integrating, analyzing and the communicative processes—both self-expressive and interactive—as best practiced throughout the school and community, cultivated individually by each student with the help of communication specialists and tutors, using the projects and experiences he is motivated to pursue. There are no English classes, with the exception of group discussions in the principles of communicating and reasoning

NON-FORMAL ALTERNATIVES TO SCHOOLING
FOR THE WORLD'S MINORITIES

William Smith

The University of Massachusetts

The necessity for creating alternatives to the traditional "schooling" model has been well documented by such educational critics as Philip Coombs and Ivan Illich. Where schooling is available, it is available to a relative few (it is estimated that less than half of all Third World children will finish the sixth grade). The extension of schooling to the majority of the world's children is made impossible by the rising costs of such an educational approach. And even if schooling could be extended to all the world's people, there is very little relation between it and the real development needs of most Third World countries.

Given this set of circumstances one possible approach is the creation of educational alternatives which do not rely upon costly building programs, highly trained professional teachers, serialized curriculum focused on the liberal arts, standardized and inflexible educational scheduling systems, or the insistence upon denying youth a functional role in national life by isolating them for the purpose of education. It is such alternatives that we shall refer to as non-formal for the purposes of this document.

Obviously, the search for such systems is not new. Specialized training centers, national radio forums, self-instructional texts, correspondence courses, educational television, folk schools, farmers' brigades, and leadership training courses have all tried for a number of years to reach individuals who were excluded by the traditional schooling system. A variety of target populations have been identified including both employed and unemployed adults, pre-school children, "youth," usually defined as individuals between 12 and 30, and women. But few of these programs have been seen as anything more than complementary to an existing system of national schooling. Consequently, they have almost always had to contend with insufficient economic resources and an inadequate manpower reservoir. Additionally, few of these programs have developed an integrated approach to a new style of education. The majority have focused on one or two aspects of educational reform such as seeking less expensive educational

environments, the use of paraprofessional teachers, or curriculums related specifically to development needs. Most of them have had to face the same evaluation criterion applied to traditional schooling in addition to the success criterion established by themselves. Many of them have been experimental and failed to make any national impact.

In only a few cases have truly national programs been developed and unfortunately, many of them have focused upon providing a liberal arts education to a mass population (Cuba is a notable exception).

In view of this token commitment to non-formal education, experimentation continues on a relatively small scale. A number of new ideas are interesting in that they focus directly upon the educational delivery system at its most basic unit, the student-teacher relationship. Investigations carried out during the past year in Ecuador have produced a proposal to be funded by USAID to experiment with a number of these ideas.

Included among them:

- Literacy and Basic Math - Paulo Friere's techniques as developed in Brazil and implemented in Chile are to be compared with the techniques Sylvia Ashton-Warner describes in her book "Teacher". Both methods are interesting in that they stress the importance of initiating a literacy program with ideas generated from the learner and which have broader life implications than simple technical skills.
- New Information Sources - Locally produced "popular literature" which stresses "survival skills" (interpersonal skills necessary for survival in a paternalistic social context) as well as practical information (nutrition and health) through the use of local heroes.
- Critical Evaluation of Information - Introduction of "strength training" (a situational training device) to develop an ability to evaluate social information in a more critical, less accepting manner.
- Generation of Alternative Solutions to Problems - Board games and social simulations, especially designed to provide practice in the generation of alternative problem-solving ideas.
- Personal Sense of Efficacy - Positive models, modified n-ach training, and simulated situations in which the learner is able to succeed are combined with techniques previously mentioned to increase the learner's sense of control over his own destiny.

THE BOOK OF REVOLUTION

Dean S. Yarbrough

Wheelock College

It is written that in the beginning God created woman in Her image out of Urschleim. And from that one woman sprang the whole human race. And the race multiplied and spread to the four corners of the earth.

One day a person said to another person, "You are different. I was created in her (God's) image. Therefore, you must be inferior to me." And so, the era of racism began.

In 1619 a Dutch man-of-war sailed into Jamestown Harbor with a cargo including a number of Africans whom she had robbed from a Spanish vessel bound for the West Indies. But they were not the first Africans in the new world. It is written that Pedro Alonzo Nino sailed with Columbus in 1492, that in 1502 the Portugese landed the first cargo of slaves in Hispaniola, and that in 1526 the first slave revolt occurred in what is now the Carolinas against the Spanish slave master, Lucas Vasques de Ayllon.

An epistle entitled "Summary View of the Rights of British America" was written in 1774. It was later shortened and updated by its author, Thomas Jefferson, and took on the imposing title, "The Declaration of Independence." It was the first public expression of the moral evil of slavery and the slave trade by an American political leader of the first rank. But even in the throes of REVOLUTION Jefferson's sentiment was not to be. The new nation acquired its freedom while officially taking it away from its Black citizens. It was so written in its 3/5 compromise, in the 20 years extension of slavery, and in the fugitive slave article, all parts of the new nation's constitution.

REVOLUTION - Toussaint, brave Toussaint, slave Toussaint, overthrew the French, and Haiti became the second republic in the Western Hemisphere in 1803. And the torch was passed. Gabriel, deeply religious Gabriel, led over one thousand slaves in an attack on Richmond. Denmark Vesey, brilliant hot-tempered Denmark, and Peter Poyas, whose veins were filled with ice water, undertook REVOLUTION, were betrayed and hanged. Nat Turner, the prophet, planned to capture Jerusalem, the county seat of Southampton

Virginia. He took his cue from the scriptures. "From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples that he must go into Jerusalem . . ." For 24 hours he left a trail of blood. And when he was hanged in Jerusalem, the sky darkened and it began to rain, as he had prophesied, and all of the people were afraid.

It is written that slavery caused the new country to flourish. Even before the nation's inception the merchants of New England had argued against a sugar tax because sugar and molasses were essential to the slave trade, and the slave trade was the "vital commerce" of New England. Boston, Newport, Salem, Providence, and New Bedford all bustled with activity. So too, Bristol, Glasgow, and Liverpool. Ships were built, trade carried on in woolen goods, rum, and cotton; and fetters, chains, and padlocks manufactured to fasten the slaves. Slavery nurtured the economic growth of the New World and Old - Man's inhumanity toward Man.

REVOLUTION - There was the evil war. Then came the 13th amendment granting slaves their freedom, and the 14th citizenship, and the 15th the right to vote. FREEDOM at last and behold, Reconstruction and the Hayes Bargain. Reconstruction ended and there was the decade of disappointment. And there was lynching, over 1400 between 1882 and 1892. World War I was to make the world safe for democracy. And there was the post-war rebirth of the Klu Klux Klan with over 100,000 members operating from Maine to California. In 1925 it paraded past the White House with the government's permission.

More chapters were written in the BOOK OF REVOLUTION: Marcus Garvey, NAACP, Negro Renaissance, the New Deal, and World War II in 1942. The Marine Corps admitted the first Black volunteer in its 167 year history. In 1948 President Truman abolished segregation in the Armed Forces. In 1954 the Supreme Court made its decision against separate but equal. In 1955 Dr. Martin Luther King conducted the Montgomery bus boycott.

CORE sit-ins
SNCC
Freedom Riders

In 1963 there was the march on Washington for freedom and jobs. Martin Luther King's famous "I have a dream" sermon came from on high. John F. Kennedy spelled hope but John F. Kennedy was assassinated. So too were

Rev. James Reeb, Viola Luizzo, Goodman, Schwerner, Cheney and Jonathan Daniels.

REVOLUTION - It was recorded in Watts, in Cleveland, in Chicago, in Dayton, in Milwaukee, in San Francisco, in Newark, and in Detroit. In 1968 Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised black gloved fists symbolizing their protest against racism in America.

Martin Luther King killed
Robert Kennedy killed
Elton Hayes killed

This history is recorded in the book of Black History but seldom in others. It is written that the theme of Black History is the quest of Black people for freedom, equality and justice. The Black man will settle for nothing less. But his struggle is a major battle in man's war for freedom, equality, justice and humanity.

Hear this warning: man is operating educational systems under a subtle philogenetic memory trail of slave education. Witness Goodman, Schwerner and Cheney who were lynched in Mississippi because they didn't recognize their place. Witness Kent State.

As long as "neighborhood school" plans mean apartheid, as long as poor people are exploited, just so long must the book of Black History shout for freedom, equality and justice. Just so long will history be the recall of REVOLUTION.

It is written that there will be a REVOLUTION. But it is not written what kind. It may come to pass as a REVOLUTION in men's minds. Men may use their intelligence and energy to build a world civilization based on freedom, equality, justice and humanity - WHAT A BEAUTIFUL REVOLUTION THIS CAN BE. Or it may be a bloody REVOLUTION, possibly causing the demise of world civilization.

You the teachers, you must make the choice. You must educate a generation dedicated to the service of mankind in one world or share in the self-imposed lynching of mankind. You must make a choice and act accordingly - THE REVOLUTION IS NEAR. Here endeth the BOOK OF REVOLUTION. But the end is the beginning!

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