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THE WORLD BANK

July 1976

EVALUATING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS:

AN INTERNATIONAL CASEBOOK

This is a comprehensive annotated bibliography on educational reform. It includes references to both the theory and practice of reform in developed and developing countries. The items are organized by geographic region and country and are cross referenced by author. It is a companion volume to Professor Paulston's analysis of "Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change" (World Bank, 1975). These volumes are part of a project on Educational Reform and Economic Development (RPO 319) coordinated by John Simmons.

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## INTRODUCTION

### Purpose and Objectives

This casebook illustrates value bias in the literature evaluating national educational reforms. The work is a companion piece to my study, "Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review" (World Bank, 1976). \* Where the "Conflicting Theories" paper presents a review of the diagnostic and prescriptive theoretical literature that asks "why and how educational reforms occur," the "Casebook" provides illustrations of theoretical and ideological bias in over 400 evaluative case-study reports of reforms around the world.

The two works are cross-referenced in the following manner. In the "Conflicting Theories" paper, some six distinct "theoretical" or "ideological" views of social reality and educational-change processes are presented. From the "equilibrium" paradigm, materials representing the (1) evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, (2) structural-functional, and (3) systems analysis "windows on reality" are presented. From the "conflict" paradigm, the (1) Marxist and neo-Marxist, (2) the cultural and social movement, and (3) the anarchistic and utopian perspectives are examined. There follows after each of <sup>these</sup> six sections a coded list of the case studies in the casebook representing the notions and bias of each "theoretical" orientation. This list is also included as Appendix I in the casebook.

As the reader will note, I have, where possible, in the casebook introduced each reform report with an indication as to where it would fit in Figure One of the paper. This matrix specifies relations between

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\*Also published as an occasional paper by the University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1976.

theories of social and educational change/reform, and presents defining characteristics to help identify and categorize each of the theoretical-cum-value orientations.

The casebook, in addition, has several aims that are independent of the paper. One is to provide for the first time a compilation of the literature on educational-change efforts at the national system level. Comparative study of these so-called national reforms has lagged in part for lack of a comprehensive, analytical inventory, such as for the first time presented here. Innovations or low-level change efforts, have, in contrast, received a good deal of attention from <sup>authors</sup> ~~the~~ equilibrium theory perspectives, and all too often rather narrowly and exclusively concerned with efficiency and technological rationality. It is hoped that this work on system-wide or national reforms, i. e., educational change where notions of ideology, power, group conflict, and political economy, et al, are more obvious, influential, and more difficult to ignore in assessing reform causes, processes, and outcomes--will stimulate inquiry using conflict theory.

The casebook also seeks to supplement the bibliographical work accompanying each national study in the World Bank Educational Reform Project. This third objective, however, has not been systematically pursued, and there very well may be some duplication of items, large gaps, and/or contradictory assessments of reform motives and accomplishments. In this case, the reader is encouraged to return to Figure One and "type" the World Bank author for theoretical/ideological bias. It is fairly safe to predict that the World Bank authors will be no less resistant than are the authors of the materials cited in acknowledging their value bias, in "coming clean" as to the ideological filter through which they sift and focus their data to support their particular views of social reality, of reform "causes and effects."

### Procedures: Sources and Data

In this work, as in the paper, the following information systems and serial publications were searched to identify relevant data: (1) ERIC - The Educational Resources Information Centers system; (2) CIJE - The Current Index of Journals in Education (periodicals) system; (3) RIE - Researches in Education (micro-film); (4) The Social Science File of the Institute of Scientific Information; (5) International Political Science Abstracts; (6) the Educational Index; (7) Dissertation Abstracts; (8) Rand Abstracts; and (9) the resources of the Hillman Library at the University of Pittsburgh. I have expressly avoided the inclusion of government-policy materials and plans for educational reform. Although this vast literature may be of value for the analysis of governmental priority, posturing and rhetoric, it consistently avoids analysis of objective conditions, constraints on change, and the questions concerning value bias addressed in this work.

The data extracted from the studies identified and selected as reform assessments in large part consists of direct quotes chosen for their relevance to the four categories of reform assumptions used in the mentioned Figure One. That is, where possible, I have let the authors speak directly to these questions: (1) What are the preconditions for educational change? (2) What are the appropriate rationales for educational reform? (3) What should be the scope and process of reform? and (4) What major outcomes should reforms seek? In answering these and related queries, I argue that authors and reformers can be more or less identified with a particular paradigmatic orientation and theoretical bias re. why and how national educational reforms take place--or should take place. These are the major organizational categories of the typology of theories in Figure One.

In this I have presented my choices as to which theoretical categories are present in the reform literature, as well as the defining characteristics of each "theoretical" orientation. And as I am clearly biased toward the group conflict "theory" as being best able to explain most educational-reform phenomena, relations, and outcomes, my interpretations may well

In some instances be less convincing and useful than an alternative conceptualization. Thus does the process of scholarship unfold with new and established views and explanations of social reality <sup>conflicting, competing, and</sup> contending. Hopefully, the growing acceptance and increased vigor of conflict theory will see the development of more powerful and useful explanations of not only the limits of educational reform, but of alternative strategies for altered social and educational relations as well.

### Organization and Use

Where the paper is organized by paradigm and theory, this work suggests no such obvious solution. As the data presented is drawn from national case studies, the logical choice was to use types of national-reform contexts--i. e., materials on reforms in various types of revolutionary and non-revolutionary settings, and the like: or to simply sort out the items by geographical area and use a gross division between "developed" and "developing" countries. In the end, I chose the latter option for the fairly obvious reasons that (1) a geographical sorting would facilitate using materials about educational reforms in each national setting during both revolutionary and non-revolutionary periods and (2) those who are most likely to read the casebook and apply the ideas and information it presents will most likely be professionals accustomed to the organizational terminology used.

As all compilations must be more or less selective, it may well be that I have missed reform materials that serve well to illustrate bias in reform assessment. And in so doing I may have left out a developing nation or two. Although the omission of such materials might limit the scope and comprehensiveness of the casebook, it does not necessarily detract from its basic illustrative purpose.

As an aid to the reader, I have included both author and subject indices. In this, another of my biases surfaces. If a work is worth doing, it should present what information it contains in the most assessable manner possible. This I have attempted to do.

The preparation of this casebook has proved to be a provocative and intellectually stimulating undertaking. The attempt to encompass and systematize a large body of literature on national reform efforts has been informative and satisfying in the degree to which some useful and suggestive patterns have been delineated. Yet, the paper and the casebook are no more than exploratory efforts to help us better understand how our particular views of social reality and prescriptions for social and educational reform can be understood in terms of our values, our ideological bias, and our membership in social, ethnic, and political groups. With this self-knowledge, we will, hopefully, be better able to understand and evaluate attempts by a variety of organizations, interest groups, and individuals to alter the educational experiences and, indirectly, the life chances of those who are the recipients of reform efforts.

I would like to thank Carol Jones and Gwen Howze for typing the manuscript, and Mohini Wagle for her help in making the subject index. Ellen Morales provided assistance in making copies, and John Simmons contributed numerous suggestions that helped to shape and move the work. In all matters of selection, categorization, substantive interpretation, and theoretical typing, I alone am responsible.

June 25, 1976

R. G. P.

PART A

THEORETICAL, METHODOLOGICAL  
AND GENERAL WORKS

THEORETICAL

1.1.01 Alschuler, A. "Towards a Self-Renewing School ~~(USA)~~." Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 8, No. 5 (September 1972), pp. 577-600.

The author presents an illustrative example of the systems perspective on educational reform. He argues that

... three factors [are] necessary for sustained change: (a) a high level of system readiness prior to any organizational development effort, (b) a combined effort of organizational development and psychological education, and (c) the continuous leadership of key individuals within the organization before, during, and after the participation of outside change agents.

He concludes that

The successful practice of organizational development depends also on psychological education. The roles, rules, role relationships, procedures, and norms of systems have a meta-individual permanency. They tend to continue regardless of who occupies the role or who plays by the rules. Though these stable system properties can be legitimately abstracted in thought and spoken about as if they are tangible, in fact they have reality only so long as they are given life by the role occupants, the rule-follower, and so on. In short, the approach to organizational development is always through individuals, clarifying or changing the goals individuals share, improving the stable patterns of communication among role inhabitants, altering their shared expectations, helping the leader to lead differently, improving the efficiency of problem solving done by groups of individuals, facing and resolving conflicts between people, collaboratively redefining roles.



1.1.03 Bishop, L.K. "Bureaucracy and Educational Change." The Clearing House, Vol. 44, No. 1 (January 1970), pp. 305-309.

Bishop, using a functionalist frame of reference, asks "what effect the bureaucratic structure within the organizational designed school systems has upon a system's ability or capacity to make significant educational changes?"

He reports that

... stability of school systems, as measured in this research, seemed to enhance rather than impede the change process. System stability in terms of consistent, definitive hierarchy of authority with consistent rules, regulations, and school system policy, coupled with a well established organizational structure, seemed to induce a greater opportunity for innovation and change rather than impeding this process. Essentially, a stable framework or more stable organizational atmosphere provided a better basis for changes to be brought to fruition. These findings also tend further to corroborate and replicate the findings of Moeller, wherein the more highly bureaucratic systems in his study offered teachers more sense of power to influence school system policy than the less bureaucratic systems.

Due to the results of the statistical analysis of the data in this study, it seems appropriate to concur with Blau and to reject many of the conjectures proposed by Thompson in reference to the efficacy of bureaucracy as a viable organizational scheme. This may be done at least to the degree of generalization that can be made from the 21 school systems of this report. The more highly bureaucratic structures were not sterile, but seemed to be dynamic entities capable of modification when change proposals were presented.

He concludes by citing support from Peter Blau:

Bureaucracies are not such rigid structures as is popularly assumed. Their organization does not remain fixed according to the formal blueprint, but always evolves into new forms. Conditions change, problems arise, and, in the course of coping with them, the members of the organization establish new procedures and often transform their social relationships, thereby modifying the structure. The organized patterns of activities and interactions that have not--perhaps, not yet--been officially institutionalized reveal bureaucracy in the process of change.

.04.

Bremer, J. On Educational Change. Arlington, Virginia: National Association of Elementary School Principals, 1973. 32 p.

Bremer, a self-styled "educational reformer" using functionalist perspectives describes his views and his mode of analysis in his quest to deal with educational change. He suggests that, to survive in educational and political change, it is necessary to have what may be thought of as a map of the territory, together with some notion of the desirable directions and the available paths. He links the discussion of educational change to past, present, and future changes in society as a whole. He considers the historical basis underlying the present educational structure and considers directions in which that structure has been moving. The author suggests that the educational matrix--the structure supportive of learning--consists of time, space, subject matter, and social and administrative organization. He describes each of these elements and then classifies current educational alternatives in terms of the variations they make in one or more of the four elements of the matrix.

1.1.05 Carter, M.A. Contradiction and Correspondence: An Analysis of the Relation of Schooling to Work. Discussion paper 75-1, August, 1975. Center for Economic Studies, Palo Alto, California. 38 p. (Mimeo)

*Correspondence*  
 Using a ~~Marxist~~ framework "to examine the correspondence between socialization to occupational roles via education," Carter suggests that

An understanding of this correspondence is then applied to the study of changes in the nature of work in order to predict new demands that will be placed on the education system and other institutions of socialization. The analysis of possible responses of educational institutions to such demands will inform debate on educational reforms at both the curricular and institutional level.

He hypothesizes in conclusion that

...the decreasing legitimacy of existing workplace hierarchies coupled with the frustration of expectations derivative from the oversupply of educated workers will result in increasing pressures over the next decade for more democratic, participatory forms of work organization. If these pressures do force large structural changes in the forms of work organization and in the social relations of the work process, then our correspondence concept predicts that forces will be generated to change the content and structure of schooling processes in corresponding ways. By studying the operation of existing mechanisms of correspondence and by identifying the structural elements of industrial democracy that specifically distinguish it from present organizations of production, we gain insight into the ways in which schooling processes must change in order to correspond to democratic work structures and to facilitate change in that direction.

1.1.06

Center for Educational Research and Innovation. Case Studies of Educational Innovation: Vol. IV - Strategies for Innovation in Education. Paris: OECD, 1973. 296 p.

In Chapter 8, "Barriers and Unintended Effects," this study, from a systems perspective, suggests that educational reforms <sup>proceed</sup> fail for a number of reasons:

The analysis has shown that a number of "external" factors are important. Few projects have been created with the necessary political support. This sometimes means that the project has not gone through a necessary "screening process" in which the project idea is assessed in relation to other priorities in a global educational, social, and economic perspective. It can also mean that the idea has not faced initial discussions between interest groups, a process that will certainly take place at some stage.

Most projects do not relate to the existing legal and administrative mechanisms in a way in which they can be used for the benefit of the projects. In fact in most cases those in charge of an innovative project have only vague ideas about laws, administrative regulations and other mechanisms that have been set up to serve maintenance functions rather than innovative functions. These mechanisms are, when they are fully discovered, most often looked upon as "barriers." It is a fact, however, that maintenance of a system is necessary, and has to be taken care of at the same time as innovations are introduced. Only through a detailed discussion of these mechanisms and their possible modifications can an innovative project survive in the long run.

The same argument applies to the incentive structure that is in-built in any educational system. We have observed that the reward structure that regulates the behaviour of teachers is crucial for an understanding of the innovation process. Less frequently is the observation made that also institutional behaviour is dependent on an in-built incentive structure. The way research institutions function, for example, can partly be explained as a consequence of expectations, and professional reward structures.

Any innovative work is a high-risk activity. When an idea is formulated and has been adopted, conditions have to be created to "shelter" the project from the constraints that regulate the on-going system. The forces against change in a system are in most cases far stronger than the supportive forces. Skillful management, and sometimes formal agreements among interest groups may be necessary to get a project developed.

We have repeatedly seen that many projects face the most severe problems in the dissemination stage. The lack of a systematic innovation policy that includes a relevant support-structure (research and development, in-service training, consultancy, local teachers centres, etc.), can often explain the failures.

It concludes that lack of critical theoretical understanding on the part of educational reformers continues to limit serious change:

analysis points out the lack of open criticism in the [reform] process. It is probably right to say that many innovators have been unable to face, resolve and examine conflicts in their projects. In only very few cases have the innovators realistically faced the value conflicts inherent in their own positions.

In the problem-identification phase, as well as in the evaluation phase, there are many weaknesses in most organizations studied. Seldom are the implied ideologies analysed; instead, the problems are treated as technical ones. We see this as one of the major problems in the [reform] process today.

- 1.1.07 Corwin, R. G. "Strategies of Organizational Survival: The Case of a National Program for Educational Reform" ~~ESST.~~ Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 8, No. 4 (July 1972), pp. 451-480.

Corwin's conflict analysis of an educational reform organization focuses on the "political economy," i. e., the interplay of power and goals and productive exchange systems. His approach calls attention to the importance of external funding sources, internal allocations of resources, internal and external group conflict, and the importance of dominating elites.

His analysis demonstrates, he argues, that it is folly to evaluate an organization's "effectiveness" apart from its history and social context. Indeed, when forced upon a program already severely compromised by political opponents, evaluation becomes a political tool. An adequate evaluation of a program's effectiveness presupposes recognition of the constraints under which the program labors. More generally, it must take into account how organizations cope with serious external constraints and, indeed, it must explain how they manage to survive at all.

The Teacher Corps is significant as a national effort to forge organizations into a coalition designed to effect significant and systematic change in the functions, performance, and objectives of other complex organizations. The fact that the program is itself is a complex organization subjects it to all of the forces and constraints that shape any organization. The organizational character of this change agent--and the "change agent" character of the organization--produced the political constraints, local resistance, cooptation strategies, and other phenomena noted in this study.

Our understanding of the process of innovation can be no better than the models of organization used to interpret its results. But reform programs have seldom been derived from or geared to an explicit, plausible model of an organization. Their assumptions about the nature of organizations tend to be simplistic or, worse, totally misleading: organizations are generally regarded as rational, potent instruments for implementing policy decisions, with a capacity

- The prestige of member organizations as a bargaining resource and source of constraint on other organizations in the network
- The need for internal control within member institutions and the adverse effects of decentralized decision-making structures on member organizations' commitment to a reform program
- Structure and status threat as sources of inflexibility
- Promoting the development of latent subcultures within organizations as a way of promoting change and the conflict that can result
- The dynamic tension produced by the interdependence of member organizations in face of their autonomy and independent incentive systems and resources.
- The strategic importance of boundary personnel for linking organizations into a viable network
- Federal intervention as a means of throttling the rate of change
- The paralyzing effects of delegated control and institutionalization
- The countervailing powers exercised by coordinating agencies operating within a feudal type of network
- The significance of consensus-seeking and mediating functions of coordinating agencies attempting to implement reform
- Reform as a political process compromise.

See also his subsequent study, Education In Crisis: A Sociological Analysis of Schools & Universities in Transition, New York: Wiley, 1974, 380 p. In the final chapter, "Strategies for Educational Reform," Corwin seeks to demonstrate how organization theory used at the macro level can be used to "explain" educational reforms in national political economy terms. More specifically, he proposes that reform strategies are more or less "successful" to the extent that they 1) cultivate linkages with the societal decision-making process, 2) employ boundary personnel who are receptive to change, and 3) are able to avoid a mobilization of unified resistance in the client-institution undergoing the reform.

1.1.08 Elvin, L. "Institutionalizing Educational Reform." Prospects, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn 1972), pp. 284-294.

Elvin hypothesizes that

until a reforming idea in education has been given successful institutional embodiment the work of the reformer has not been done. This is so obvious that it really should not need stating at all. Yet the need to do this, and the difficult problems involved in doing it, have been astonishingly ignored in the planning of educational development in the post-war years. A hundred hours of efforts have been put into working out statistical possibilities, in perfecting "models," in devising "targets," for any one hour that has been spent in considering the two things that matter more than anything else: the quality and quantity of the teachers you can rely on to carry out your ideas, and the nature and suitability of the administrators and the institutions that you have here at your disposal.

He proposes that

From the ideas expressed in this paper one can derive the following conclusions: first, educational history shows the importance of the institutional embodiment of reforming ideas; second, in spite of this, too little attention has been paid to the need for it in planning for educational development in the developing countries in the last two decades because of the narrowness of the first conception of development and of the role of those who plan it; and, lastly, there are signs of a more institutional approach to the problem of development and to a concept of planning that does not separate the planner from the process.

Nevertheless it is probably true that the former inadequate conceptions and practices still hold sway for the most part. The new, broader and more realistic concepts should now come into play and UNESCO should take active steps to see that they do. For just as with the encyclopaedia "till there was a sale nothing had happened," so with a reforming idea in education nothing has happened till it receives effective embodiment in appropriate institutions.

- 1.1.09 Ferge, Z. "Some Problems of the School-System and the School Reforms." Introductory paper for Round Table 10, Functions of the School System, World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, 1974. 22 p.

Ferge proposes that school and educational reforms fail, or <sup>are</sup> less successful than expected because of social and historical reasons, because reformists do not recognize "what is possible to accomplish in any given situation." In addition, he believes that reform movements ignore the functional relationship between the school and the social structure.

- 1.1.10 Hanson, M. On Social Systems Theory as a Predictor of Educational Change. School of Education, University of California at Riverside, 1972, 21 p. (mimeo.)

Hanson suggests that whether or not educational <sup>reform</sup> ~~change~~ is accepted is often dependent on its direct effect on individuals, and that educational change occurs within the framework of a school system made up of six subsystems of students, teachers, principals, central office administrators, parents, and community; <sup>each</sup> subsystem tends <sup>to</sup> toward a status quo and operating <sup>in</sup> independently, ~~(although interdependently when required).~~

His findings suggest that the educational subsystem required to make the greatest modifications in normal operating procedures will raise the highest level of resistance. <sup>to reform</sup> This indicates that resistance can be predicted and furthermore, through identification of systems required to make the greatest changes, that it is possible to plan strategies that will help subsystems adapt to a program change.

to accomplish any assigned task. So great and prevailing is this faith that failures are typically blamed on an individual or a minor procedural flaw; the inherent difficulty of achieving a plan through organized means seems almost beyond their contemplation. The influential sociologist, Max Weber, not only shared this faith but was preoccupied with the belief that the world is becoming fully rationalized by lifeless forms of organization. He perpetuated and embellished the rational, instrumental image of organization that is now so widely accepted in the social sciences.

Reform programs are expected to perform in accordance with this rational image. As a result, they are held accountable for what they cannot do, while their major contributions are ignored. But it is my thesis that organizations are political bodies, and that innovation can therefore be implemented only through political compromise. It is the "political economy" of organizations that determines the outcome of social reform programs. Although space precludes adequate discussion, it may be useful to review the processes, identified in this study, that extend and refine the concept of political economy by specifying the critical economic and political dimensions that shaped this program's fate. These variables include:

- Value consensus as a primary source of incentive and constraint in institution reform programs
- Goal setting as a bargaining strategy
- Rhetoric as a persuasive form of influence and a device for protecting goals
- The use of slack resources as a way of enhancing and altering bargaining power
- Discretionary funds as a source of flexibility and leverage for the coordinating agency
- Dispersal of resources as a means of promoting support and dissipating consequences
- The use of marginal utility principles as a way of optimizing the impact of funding
- Promoting change by maximizing the leverage of the more change-oriented, cosmopolitan member institutions
- Recycling funds through a policy of reversing funds for capital investments at the critical initial stages of the innovation cycle
- The checks and balances produced by a diffuse distribution of power
- Selective recruitment of vulnerable, cooptable member organizations

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Hanson, M. The Modern Educational Bureaucracy and the Process of Change. School of Education, University of California at Riverside, 1972. 24 p. (mimeo)

Hanson develops the notion of the modern educational bureaucracy, suggesting that the decision-making process of the school is controlled by two authority structures--the administrators and the subordinates. The intent of this paper is to explore the interaction of these two sources of authority and to analyze the implications for the process of educational reform. In addition, the paper examines two potent educational forces that are threatening to disrupt the delicate balance-of-power relationships that now govern the schools. The author argues that the "accountability in the classroom" movement threatens to thrust the administrator into the center of the sphere of influence traditionally maintained by teachers, and that the "collective negotiations" movement is propelling the teachers squarely into the sphere of influence traditionally maintain by administrators. The result will be a new form of educational bureaucracy that will have specific implications for the <sup>reformation</sup> ~~process of change~~.

- 1.1.12 Harrison, A. and E. G. Scriven. "Educational Reform: Where Will It Lead Us?" ~~[unclear]~~ Educational Forum, Vol. 36, No. 2 (May 1972), pp. 542-543.

The authors propose that

At present there are two readily identifiable reform movements developing in education which, for lack of better terms, might be characterized as humanistic and materialistic. Individual freedom and affective development are the primary concern in the humanist camp while the materialist's focus is on economic efficiency--the production of the greatest number of units at the lowest cost.

The humanist movement in education never developed much momentum until very recently. Writers such as Neill and Goodman were voices crying in the wilderness. Today their message has been picked up and spread by a growing number of highly vocal humanist critics. The movement's greatest impetus has been provided by student disenchantment and radicalization. The current emphasis on individualized instruction and freedom to learn is directly related to student discontent with traditional methodology. . . .

The materialist reform movement is directly related to the rapidly rising cost of public education and industry's eagerness to develop the education market. Both of these developments are fairly recent and have served to focus attention on the financial efficiency of the school operation. . . .

While a synthesis of the two philosophies or reform movements is possible, it is our belief that the realities of the situation will result in the decline of humanism and the flourishing of materialism. The American culture is not favorable to the growth of humanism but highly conducive to the growth of materialism. Despite the widely publicized activities of university and high-school radicals, it is highly improbable that they will succeed in turning society around. Historically, young reformers, have been co-opted by the establishment.

- 1.1.13. Heichberger, R. L. "Theoretical Approach to Conflict in Organizational Change Processes" [~~ESL~~ Education, Vol. 9: (February 1974), pp. 205-236.

- 1.1.14. Herbert, M. and Schulman, M. "Educational Change Through Violent Dissent." Viewpoint, Vol. 48, No. 3 (May 1972), pp. 139-149.

Herbert and Schulman hold the view~~point~~ that educational reform in ~~a~~ ~~our~~ society can only occur after the main economic structure of the society is transformed from capitalism to socialism. They analyze present change efforts as producing only non-change because of the rigid structure of capitalist society.

- 1.1.15. Keil, E. C. "A Structure for Innovation in Education." Educational Technology, Vol. 9 (October 1969), pp. 35-40.

This is a structural-functional and systems approach to viewing reform planning. Change is defined as innovation, and must reflect "measurability", "practicality", and "feasibility" in relation to public criteria. If innovations are to succeed, they must have support of policy makers, be well thought out, and not just meet the stresses and strains of the present institution. Keil argues that it is more important for reforms to be technically sophisticated, than pragmatic, instrumental and problem-oriented. No evidence is presented, however, to support these contentions.

- 1.1.16 Eitz, W. "On the Marxist Approach to Comparative Education in the German Democratic Republic." Comparative Education, Vol. 7, No. 1 (August 1971), pp. 21-31.

Marxist comparative education is firmly based upon historical materialism and the Marxist social sciences. We also derive the criteria for evaluating developments in school policy and pedagogics from the laws of social development in our epoch recognised by Marxism and their concrete application to the educational field. Western comparatists are surely very wide of the mark when they accuse us for this reason of using an a priori method and claim that we arbitrarily force the phenomena observed into "basic contrast categories." Must not the ideas about an "integrated industrial society," "open society," "cultural values of the Western world," theories of convergency and other socio-theoretical points of departure upon which comparatists in capitalist countries rely, and which they believe confirmed in their comparative investigations, also be regarded as a priori assumptions? The question is, which points of departure are the correct ones.

The principles of educational policy derived from social laws which serve us as criteria in evaluation include--in addition to those of a specifically socialist character--others which were not first worked out by Marxists but were bourgeois-democratic principles first, as unity state control, secularity and a scientific approach to education, equal rights to education and the like. But evaluation of contemporary developments, programmes and measures is by no means conducted by a simple "measuring of the distance to complete fulfillment of the principles." It takes into account what steps can, under the given concrete conditions, in accordance with the given relation of forces between the classes and with the economic possibilities, etc., best serve to further the struggle for more advanced aims and help the movement forward and convince the masses through experience. Thus evaluations include the standpoints of the strategy of class struggle. The sine qua non here is to enquire who is served (cui bono?) to enquire whether a particular development served the working class, the interests of the people and of youth and what progressive possibilities it embodies for peace, democracy, and socialism. This is class analysis based on dialectical and historical materialism and the laws of development of society as developed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

1.1.17 Laska, J. "Stages of Educational Development." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 8, No. 3 (December 1964), pp. 215-263.

The author suggests that

there may be an evolutionary sequence for the optimum development of educational systems in the modern or modernizing societies. This conception affords a broad framework within which educational requirements may be interpreted and the progress of development in any national school system assessed.

He then presents a typology of educational systems "based on the three stages of educational development," i. e. ,

The first stage in the development of an educational system, therefore, would require the provision of a limited amount of higher education. . . . the second stage of educational development would involve the achievement of universal primary education.

The third stage would follow logically from the second, entailing the vertical expansion of school enrollments by raising the school-leaving age and providing, in effect, universal secondary education.

Although his orientation is neo-evolutionary, he cautions that his formulation is also only an approximate guide for educational policy decisions. The empirical data presented in the typology are not meant to be prescriptive; their function is to describe what may be regarded as "normal limits." For an educational system that departs from these limits, the typology is useful in highlighting that fact, with the implication that the reasons for the variation should be more carefully scrutinized. However, a nation may well decide that in its own circumstances such a deviation from the expected pattern is entirely warranted.

In conclusion, he contends that the educational attainments in the advanced countries might well serve to inform educational development efforts in the "modernizing" nations

it is important to examine the experience of those nations which have been successful in achieving universal primary schooling. What measures did these countries employ to

enforce compulsory attendance? Were positive incentives such as free school meals necessary? What was the effect of teacher quality on the holding power of the primary school? At the secondary level, how were political pressures in favor of expansion resisted? Was it necessary to institute procedures for selective admission to the general secondary course?

Another important question concerns the nature of the third stage of a nation's educational development. This is an issue that is now being faced in most of the advanced societies, none of which has achieved universal secondary schooling beyond the compulsory school leaving age.

These are some of the problems which might be profitably examined with the aid of the typology of educational systems. To stress the unique characteristics of an educational system risks losing the balanced insight that may be gained from comparative analysis. The conception of stages of educational development would seem to be helpful in focusing research and in making the experience of one country more relevant to another.

The author, however, does not provide <sup>illustrations of</sup> ~~examples~~, for example, ~~of~~ how Prussia or the United States as two leading exemplars of universal primary schooling <sup>in the past century</sup> might serve to guide ~~comparable~~ reform efforts in, say, Africa or Asia ~~today~~.

1.1.18 Lauderdale, W. B. "Change in Universities: A Cultural Perspective," Educational Forum, Vol. 39, No. 2 (January 1975), pp. 199-208. <sup>"[USA]"</sup>

Argues from an evolutionary bias that educational reform, as fundamental change in institutions, "is not the result of human design but is a function of and can be explained only by reference to cultures" that

we continue to plan and execute broad strategies of change in higher education, even though such actions are wasteful to the point of disgrace. This wastefulness will not be diminished as long as we pay so little attention to culture and its "extra-somatic" character. The history of education does not demonstrate the principle of planned change. What it does demonstrate is that effective change occurs only as a response to an obvious and concrete problem to which men have been forced, by cultural circumstance, to adjust. As a society becomes larger, standardized tests become popular; a nation of immigrants will have adult education programs; and a society whose economy is creating a broad middle class will develop a common school movement. There is nothing strange or mystical about such events. They can be understood only in cultural terms and cannot be explained as the consequence of someone's vision.

This view, which emphasizes the force of culture and reacts skeptically to suggestions that man controls institutional change, remains a position much maligned today. Of course, "our ancestors once thought they could control the weather as contemporary savages still do. They finally outgrew this illusion, even going so far as to outgrow calling the new view 'fatalistic' and 'defeatist.'" White suggests further that physical scientists have been highly successful in their endeavors precisely because of their willingness not to be shackled by feelings of omnipotence, but to take seriously their power to explain and predict.

Certainly, man's role in culture is important--without him there is no culture. Nor does respect for culture as the determinant of change negate individual expressions of the very worthwhile ends which many seek. To understand and adapt to culture does not require that one be lost to it. As Emile Durkheim has noted:

Because beliefs and social practices thus come to us from without, it does not follow that we receive them passively or without modification. In reflecting on collective institutions and assimilating them for ourselves, we individualize them and impart to them ore or less personal characteristics. Similarly, in reflecting on the physical world, each of us colors it after his own fashion, and different individuals adapt themselves differently to the same physical environment. It is for this reason that each one of us creates, in a measure, his own morality, religion, and mode of life. There is no conformity to social convention that does not comprise an entire range of individual shades.

To recognize change in higher education as a reflection of cultural circumstance does not demand we forfeit our "individual shades." Rather, we lose our individuality by being immersed in a circumstance we do not understand but continue to claim as our own creation. Within culture, understanding is a uniquely human act, and one would expect those associated with higher education to be most respectful of knowledge and least vulnerable to feelings of inferiority by the recognition of limitations as a part of the human condition.

It is imperative that we in higher education discontinue the frustrating and alienating practice of promising the public, our peers, and our students what we cannot deliver; that we discontinue with our romantic notions of creating the type of ~~change~~ <sup>new</sup> in universities which fit contrived ideals but not contemporary circumstance. We must, instead, set our task as one of understanding our culture and facilitating its growth by adjusting to its demands, not ours.

1.1.19

Paulston, R. G. Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change.  
Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University  
of Pittsburgh, 1976. 68 p.

Presents a review of the diagnostic and prescriptive literature that ~~asks~~ <sup>asks</sup> why and how educational reforms occur. Assumptions re. educational-change potentials are ~~generalized~~ <sup>typologized</sup> and linked with a number of social-change theories that fall into either the "equilibrium" or "conflict" paradigms.

Concludes that attempts to explain and predict educational-reform ~~phenomena~~ <sup>phenomena</sup> always reflect--either implicitly or explicitly--"theoretical orientations to social reality and social-change process." Concludes that

as major educational reforms always involve a political process with implications for the redistribution of power, the lack of reform analysis from conflict perspectives has seriously limited our ability to either understand or predict the outcome of educational reform efforts, ~~purportedly seeking greater equity and efficiency. (p. 68)~~

1.1.20. <sup>m</sup> Simons, J. "Education, Poverty and Development." Working Paper No. 188,  
<sup>A</sup> The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 1974. (Mimeo)

The author examines major issues and options concerning educational contributions to economic growth and development. He notes that

The reform of social institutions has never been an easy task. The institutions of mass education are no exception. Two theories of educational reform define the set of options that countries face. The first is the theory that educational structures and processes reflect social and economic forces. If this structuralist theory is correct, then it follows that economic and social changes have to precede major educational reforms. Under this theory potential reformers can only wait for the preconditions to be met and in the interval study and experiment with what are the most promising reforms.

The second theory, linked to the progressive theorists, does not make any assumptions about the interrelationship of the nature of formal education to other social forces. Rather it assumes that the education sector is capable of designing and implementing basic reforms without pressures from the society.

The history of educational reform, both in the rich and poor countries, provides more evidence for the structuralist theory. (~~Katz, 1969~~ Lawrence, 1969) The evidence indicates that innovations, but not reforms, are possible under the progressive theory. The industrial revolution, installation of democratic governments, or the imposition of colonial rule brought about reforms to existing educational systems. In the post World War II era in the developing countries, educational reforms have usually taken place with the rise of new regimes having a greater commitment to alleviating poverty than previous ones--such has been the case in, for example, Peru, Cuba, China, and Tanzania.

He concludes that

We cannot suggest a blueprint for educational reform because each country and groups within the country have to develop the education program which they want. While many are aware of the inadequacies of the present systems, little hard evidence exists about possible options. This is the major dilemma of parents and planners. Little was known about the effectiveness or cost benefit nature of most social investments before they were launched nationally, ranging from health insurance to teacher training and family allowances for

Simons (cont'd)

children in both developed and developing countries. It is not surprising that in retrospect they may appear ridiculous. We know more about the cost effectiveness of alternative production techniques of motor boats than we do of teaching reading or delivering prenatal care. Now is the time to begin to design and test educational options for achieving our objectives of improving economic growth, educational efficiency and social equity. While some countries may be able to design and implement options without basic changes in their structure of production and consumption of their economies, others will not.

1.1.21

Scribner, J. D. "The Politics of Educational Reform: Analysis of Political Demands." Urban Education, Vol. 4 (January 1970), pp. 348-374.

*from a conflict theory view*

Argues that school reform outcomes can best be interpreted as political phenomena, that

when we analyze educational reform in school systems, we cannot avoid the effect of political demands on changes in the system itself, and changes in the members of the system. Accordingly, the fact that reforms often result from revolutionary and sometimes violent attempts to disrupt the normal activity of a political system does not mean that conflict is something we must seek to avoid. Without it the forces of the status quo could lead to apathy on the part of those who make decisions and policies in school systems. The point is simply that by analyzing the antecedents and attributes, the processes and effects of demands, we might find a way to harness conflict for creative use to insure a constant and thoroughgoing rate of reform in the schools.

METHODOLOGICAL

- 1.2.01 Carnoy, M. and H. M. Levin. "Evaluation of Educational Media: Some Issues." Instructional Science, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1975), pp. 385-406.

From a conflict orientation, the authors argue that reforms based on media, evaluation, and the research and development approach are too narrowly assessed.

Rather than limiting our analysis of the media's impact on society to narrow cost-cognitive learning studies, we must understand the total role of the media in the educational/social systems which they serve. For it is this total role that will determine whether governments adopt instructional media or not. Cost-effectiveness studies of the kind presented here will only act to legitimize these choices on the basis of criteria acceptable to those funding agencies and governments that have a vested interest in avoiding discussion of the larger agenda.

- 1.2.02 Cohen, D. K. and M. S. Garet. "Reforming Educational Policy with Applied Social Research." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 1 (February 1975), pp. 17-43.

What role should educational research play in the educational reform process? The systems analysis reform model views such an inquiry as crucial to rational induced change. The authors, in contrast, view research findings as more appropriate to a dialectical process where research is viewed as a form of discourse about the nature of society and its problems.

They concluded that:

Taken together, attempts to reform social policy with social research assume that better scientific information will improve policy by making decisions more rational. But evidence on these applications, taken together, suggests that mostly they have not had such an effect. There is plenty of evidence that research affects policy, but generally this seems to happen in odd and unexpected ways. This conclusion has important implications for our view of the nature of applied research and for efforts to explain its interaction with policy. It also has implications for efforts to justify the role of social science in public life.

We have attributed the unexpected consequences of applied research to flaws in the assumptions underlying the application of social research to social policy, and we have argued that in order to understand why things turn out as they do, it is necessary to entertain alternative assumptions about the relationship between knowledge and action in social policy:

1. Most policy-oriented research, at least in education, tends to influence the broad assumptions and beliefs underlying policies, not particular decisions.
2. Better methodology and policy relevance in applied research in education have not produced more convergent findings. This is in part because most policy-oriented research concerns programs with broad and conflicting aims, but it is also attributable to methodological conflict among research approaches and to the fact that the advance of applied research tends to complicate and redefine issues. As a result, improving applied research does not tend to produce more authoritative advice about social policy.

3. The justification for applied social research carried out for the state cannot rest on the idea of instrumental rationality, because applied research, at least in education, has not significantly increased the objective information base for decisions.

Of course, these propositions do not cover all aspects of the relation between research and policy, and we have tried to note exceptions and alternative cases along the way.

On the basis of these propositions, one might argue that applied research is not a disinterested effort to improve policy, but rather a broad-aim social innovation designed to change the basis for decision making. In education at least, the enterprise resembles nothing so much as a social action program. First- like most social programs, the research endeavors discussed here have had multiple objectives. The evaluation of compensatory programs, for example, was seen not only as a way to gain information about how to improve program effectiveness but also as a way to disclose information to parents seeking school reform and as a necessary but annoying price for reforming the federal role in school finance. Second, these objectives were not entirely harmonious, and conflicts among them have had quite an impact on both the programs and their evaluations. Again, in the case of compensatory programs, it became a subject of dispute whether disclosing information meant publishing scientific reports, producing less technical reports for parents and other audiences, or involving parents directly in the evaluation process. As the evaluation data began to pour in, it became unclear by what yardstick evaluations should be assessed. As in the case of social programs, the objectives of social research seemed to change and become more murky as experience accumulated. Goals which seemed easy to specify at the outset became increasingly difficult to nail down.

To argue that applied research can be understood as a broad-aim innovation is not necessarily to disparage the enterprise. In a certain sense, this argument simply directs attention to its exploratory character: applied researchers have been discovering the consequences of their work on the hoof, just as social program administrators do. Instead of being useful for decisions, policy-oriented research on school effects has contributed to a generally negative or skeptical climate of opinion about education. Instead of producing authoritative evidence for decisions, applied research has tended to complicate matters, raise new issues and produce counterintuitive results.

- 1.203. Erlandson, D.A. and House, E.R. "Theory and Practice: Why Nothing Seems to Work." In National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, Vol. 55 (April 1971), pp. 69-75.

No. 55

The authors discuss why many educational reform efforts only work in theory. One reason presented is the interpersonal factor of the people involved, i.e., each person has skills and problems. They also point out problems in the research methods used. Many researchers develop new ideas only to get articles published rather than to meet the needs of the schools. The researchers should also consider that the school environment is very complex and does not lend itself easily to straight-forward solutions. The authors suggested that new reform theories should be more descriptive and less prescriptive, and they should take into account the sociological and political factors of educational change.

They <sup>critique</sup> Critiques <sup>for example,</sup> the linear reform strategy of Clark and Guba (Research → Development → Dissemination → Adoption) and its erroneous & simplistic assumptions that "the sum of individual rationalities is an aggregate Rationality," that "value consensus exists."

They <sup>Propose</sup> Proposes instead a "new" theoretical model to guide educational-reform efforts:

Precisely what the nature of this model should be is unclear, but it is possible to point out some of its desirable characteristics. The first requirement for such a theory is that it be principally descriptive rather than prescriptive. To be more precise, it must analyze organizations and social systems in terms of their own standards of behavior, not prescribe for them on the basis of the logical behavior of an individual person. It should concentrate on what does (not upon what ought to) happen. The second requirement for a theory is that it take into consideration the highly relevant political and sociological factors. In order for large-scale ~~reform~~ <sup>reform</sup> to occur in the schools, there must be change in the social system itself.

.2.04 Farrell, J. P. "Guttman Scales and Evolutionary Theory: An Empirical Examination Regarding Differentiation in Educational Systems," ~~Farrell, J. P.~~ Sociology of Education, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer 1969), pp. 271-283.

Farrell observes that

the principal differences between organic evolution and cultural evolution is that the former is substitutive while the latter is cumulative. Guttman scales are, of course, cumulative; therefore, one might expect cumulative evolutionary patterns to show up as scale patterns. Acceptance of this logic, however, does not lead automatically to acceptance of the converse proposition that every scalogram traces out an evolutionary pattern. It is a contention of this paper that the statement that a Guttman scale exhibits an evolutionary development sequence should be subject to demonstration rather than assumption. It is a testable empirical claim. It is an object of this paper to test such a claim for a Guttman scale of the structural differentiation of educational systems in Latin America.

Although his findings are mixed, they do have implications for educational reform using a neo-evolutionary perspective. He concludes that:

Three implications of the work presented here stem of particular relevance.

The first already has been discussed but needs to be repeated for emphasis. Evolutionary inferences from Guttman scale patterns must be made with considerable caution. One cannot automatically infer the existence of an evolutionary sequence from a scale pattern. . . .

Second, it is well known that old notions of all-encompassing unilineal evolution have been replaced by the suggestion that there are a variety of evolutionary sequences along different dimensions, growth along which may proceed quite independently.

The evidence presented here suggests another modification of evolutionary thinking. It may be that along some dimensions there is not a single relatively invariate sequence of growth, but several, each obtaining over a given period of time. As technological and social conditions change, a pattern which has held for some time may cease to apply, to be replaced

by a quite different pattern. If this is the case, then demonstration that a particular sequence of development has obtained for one period of time does not permit one to infer or predict what developments have been or will be for some other period of time, unless it can be demonstrated, or safely assumed, that the same sequence of development obtained (or will obtain) at that time.

The possibility that evolutionary patterns may change over time raises a number of questions, three of which seem particularly interesting.

(1) Do all systems experience the pattern change at the same time? It may be that at any one point in time there will be two or more evolutionary patterns obtaining, each applicable to a different set of systems. . . .

(2) Are some dimensions more subject to such alteration in growth patterns than others? It seems probable that some areas of behavior (individual or systemic) are so fundamental or so change-resistant that their growth patterns are relatively unaffected by conditions which might substantially alter the pattern(s) of development in other areas or along other dimensions. . . .

(3) If the "patterns" of development are indeed change-prone, is it useful to continue to use the evolutionary metaphor in thinking about them? Perhaps the use of this metaphor leads one to ask the wrong questions of the data, and to fail to search for such pattern changes.

- 1.2.05. Gastil, R. D. "The Relationship of Regional Cultures to Educational Performance." Sociology of Education, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Fall 1972), pp. 408-425.

The author demonstrates how cultural differences influence educational outcomes and cites the Mormon "success."

These observations should lead us to make more detailed examinations of the causes of Mormon success in education, but I do not pretend that I know what the answers will be. It is significant that in basic "value orientations" as expressed in test results, Mormons and Texans in the "Five Cultures Area" of New Mexico were much more similar than a comparison of the behavior patterns of the members of the respective communities had led the investigators to suspect. In part, Mormon institutions compelled and made possible the achievements of Mormons, and perhaps characteristic Mormon behavior was learned on levels below that of value orientation. Steady work habits and a particularly high value on work no doubt carry over into educational performance. More examination may suggest that Mormon performance could be traced to something as direct and autonomous as a generalized, high achievement pattern of expectations in the educational area that began fortuitously, but has been sustained by the pattern of rewards in our society. Mormon performance in education also might be attributed to something as indirect as a characteristic self-confidence and stability of Mormon personality that, in turn, is inspired by community, church, and family support. This, in turn, would make success likely in whatever direction an individual moves. Of course, our interest is in the Mormons because they stand out regionally; there are many other sub-cultural groups characterized by particular patterns of educational performance that also should be studied.

In conclusion, we have tried to demonstrate that persistent long-term cultural differences have a significant influence on educational outcomes, given a reasonable standard of contemporary educational performance. The particular types of cultural differences examined were those what could be demonstrated by looking at geographically presented statistics. In the process of making this case, those regional variations in education at minimal and higher levels were described that have characterized the United States in the past and are likely to continue to be influential for the foreseeable future.

1.2.06 Havelock, R. G. "Strategies of Innovation in Education." Innovation (August 1975), pp. 3-5.

Proposes that because each reform effort presents "a story of resistance and barriers," we should analyze our collective national reform experiences so as "to derive sound strategies to guide us towards major improvement."

Contends that

It is impossible to suggest some broad outlines for discovering and reflecting on these strategies. First of all, within any country two rather distinct types of innovation are to be found: one could be called "innovation from above" and the other "innovation from below." Innovation from above is planned and implemented on a large scale, perhaps a national scale, as a result of deliberate national policy. Innovation from below is the spontaneous effort to bring about change which can be seen in many localities, springing from local needs and inspired by local initiative and creative energy. Sometimes, when these local initiatives are successful, they set off a chain reaction in other localities so that a nation-wide change actually comes about.

The author then proposes a reform strategy for educational reformers guided by four basic principles:

First, he must respond to the real educational needs of the people he is trying to serve. This usually means giving thought to the range of needs and to the short- and long-term priorities. It may also mean making an effort to ask people at various levels what they believe the needs are and to collect information to verify assumptions about these needs. Second, there must be genuine participation. For major innovations this participation must include the people at the top, the political leadership, but also, in some representative way, the people in the middle and the people at the bottom. Innovation moves swiftly and surely if some kind of consensus is achieved across levels among those who will be most directly affected.

There is a growing understanding in many different countries about how this multiple-level participation can be structured. Thirdly, an innovation strategy would represent a constructive problem-solving process. In other words, it must move from a definition of need to the

statement of reasonably clear objectives, and from objectives to a thorough search for the most expert advice and the most appropriate resources, regardless of where they may be located. There should then be a plan for implementing the desired solution which starts with a try-out and evaluation of the try-out before the whole country is committed to one solution. Finally, no one innovation effort should be viewed in isolation from the overall growth of the country and its people. Each new innovation should be introduced in such a way that it improves people's capacity to keep on innovating, to solve other problems, and to move toward a status which is truly self-renewing.

1.2.07. Huberman, A. M. Understanding Change in Education: An Introduction. Paris: UNESCO, 1973. 99 p.

This is a survey of conceptual schemes and a systems analysis of educational innovations for the purpose of educational reforms, *not* *is* based on a literature review. In studying the innovative process the author examines the role of change agents including institutions and the factors which favor or hinder adoption of innovations. He formulates three models, respectively using the research and development approach, the social-interaction approach, and the problem-solving approach. In discussing how educational strategies for change may be developed, the focus is placed on ~~e~~valuation.

- 1.2.08 Inbar, D.E. "Educational Planning, Power, and Implementation: The Concept of Degrees of Freedom." Educational Planning, Vol. 2, No. 1 (May 1975), pp. 1-12.

Inbar suggests that

There is a huge gap between the formulation of a plan and its implication. Often it is intensely difficult to bridge. Implementation is the Achilles' heel of educational planning. Even when a plan is rational, comprehensive, coherent and consistent, its implementation may well be partial, slow, and inefficient. And the end result may even be inferior to what would have been expected in the absence of any plan. This article attempts to establish a conceptual frame of reference which might serve as the basis for analysis, resulting in a series of systematic propositions about interconnections between the scope and content of plans, the power required for implementation and the implementation process itself.

He argues for a line-of-least-resistance reform implementation strategy that is essentially functional in its theoretical bias:

It is obvious that there is no one right way for the execution of planning exercises. But, equally, there is not unlimited space for maneuvering. The very nature of a plan assumes certain limits to the implementational patterns. Since any planning exercise incorporates all types of domains, knowledge and degrees of formality, the questions which must be answered are "What are the plan's dominant aspects? What is its basic profile?" Furthermore, if the success of the whole planning-implementation process depends upon the realization of all of its parts, then those parts characterized by greater degrees of freedom will tend to be the "critical path" of the whole plan. In this case "critical path" is not mainly determined by time but by levels of uncertainty.

1.2.09 Joyce, B.R. "Variations on a Systems Theme: Comprehensive Reform in Teacher Education." Interchange, Vol.1, No.3 (1970), pp. 83-95.

The author presents an analysis of the product of ten independent efforts to apply systematic planning procedures to the development of the specifications of teacher education reforms. Those efforts conceptualize models of the teacher, training systems, and management, evaluation and redevelopment systems. This phase of the analysis compares the conceptualizations of the teacher, the performance models created as the goals of the programs, as well as the alternative procedures employed to create the models. He suggests that reforms will follow the development of "performance models." These he defines as:

...an integrated set of behaviors that are coherently related to each other. This system of behaviors constitutes the model that the educational program is designed to achieve.

There are great difficulties in the development of a "system" description of a complex functionary such as a teacher. There are four general ways of developing the conception of the desired system of behaviors. The first method is by the empirical study of a functionary. To develop a model of a salesman (for example), we might study the most successful salesmen of a given product (those whose dollar sales were the highest) and determine their behaviors. A second method is to obtain a consensus by members of a field about the characteristic or optimal behavior of functionaries within the field. Again using the case of a salesman, one might ask outstanding salesmen what behaviors were responsible for their success, or ask regional sales supervisors what characteristics the best salesmen have. A third method is to derive the model from the application of a theory, either an empirically verified theory, or a deductive construction. With respect to salesmanship, one might study social psychological theories about the kinds of factors that bring about sales with the object of training salesmen to bring about those conditions. Selecting a theory, one would deduce the properties of the salesman from it. The fourth method is to make a comprehensive analysis of all the processes engaged in by the functionary. Such an analysis would draw on theories, consensus, and the application of empirical studies where appro-

priate. To develop a model of an airline stewardess, for example, we might analyze the aircraft and the equipment, work out a description of services that might be offered during flight, check customer and supervisor opinion, and build, from those data, a simulator in which we could try alternative patterns of behavior until a satisfactory combination emerged.

40

- 1.2. 10 Levin, M. A. and R. I. Simon. "From Ideal to Real: Understanding the Development of New Educational Settings." Interchange, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1974), pp. 45-54.

In this insightful study, Levin and Simon suggest that

The difficulties in attempting to bring about substantial and irreversible changes in established practices and institutions have long bedeviled reformers and revolutionaries alike. The core problem of the translation of dreams and ideology has continually challenged those responsible for implementing all forms of human expression of organized society. As a primary vehicle of a culture's transmission of dominant values, beliefs, and skills, the public school quite clearly has been a battleground for that challenge.

In both England and North America, since the early 1960s, the movement for educational reform has considerably intensified. In recent years much has been written concerning the failure of reform and the problem of meaningful change, particularly change at odds with the dominant social and economic structure of society. While we do not wish to ignore or simplify the issue of how far school can deviate from dominant societal expectations we do feel that much of the so-called failure of educational innovations can be attributed to the lack of an adequate conception of what it means to change a setting, how long the process takes, and when a change has been established. Rarely have new ideas been carried out far enough or long enough to be fairly evaluated.

They propose that a "development dialectic" is required if reforms are to be successfully carried out. It should be noted that their dialectic is developed within an equilibrium orientation and a structural-functionist bias:

The strategy we have adopted calls for an analysis of the sequential tasks an educational setting must confront in the course of its birth and struggle for survival. Gross discontinuities in major task orientations over time are marked in order to delineate and label major orientations or phases of development. These phases

and their associated tasks form the context for the potential actualization of a development dynamic, which we suggest as a normative evolutionary process. Additionally, delineating such phases allows us to consider conditions associated with each phase that constrain and facilitate the resolution of particular tasks and by implication the operation of the suggested normative process.

We briefly discuss this process of normative development and examine its relationship to the concept of organization previously presented. Then we outline a framework of setting development specifying the tasks associated with the creation of any educational setting and noting some of the conditions that affect the way these tasks are handled. However, this paper will not systematically examine how the conditions associated with each phase affect task resolution and the contingent sequence of development over time.

It must be kept in mind that we are describing two distinct things--an empirically descriptive scheme, and a normative evolutionary process, which may or may not operate within this scheme. We call this normative process a "developmental dialectic," and suggest that if properly actualized it can contribute significantly to a setting's progress toward a unified and internally confirmed social setting. Indeed, we feel that successful program development depends to a great extent on the ability of members in a setting to apply this dynamic to their own development.

In conclusion, they argue

... the necessity of two conditions for the creation of a coherent self-renewing educational program: the development of a community, especially in a linguistic sense, and on-going practical dialog that defines and redefines the setting over time in light of collective action and experience. In doing so, we took the position that "educational program" and "program development" mean something more than what is implied in most theories of organizational and program [reform]. We argued that a collection of educational activities constitutes a program only when the activities are grounded in a commonly perceived core of beliefs and values about what is and what ought to be.

Clearly, we have only begun to sketch out the nature and operation of the processes by which a new educational setting evolves and develops into an organization. We need to know why development and growth through the application of the dialectic are typically not present in new programs. Our future research efforts are oriented in this direction and we hope that by setting forth our tentative ideas at this point we may encourage others to react to them and perhaps to pursue a similar line of inquiry.

1.2.11

Orlosky, D. and B. O. Smith. "Educational Change: Its Origins and Characteristics' ~~(USA)~~." Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 53, No. 7 (March 1972), pp. 412-414.

The authors contend that the identification and manipulation of key variables will give educational reformers "greater assurance of success."

The educational system in a dynamic society cannot remain stagnant. We should expect changes to be proposed that will alter the school system, since the United States is undergoing rapid change. The idiosyncracies of a particular situation may not always conform to the patterns revealed in this study, but it is likely that an understanding of the characteristics of the changes proposed over the last three-quarters of a century will be helpful in the development of successful procedures in the installation of educational changes.

This work provides a good example of systems analysis notions as to how reforms should be sought in school systems.

1. 2.12

Paulston, R. G. and G. LeRoy. "Strategies for Non-Formal Education." Teachers College Record, Vol. 76, No. 4 (May 1975), pp. 569-596.

The authors argue, from a conflict orientation, that in conservative-cum-liberal societies there is little if any evidence to support liberal assumptions that reforms of formal and non-formal educational programs will make significant contributions to more equitable social and economic relations. Rather, they examine a variety of educational programs created by social movements, and argue that this evidence speaks more directly to the question "under what conditions can education make significant contributions to individual and social renewal?" They conclude that

Movement-controlled non-formal education is, in sum, a little-studied or understood type of out-of-school education with great potential, if much limited replicability, to help people with problems work for change. But as we learn more of the relative effectiveness of formal schools and most non-formal education programs in co-opting protest and in helping to maintain and legitimize highly inequitable status quo situations, the possibilities for alternative educational programs to serve liberating and not merely adjustive or social-control ends can only be seen as highly limited. But if one will seek to find education that does more than legitimize and reinforce gross inequalities in life chances, then, we contend, one must look outside formal schools to the educational activities of collective efforts seeking individual and social renewal. This task of rethinking priorities for research on NFE experiences as a consequence of attempts to reconceptualize societal development has only just begun. In this, we contend, the need is not simply to replace the primacy of the whole with that of the part, but, rather, to create a more fruitful dialectic between systems and conflict perspectives so as to advance better both understanding of educational phenomena and possibilities for more equitable life chances.

1.2.14

*The risks of innovation in educational reform efforts during the 1960's*

44

1.2.15

U. S. Agency for International Development. The AID Education Program Strategy. Washington, D. C.: The Agency, 1973. 45-12 p.

Argues that a review of AID involvement in educational-reform efforts during the 1960's indicates the effectiveness of a systems analysis approach, i. e.,

The risks of innovation can be minimized by building research, development and evaluation components into every project. At the very least, there is a gain in knowledge, which if positive, is of great value; and, if negative, indicates what should be avoided or done differently in the future.



.2.16

Zaltman, G. et al. Creating Educational Change. New York: The Free Press, 1976. Forthcoming.

The authors present an "eclectic model" of educational change, and a comprehensive set of guidelines framed in systems analysis assumptions for "self renewal in educational organizations." They recognize the existence of conflict, i.e., "conflict--like resistance--is not always bad. It is a phenomenon to be optimized." They also contend that "educational systems should be able to initiate change rather than having change imposed from the outside or having to respond to external attempts to change."

"Forces for change in education" are viewed as consequences of "performance gaps," while resistances to change in education are, the authors argue, to be found in cultural, social and organizational "barriers," in organizational rigidity and "psychological barriers," and inter alia, in lack of communication. In Chapter 11, "Basic Principles for Educational Change," the authors list some 313 propositions drawn from the 10 preceding chapters as a checklist for the "change agent."

Despite the thoroughness of coverage re. a systems approach to educational change and a token recognition of conflict, the authors' narrow focus on change in classrooms is curiously provincial given the lessons of U.S. educational reform failures. They appear to be totally unaware of the need to ask the key ideological-cum-political question: i.e., cui bono or, who benefits?

## GENERAL

1.3.01. Altbach, P. G. (ed.) Comparative Higher Education Abroad: Bibliography and Analysis. New York: Praeger, 1976. 274 p.

1.3.02. Apple, M. W. "School Reform and Educational Scholarship: An Essay Review of How Effective is Schooling?" Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 66, No. 2 (April 1973), pp. 368, 373, 380-381.

1.3.03 Bell, D. The Reforming of General Education. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966. 320 p.

Bell proposes that the core task of university reform is "to humanize technology and to 'tame' the apocalypse," to counteract the mounting wave of nihilism that "has begun to attack the very core of culture and to proclaim a way of life that is really a withdrawal from society, a retreat into the "interior distance," a new gnostic mode which beats against all the historic, psychological taboos of civilization."

1. <sup>H.2</sup> Concludes that university reforms will be better able to support humanitas over technology, than to oppose anti-social trends:

Even for the technocrat, a well-developed skill has an intrinsic esthetic and a well-constructed theory an inner beauty; and these could be made manifest. But to show that order has virtue is more difficult when the appeals to instinct and irrationality, bound up in the coil of pleasure, begin to weave their lure. Yet, if experience and pleasure are the goals, the threat of redemption may emerge from the reassertion of an older kind of pleasure--the pleasure of achievement and of making, of imposing a sense of self upon the recalcitrant materials, physical and intellectual, of the world. For in the process of making and achieving, one learns that it is not the business of art to use chaos to express, nor is it the character of experience to be entirely unreflective. This is the traditional wisdom of maturity.

The liberal arts, which this book affirms, have their own hard and difficult place, which is too often easily surrendered when a university seeks too freely to please those who rule, be it elite or mass. A liberal spirit, it should be noted, is not always a democratic one, for it is not who rules but how one rules that counts. The liberal spirit is not an opposition to orthodoxy, but to its enforcement; not against virtue, but against its imposition, whether Jacobin or Platonist. The liberal arts must have as an end, when confronting the young, both self-consciousness and self-transcendence. One lives, thus, in the tension between the universal and the particular, and often in that painful alienation which is the continuing knowledge of doubt, not of certainty. And yet this, too, is a state of grace, for as Dante said, "Doubting pleases me no less than knowing."

- 1.3.04 Deal, T. "An Organizational Explanation of the Failure of Alternative Secondary Schools." Educational Researcher, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1975), pp. 10-16.

This paper explains the failure of many alternative schools as resulting from their <sup>inability</sup> failure to cope with organizational problems produced by new authority patterns. Successful schools were those who found organizational middle ground between complete disorganization and a highly centralized, conventional system.

- 1.3.05 Dore, R. "Selection Function of Schools Seen as Ignored by Educators." Report-News of the World Bank Group (May-June 1975), pp. 1-4.

Argues passionately that most educational reform efforts are critically myopic because

Reformers and traditionalist alike, within the educational world, conspire to ignore the selection function of schools and to talk as if schools were only about changing people--improving them according to the traditionalists, clamping the walls of the prison house around their free spirits according to the reformers.

One can see why educators should want to exaggerate the importance of their role--why they should want to believe that they mold people rather than merely sort them. What is less understandable is why they should have been aided and abetted in maintaining this illusion by the only other body of professionals who have been influential in determining educational <sup>policy</sup> policies.

I refer to economists.

1.3.06 Engler, W.H. Radical School Reformers of the 1960's. Doctoral Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1973, p.389.

Engler's study critiques radical school reformers of the 1960's, i.e., "A.S. Neill, John Holt, Jonathan Kozol, James Herndon, Herbert Kohl, Paul Goodman, Edgar Friedenberg, George Dennison, and Ivan Illich."

He argues that

...the observations of these reformers are frequently colored by preconceptions which grow out of ideological biases including contempt for the middle-class, distrust of adults who serve as surrogates for the larger society, and a disbelief in the socializing capacity of institutionalized settings. The most persistent philosophical thread in their work is that of romantic naturalism, emphasizing the cult of the beatific child, a romanticized view of poverty, and an adulation of deviancy as an alternative to normalcy. Further their dogmatic embrace of pedagogical looseness and incidentàlism contrasts sharply with John Dewey, who rejected extreme child-centeredness as sentimental and unconstructive.

This study concludes that the radical reformers frequently overgeneralize on the basis of limited anecdotal evidence, and their observations are often in contradiction with the findings of professional educational literature. Their proposals for reform are inadequately supported by arguments or evidence, lack specificity, and are offered without a careful consideration of either their pragmatic validity or an investigation of their hypothetical effects upon society.

In reference to the reformers' specific proposals calling for the abolition of compulsory education, the development of secessionist enclaves in competition with the public schools, and, more radically, the abandonment of all formal learning arrangements, this study finds that these recommendations are impractical, would obstruct social mobility, would fragment the social order, and are profoundly undemocratic.

In conclusion, this study finds that the sense of crisis which gave the radical reformers their resonance has moderated in the 1970's. As change agents these reformers are largely ineffectual, and their radical proposals will be increasingly rejected by the majority of Americans who believe in the extension and power of schooling rather than in its disestablishment.

1.3.07

Greene, M. "And It Still Is News." Social Policy, Vol. 2, No. 6  
(March/April 1972), pp. 49-51

*by M. J. Campbell, Director of Studies*

Greene argues cogently that true educational reform will not miraculously follow from radical critiques, but from, perhaps, basic power shifts:

Of course, it helps to attack old "idols." It helps to expose the cracks in the system; it even (sometimes) helps to mock the Establishment, to tweak its tail. But I think we have to keep our eyes on the outraged and the disinherited as well as on the "small, cowardly, and hedonistic;" I think we have to listen, as we have never listened before, to the demands for human dignity (and decent food, housing, jobs, even classrooms). I think we have to learn more about transforming institutions and improving environment.

I do not think that oppressiveness, and consumerism, and racism, and violence can be overcome through changes in personal consciousness divorced from institutional stances. I do not think it will be enough to reconceive our reality and our "democratic personality," to see differently, as so many young "dropouts" apparently see. It will be necessary to come to terms with power conceived as something other than "personal growth"--the power of the state, which at some point must be expected to change hands. I do not believe deschooling will ensure that happening; I do not believe that "dialectic encounter," no matter how rich, can compensate for the alienation experienced in the corporate society or lead to the taking of power in any significant sense.

1.3.08 Hefferlin, J.B.L. "Reform and Resistance." American Association of Higher Education, Washington, D.C., June 1971. 4 p.

The author, from an equilibrium bias, summarizes research that has been done on academic reform and the resistance to it and speculates what this research implies for future practice. <sup>to my point, that</sup> Academic or curricular change is first of all organizational change and colleges and universities organized and run in such a way as to prevent interference, meddling, and rapid change. Like other organizations, they change as the result of pressure for change, and they adapt their operations to retain equilibrium. The major variables that determine this process of adjustment are: (1) individual and refer to the advocates interested in change; (2) environmental, and refer to the resources available for change; and (3) structural, and refer to the openness of institutions to change. There are two alternative paths for reform: (1) change the structure from within; and (2) leave the institution and establish a competitive institution that embodies one's views. He concludes that the most effective reformers ride the crest of reform and the 1970's seem propitious for effecting curricular change.

- 1.3.09. OECD. Education Committee. Policies for Innovation and Research and Development in Education. Paris: OECD, 1974. 18 p.

This is a statement combining functionalist and systems biases re. strategies for educational reform. The main issue identified is the need for an educational environment in which schools can innovate, and important factors here are participation, a democratic school organization and a changing teacher role. Next there is need for the government to adopt educational strategies to achieve new social objectives to support research and development if possible through a plurality of agencies and programmes. Local and regional research and development centres should have close service links to schools. Finally, the direct intervention of government in the process of innovation should occur more at the level of objectives and structures since these stem more from political factors, whereas in curriculum-development change the influence should be less direct, more by creating a favorable climate and conditions.

- 1.3.10. Petty, M. "Reflexiones sobre la reforma educativa." Revista de Ciencias de la Educación, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1970), pp. 36-43.

- 1.3.11. Smith, M. "Educational Innovations: Treasure and Dross." American Scholar, Vol. 43 (Winter 1973-1974), pp. 133-139.

The author argues that effective educational change is the result of neither educators or parents taking absolute positions, that the theory of deschooling is not the solution because it deals with utopia and not the here and now. Rather, change in the system is the result of decentralization, lay participation, training good teachers. This change is the only effective change.

- 1.3.12. Stiles, L. J. "False Assumptions about Educational Change." Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 16 (1973), pp. 12-22.

PART B

CASE STUDIES

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

- 2.0.01 Altbach, P. G. and D. H. Kelly. Higher Education in Developing Nations: A Selected Bibliography, 1969-1974. New York: Praeger, 1974. 299 p.

Cites numerous studies of attempts to reform higher education in African, Asian, and Latin American countries.

- 2.0.02 Chadwick, C. and R. M. Morgan. "Educational Technology Assistance for Developing Countries." Educational Technology, Vol. 11, No. 9 (September 1971), pp. 49-53.

From a neo-evolutionary bias, the authors contend that for a developing nation, which may be precariously situated between near-tribalism on the one hand and a modern economy on the other, the failure of the educational system to rapidly become responsive to the education and manpower development needs of the country can have tragic consequences.

The same type of problem faces both the advanced and the developing nation. The magnitude and immediacy of the result of failing to find solutions to the problem is enormously different for the developing nations.

A predictable phenomenon in the offering of technical assistance to the developing nations by the advanced nations is the intact export of the mode and practice of their own time-tested educational models. This approach makes the assumption, where the United States is the exporter, that an educational system that was reasonably adequate for the United States up through the 1940's is equally suitable for Brazil, Korea, or Ghana in the 1970's.

Their conclusions propose a combination of neo-evolutionary and systems approaches to educational reform:

The use of educational systems analysis techniques to increase the use of innovative processes has been discussed in relation to educational development assistance for developing nations. Some of the problems that have characterized past assistance efforts, such as lack of training and information, exportation of inappropriate educational models and traditionalism, have been discussed. A new approach--emphasizing innovation and use of systems analysis tools in an atmosphere of partnership with the developing nations--is suggested; and various skill areas in educational systems analysis are explained and demonstrated by intersection with problem areas drawn from developing countries.

- 2.0.03. Elsemont, T. "Educational Transfer: The Implications of Foreign Educational Assistance." Interchange, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1974), pp. 53-61.

The author examines several reform efforts in developing countries and suggests that

the transfer of foreign educational models facilitated by programs of educational assistance may have several potentially harmful implications. It can (1) distort priorities by emphasizing cosmopolitan orientations at the expense of commitments to problems of more immediate importance, (2) inhibit efforts to develop local capabilities, and (3) widen differences among faculty members and educational institutions, thereby generating resentment, discontent, and demoralization in the academic profession.

Although perhaps conceived as a transitional phase in which the recipient country achieves a measure of parity with the developed world and then moves on to formulating independent, indigenous approaches, the transferred models may begin to perpetuate dependence, not self-sufficiency--an outcome that may not be consistent with the objectives of either the donor or the recipient country.

- 2.0.04 Premchand, A. "Les Réformes budétaires dans les pays en voie de développement." Finances et Développement, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1975), pp. 25-28, 47-48.

- 2.0.05 Quintero-Alfaro, A. G. "Educational Innovation and Change in Societies with Less Advanced Technology." ~~(S. G. S. S. S.)~~ Journal of Research and Development in Education, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1972), pp. 47-63.

Further, they ask: "Why do taxpayers accept an establishment which our analysis indicates is so inefficient?" The answer is that

Indirect taxes are typical in Africa and taxation of particular sectors is typical in Latin America; both systems provide very little information to the taxpayer regarding burdens and rewards. Why should a peasant in Latin America worry about the extent of government waste when he has not been taxed and when the total revenues from, say, the oil sector are unknown to him? His perception of the problem is simply that it does not exist. Also, is he going to fight a bureaucratic structure which is well educated and is bound to beat him at any political game? The odds are biased against him.

They conclude that Third World school systems tend to obstruct reforms seeking to advance economic development

...in four distinctive ways. First, they distort the investment alternatives which are open to people; children in urban areas have an added incentive (subsidies) to invest in education, while children in rural areas may fail to obtain even the crucial first few grades in the schooling process because of their economic value to their parents. Second, the system allows teachers and administrators to appropriate part of the social contribution to education; the main reason for this phenomenon is the underpricing of educational services. Third, there is a built-in inertia which blocks change; this occurs because of the restrictions on competition and because of the pattern of rewards within the system. And fourth, social conflict is generated, especially between the students and the establishment, as the former attempt to improve the quality of the gifts which they are supposed to receive. This social conflict spills over into other areas of economic activity as it raises the risk of investment in general.

.0.06

Sanchez, N. and A. R. Waters. "Educational Reform for Economic Development." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. 1 (February 1974), pp. 96-111.

Asks why "inefficient" educational systems in Africa and Latin America remain costly, inefficient, and generally dysfunctional for development. Contends that reforms seeking to rationalize educational systems will be obstructed for the following reasons:

A rural environment in the less-developed countries will result in low school participation rates not simply because of the high opportunity costs of sending a child to school but because of the very limited (or nonexistent) investment alternatives which the parents confront. Under these circumstances it would not be surprising to find parents implanting in their children a pattern of submissive behavior which, in the long run, will be detrimental to the acceptance of innovation and change. But note that submissive behavior is a result of economic backwardness and not its cause--at least in this model.

... students are the forgotten children of the educational process. The circumstances of many parents force them to teach children in ways that will not maximize the children's utility; the circumstances of teachers allow them to disregard their teaching responsibilities; the circumstances of administrators who honestly try to increase the external benefits of society may bring them face-to-face with students who cannot identify themselves with the administrators' social objectives (since they cannot appropriate the benefits of those objectives).

... Again, the teachers and administrators reap the rewards; the students bear the costs.

Change is a harsh and abrasive process, but nowhere more so than in the educational structure. The effort to prepare a new course, master a new textbook, or design a new curriculum falls on the teacher during the first few times a course is offered. Thereafter he reaps the rewards in the form of less time required for preparation, and greater ease of setting and grading examinations. The size of the rewards and the teacher derives is determined by the length of time between changes. Thus we can explain, in simple, economic terms, the apparent conservatism of education in Africa and Latin America.

2.0.07.

Zachariah, M. "Educational Aid: A Bibliographic Essay and a Plea for New Lines of Inquiry." Comparative Education, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 115-123.

The author criticizes neo-evolutionary assumptions underlying technical assistance to educational-change efforts in the developing countries.

He concludes that

This paper has attempted to point out the theoretically obvious fact that the socio-cultural systems in developing countries are very complex. It is well known to social scientists that people make subtle distinctions at levels close to themselves but merge people who are far from themselves into indistinct clusters. It is axiomatic that educational advisers or experts--unless they are expected only to advise on their special subjects--should know the local scene or system well. The published writings of and on them, however, do not indicate that they do.

The questions raised in this paper are not an attempt to implicitly defend the status quo in the name of the inviolability of the existing state of affairs in developing countries. It is an attempt to point out that the role of foreign educational aid can play in these countries need not necessarily be critical or even beneficial. At best it may do all that the inspirational literature on the subject claims. At worst, it may thwart the necessary changes by propping up those who, in the course of political events, would have been displaced. In either case, there is a much greater need to be aware of the restrictive vision that cultural blinkers can cause.

2.1.01

Conference of Ministers of Education of African States. Education in Africa: Evolution, Reforms, Prospects. Conference Report. Lagos, February 1976. Paris: UNESCO, 1976. 63 p.

2.1.02

Hunter, G. "A Comment on Educational Reform and Employment in Africa." World Yearbook of Education, 1974. London: Evans Brothers, 1973, pp. 278-282.

Hunter suggests that

It seems that, at least in some quarters, an orthodoxy is growing up, to the effect that one major way of tackling the rising menace of unemployment is a "reform of the educational system." Exactly what is to be reformed and how is not always stated, but in general it is assumed that it would be "less literary," "less academic," "more suited to the real needs of developing countries," et hoc genus omne.

Much of this argument is based on "if only" propositions-- "if only" developed countries had not introduced to Africa their own models of education: if only the prestige of white collar jobs had not been so high: if only the huge rewards to the educated African around the time of Independence had not established the maxim "Education means jobs: more education means better jobs: most education means riches, power, and pre-eminence." Such arguments are not very useful; the present situation is what must be faced. In passing, many of the same "if only" arguments are applied to the drift to the towns.

He argues that the most needed reforms, i. e.,

the education of farmers in new technology whereby their incomes, and so their off-farm purchases of goods and services increase, is probably that which will most directly and substantially increase employment. A tremendous amount of local organizing effort is needed for this work--effort which young politicians, and every educated African could slowly learn to give, as the immediacy of the scramble for power is a little slackened in a maturing society. In my own view, this field of action is the most hopeful analogue to the whole economic thrust for rural development which, hopefully, will gain strength in this decade. A tremendous volume of potential energy is running to waste, or even to destructiveness in Africa today. The limitations of a formal educational system, however reformed, prevent such a system from harnessing much of this; schools are so

numerous and so expensive, that they lean inevitably to some degree of uniformity which is financially and bureaucratically possible to administer and control. [Non-formal] education can be as flexible and varied as African imagination and energy can make it; and if the central government is to aid it financially, it must at all costs be aid without strings, horrifying as this may be to the bureaucratic mind; in those countries where local resources are growing, local aid would be much better.

2.1.03

de Kiewiet, C.W. "The Old Foundations of Africa's New Universities." Educational Record, Vol. 55, No. 4 (1975), pp. 275-285.

The author analyzes how France, Great Britain and the U.S. failed in developing institutions south of the Sahara. It is suggested that Western neo-evolutionary patterns of education and intellectual goals imposed on African universities were unsuitable for developing countries. He concludes that strategies of change are now being sought outside the school and university.

2.1.04. Mazuri, A. A. "The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependence." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 2 (May 1975), pp. 191-210.

The author suggests that reforms seeking to redirect university programs in line with national development goals largely fail because African universities continue to reflect their colonial origins and in so doing tend to perpetuate cultural and economic dependence. Using a <sup>conflict</sup> ~~neo-Marxist~~ perspective, he argues that the <sup>powerful neo-revolutionary</sup> ~~cast~~ of African universities can be changed using a strategy of cultural "diversification." Here he proposes that

It is more important than ever than African universities take seriously the cultures and experiments of other civilizations. The educational system should focus not only on Europe and Africa, but also on Indian, Chinese, and most important, Islamic civilizations. Although Arabic is the most widely spoken language on the African continent, it has received little attention in African curricula south of the Sahara, even in those countries which border Arabic-speaking areas or have large numbers of Muslim citizens.

Moreover

Cultural diversification will involve instituting new courses and requirements throughout the educational system. At the secondary level, classes should be introduced on the history of science: dependency among young African school children arises, in part, from their awe of Western science. The prestige of the Western world, in a continent which is very conscious of prestige, derives disproportionately from Western leadership in science and technology. So great has the leadership been for the last three hundred years that Westernism and science are almost interchangeable in the perception of some young Africans.

In reaction to Western scientific preeminence, some Africans have sought refuge in *négritude* as a glorification of a non-scientific civilization. Leopold Senghor, leader of the *négritude* movement and president of Senegal, has emphasized, instead of science, Africans' spiritual and affective understanding of their environment, their "emotive attitude toward the world." Other Africans, dazzled and lured by scientism, have sought answers in Marxism,

partly because it seems to offer Africans the chance of rebelling against the West without ceasing to be scientific. The négritunist rebels against the scientific West by idealizing his own heritage; the African Marxist rebels against the West by embracing an alternative "scientism." Disagreements between these positions should be reflected in the curricula of African schools.

He concludes that *to be a true African*

University reforms will require a fundamental change in attitude for all departments of African universities-- away from excessive Eurocentrism and toward both increased Africanization and increased internationalization. This broader focus could change the African university into a truly multicultural corporation.

and that,

The full maturity of African education will come only when Africa develops a capacity to innovate independently. That independence will require Africa to attempt three great tasks: balancing the weight of Western influence with its own culture, permitting non-Western civilizations to reveal their secrets to African researchers and teachers, and transforming its own educational and intellectual world to make genuine creativity possible. Only then will Africa be on its way toward meeting that elusive but compelling imperative--not only to decolonize modernity, nor even merely to participate in it, but also to help define modernity for future generations.

- 2.1.05 Paulston, Rolland G. "Non-Formal Educational Alternatives." In New Strategies for Educational Development. C. S. Brembeck and T. J. Thompson (eds.). Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973, pp. 65-82.

The author examines attempts to create national youth service programs in Africa (i.e., Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda), and in the Americas (Jamaica and Cuba). He contends that in most cases these programs have been introduced as non-formal (i.e., out-of-school) reforms to "cool-out" aspiration for higher studies, to remove youth from the labor market, and "to co-opt peer groups and enable adult-making agencies to influence the youth culture." Cuban youth-service programs, because they more effectively combine re-socialization and ideological formation with productive labor and <sup>of the</sup> national reward system are viewed as an <sup>example</sup> of effective reforms <sup>for post-colonial</sup> <sup>developing</sup> <sup>countries</sup>.

Large numbers of youth who failed in formal schools have through these non-formal educational experiences learned new skills and knowledge important for both national economic development and for individual growth into productive and responsible citizens.

- 2.1.06 Peshkin, A. "Educational Reform in Colonial and Independent Africa." African Affairs, No. 64 (July 1965), pp. 210-216.

The author assesses educational reforms carried out between the 1952 Cambridge and 1961 Addis Ababa conferences and concludes that rapid expansion of school facilities has all too often been an excuse to avoid needed qualitative changes.

- 2.1.07 "Strategies for Educational Change." Special Issue of Education in Eastern Africa, (Nairobi). Vol. 4, No. 1 (1975), 58 p.

ALGERIA

2.1.08 Boukli, N. L'Innovation pédagogique au service de la réforme agrarie: L'ITA de Mostaganem, Algérie. Paris: UNESCO, 1975. 58 p.

2.1.09 Colonna, F. "Le Systeme d'Enseignement en Algérie Coloniale." Archives Européennes de Sociologie, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1972), pp. 195-220.

Describes <sup>colonial</sup> educational reforms leading to a highly stratified dual educational system, i. e., <sup>one French</sup> the other Koranic. The reforms followed from increased social stratification and the need to provide a total of five separate social-class-linked secondary education facilities (i. e., <sup>for the</sup> the elites, the <sup>middle</sup> middle class, and the <sup>lower</sup> lower-middle class) and for the two Algerian classes (the urban merchant and government clerks).

2.1.10. Heggoy, A. A. "Education in French Algeria; An Essay on Cultural Conflict." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 1973), pp. 180-197.

The author describes an interesting French failure to use educational reform as a counter-revolutionary measure;

One of the greatest reforms attempted by the French in Algeria was the 1958 Constantine plan. This reform, which had obvious educational implications, was prepared and launched while Frenchmen still believed in the possibility of success for their counterinsurgency measures. It was essentially a plan to bring quick industrialization to Algeria, and to somehow force rapid upward social and economic mobility for all Algerians. The French called it promotion sociale, and an important part of the reform was conceived in educational terms. First, the goals of the 1944 school reform plan, to achieve an enrollment of one million Algerians in primary school by 1964, was moved up to 2.5 million by 1966. Just as important, given the realization that millions of Algerians had had no education at all was the official determination to engage a number of special education programs. Around 1.75 million school age children were not in public schools in 1954 alone. This was, naturally, a part of the general counterinsurgency effort and the French army was very much involved.

During the first several years of revolution, the French army complained bitterly about civil administrators who were not providing the military with needed intelligence with which to pursue a successful counterinsurgency war. Almost inevitably, soldiers became more and more involved in administration; they were seeking contacts with Algerians, contacts which they established at almost every level of public activity, including education. The Special Administrative Services (S.A.S.), an institution of military administration for Algerians, opened schools and dispensaries in remote areas and in shanty towns. As already noted, they taught 68,754 primary grade students by May, 1959. SAS personnel also staffed 35 technical schools created and built by the French Army between 1956 and 1959. Then, in 1959, the army released draftees who had had teachers' training from military service and instead they were assigned to teach in Algerian high schools. Such activity was obviously thought more productive in the counterinsurgency effort than

carrying a rifle. In one way or another, the SAS also had a hand in several educational programs meant to speed the upward mobility of the Algerians. Algerians, it was felt, would be more likely to accept French domination if they could earn decent wages and get better jobs than before, particularly if they could find work in Algeria's industrial sector. (~~SECRET~~)

2.1.11 Melet, R. "Inspection primaire et réforme de l'enseignement en Algérie." Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud, October 1973. 112 p.

2.1.12 Remili, A. "Algeria: The Institutes of Technology." Prospects, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter 1974), pp. 517-524.

States that the establishment of Institutes of Technology (ITs) have provided the reform necessary to upgrade the supply of skilled manpower not yet met by traditional sectors of the educational system. Positive aspects of ITs are that they give additional chances to those rejected by traditional education and also provides a labor resource of skilled personnel to prospective employers during the skill practical phase of the IT school. Critics of the program say the ITs are very expensive and that ITs provide overspecialization of training. They contend that <sup>instructors</sup> trainees <sup>institutions</sup> do not readily adapt to economic <sup>conditions</sup> ~~conditions~~.  
<sup>Higher technical secondary schools</sup>

- 2.1.13 Waterbury, J. "Algeria Making Strong Effort to Overcome Manpower Shortages." AMEE Report (October 1975), pp. 2-3.

Reports that

In 1954, the year in which Algeria began its armed struggle for independence, only 14 percent of Algerian (non-European) children between the ages of 6 and 14 were in school. A grand total of 6,000 Algerians were in high school, and 589 were at the university level, up from 89 in 1940. In terms of careers at roughly the same time, 7.2 percent of all managerial and executive positions were occupied by Algerians, 17.6 percent of all technical positions, 68 percent of all positions requiring skilled labor, and 95 percent of all positions requiring manual and unskilled labor. The few Algerians who achieved high status were mostly doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, and a few intellectuals. By contrast, in 1962 at the time of independence, there were probably no more than ten Algerian engineers. A decade later there were already 382 Algerian engineers, a yet trifling supply when the need is at least four or five times that number.

Concludes that Algerian educational reforms seeking to expand the supply of skilled manpower have been praiseworthy but limited. In 1971, for example, "the Algerian state invested 23 percent of its combined ordinary and equipment budget in education." But

... with the population growing at a rate of 7.4 percent per annum, the state will have to run hard to keep even with the new age cohorts, and even harder to absorb them entirely into the educational system.

At the university and secondary levels, where generalization is not a goal, one of the major problems is the drop out rate. The secondary school years are divided into two cycles of four and two years each. In the late 1960's, only 61 percent of those admitted to the first cycle completed it, and only 49 percent of those admitted to the second cycle complete it. Thus only 14.5 percent of those entering secondary school complete both cycles. At the university level no more than 20 percent of those

admitted are actually graduated. It is with regard to this source of middle range manpower that the Algerians are faced with one of their most serious dilemmas. The Institutes of Technology are an imaginative attempt to salvage high school dropouts and give them accelerated technical training. The Institutes offer specialized training in agriculture, electromechanics, metallurgy, accounting, topography, public works, electronics, and several other fields, but to date they are handling only about 11-12, 000 students. It should be pointed out, however, that as in all other aspects of their planning, the assumptions Algerians have made about their skilled manpower needs are laden with risk. They hinge on two factors: that the country will tolerate over the short haul (say ten years) the accumulation of thousands of semi-educated dropouts from both the primary and secondary cycles; and that the economy will grow at a rate rapid enough to generate demand for manpower at all levels, thereby absorbing a large part of the accumulated backlog and whatever new increments are being trained ten years from now. Of course if either assumption proves wrong, the effects upon economic performance and the nature of the political regime itself would be incalculable.

- 2.1.14 Samuels, M. A. "Early M. E. C. Missionaries to Angola: Educational Theory and Practice." Luso-Brazilian Review, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1970), pp. 209-224.
- 2.1.15 Samuels, M. A. "Methodist Education in Angola." Stúdia (Lisbon), No. 20-22 (April-December 1967), pp. 75-107.
- 2.1.16 Samuels, M. A. Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture and Transfer of Administration. New York: Teachers College Press, 1970. 185 p.

2.1.17 Taylor, D. "Education for Development: Development Studies in Botswana and Lesotho." Educational Development International, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1974), pp. 115-119.

Article describing ~~the~~ curriculum reform efforts, i. e., the spread of development social studies in secondary-school curriculum in Botswana and Lesotho. Started in 1963 in the Swaneng Hill School, called originally "civics", the course has been developed to an interdisciplinary study which aims at student participation and involvement in development. In spite of some resistance at the beginning, the course has been introduced in most secondary schools in Botswana and the subject became examinable in 1970. Lesotho introduced the subject as part of the core curriculum in 1971. However, learning from the experience of Botswana, a greater emphasis has been put on practicums and it is intended to include them in the marks for the subject.

2.1.18

Ward, J. C. "Education for Rural Development: A Discussion of Experiments in Botswana." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December 1972), pp. 611-620.

Ward suggests that, despite incipient reform efforts,

There is little evidence... that the Government has come to grips with the problem of having two sets of schools with quite different policies and objectives co-existing within the same educational system. Perhaps the leaders of Botswana are waiting to determine whether the experiments at Swaneng Hill and Shashi River can in fact achieve some of their stated aims. To quote Oakeshott again, "the unusual politics of the two institutions... do challenge, and may indeed undermine, the existing system of income distribution in the country and the prevalent preferences for a particular kind of life." The question is whether the Government is prepared to accept these policies, with all their implications. If it does, then surely this will require far-reaching changes in all institutions of education within the country, as well as in the prevailing social and economic structure. The main tasks of the two schools at present, it would seem, are to prove that the experiments they have undertaken can work, and that they offer a valid alternative to the present system and a constructive approach to reform in education for rural development in Botswana.

2.1.19

Greenland, J. "Reform of Education in Burundi: Enlightened Theory Faced with Political Reality." Comparative Education, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March 1974), pp. 57-64.

Attempts to reform schools in Burundi since 1973 have become part of the ethnic conflict between Hutu and Tutsi tribes:

At independence the ruling élite was composed mainly of Tutsi. The last decade has seen successive attempts by the Hutu to claim the share of education and power to which they feel entitled as 85 percent of the population. As a result of the 1972 rebellion Hutu have been physically removed from the educational and political systems. Should the Hutu seize power by violent means in the near future, they would have few qualified leaders. Since such a coup would lead to a complete massacre of the Tutsi and possibly to overall anarchy, there is tacit support from the international community for the present Tutsi régime despite its record and methods. Inevitably, therefore, the Reform Report which could have heralded progress for the whole community will be used as a tool by a repressive minority régime to maintain its own stranglehold on the country. Since guns matter more than textbooks, these valuable and logical reforms lost their educational significance for Burundi before they left the printing press.

CAMEROON

2.1.20 Lallez, R. An Experiment in the Ruralization of Education: IPAR and the Cameroonian Reform. Paris: The UNESCO Press, 1974. 113 p.

Uncritically describes efforts of the Rural Education Institute (IPAR) set up in 1969 to reform primary and teacher education and adapt them "to the real social and economic needs of Cameroon." Concludes that the central obstacle is in motivating teachers to lead in community development and rural initiative.

- 2.1.21 Bjorkmann, W. "Hochschulreformen in neuen Orient: Türkei und Ägypten." Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. Vol. 24 (1934), pp. 65-83.

- 2.1.22 Paksh, M.A. Education and Political Modernization and Change in Egypt. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1973. 244 p.

The author argues that attempts to carry out educational reforms in the hope that the spread of modern education <sup>will</sup> to advance modernization have largely failed. He proposes that:

This is reflected in (1) a cultural dichotomy between the Modernists and Traditionalists, with an ambivalent political culture among the educated toward the nation and the elite at the national horizontal level; (2) an elite-mass participation gap that hindered the development of an "integrated" political process at the national vertical level.

Also, the prospective economic and social role of the large number of university graduates is at stake. They accordingly constitute a growing force of "marginal men" who are desperately in search of a role to play in their society but have not yet been able to find it. Their hopes and expectations have been raised to unrealistic levels by their educational attainments, thus increasing the level of frustration caused by the existing conditions, which, in turn, makes their rapport with the military regime tenuous at best.

With regard to the performance of the recruitment functions within the political system, the study shows that co-optation is based not only on academic achievement or academic performance but also upon the background characteristics of the individual as well as the operative interpretation of the term "useful and loyal" Egyptian. This, in turn, limits the rationality of recruitment and thus leads to restrictive elite circulation. Thus, the <sup>spread of</sup> higher education in Egypt has not (with the very few exceptions noted) positively enhanced the process of political modernization and change in terms of diversified degree of elite recruitment and wider circulation of elites.

- 2.1.23 Kraemer, J. "Tradition and Reform at al-Azhar University." Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. 7 (March 1956), pp. 89-94.

ETHIOPIA

1.24

"Some 57,000 Senior High School and University Students are Helping the Government in its Efforts to 'Politicize Masses, Build Roads, Schools and Clinics, and Educate Backward Peasants.'" New York Times (January 11, 1976), pp. 2 and 3.

GENERAL

2,1,25

Blair, J. P. "Alternatives in Education in a Developing Country: The Case of Kenya." Interchange, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1971), pp. 62-70.

From a functionalist view, the author suggests that educational reform is appropriate

...not new to developing areas. But the idea has never been popular. This is so because of the fear of a lowering of standards; also the elitist expectations associated with white-collar jobs. Schools have such a hold on the minds of third-world people that it becomes very difficult to effect change. However, the economic needs of developing countries make educational ~~change~~ a crucial necessity. The need for changes that will redress the present imbalance in the social status of the educated and the uneducated is also too obvious to need stressing. To most developing countries, therefore, the question is not whether there is need for change but what can be done to break the numerous vicious circles that the problem of educational change brings.

## GUINEA

- 2.1.26 Guilavogui, G. "The Basis of the Educational Reform in the Republic of Guinea." Prospects. Vol.5, No.4 (1975), pp. 435-444.

The author explains that :

The educational reform which was launched in the Republic of Guinea as soon as the country had obtained its independence reflects a determination to effect a complete transformation of the educational system left by the colonial regime and a concomitant intention to give education a democratic character and to link school and life.

The basic plan to which the reform has conformed since 1959 has been that of a system of schooling and education open to the whole nation and not just the privilege of a minority. Concurrently with their taking the masses as their target, the Democratic Party of Guinea and the government have worked out educational principles which make due allowance for the imperatives of national progress and balanced development, and individual and collective needs, though the first yield to the second in case of divergence.

- 2.1.27 Leunda, X. "La Réforme de l'enseignement et son incidence sur l'évolution rural en Guinée." Civilisations. Vol.22, No.2 (1972), pp.232-262.

## IVORY COAST

- 2.1.28 Augier, M. "Un centre ivoirien de développement: Le C.T.R. de Bongouanou." Education et développement (Paris), Vol. 95 (May-June 1974), pp. 23-33.

The author describes vocational education reforms, i.e., the reconversion of vocational training centers in rural areas of the Ivory Coast into cooperative workshops better adapted to agricultural needs. The program comprises three types of apprenticeship, i.e., carpentry, masonry, and mechanics. Furthermore there is provision for girls' schooling, animation courses for functional literacy, arithmetics, and management. Candidates, preferably between 20 and 35, are presented by a group of villagers in order to facilitate student adjustment. The evidence indicates that danger of urban immigration has been avoided: 95 percent return to their village to work after the three weeks' training course. Married trainees are encouraged to join the centers with their wife. During the first year four villages of the 80 contacted sent in trainees.

1, 29 Court, D. "Harambas of Development: The Village Polytechnic Movement as a Shadow System of Education in Kenya." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 17, No. 3 (October 1973), pp. 331-349.

The author contends that

the long-term significance of the polytechnic movement lies not simply in its reflection of Kenya's distinctive type of self-help activity known as "harambee" or its role in vocational training, but in its potential as an educational experiment. Because village polytechnics exemplify a diversity of activities, techniques, and organizations, it is more appropriate to treat them as an ideological movement than as an institutional prescription. One way of illuminating the elements of this ideology is to regard the village polytechnic movement as the antithesis of the model of the formal secondary-school system. Thus the essence of the ideology can be seen as an attempt to break away from conventional concepts of academic schooling and to develop types of training which are rooted in practical need and which convey a sense of individual purpose and a capacity for continuing self-instruction.

He concludes that this innovative educational reform faces an insecure future, however, as the tendency is for the village polytechnic movement to be increasingly influenced by the dominant model of conventional schooling found largely in Kenya's urban areas. He concludes that

the important question for the future of Kenyan education concerns the likelihood of structural change and the impact of this shadow system upon the established pattern of schooling. In trying to answer this question one confronts the fundamental issue of the social nexus of institutions and the way in which they both respond to and mold social demand. Village polytechnics face a particular dilemma in that, having arisen out of community demand, they can only survive by changing the terms of that demand in a process of community education. The evidence suggests that in their early stages village polytechnics tend to be sustained by the energy and

and imagination of remarkable individuals. In a number of cases--notably at Ahero and Soy--there is evidence that imaginative leadership has been transformed into community consciousness and a mutually reinforcing relationship. However, available data on trainees' expectations and activities suggest that community perception of polytechnics as a meaningful alternative to formal schooling is not widespread.

The fate of many Harambee secondary schools which, after an initial burst of enthusiasm, have been unable to support the continuing recurrent costs from local contributions, provides a standing warning to village polytechnics. Whatever Harambee schools might represent in terms of community mobilization and expanded opportunity, they are rooted in the ideology of formal schooling and, with a few notable exceptions, they have made little contribution to the development of educational philosophy in Kenya.

Much self-help fund-raising activity is now being directed toward the new Harambee Institutes of Technology which are being planned throughout Kenya. It is too early to assess the impact of these new institutes upon the development of village polytechnics. Depending upon the level of their operation they could either provide prospects of promotion to polytechnic leavers and hence strengthen the polytechnics, or alternatively exhaust community demand for technical training of any sort. More significantly, they could constitute a serious dilemma for village polytechnics if they turn out to be nothing more than the latest manifestation of the ideal of institutional schooling in technological garb.

It is possible that the principles of the village polytechnic movement will take root most extensively in areas such as parts of the Rift Valley and northeastern provinces where the ethic of formal schooling is either unattractive or unknown. Beyond these areas it appears that the shadow system will have to await modifications in the present incentive structure, which links formal academic schooling to the occupational and status hierarchy, before it can begin to have an extensive impact upon educational philosophy and practice in Kenya.

2.1.30

Furley, O. W. "The Struggle for Transformation of Education in Kenya Since Independence." East African Journal, Vol. 9, No. 8 (August 1972), pp. 14-24.

*referred*

Observes that efforts to re-orient education towards "more agricultural and practical training prove difficult in the face of strong pressure from both parents and pupils for more paper qualifications along the usual academic lines."

2.1.31

"African Initiatives for Control and Reform of Education." in Studies in Educational Change. R. D. Heyman, et al. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972, pp. 89-154.

In Chapter 3 of Part 2, "Pre-independence African Demands for Educational Reform," the author uses a cultural movement model to describe the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement, an African effort "to build a school system outside the mission schools which were the established system in Kenya." Notes that virtually all independent school movements created and operated by Africans were associated with African independent church movements. "It seems," the author concludes

... appropriate for us now to take a brief look again at our model and see how our data above fits this conceptual framework. The first term of the model specified expansion of facilities and opportunity for schooling. There seems little question that the Kikuyu independent schools had as a basic aim the expansion of educational opportunity through increased numbers of schools. We need only examine the government reports to see the difficulty it had in preventing the establishment of schools without its permission. There is no doubt that the movement also aimed at the second term of the model: removing control of education from missions and putting it in government hands. The independent schools seemed to have appeared largely as a result of government resistance to changing its policy of observing a system of government-aided mission schools. The final term of the model seems to have less apparent support from the data: revising the curriculum to make it more "relevant" to African needs and surroundings. Here, perhaps, we must define more carefully the term "relevant."

As we have noted earlier in this chapter, the most important aspect of this term for educational change is what is perceived as relevant by the consumer, rather than what is offered as relevant by the vendor (to put it crudely). If the African was offered industrial training as relevant by the missions and government, but perceived literary education as relevant for his own needs, then obviously in terms of the model the perception of relevance is the operative factor. Among the Kikuyu, literary education was realistically perceived as being most

relevant to their needs and aspirations. Yet official education policy emphasized industrial education, after the fashion of the Phelps-Stokes recommendations, as most relevant to African needs and surroundings. From this it becomes clear that the independent schools' demand for English as the medium of instruction and for emphasis on literary rather than industrial education was clearly a move toward revising the curriculum to make it relevant to their perceived needs.

2.1.32

MacArthur, B. "Britain's Elitist Legacy <sup>in Kenya</sup>." Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 2863 (April 3, 1970), p. 14.

Educational reform in Kenya, the author argues, faces a conflicting colonial inheritance:

...when a Cabinet Minister in Kenya asked what was the worst feature of the educational legacy left behind by the British at Independence, answered that they overvalued education.

But what he meant was that many of the Africans who suffered the small amounts of education offered to the Kenyans by the British now sneer at rural life and expect serious employment which their education does not merit and which the Kenyan economy cannot as yet supply.

Kenya is, in fact, one of the countries of Africa most influenced by the British white settler tradition. All the major problems of education in England and Wales--for instance, its devotion to an academic elite and its neglect of technical education--are writ tragically large in Kenya.

2.1.33

Njunji, A. "Transformation of Education in Kenya since Independence." Education in East Africa, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1974), pp. 197-126.

Incremental reforms in Kenya's educational system after 1963 have been extensive, but little related to the core national development problem of rural transformation. Paradoxically, <sup>the author contends,</sup> this in large measure is why they have been viewed favorably by most Kenyans!

2.1.34

Urch, G. E. "Africanization of Schools in Kenya." Educational Forum, Vol. 34 (March 1972), pp. 371-377.

MALAGASY

2.1.35

Leymarie, P. "La Crise Scolaire: Un Détonateur." [~~Malagasy~~]  
Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines, No. 78  
(June 1972), pp. 51-54.

Educational reforms in response to social demand for schooling have resulted in a growing number of unemployed school leavers.

MOROCCO

- 2.1.36 Paulston, R. G. "Problemas de tradición y cambio en la educación superior de Marruecos." Educación: Revista Interdisciplinaria Comparada (Dma). Año 3 (1967), pp. 40-63.

Because traditional religious values and educational systems in higher education, the government has been required to create a dual university system. One branch is modeled on French practice. The other, devoted to Koranic studies, has remained little changed for some eleven centuries.

- 2.1.37 Tazi, A. Onze siècles a l'Université Qarawiyin: 859-1960. Fez: The University, 1960. 81 p.

MOZAMBIQUE

1.38

"Goal of FRELIMO Is Now Education: Mozambique Whites Joining in Schooling Effort." New York Times, Sunday, June 8, 1975, p. 15.

Describes how

The front for the Liberation of Mozambique, which will take over full control of this Portuguese territory when it becomes independent on June 25, has made educational [reform] its top priority.

The key word is "alphabetization" and the slogans are numerous, including "to produce is to learn," and "books are our best friend." As independence approaches, schools and evening classes are springing up throughout the country.

The textbooks encompass the arm of the front--known by the acronym FRELIMO--which is a socialist society, and they explain that hard work and sacrifice are required. There is also a section on political history which such dates as June 25, 1962, the day FRELIMO was founded, and September 25, 1965, when the guerrilla war began.

The movement sends political militants to the schools to explain FRELIMO ideology. Classroom activities are handled by an army of volunteers, most of them white, with few or no teaching qualifications.

Suburban housewives stop at barracks to take groups of FRELIMO soldiers home to tea and then on to evening classes. And black nationalist soldiers, their automatic rifles resting against their desks, pore over textbooks.

Their teacher is a white woman. "I do it," she said, "because this is the only way we are going to get Mozambique on its feet."

In front of her sat a class of 30, including soldiers and housemaids, two of the women with children strapped on their backs.

Concludes that

What schools there were in Mozambique under Portuguese rule were always multiracial, but most Africans did not have enough money to buy books for their children, and so the children stayed home.

In the villages, it did not seem to matter to most people whether they could read; it brought little chance of advancement.

There are 400 pupils attending evening classes in one Lourenço Marques suburban school. A year ago, the school was always empty after dark.

The FRELIMO effort to unite Mozambique's people is shown in the textbooks. They are all in Portuguese. Only a small minority of the tribally varied population is conversant in Portuguese, but it may be the only language that stands a chance of becoming national.

The fact that whites are aiding in the educational effort may bode well for the future of the country. As interim government, dominated by black nationalists, was about to be installed last September, white settlers staged a brief protest, seizing control of the Lourenço Marques radio station and bringing commercial life to a halt for a time.

With independence less than a month away, the hope of education may be promoting co-operation.

NIGERIA

L.1.39

Abernathy, D. B. The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969. 357 p.

The author presents strong evidence in a S-F framework that post-independence educational reforms in Nigeria have been largely a response to social demand for access to schooling, for universal primary education. Undesirable unforeseen outcomes have been increased regional tensions, fewer resources to deal with socio-economic and political development, and interalia the creation of non-productive institutions. The author concludes that rapid and uneven educational reform has created serious new obstacles to modernization; and that other nations might well learn from Nigeria's reform mistakes.

L.1.40

Ogunvemi, M.A. Primary School Curriculum Reform in the Western State of Nigeria. IIEP Occasional Paper No. 34. Paris: Unesco International Institute for Educational Planning, July 1974. 53 p.

- 2.1.41 Peshkin, A. "Limitations on Schooling for Planned Political Socialization: Reflections on Nigeria." Comparative Education, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 1972), pp. 63-73.

The author suggests that there are severe limits on attempts to use schools for "planned political socialisation." He notes that

Leads and possibilities for planned political socialism are available from a growing body of literature. But since one nation's experience is no more than suggestive for another, a nation must evolve a plan and style of political socialisation that fits her unique cultural propensities and need. The political socialisation inputs of the government and the school may be enhanced by long-range research that investigates the political orientation and behaviour of those who occupy gatekeeper roles and of students, teachers, and others that contribute to political socialisation. In addition, the nation can benefit from knowing what political meanings and boundaries are associated with being a Yoruba, a Christian, or a Nigerian, and whether there are some groups with views such that they stand ready to be enlisted as allies in the process of national integration.

In the case of political conflict with an ethnic base, time cannot be trusted to heal all wounds. Of course, time is desperately needed, but its mere passage, unless accompanied by integrative experiences, should give little cause for hope. The expectation that schooling can be readily manipulated to provide such experiences as bargains without the complexity of the schools and their resistance to manipulation. Though schools can be taken over and satiated with some message, the limitations placed upon the school, arising from internal and external factors, cast considerable doubt on the success of the message--unless society is controlled to an extent that Nigeria and most nations would find either repugnant or impossible to organise given their present resources.

He cautions in conclusion that

Clearly, schools affect the political value orientations of their students. My sceptical view does not overlook their considerable capacity to politically socialise children in

many important respects. However, I reject the conventional wisdom that schools can be used as instruments for planned political changes of an affective nature, unless, of course, appropriate changes occur first in groups and institutions outside the school; barring such changes the school's effectiveness in these matters is limited to the isolated efforts of uniquely talented teachers whose successes will be ephemeral and wasted without further societal support.



References

- 1.43 Mounier, A. L. and E. Nallepattani Z. "Process de la réforme du programme scolaire de l'école primaire en Afrique: l'exemple du Bénin." *ERIC* Research Report for Education in Africa, 1994, December 1974, 31 p.

SIERRA LEONE

2.1.44

Harmond, J.M. Progress Assessment of Selected Goals of the Development Program in Education for Sierra Leone, 1964-1970. Doctoral Dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1973. 166 p.

The author proposes that

The degree of success of financial reforms was attributable to several factors: (1) there were negligible teacher salary increases; (2) diamonds taking the lead over agricultural products in recent years as the leading foreign exchange earner; and (3) the priority placed on education by the Government of Sierra Leone as evidenced by the central government expenditures.

He concludes, however, that

The Colonial system apparently failed to recognize the importance of an earlier expansion in technical, vocational and agricultural schools to meet the current middle-level manpower needs of Sierra Leone. Education in Sierra Leone, however, is not a key to development unless it is coordinated with national needs and goals.

TANZANIA

2.1.45 Curle, A. Education for Liberation. New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973.  
146 p.

Curle notes that Tanzania is one country that has systematically attempted to devise educational programs to counter the residual effects of colonialism and promote an appropriate form of economic development for productive rural living. He argues that economic growth is necessary but not to the extent of affecting human dignity, and that the Ujamaa reforms are based on this belief. But competitive materialism has deep roots and these roots are hard to eradicate. He concludes that if Tanzania and other countries like it are to take further steps in educational reform, the competitive materialism base must be eradicated.

2.1.46 Foster, P. "Access to Schooling." in Education in National Development.  
D. Adams (ed.). New York: David McKay, 1971, pp. 13-33.

Foster argues that compensatory educational-reform efforts seeking to reduce the "Gullie-maa gap"--as with Nyerere's "Education for Self Reliance Program" in Tanzania--"always involve substantial economic costs, but they may frequently be essential if certain groups are not to be completely excluded from selective and higher education."

Concludes that

Complete equality of access to schooling is, of course, impossible in the developing areas, and theoretical "equality of opportunity" often often masks gross imparities. Yet men are often prepared to accept such inequalities if they perceive that the doors of educational opportunities are not entirely closed and that some chance exists for their offspring to climb the educational ladder. Therefore expediency alone often requires that the governments of the new states respond to demands for greater equality of access to schooling even if purely economic considerations would suggest an alternative course. In the short run, indeed, the politics of educational development are likely to play a far greater role in determining the pattern of educational access than any strategies based on maximizing the economic contribution of schooling.

2.1.47 Gillette, A. "L'Education en Tanzanie: Une réform de plus ou une révolution educationnelle." Tiers Monde, Vol. 16, No. 64 (October-December 1975). pp. 735-756.

2.1.48

Lema, A. A. "Alternatives in Education--Tanzania." Occasional Paper 74/75. Vienna Institute for Development, 1974. 47 p.

In this case study of

recent educational innovations in Tanzania, an attempt is made to describe how one country critically evaluated its existing education system and then proceeded to introduce reforms so sweeping that the end result became, in fact, an alternative pattern of education.

Concludes, however, that attempts to implement the reforms combining work and study run up against traditional attitudes. He reports, for example, that

Perhaps the most disturbing revelation of [a recent] survey is the evidence that the old attitudes which venerate academic education as a symbol of wealth and status are still held by a large number of school teachers themselves. Only a few, it is true to say, still argue openly that a teacher's main concern for his pupils is to give him academic education, or that manual work has no place in the school. But often the general policies and organisation of the school and the behaviour of the teachers during self-reliance activities reveal their true attitude all too clearly.

The majority of schools, for instance, still retain manual labour and shamba work as the standard form of punishment for those who break school rules. By implication, the pupils know that a teacher gives as punishment only those tasks which he regards as unpleasant and unpopular, work which he does not want the offenders to enjoy doing. Unconsciously, the children recognise this and learn that the teacher really regards manual labour as a form of torture--something to be avoided whenever possible. Thus they too come to regard it negatively, as neither a worthwhile nor an enjoyable activity.

In a similar way, when a teacher refuses to participate in self-reliance activities or treats it far more casually than the other subjects on the timetable, he reinforces his own unwholesome attitude concerning self-reliance in the minds of his pupils.

Several instances of this were seen in some of the schools visited. On one occasion, a teacher was in the midst of teaching his primary school class how to construct a "triangle" when the bell to end the period rang. He immediately consulted the time-table and upon finding that the next period was for self-reliance activities, he went back to the blackboard and continued teaching for more than 15 minutes. Obviously, the impression his pupils gained from his behaviour was that academic subjects like mathematics were more important than the skills and experience acquired from self-reliance activities.

Some of the discontent teachers feel for the new responsibilities is revealed in their reluctance sometimes to initiate and participate wholeheartedly in projects at school. Some sit down in a corner in the shade and supervise the pupils' work from a distance. Some go as far as taking a pile of papers or exercise books with them to the school garden to mark while the pupils are digging in the field. Or, as observed in the case of a few women teachers, they sew their own clothes while the girls are working on a needlework project for the school.

The survey indicated that negative attitudes like these have often arisen out of initial misconception about the true meaning of education for self-reliance. Some teachers, for instance, did not fully understand the implications of the new policy, nor were they sure how to interpret its significance to their pupils. Their explanations were often hesitant, unconvincing and, at times, even misleading. As a result, their first project plans were tentative, limited in scope and unrewarding. Many waited for clarification, approval or encouragement from more senior officials before they began to implement self-reliance projects with sufficient confidence to arouse the interest and cooperation of the pupils.

2.1.49

Mayani, Y. H. "The TANU Educational Concept in the Context of Adult Education." Literacy Discussion, Special Issue on Adult Education: The Tanzanian Experience. Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1975), pp. 27-44.

The author contends that because Tanzania is "an underdeveloped country which has opted for socialist development," reforms of adult education have been given top priority and it is the TANU party that plays the key role in guiding and implementing these reforms. In this regard, the author concludes that

the Party directs the form and methods of adult education, puts the right emphasis in the right place and at the right time, implements decisions and motivates participants. Thus, it is the chief agent in this field.

2.1.50

Parker, F. Development and Education in Appalachia and Tanzania. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Society Annual Meeting, Kingston, Ontario, 1973. 18 p.

Suggests inter alia that efforts to develop and reform educational systems in both areas have been negatively influenced by "geographical isolation and exploitation by outside economic forces."

2.1.51

Resnick, I. N. "Educational Barriers to Tanzania's Development." In Tanzania: Revolution by Education. I. N. Resnick (ed.). Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, Ltd., 1968, pp. 123-134.

The argument<sup>that</sup> has been developed in this article is not simply a suggestion for increased efficiency in the production and utilisation of high level manpower in Tanzania. To begin with, the problems touched upon are not in any way peculiar to Tanzania but are found throughout the underdeveloped world and many of them exist in the developed world as well. More important, however, it is an argument ~~which~~ enmeshed in a view of how education can be socialised in Tanzania. It is an essential part of that view that the personal investment element of education should be removed; rewards should be made for contribution and not for degrees. It is an argument for introducing welfare into education, as well as national investment--welfare for its recipients and the nation in terms of releasing minds from the bonds of ignorance and self-aggrandisement. For only in this way will Tanzania be able to commence using its educational system in the construction of Tanzanian socialism.

TUNISIA

21.52

El Fani, A. "The Reform of Education in Tunisia." Science and Freedom No. 13 (November 1959), pp. 121-124.

2.1.53

Simmons, J. and S. Erkut. *Schooling for Development? Students and Workers in Tunisia*. The World Bank, Washington, D.C., January 1975. v.p. (mimeo)

The authors explain how educational reforms following independence seeking "to satisfy both European standards of academic excellence plus the cultural and employment needs of Tunisia, has, in fact, produced a dualistic system." This problem calls for experimentations to advance reform the dual system towards greater efficiency and equity.

But more than research is needed:

The final implication is that sufficient political courage and power are necessary to start and sustain a program that will bring common sense back into the planning and management of learning systems. Power, the ability to act, is the essential question mark for the future, not mountains of supporting evidence carefully researched; for the reform of the schooling process is a threat to the status quo that has extensive political implications. With a few exceptions like Cuba and China, educational reforms have brought much fanfare in other countries, including Spain in the late 1960s and Ethiopia in the early 1970s, but few concrete improvements in individual cognitive achievement or social productivity. ~~(Simmons, forthcoming)~~

To improve most educational systems several dilemmas require understanding. First, more equal educational opportunities--in fact, compensatory opportunities--would mean, for example, that a smaller proportion of university places would be open to the children of the elite, assuming that the educational budget would not grow substantially. Second, low-income groups could perceive some types of reforms as cutting off their only avenue of social mobility, if the reforms were not managed fairly. Third, the education establishment, including teachers, officials, and liberal intellectuals, will see the reforms as a giant step away from "civilization." Of course, since they are all members of the 20 percent of the typical developing country's middle--and upper-class, some of their children will be the ones who will have to step aside for students from low-income families. As much as improved equality and development may be the goals of the socialist states, it is the social revolution the elite will do everything to avoid if it means lowering the chances for their children. The past can be prologue, or it can suggest how learning can be re-introduced into the schools.

UGANDA

2.1.54

Adams, B. N. "Africanisation and Academic Imperialism: A Case Study in Planned Change and Inertia, ~~Uganda~~." East Africa Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May 1972), pp. 28-28.

Adams argues that recent reforms seeking "Africanisation and Ugandanization at Makerere University in Uganda" have failed for three reasons: (1) the presence of a "substantial number of expatriates with vested interests in remaining at Makerere;" (2) the lack of trained African replacement faculty; and (3) the lack of "internal financial support. "

He asks

How might the problems which beset Makerere's attempt to localise be resolved? Two possibilities which immediately come to mind are the following: first expatriates could work harder to replace themselves with their own students. This would mean greater efforts to convince good African students to go into teaching, and providing them with economic aid to get the training they need. Yet even in those instances where this occurs it is the students who reflect most closely the expatriates' Western attitudes who receive encouragement and assistance. Second, aid from other nations could be given with no strings whatsoever. Without pursuing this possibility let us simply note that it is not likely to occur. Instead, we shall move on to several more viable, though partial, solutions. The reward system within Uganda could be altered so as to induce more students to enter the teaching profession. This might mean offering more fringe benefits, such as automobiles, to the professor. It might, further, necessitate acting upon the Visitation Report recommendation for "on the job" training for the young professor, who begins his work immediately after his undergraduate education is completed. Another possibility would involve more of the aid from external sources such as foundations being used to train promising young Africans and less to bring expatriates to Makerere. While neither of these would solve the basic economic problems of the developing country, they would at least work together to resolve the manpower difficulties. It should be pointed

out that, as Sheldon Weeks has noted, Africanisation does not automatically result in an African university, or a university with an African ethos. For the staff members carry and perpetuate the tradition in which they receive their education. Yet they also carry the stamp of the culture in which they were raised, which acts as a filter upon their educational culture. Thus, personnel localisation is a necessary step toward an equal place in the academic and larger world, and toward the development of an African ethos within the university.

The factors--vested interest, personnel needs, and economic dependence--which are inhibiting localisation within one institution in one nation of the Third World may in fact be crucial to other institutions and societies as well. I have sought to analyse and clarify these problems, and perhaps an understanding of them will be a first step toward their solution.

2.1.55 Evans, D. "Decolonization: Does the Teacher Have a Role?" Comparative Education Review, Vol. 15, No. 3 (October 1973), pp. 276-287.

The author reports that teachers in Uganda, i. e., "the British trained teachers, the experienced Africans, the missionaries, and the Asians, are all relatively satisfied with the current content and methods of the schools." He concludes that prospects for substantial reform are, accordingly, thwarted:

One can only conclude that the outlook in the immediate future is for the schools to continue transmitting essentially the same values and attitudes to the pupils. While a number of minor modifications have already been instituted in terms of Africanization of the content of the syllabus, the accompanying attitudinal and value components remain essentially colonial in nature. The prospects for the schools acting as effective agents of decolonization must wait until significant staffing changes can be accomplished, not only in the schools but also in the institutions which train teachers. The evidence suggests that teacher training institutions have begun to produce students whose views are noticeably different. It is uncertain to what extent those institutions can take credit for that change, but nevertheless it does represent a ray of hope. If this beginning can be consolidated and strengthened, for instance by giving these students insights into the process of institutional change and development, then the seeds of change could be planted in the schools in the next few years. In the meantime these countries must look to other agencies of socialization for the impetus in *decolonization*.

1.1.56

Van Lutsenburg Mass, J. "Educational Change in Pre-Colonial Societies: The Cases of the Buganda and Ashanti." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 174-185.

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From this comparison of the nature and structure of the relationships worked out between two relatively complex pre-colonial African kingdoms and the representatives of more developed Western societies, it is evident that any "capacity" to assimilate foreign-inspired innovations in educational or other institutions was equally distributed in potential in each of the two kingdoms. What did vary between them was the glaring differences in opportunity to make use of those capacities. Each had revealed sufficient social pre-differentiation to require the existence of specialized institutions for education to take place outside of the family, and each theoretically could have incorporated innovations for reforming those institutions. As it did happen, at least in Buganda, the locus of educational activity shifted gradually from apprenticeship inside the palace, first to learning literacy in the Christian mission houses near the king's palace, and finally, to learning a whole curriculum of literacy-based skills at European-style schools both at the capital and eventually at the district headquarters. This sequence was well established by the first decade of the colonial era. But no such gradual institution transformation took place in Ashanti. Military conquest by the British broke any potential link there between apprenticeship, education for future officials in the palaces, and literary training for teachers, ministers, and colonial civil servants in the new schools of the colonial period.

Beginning with remarkably similar social structures, social change in Buganda and Ashanti proceeded along very divergent paths as a result of variance in external relations with major developed powers of the nineteenth century. Buganda choose of its own accord to seek overseas assistance to strengthen its position. Such assistance was bountifully available on surprisingly favorable terms from not just one possibly overbearing ally, but from Arabs, Englishmen, and Frenchmen, who were unlikely ever to coordinate their temptations toward aggression. Moreover, these men came as private citizens, rather than as governmental envoys. Ashanti, in striking contrast, was unable

to find a single overseas ally, let alone two or three. Instead, its one potential ally became its enemy through prior friendship with Ashanti's own local enemy. Those volunteer missionaries who did try nevertheless to proffer assistance to Ashanti were inevitably thwarted by their unfortunate but unavoidable association with the enemy. Thus Ashanti, unlike Buganda, never had a real chance to take the initiative in setting up a mutually beneficial relationship with foreigners from a developed country who could have a progressive, innovating impact on the reorganization, or modernization, of its educational institutions.

UPPER VOLTA

1.57

Grano, S. The Rural Education System in Upper Volta. Essex, Conn.: International Council for Educational Development, 1972. 77p.

This is one of the case studies sponsored by IBRD and UNICEF on the achievements of non-formal educational reforms targeted for adolescents and rural development in Upper Volta providing basic literacy training combined with agricultural training. Using a systems framework, it describes educational innovations in rural education with low operating expenses and backed by multilateral aid. The reforms aim at expanding primary education for among rural youths as future contributors to economic development. The study outlines the implementation of the Christian reform (1961-1971) in relation to educational administration, teacher-education curriculum, development of rural schools, and program costs. It concludes with a program evaluation of the system based on cost effectiveness and gives suggestions for needed improvements.

ZAIRE

2.1.58

Georis, P. and B. Agbiano. Evolution de l'enseignement en Republic Democratique du Congo depuis l'Independence. Brussels: CEMUBAC, 1965. 163p.

2.1.59

Gingrich, N.L. Belgian Educational Policies in the Congo. Doctoral Dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1971. 307 p.

The author explains lack of reform in Congolese education and suggests that

...the Belgians had never understood the realities of change in postwar Africa. Even more significantly, they never understood the relationship between economic modernization, which they opposed. They designed plans based on European nurtured "common sense" rather than African realities. However they did not intend simply to create an exploited body of native helots. Belgian policy assumed that eventually the Congolese would govern themselves. The Belgians simply would not have begun withdrawing until the turn of the century or later. Consequently they developed a very slowly maturing education system. Neither Congolese nor neighboring developments permitted an agonizingly gradual pace of political and social modernization. Evidence of growing dissatisfaction was ignored by the Belgian leaders until it was too late to devise education programs (in either the formal or informal sense) to develop a leadership elite.

The Belgian colonial elite failed precisely because it was an elite. The lack of popular interest led to parliamentary indifference toward colonial affairs. This tied in with the colony's insulation from external scrutiny to guarantee the colonial bureaucracy's security. Therefore the colonial leaders were able to ignore independent critiques which might have led them to reassess basic assumptions. This comfortable security led to the perpetuation of education and other programs designed in the 1920's. The result was an archaic colonial system unable to deal with the crisis of modernization which its original successes had helped initiate.

2.1.60

Rimlinger, G. V. "Education and Modernization in Zaire: A Case Study." Program of Development Studies, No. 50. William Marshall Rice University, Houston, Texas, 1974. 29 p.

From a neo-evolutionary orientation the author explains how an attempt at administrative reform sought to draw upon "institution building" theory.

2.1.61,

Yates, B.A. The Missions and Educational Development in Belgium Africa. Doctoral Dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University 1967, 313 p.

ZAMBIA

.1.62

Draisma, T. "African Socialism and Educational Practice [~~Zambia~~]"  
 Paper presented at the Education Division, Commonwealth Secretariat,  
 London, England, 1975. 83 p.

The author, using a conflict orientation, examines unsuccessful attempts to reform "neocolonial" school systems in Africa and proposes that only a socialist strategy will lead to democratization of school management and curriculum.

He also examines the relationship between secondary education and wider political, economic, and socio-cultural developments in Africa and gives special emphasis to the problems of political ideology and education in Zambia; but as Zambian socialist ideology and educational history show similarities to other African nations, the author's interpretations may be applied to other areas. Discussion focuses on the processes of ongoing decolonization in Africa's education systems by a movement from an oppressive, authoritarian system introduced by former colonial powers to a system emphasizing freedom and self-reliance.

2.2.01. Adams, D. Education and Modernization in Asia. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970. 300 pp.

Using structural-functionalist, neo-evolutionary, and systems ~~analysis~~ perspectives, the author suggests that the modernization of educational institutions via large-scale national reforms in Japan, India, and China will be variously influenced by the persistence of dysfunctional "attitude and value systems," by "fiscal constraints" and "guides which are the result of educational research conducted within the particular educational and social context in question. In Asian education, neither the tradition nor institutional structure for research is well-developed." (pp. ~~193-194~~) The author's conclusions draw on his analysis of educational reform-cum-change efforts stress the need for more rigorous methodology both in the study of change efforts, and in the evolutionary "typing" of the educational systems.

In seeking improved means for examining the processes of education and modernization in this book, the concepts of differentiation and systems analysis have been used. These concepts lend themselves to studies of educational change and provide a framework for cross-national comparisons. As demonstrated, the approach taken here provides some understanding of the adaptability of educational systems to external pressures from the economy, the social structure, etc. Moreover, the concept of differentiation has been shown to be a tool by which the maturity, or degree of development, of an educational system may be directly determined.

AFGHANISTAN

- .2,02 Bennett, N. "Educational Reforms in the Republic of Afghanistan." Education in Asia, No. 8 (September 1975), pp. 13-15.

2.2.03 Haracharek, R.C. Nonformal Education and Nation Building in the Union of Burma. International and Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1973. 11 p. (Mimeo)

2.2.04 Nash, M. "Education in Burma." In The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems. J. Fischer (ed.). Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Company, 1970, pp. 148-166.

Nash examines the "postcolonial reaction in Burma," the "anti-colonial and prosocialist" national effort that "stresses the rebirth of great cultural traditions." He notes that "the Burmese Way to Socialism" aims at "full indigenization and nationalization of the economy, at complete Burmanization of the educational establishment, and at the symbolic elevation of all things Burmese over all things foreign."

He suggests that

In this context of Burmese evolution, with these huge tasks facing the nation, any treatment of the educational establishment must focus on the problems and roles of the schools and universities in the process of modernization. For the school is necessarily an instrument of this overlapping social purpose, and the school and the university are shaped by the interactions of elite and peasantry as they fumble and struggle along the path of social change.

The industrialized and developed nations of the world are agitated by the luxury problems of education: education for what and for whom. The newly developing nations like Burma have a clear and dramatic mandate for education, but lack the resources, the skills, the experience, the organization, and the personnel to activate that mandate. In the light of Burma's proclaimed national aspirations, constant from the first Pyidawtha plans to the most recent proclamations of the Revolutionary Council, education is to serve as one of the means of social transformation, from a raw-material producing society where the bulk of the people had a narrow, pleasant, traditional view of the world, to a diversified, somewhat industrialized society able to absorb and use the most modern of scientific knowledge. Education is to build a nation of citizens able to transform themselves, their society and their culture into a species of modernity, but garbed in Burmese robes.

In summarizing his field work on problems of reforms in community schools, he concludes that

If education is to serve as one of the means of social transformation, the local societies and cultures which carry on the schooling must first change. The local definitions of education, the role of the teacher and the pupil, the way the school is built into the community, the conception of knowledge, the image of the educated person--all these militate against the school and education playing the role of innovator, of transformer, of catalyst for the birth of the modern world in the village of Burma. At the most general level these hypotheses based on the Burmese data, but transcending them, are worthy of cross-cultural checking:

1. It is change in the economic, religious and interpersonal relations on the local and regional levels which are antecedent to change in the educational system.
2. Local schools tend to be conservative agents, transmitting by means that reinforce local tendencies toward stability.
3. Education becomes a force for social change only when the process of social change is well under way.

CHINA

2.2.05 Barendsen, Robert D. "Mao's Educational Revolution." American Education, Vol. 8, No. 4 (May 1972), pp. 4-13.

The author suggests that the following quote from Mao explains why the great reforms of 1966 and after occurred.

... the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to continue.

If Mao Tse-tung had made that statement in 1949, when his Chinese Communists had just seized power from the middle-class party of Chiang Kai-shek, it would hardly have been unexpected and would have attracted no special notice. But he actually made the comment in May 1966, when the Communist regime had been firmly in power for nearly 17 years and when almost a whole generation of young people had already passed through an educational system under its control. Viewed in its proper temporal context, the statement constitutes both a bitter acknowledgment of long-term frustration and failure, and also a stern directive for drastic change.

In the People's Republic of China, most major internal policy shifts are publicized and implemented through extensive propaganda campaigns and mass movements. This one proved to be no exception. Within a few weeks after Mao's statement of May 7, the mass media on the Chinese mainland were trumpeting the need not only to unseat the bourgeois professional educators but also to undertake a thorough transformation of the whole school system.

- 2.2.06 Barendsen, R.D. The Educational Revolution in China. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, DHEW Publication - No. (OE) 73-19102, 1973. 52 p.

The author states that four major aspects of the new emerging educational system are apparent: (1) the educational revolution was "a conscious and purposeful effort on a national scale to grant preferential treatment to a class or group--the workers and peasants, who are deemed to have been educationally disadvantaged in the past, (2) the revolution drastically reduced the schooling cycle from primary school to college from seventeen years to twelve to thirteen years, (3) practical training and vocational experience became a major part of the formal curriculum, and (4) political education emphasizing correct attitudes and subsequent motivation was prominent in all levels of schooling. He adds that the integration of Mao Tse-Tung's political ideology into the educational <sup>process</sup> was the most significant and striking characteristic of the revolution.

- 2.2.07 Bastid, M. "Economic Necessity and Political Ideals in Educational Reform During the Culture Revolution." China Quarterly, No. 42 (April-June 1970), pp. 16-45.

The author proposes that

Educational reform has been one of the important issues raised during the Cultural Revolution, not merely because it belongs to the realm of culture but, more important, because it bears on the question of "cultivating revolutionary successors" and on the shaping of the whole future of China. Anyone seizing power wishes to keep it for a certain length of time; it is however a special feature of people's revolutions to set up their own goals on the prospect of a boundless future.

She then suggests that

The issue of educational reform during the Cultural Revolution seems in theoretical terms, to be mainly concerned with such political ideals as proletarian dictatorship and true socialism, together with the suppression of bourgeois or feudal attitudes and concepts. But on looking closer, these ideals appear to spring from a very stringent economic necessity. So much so that, in some reports on educational reform, political and ideological considerations are almost discarded and the reform proposals put forward on principally economic grounds. I have tried in this article to assess the respective weight of economic necessity and political ideals in the educational reform in an attempt to shed some light on the nature of the new "world outlook" which the Cultural Revolution advances. The analysis follows the dialectical process through which the new order is being worked out: that is, criticism of the old system, proposals for reform, and the implementation of reform.

7.2.08

Baum, R. "Revolution and Reaction in the Chinese Countryside: The Socialist Education Movement in Cultural Revolutionary Perspective." The China Quarterly, No. 38 (April-June 1969), pp. 92-119.

Baum notes that

At the time the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) issued its now-famous Circular Notice of 16 May 1966, which roundly criticized Peking's Mayor P'eng Chen and thereby ushered in a dramatic new stage of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a large-scale and intensive Socialist Education Movement was still being implemented systematically in the Chinese countryside.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1966 these two mass movements co-existed in a loosely defined relationship of functional complementarity. The Socialist Education Movement continued to focus primarily upon the rectification of basic-level productive and administrative units in the rural communes, while the newly-intensified Cultural Revolution was directed mainly at eliminating "bourgeois influences" in higher level cultural and educational institutions and leading Party organs at the municipal level.

He then proposes that the two reform movements represented different change strategies, a difference of approach that accounts for the relative failure of the first and success of the latter:

it may be argued that a major contradiction between the Socialist Education Movement and the Cultural Revolution lay in the widely differing organizational bases, operational methods and target groups of the two movements. As a Party-organized and directed "revolution from above," the on-going Socialist Education Movement proved to be fundamentally incompatible with the new, mass-oriented Cultural Revolution, which was by nature a "revolution from below" directed primarily against powerholders within the Party apparatus itself.

Rural Party organizations (and the work teams under their jurisdiction) understandably proved incapable of serving as willing instruments of their own destruction;

nor were they content to sit passively by in the face of a rising tide of mass criticism and repudiation. For this reason, a rapid polarization of rural political forces around pro- and anti-establishment positions occurred in some (primarily suburban) rural areas in the autumn and winter of 1966-1967. And since the Socialist Education Movement had in effect served to define the pre-cultural revolutionary status quo in these areas, the results of that Movement quite naturally became a central focus of controversy in the initial stages of the Cultural Revolution.

2.2.09 Bietz, G. R. The Politics of Educational Reform in the People's Republic of China: Revolutionary Destruction, 1966-68. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1972. 340 p.

Bietz examines

the conflict between Mao Tse-tung and Chinese Communist Party leaders on the sensitive issue of socialist educational reform [and presents] a detailed analysis of the revolutionary destruction of the educational apparatus during the Cultural Revolutionary educational experiments of 1966-68.

He contends that

Information revealed during the Cultural Revolution makes it clear that Mao believed that Chief-of-State Liu Shao-ch'i and his supporters within the bureaucracy had used their administrative authority to undercut the full implementation of his educational reforms. To overcome this opposition, Mao purged several top party leaders and attempted to shift the entire course of education in China. All schools closed their doors in June 1966 for what was to be a six month period to bring about educational reforms; classes, however, could not be resumed at the end of six months as freewheeling Red Guard youths cut nationwide paths of violence and disorder roaming the country smoking out "capitalist roaders" within the party and educational apparatus.

Mao's struggle against his opposition within the party shattered the very apparatus responsible for producing the large numbers of scientists, engineers, mathematicians and other professionals needed to speed the country's modernization. The quality of education was further lowered by the educational reforms announced during the Cultural Revolution. The ultimate effect of the educational revolution in Chinese education may be disillusioned revolutionary successors. For those convinced of the wisdom of Mao's educational line, sobering discoveries seem inevitable as China's needs as a developing industrial nation become more apparent and the credibility of Mao's solutions to these problems becomes less and less.

Concludes that

major modification of Mao's Cultural Revolutionary educational reforms is likely if China is to fulfill its expressed desire to modernize and achieve the wealth and power that has eluded its grasp for so many years. The epilogue documents Peking's pragmatic steps taken since the fall of 1968 to rebuild the shattered educational apparatus.

2, 10

Chen, T. H. The Maoist Educational Revolution. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974. 295 p.

Chen's educational reformer, the author of Mao's educational reform, is characterized by "the tabula rasa and the false dichotomy." He maintains that

there is a difference between the approach of bourgeois reformers and the Maoist approach. The former usually recognize that there are basic human needs that must be satisfied; these needs, personal and psychological as well as physical, are there regardless of the social order. The Maoists, however, seem to believe that human drives, desires, and the needs are all the result of conditioning and can be changed by the process of reconditioning, which is the essence of remolding. Personal ambition, mother love, family relations, and friendship are seen as shaped by environmental factors, above all the nature of the class alignment in society, and therefore subject to reshaping to meet the needs of proletarian society.

He proposes that

Recognition of the positive accomplishments of Maoist education need not blind us to its problems and difficulties. The past two decades have witnessed the inauguration and phasing out of a succession of "mass campaigns" in which students, teachers, and the population in general were "mobilized" to render active support. From the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the "3-anti" and "5-anti" campaigns of the early 1950's to the anti-Rightist and anti-revisionist campaigns and the Cultural Revolution, each new drive was launched with "fanfare" and strong emotional appeals marshaling all forces to plunge valiantly and courageously into the "life-and-death struggles." Regular school work was often suspended to encourage participation in these campaigns.

It seems that to secure mass support it is necessary to periodically make fresh appeals, to coin new slogans and to launch new campaigns. Strong emotions are evoked to fight against such enemies as the counterrevolutionary, the hated landlords and rich peasants, the "bad elements," the traitors and political swindlers, the "demons and monsters" who plot for the collapse of the revolution. Perhaps the "continued

evolution" calls for continued emotional fervor to be kept up by a never-ending succession of mass campaigns and "mobilization," but is there a possibility that continued strain and tension may produce emotional fatigue—a weariness that eventually does not have the effect of peaks of successful appeals? Already we read articles in the Chinese press complaining that people tend to lapse into apathy and decline in ideological-political alertness after seemingly successful campaigns. Of the same nature is the often repeated warning that urban youths and intellectuals who have undergone reeducation and reeducation often revert to old ways and attitudes after their return to the cities. Does this indicate the tenacious hold of the old culture despite the onslaught of the Cultural Revolution? Or does it suggest the desirability of a different approach in education that may produce more lasting results?

2,2,11 Gindburg, P. E. "The Educational Process and Economic Development in China." Department of Political Science, University of New Hampshire, 1975 (in sec.), 21 p.

Large-scale reforms in Chinese higher education, the author argues, first reflected needs for "national reconstruction" and economic development. Since the Great Cultural Revolution, however, reforms have sought radically differentiated educational collectives aimed at developing generalized problem-solving skills, rather than at conveying information.

The author suggests, however, that the Chinese are aware of serious obstacles to radical reform. He notes that a recent

Peking Review article carries an editor's note describing how the "overwhelming majority" of the university's 2,000 faculty members undertook physical labor in factory, farm and village for from six to 12 months in order to "raise their consciousness in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and develop their abilities."

But the article also seems to acknowledge the difficulty of achieving large-scale change: "Whether reforms can be put through in teaching methods mainly depends on the teachers," the article states. By 1973, almost a quarter of a century after the founding of the People's Republic, the influence of the older generation of teachers must surely have been highly attenuated, and continuing to shrink rapidly. Diminished in numbers by age and generally chastened by the Cultural Revolution, they could have been little obstacle to the adoption of new methods of teaching. Certainly, as the article says, "In some of the better-run classes, the teachers frequently mix with their students to get to know them and ascertain their educational standard and their attitude and methods in study. But why only in "some" of the classes? What of the other classes, those that are not among the "better-run," and what of the other teachers, those who do not take so easily to the new way?

"Some comrades" among the teachers were afraid that students whose preparation for college was poor

would be unable to undertake "self-study," and so reverted to the method of "cramming." "This showed a lack of understanding of the importance of reforming teaching methods. As a result, many classes tried cramming, and the students were assigned a passive role in their studies."

The attribution of numberless transgressions to "bourgeois authorities" during the Cultural Revolution may well have created the impression that the older scholars trained abroad and in China during the Nationalist period were the sole obstacle to educational reform in People's China, and that their elimination might open the way to a recasting of educational relationships. And I have tried to show above that certain tensions and differences of orientation existed between older and younger faculty before the Great Leap Forward, and that older faculty did indeed stand in the way of change. The easier identification of the younger teachers with the purposes of the revolution and their more comfortable acceptance of the leadership of the Communist Party in education deepened into a great chasm between faculty generations in the years between the Great Leap and the end of the Cultural Revolution.

But it appears likely that the younger generation of faculty members of the 1950's, now in their late 30's and 40's, may themselves constitute a significant obstacle to the kind of reform that would truly remake the educational process. While they will perhaps remain more accepting of political control than their older colleagues were, the educational inadequacies with which many of them began and which limited the scope of their teaching are likely to remain, and their conception of the teaching process, established before the Great Leap reforms and challenged only sporadically until the Cultural Revolution, would seem to be incompatible with the kind of change envisioned in the Tsinghua model. In general, then, there seems little likelihood that far-reaching change in the teaching process will be achieved in the near future.

2.2.12

Hawkins, J.N. "Deschooling Society Chinese Style: Alternative Forms of Non-formal Education." Educational Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1973), pp. 113-123.

Mao's educational reforms seeking to de-institutionalize the schools and to encourage the "commune" to become the basic unit of society (both culturally and economically), <sup>as</sup> seen by this author as having strong support from the population as long as "noticeable discrepancies" between various sectors of Chinese society are absent.

- 2.2.13 Kuan-Yu, Chen. Education in the People's Republic of China. Storrs, Connecticut: World Education Project, University of Connecticut, School of Education, 1973. 43 p.

The author states that a review of educational reform achievements in China under seventeen years of communism is impressive for its realistic planning and practical implementation. Educational reforms are not, he argues, innovative in fundamental assumptions, but do reflect the purpose of Chinese education in aiding in national development, both politically and economically.

The author also notes assumptions underlying educational policy and objectives, i.e.: an ideal society is that of the Marxian utopia of a classless society; the role of education is to serve the state not the individual; educational policy is devoted to developing the economy, political consciousness, reform and universal education.

The key concept in the methodology is the unity of theory and practice; the new type of intellectual is one of worker-peasant origin; there is a de-emphasis of monetary incentives and self-interest and an emphasis on class struggle, <sup>with</sup> elimination of class distinctions.

2.2.14

Olivier, J. F. "La généralisation de l'enseignement primaire." La Nouvelle Chine (Paris), No. 11 (February 1973), pp. 31-35.

In China, provision of universal educational reform and especially in rural areas is affected by ideological and political issues. At present educational reforms are concerned with generalization of five-year primary education to which eventually two years of lower secondary education will be added. Due to the progress achieved after the Cultural Revolution, enrollment ratios increased considerably in rural schools but dropout problems persist. To overcome difficulties of regions with a scattered population a new type of primary schools at the level of production teams has been created as well as mobile schools. Furthermore, primary students have been called in to provide cross-age teaching. Developments have also taken place in urban schools due to increased community involvement.

2.2.15

Olivier, J. F. "La liaison théorie-pratique dans l'enseignement: Signification concrète du principe." La Nouvelle Chine (Paris), No 10 (December 1972), pp. 31-34.

Article describing work experience programs developed in primary education and secondary education in <sup>the</sup> Chinese People's Republic. Within the framework of the National Plan<sup>1</sup> all primary schools and secondary schools have to install workshops in connection with a factory or farm. Before each work period students are prepared in class; at the end, an evaluation is made with the students, teachers, and workers. ✓

2.2.16

Paulston, R. G. "Alfabetización y cambio en la China pre-comunista." Informes de China, Vol. 3 (April-June 1968), pp. 37-46.

Suggests that the literacy reforms carried out by the Mass Education movement in China during the 1920s and 1930s failed because of their liberal, neo-evolutionary orientation in a repressive, war-torn setting.



2.2.17 Price, R. F. Education in Communist China. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970. 308 p.

In Chapter III, "Obstacles to Educational Reform," the author examines geographic and language problems, social and economic factors, and the influence of the pre-1949 school system and foreign education.

He contends that factors internal to the schools all tend to favour the more conservative elements within the CCP. The school system has traditionally been authoritarian and academic, and recent Soviet influence, while it has brought about changes, has strengthened this pattern rather than weakened it. Because of the difficulty of the written language, courses of study have always tended to be rather long, and the introduction of weighty Soviet syllabuses in many subjects has reinforced this.

The external factors make all forms of development difficult, but on balance probably also favour conservative solutions. Social changes have created new managerial, technical and cadre groups, but these to a great extent continue to hold traditional values and prefer a hierarchical school system run on conventional lines. Economic development has been insufficient to provide the school buildings, furniture and books needed by the growing population with its high proportion of youth, while many peasant families are still too poor to release their children from work to attend school. All this has tended to preserve the old system, though at the same time it has also stimulated the search for an alternative pattern. The shortage of industrial and commercial jobs for urban school-leavers has underlined the irrelevance of much of the present education. But Mao and his supporters have so far not translated their general proposals into the detailed alternatives which might inspire confidence in their success. The part-work principle may turn out to be the key to change, but it can as easily be incorporated into the conventional pattern of education which Mao wishes to overthrow.

- .2.18 Taylor, R. Education and University Enrollment Policies in China, 1949-1971. Portland, Oregon: International Scholarly Book Services for Australian National University Press, 1975. 56 p.

The author argues that changes in enrollment policies in Chinese universities since the Cultural Revolution have failed to bring about the goal of a corps of worker-peasant intellectuals. Despite drastic reforms in university policies in the mid-1950's, he writes, "an elite-mass structure is appearing in higher education" in which exceptional talent is fostered at the expense of workers' social mobility and education is integrated with labor only in the interest of developing technological expertise.

- 2.2.19 Whyte, M. K. "Educational Reform: China in the 1970s and Russia in the 1920s." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. 1 (February 1974), pp. 112-128.

Whyte  
Observes that

...After 1917 and throughout the 1920's a broad range of educational reforms were implemented in Russia, reforms similar in many ways to those being attempted in China now. During the 1930's these reforms were one by one repudiated and replaced by a more conservative educational policy, a policy which, with minor variations, has been pursued in Russia to this day. It was this more conservative educational policy which influenced the development of Chinese schools during the period of close Sino-Soviet cooperation in the 1950's. In other words the "revisionist" educational line that China is denouncing is in many particulars the educational policy adopted in the Soviet Union in the 1930's after the failure and repudiation of an earlier, more "revolutionary," educational policy. The basic question we are asking here is whether we should expect the failure and repudiation of educational reform in the Soviet Union to be duplicated in China, or whether the reforms themselves or the surrounding societies are sufficiently different so that we might expect a different outcome.

Whyte  
Concludes that

A systematic comparison of the Chinese educational reforms of the 1970's and Soviet reforms of the 1920's reveals a mixed picture. There are many similarities between the package of reforms being pursued in each case, but at the same time there are some differences in emphasis and detail. There are important differences in the surrounding social setting in the two societies, in particular the lower level of economic development and complexity in China and the lower stress on central planning, capital-intensive heavy industry, and the need for highly educated manpower. These comparisons lead to the conclusion that, while some of the problems that beset the Soviet reforms are occurring or will occur in similar form in China (teacher morale, urban patronage relationships, higher education quality), others should not occur or should not be so important because aspects of these reforms "fit better" in the Chinese situation (student

discipline, rural integration of schooling and work). Of course, there also may be problems which arise in China that had no counterpart in earlier Soviet experience. One thinks, for instance, of problems of morale among the millions of school graduates assigned to life as peasants, and competition between local youth and the "sent down" intellectual youth for scarce places in higher educational institutions.

What can we conclude, then, in the debate about the utopian or reasonable nature of the Maoist educational reforms? As a result of the comparison undertaken in this article, it is clear that the current Chinese reforms are not unprecedented in type or in scale, nor are they perfectly suited to China's goals and needs. Some of the same problems and conflicts that similar reforms occasioned in the Soviet Union are occurring, or can be expected to develop, in China. At the same time these reforms are not completely utopian and at variance with China's needs. At many points, particularly in the rural schools, China's educational directions seem to make more sense than the educational policies of Stalinist Russia would. On balance, then, we conclude that some of the current Chinese reforms will be modified in years to come (often in a "revisionist" direction), but that we are unlikely to see the sort of abrupt about-face in education policy which occurred in the Soviet Union in the 1930's.

2.2.20 Yin, Chih-peng. The Cultural Revolution in Chinese Higher Education: The Mass Line. Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1973. 139 p.

The purpose of this study [is] to examine the steps taken by China in an attempt to solve the problem of "who should go to college" during and after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). Efforts were directed to explain why and how the elitist-mass struggle in Chinese higher education had developed between the conservative revisionists and the progressive Maoists and why it was the Maoists during the Cultural Revolution who gave highest priority to changing the elitist higher education to a mass one.

In addition, this study aimed to find out the changes in Chinese education, including institutional leadership, faculty composition, educational organization, student selection, teaching material, and teaching methods, and to identify the causes of change comprising China's historical deprivation of the masses of workers and peasants from receiving higher education and contemporary revisionists' resistance to a completely proletarianized educational system during the pre-GPCR Communist period (1949-1965)....

Suggests that

One of the major objectives of the Cultural Revolution is to reform Chinese higher education based on the ideology of the proletariat, in other words, Mao Tse-tung's educational thoughts. The revolutionary approach taken by China to build a new system of mass higher education is unprecedented in the history of higher education. The reassertion of the mass line in Chinese higher education has brought higher education's goals, management and structure closer to the Chinese workers and peasants who were largely denied higher education opportunity in the past.

However, the mass-line model is not a panacea that can solve every problem in Chinese or world higher education. On the contrary, not only do some of the old problems remain, but new ones have also arisen. That the tendency of de-professionalism in the new system has already caused difficulties in the management and operation of the new higher education such as compilation of teaching material is only one example.

Finally, the new Chinese higher education has just started; it will have many chances to adjust its course through "trials and errors" or even crises. However, the Chinese mass-line approach is both a radical and novel one which has uniquely and experimentally looked to both "modern science and modern social developments as beacons" as well as to the needs and wishes of a whole population for means toward improving the present in hopes of a better future. In its novel and unique approach China's [reform] example is of interest and use to educators everywhere.

INDIA

- 2.2.21 Airan, J.W. et al. Climbing a Wall of Glass: Aspects of Educational Reform in India. Bombay: Manaktalas, 1965 268 p.

- 2.2.22 Altbach, P. G. "Problems of University Reform in India." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 251-266.

"What, " the author asks,

are the prospects for academic reform and planning in India? The questions of educational planning and academic reform must be separated. Effective planning, particularly on a long-range basis, is an extremely difficult process and in few countries has it been effective. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that India should be less than completely successful in the post-independence period. A much more practical possibility, therefore, is university reform.

There is general agreement on the need for reforms, and a consensus on some of the specific aspects of the university system which need change. Many of these elements ~~have been~~ discussed in this paper. Yet meaningful reforms, however moderate, are bound to experience difficulties in the Indian context. All the powerful elements in the academic equation are arrayed against reform and change. Perhaps the main hope is that if those few visionary individuals working within the academic system are permitted leeway and given resources, successful innovations carried out on a fairly small scale may have some impact elsewhere. Thus, the concept of the autonomous colleges and the Centers of Advanced Study are quite useful. Overall, the historical development of higher education in India does not give much cause for optimism, nor does the current political situation, both with regard to government and other external authorities with regard to the universities themselves.

- 2.2.23 Brembeck, C. S. and E. W. Weidner. Education and Development in India and Pakistan. East Lansing, Mich.: College of Education and International Programs, Michigan State University, 1962. 221 p.

This bibliography focuses on educational problems and reform attempts in the subcontinent, and from a neo-evolutionary perspective indicates the legitimacy of Western models for educational reform.

- 2.2.24 Desai, A. R. "Dilemma of Educational Development after Independence." The Journal of the World Education Fellowship: The New Era. Special Issue on India, Vol. 55, No. 8 (November 1974), pp. 213-225.

Argues that Indian educational reforms seeking greater equity will continue to fail as long as the ruling class claims to be evolving a society based on a socialist pattern, while, in practice, it is systematically and consistently building a capitalist social order. As its educational policy is organizationally linked with this policy of building capitalism, school reforms seeking socialist ends will be at best co-opted. At worst, reforms will be little more than pious rhetoric and socialist slogans.

2.25 Naik, J. P. Policy and Performance in Indian Education, 1947-74.  
New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1975. 112 p.

*From a complete reconstruction, Naik*  
Notes that India has, with great expectations, undertaken numerous educational reforms since 1947, but concludes that most of them have been ineffective.

This hope was unfortunately never realized. We did not attack the educational problem in its totality, but in an ad hoc and piecemeal fashion. We never provided education with the large financial resources it must have. We never put into education all that immense human effort which it always needs. We never tried to mobilize the community as a whole to support the expansion and improvement of education. Above all, we did not also try to introduce radical structural changes in society without which radical structural changes in education are not possible. Consequently, our overall achievements in education have not been impressive, except in a few sectors, and many of the basic educational objectives of a socialist society have still remained unrealized.

The reasons for this situation are, the author explains, several:

... [the] prevalence of mass illiteracy, [the] non-introduction of radical structural changes beneficial to the masses; [the] insufficiency of resources for a costly education system which operated through full-time professional teachers. The system, he says, is built on the assumption that the average parent is well-to-do enough not to need the labour of his children until they are at least fourteen years old. He rejects a system which relies too heavily on full-time formal instruction on the grounds of its "inherent bias in favour of classes and built-in unsuitability for the education of the masses."

Continuation of a "dual system" of a few good institutions and a vast majority of sub-standard institutions has continued despite reforms because it

gives an easy option to the ruling classes to secure good education for their children, either in the "core" institutions within the system or by opting out of it (i. e., by use of private schools) without being required to undertake the more difficult task of improving the entire educational system.

2.2.26

Rudolph, S. H. and L. I. Rudolph (eds.). Education and Politics in India: Studies in Organization, Society, and Policy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972. 473 p.

*The authors*

^ Presents a rather conceptually confused examination of political influences in educational reform efforts from a neo-evolutionary perspective. *i.e.*, argues that:

To the extent that institutional development in new nations takes place under technological, economic, or cultural circumstances characteristic of Western history at an earlier stage, their institutional development is properly subject to comparison with institutional developments at an earlier stage of Western history. (p. 11)

In their introduction, the editors further argue that "The genetic imprint on Indian education has endowed it with certain features that affect the interaction between politics and education." (p. 22). In the case of universities, for example,

Their historical evolution in close relationship with the government created certain presumptions in favor of a strong official interest in university affairs. The States' assertion of the public interest in education can range from fostering educational goals to subverting them.

Ipsa facto, educational reforms *here* are to a considerable extent *inherently* captives of the past, and best understood in terms of "the genetic imprint." ~~They~~

2.2.27

Sargent, J. Society, Schools, and Progress in India. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968. 133 p.

Notes that while secondary technical education is the most critical "bottleneck" in the educational system, efforts to reform the system proposed by national five-year plans have been described as "intricate exercise in wishful thinking" and "no more than an exercise in statistics." Argues that the current policy of concentrating investment in primary and higher education is akin to "throwing sops to the proletarian Cerberus in a society where the growing gulf between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' is already causing serious concern."

- 2.2.28 Singh, A. "Indian Education Since 1947: An Assessment." Prospects. Vol.5, No.3 (1975), pp.312-322.

Singh reviews the many serious obstacles to educational reform in India from a functionalist orientation. He views the educational system as highly "disfunctional" for national development, but fails to note how it rather effectively serves to perpetuate and legitimize existing elites and a highly inequitable status quo:

Rigidity of structure and organization at the school level is, in a manner of speaking, symptomatic of rigidity in the whole educational system. Even though in the course of the last century or so more than a dozen committees and commissions have investigated the state of Indian education, there has been hardly any change in substance and outline. At the school level the worst aspect of the rigidity is the excessive emphasis on conformity to what is laid down; at the higher level its besetting sin is the inability to exorcize the devil of the external public examination. All academic and sociological pressures are in favour of upholding this particular feature of the system. If a change is to be made (and there seems to be little choice in the matter) it has to be made within the limitations which the system has come to acquire over the preceding century or so.

- 2.2.29 Thomas, T. M. "Educational Reforms in Free India." Journal of Education, Vol. 152, No. 3 (February 1970), pp. 58-63.

The author suggests that

The experiences with two major reforms, one at the elementary and the other at the secondary level, are not at all pleasant for the people of India. However, they can furnish some guidelines to direct future experiments in India. The two reforms anticipated two types of society and they happened to be mutually exclusive. Elementary schools developed a rural agricultural society while secondary education promoted an urban industrial society. This may be considered virtually a contradiction in the aim of education.

2.2.30

Thomas, T. M. Indian Educational Reforms in Cultural Perspective.  
New Delhi: S. Chand, 1970. 312 p.

~~Thomas, T. M. 1970. p. 273~~

~~Concludes, that~~

educational reforms are not working out well in the schools of India. The vocationalization of education and the introduction of diversified courses will become successful only when the masses achieve access to a high-school education. When a majority receives a high-school education, we can assume that the minority consists of the wealthy, most of whom try to get to college and who do not select vocational courses. In such a situation, vocational courses are not in demand." ~~(p. 273)~~

~~In sum, the~~ basic obstacle obstructing rational educational reform is seen as the gap between reform plans and the socio-cultural and economic reality.

~~He~~ Argues that Indian educational reforms continue to fail because they ~~fail to~~ reflect Indian cultural experience ~~and to~~ promote national consciousness. These are problems inherited from British rule. And because, the author contends, Indians remain reluctant to break with British educational patterns. Education--despite reforms--remains dysfunctional and largely isolated from life.

He concludes that the answers will most likely be found in educational system that were expressly designed to correct the mistakes of the British type of educational system. He notes, however, that the Gandhian reforms have been largely rejected by parents, teachers, and administrators.

2.2.3 | Wood, G. "Planning University Reform" An Indian Case Study. "  
Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972),  
 pp. 267-280.

Wood  
 observes that

Reforming university education is a difficult thing in the best of times, and in the post-colonial situation several special problems face would-be reformers. Post-colonial political leadership is likely to be somewhat ambivalent vis-a-vis the university, which is a symbol of the colonial past and was the major source of indigenous collaborators. On the other hand, the university is usually expected to produce the highly trained manpower required for programs of economic development. To look at the results of this ambivalence in a specific case, this paper ~~will~~ investigates the problems of reform faced by the University of Mysore in South India during the first 20 years of independence.

Wood  
 concludes that

the limitations on possible reform of the University of Mysore are stringent. For any program designed to improve the university in the direction of Oxbridge or the manpower model, the major impetus must come from outside the state, and the terms of the reform must seem not to threaten the position of existing institutions. For the populist reformer, national funds would be better spent on improving weaker institutions, particularly those which have expanded educational opportunity outside Mysore's cities. More important for the populist, however, would be the changeover to Kannada, to reduce the importance of English as a major requirement for access to higher education. Perhaps more radical would be any attempt to reduce the importance of university examinations--historically the *raison d'etre* for Indian universities.

If these reforms seem difficult to achieve, it must be remembered that considerable change has been accomplished since independence, although the reforms have been contradictory. The university has expanded educational opportunity, and specific programs to upgrade the

educational process have been implemented. The result has been increased inequalities among colleges in the university. Advocates of quality, bolstered by national and international funding, have produced programs within the university which can best be described as enclaves of quality--enclaves which have little resonance in a system increasingly geared to serve large numbers of students relatively poorly. The enclave effect is exacerbated by the fact that colleges within the university are relatively small and autonomous, and in consequence there is limited payoff in strengthening a single institution. In fact, special attention from funding authorities may make interchange between colleges less frequent, as quality institutions become increasingly differentiated from the less fortunate. In this situation any reform that attempted to coordinate programs across colleges lines would seem worthwhile.

Finally, reform in the University of Mysore is part of an ongoing political process, although discussions of reform are seldom explicit on this point. In an environment where democratic pressures impinge on practices evolving from a colonial past, it might be predicted that universities would be a major arena for conflict between established and aspiring elites. The response of the established in India has been to argue for reforms which would strengthen their own position in society, by placing a premium on their assets--particularly skill in using the colonial language. Perhaps as useful as language for these elites have been the arguments, technocratic and otherwise, for maintaining international standards within the universities. In this debate over reform, aspiring elites interested in breaking into the system are at something of a disadvantage, for they are likely to share, at least partially, the values that the established would maximize. Yet it should be noted that aspiring elites have a legitimate argument in advocating expansion of educational opportunity, and that debate over quality and quantity is a proper one in a university, and one that is in no way unique to India.

INDONESIA

- 2.2.32 Kohler, G. "Sekolah Pembangunan: An Indonesian Experiment." Comparative Education (Oxford), Vol. 9, No. 3 (October 1973), pp. 157-167.

The author, using functionalist and manpower perspectives, describes pilot projects in comprehensive secondary schools with integrated vocational education in Indonesia, ~~in the framework of an~~ educational reform aiming<sup>ing</sup> at manpower development--Sekolah Pembangunan--~~It~~ consists of an eight-year basic school and a four-year upper school. Career education begins in the fourth year and is gradually increased until the end of the basic school. The decentralized curricula take into account the rural-urban differences providing education and training adapted to local circumstances. Apart from the formal-school sector, long-term planning envisages the intensification of the school-community relationship by developing the Sekolah Pembangunan into community schools. The article provides a critical assessment of the experience gained in the eight experimental schools opened in 1972.

IRAN

1.2.33 Afzal, M. "Problems of Secondary Education in Iran." Comparative Education Review, Vol.6, No.2 (October 1962), pp.86-92.

*making a transition from a government to a private*  
The author attempts to introduce technical education reforms have

failed

...because students are not convinced that it would be advantageous to enroll in secondary technical schools....The major problem which goes deeper than "unsuitable curriculum" and "dislike for work" is social and economic. It is social because it is related to social mobility and the desire to move into the modern educated class. It is economic because technical training at secondary school level has not yet proved to be as financially rewarding as employment in the government service. All economic development reports foresee a great shortage of technically trained people at middle level in the future. But for the Iranian youth to invest their future in technical training for the jobs that are going to be open to them in the future, they need to feel fairly certain of these future conditions. Unfortunately there has not been a long enough period of stability in the country on which they can count. The only security they see is to move into the modern educated class and hopefully into a government position which for some time has carried the only security and amenities available.

It is not true that students choose to go to academic secondary schools only because they shy away from practical work and prefer a desk job. If that were true, one would find that within the secondary schools the classical and literary curriculum which is basic for administrative and civil service work would be preferred to scientific and mathematical curricula which are basic for engineering and industrial occupations. But this is not the case.

Afzal concludes that the reforms have largely failed because

...aspirations and expectations have increased faster than the economy can satisfy them. High school students are recruited from all walks of life. There are still very few coming from peasant backgrounds because high schools are not available to them; but in towns where high schools exist students come from all classes of the urban population.

It would be right to assume that educational and vocational aspirations and expectations of Iranian youth of the lower economic groups are much higher than among their counterparts in Western and industrially developed countries. These high aspirations can be attributed to several factors, among them: (1) Enjoyment of all

~~Afzal (cont'd)~~

amenities of modern life, including a much higher standard of living than the rest of the society, by the modern educated class, and (2) Traditional ease of mobility, particularly the availability of the traditional educational system to members of all classes, including the peasants.

Aspirations are such that once a student has entered the modern school system he does not see the aim of his education as training in a skill through which he could earn a living but as leading to a diploma or a degree which will give him the prestige and status of a modern educated man.

The author believes that one reason why two systems of education, one for the masses and one for the elite, were successful in European countries is that in those countries, especially in England, the class structure was very rigid and the working classes did not press for more education and did not aspire to higher positions than there was room for. But now we live in an age when democratic ideals are widely disseminated and principles of equality of all citizens and equality of opportunity are, at least theoretically, accepted; yet we lack the economic development and resources needed to make a reality of these ideals. That is why the situation in Iran and similar countries is so tense and why the race against time is so urgent.

2.2.34

Ayman, I. Educational Innovation in Iran. Paris: The Unesco Press, 1974.  
35 p.

Brief survey of innovative educational programmes and reforms which have recently been developed or are currently underway in Iran. Administrative organization has been restructured to allow for decentralization of decision-making. Qualitative improvements have been made in producing and writing textbooks. Many new schools have been built. The "Army of Knowledge" sends young secondary school graduates to teach in rural areas and has made notable achievements. The "Literacy Campaign" continues Expansion of educational provision includes shift and evening schools, correspondence courses, an open university and use of radio and television. The "New System of Education" divides schooling into three stages: primary education, guidance (exploration of students' capabilities) and completion of secondary education (theoretical or vocational). Opportunities for further education have been broadened.

*The author concludes, however,*

~~Observes~~ that recent attempts to reform education in Iran have been superimposed on the system from above for political reasons. They have only rarely developed out of efforts to reconceptualize and improve educational goals; methods, programs, et al. The author contends that such "operational innovations are not effective for either educational or social change."

2.2.35

Huober, H-G. "Reform des Bildungswesens im Iran." Bildung und Erziehung, Vol. 22 (July-August 1969), pp. 296-302.

2.2.36

Szyliowicz, J. S. Education and Modernization in the Middle East. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973. p.

In Chapter VII, "Iran: Toward a Modern Educational System in a Reformist Monarchy," the author describes recent efforts to reform vocational and technical education. Using a structural-functionalist approach, he identifies principal reform constraints as traditionalism, formalism, lack of modern administrative elites, etc. (pp. 424-25). He concludes that

If meaningful educational change is to be achieved in this context, therefore, an efficient educational bureaucracy that can not only stress structural reform but also consider the functional variables involved in the implementation of different programs is vital. To create such a perspective within the existing context of Iranian administration, however, represents a complex challenge, because, as we have seen prevailing patterns of coordination, implementation, cooperation, and planning represent major bottlenecks to administration throughout the bureaucracy and these patterns are closely linked to the political and cultural environment.

JORDAN

- 2.2.37 Abu Lughod, I. "Educationg a Community in Exile." Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol.2, No.3 (Spring 1973), pp. 94-111.

Abu Lughod contends that success or failure of Palestinian educational programs instituted in a number of <sup>Jordanian</sup> Middle Eastern countries on the elementary level, directed toward maintaining and developing group identity as well as preparation for further education, is dependent upon 1) major political policies of the Arab States towards the Palestinians, 2) budgetary allocations, and 3) the expediency of these programs within the national education system.

- 2.2.38 Al Bukari, N. Education in Jordan. Amman: Ministry of Culture and Information, 1973. 77 p.

Attempts to reform Jordan's school system have been circumscribed by continuing conflict with Israel, by military demands on the national budget, and by problems arising from a large Palestinian refugee population.

KOREA

- 1.2.39 Adams, D. Higher Educational Reforms in the Republic of Korea. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1965. 21 p. Uses a structural-functional framework to explain the rationale and implementation of university reforms.
- 2.2.40 Lee, Y. D. Educational Innovation in the Republic of Korea. Paris: The UNESCO Press, 1974. 43 p.

Lee presents an uncritical functionalist description of recent educational developments and reforms in South Korea. Educational programs introducing innovations in national educational policies include: upgrading of primary-school teacher-training institutions, institution of preliminary college-entrance examinations and abolition of the disliked middle school entrance examination. A long-range comprehensive educational plan has been formulated, a Charter of National Education proclaimed and the Korean Educational Development Institute established to develop curricula and teaching systems. The reform of secondary education is underway. Reforms are viewed as technological adjustments to "fine-tune" the system.

2.2, 41 Nam, B. H. Educational Reorganization in South Korea Under the United States Military Government. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, School of Education, 1962. 222 p.

Nam argues that

Although the essential purpose of school reorganization was not merely to replace the Japanese school system with an American system, Korean schools under the Military Government took a pattern similar to that which prevails in the United States. Structural reorganization of the school system alone, however, did not guarantee democratic education in its true sense. Success of the Military Government in its educational work depended to a large extent upon awareness by the Korean people of the fact that a free nation can only be established through education which provides opportunities for experiencing freedom, for making decisions, and for free exchange of ideas. To the contrary, Japanese militaristic control of Korean education for nearly half a century had stifled the initiative and creative thinking of Korean teachers and school leaders. Although the desire to catch up with other nations was unsurpassed, Korean educators did not know exactly how to proceed, and they had very few resources with which to work.

Efforts were made by the Military Government to establish more schools with better facilities. Special emphasis was placed on training teachers for democratic education. Attention was also given to construction of new curricula in accordance with modern principles of curriculum making as practiced in the United States. In spite of the serious shortage of paper and printing facilities, the Military Government prepared and distributed over fifteen million copies of textbooks in various subjects. As a result of these efforts, the number of schools and their enrollment showed a marked increase during this period, and South Korean illiteracy was reduced as a result of an active adult education program launched by the Department of Education.

Unsettled socio-political conditions and the lack of qualified leaders was felt more seriously in secondary schools than in elementary schools. As a natural consequence, progress in reorganization was much slower in the secondary schools.

When the Republic of Korea was established, the Ministry of Education adopted the educational program established by the Military Government. Although obvious efforts were made to preserve the fundamental spiritual elements of Korean culture, the aims and objectives of school education set forth by the new Republic incorporated the modern philosophy of education advocated by American education advisers during the time of Military Government. Whether these aims and objectives have been reasonably implemented in real study of social process in Korea, with school curricula grounded in such analysis is, again, more questionable. The long-term educational contribution of American educators to Korea would have been far more valuable if there had been a deeply grounded understanding in depth of the characteristics of the society to be served by the schools.

Notes that U. S. authorities placed little or no emphasis on the reform of higher education.

Inasmuch as the Military Government cooperated fully with American missionaries and their activities in Korea, mission colleges were in better condition to expand and improve themselves than other private colleges during this period. They were not only in an advantageous position for acquiring necessary materials from the occupation authorities but received financial aid from American churches which enabled them to recruit better qualified faculty members.

2.2.4.1 Brindley, T.A. "American Educational Effects in Laos." *Educational Forum*, 7:1,34 (March 1970), pp. 365-370.

The author reexamines American education intervention in Laos during the years 1963-1965, and critiques the educational reform efforts they sought to introduce "in terms of the basic needs, values, and traditions of her people and of the possible choices the Lao themselves might have to shape their own future"

Brindley observes that

...the Lao themselves are not masters of their own fate. The Lao people are caught up in the effects of other people telling them what to do. Self-determination is a myth in that part of the world. The respect for cultural diversity is a kind of a United Nations' dream. Instead, the reality seems to be one of nation-building and regional planning.

that

When the Americans started to exert influence, they built the buildings of the Don Dok Teacher Training Institute, east of Vientiane. The Americans continued to give extensive support to vocational training centers, particularly in agriculture. The Americans, through USAID, supplied teachers and various advisors to the Colleges which were already established and attempted to direct policy through the Lao Ministry of Education. The Americans also were supplying teachers to the Teacher Training Institute and setting up programs there, especially English language programs. The Americans have tried to exert influence in other ways, mainly through communication and information efforts. The United States Information Agency effectively directed communication policy for the Lao Ministry of Information, which meant that the press and radio were influenced. The American political, social, and economic points of view accompanied these policies. At many critical junctures American values were impinging upon the Lao.

American reforms have not had clear sailing, however:

...the United States has had great difficulty, at least up until 1965, in trying to influence the Ministry of Education to adopt

~~Definitely (revised)~~

The American pattern. The French have a firm foothold there and the French pattern was officially accepted. However, neither of these Western patterns really has taken hold yet, mainly because of the complete breakdown of the ability of the country to function as a whole and because of the war.

He concludes that neo-evolutionary development theory as represented by

The concept of "nation building" is one which needs to be rethought; perhaps, instead of a nation, a type of loose culturally diverse federation might apply.

that U.S. education/reform interventions are aspects of a colonial tradition decked out in modern attire:

American involvement in Laos points to the world conflict in educational development aims, which sets the concerns of social engineering, induced change, technological and industrial development against the claims of self-determination, respect for cultural diversity, and the dignity of traditional values and freedoms. The question of the economic dilemma of the Haves versus the Have-Nots has long ago been superseded by more fundamental moral concerns, and it is upon these greater issues that the struggle is joined.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

2.2.43

Foster, P. "Dilemmas of Educational Development: What We Might Learn from the Past." Comparative Educational Review, Vol. 19, No. 3 (October 1975), pp. 375-392.

In good evolutionary tradition, the author advises Papua New Guinean educational authorities to learn from "the record of some other nations that embarked on the course of post-colonial development a decade or more ago." This, it is argued, will facilitate prediction concerning such policy decisions as educational change. Foster's ~~article~~ ~~677~~ "pearls" may be summarized as follows:

1. "The answer... is less, not more (his underlining) concentration of authority."
2. "Educational change efforts will succeed only if they are based upon the aspirations and expectations of the majority of the population or provide incentive structures that allow aspirations to be modified to accord with national goals."
3. "In nation-building as in other affairs of life, it is sometimes sensible to let sleeping dogs lie."
4. "... if we are wise, we can capitalize on the selfish motivations of individuals for the ultimate benefit of all."
5. "We must regard education as essentially an investment by individuals in their own or their children's future and in so doing accept the notion that the soundest educational policies are those that are based on the operation of the market and not those that attempt to run counter to it."
6. Educational change efforts must not try to coerce people directly but rather attempt to provide incentive structures within which individuals, families, and regions can make their own decisions as to how much education and what type of education they wish to invest in as opposed to some other kind of resource allocation.

-(Compare-Foster's-"rational-actor" assumptions with Clark's conflict assumptions!)-...

PHILIPPINES

2.44  
 Orlas-Bator, C. "Top Learning Priorities for Cultural Revitalization,"  
~~(Philippines)~~ "Education Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 1 and 2  
 (July-December 1973), pp. 73-79.

Proposes that the Philippines <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ undergoing a national revitalization  
 movement seeking to overcome social injustice, graft, corruption,  
 peasant unrest, and irrelevant education.

Without bloodshed this democratic thrust prepares the  
 ground for an expeditious remedy of century-old economic,  
 social, and educational ills. For the Filipinos to enjoy  
 peace, to liberate the landless farmers from their bondage,  
 to democratize wealth, and to benefit from a functional  
 educational system, there is a need to restructure the  
 government, and to gear a reformed educational system  
 to the demands of the New Society.

2.2.45

Beeby, C.H. "Stages in the Growth of a Primary Education System of Western Samoa." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1962), pp. 2-11.

Presents an analysis of educational reform outcomes using evolutionary explanations. The author concludes that a neo-evolutionary development strategy using U.S./British experiences from the last century will be most helpful for the developing countries:

To an impartial observer [sic] it sometimes appears that a country would be wiser to concentrate, in the first instance, on the education of a relatively small elite, and defer the rapid expansion of mass education until the new elite could give it the quality it needs. But a government may find itself unable to withstand the groundswell of demand for universal education, and may be driven to launch ambitious schemes of primary schooling long before it has teachers with sufficient education to make them effective.

Under these conditions, the struggle to raise standards in the schools becomes infinitely harder than anything we ourselves had to face in the 1860's. A century of experience in building up a system of universal education should have fitted us to help the emergent countries to avoid the more obvious of our errors, but our own unanalyzed experience is not enough. Our advice and aid will be the more effective if we see clearly which of the steps in our own progress toward a modern education system were forced on us by the limitations of the men and materials at our disposal and which were the result of errors that could have been avoided with more foresight and wisdom. It is for this reason that a scholarly study, from a new angle, of the whole process of growth of an education system might be as useful in practice as it could be illuminating in theory.

2.2.46

Schramm, W. ITV in American Samoa: After Nine Years. Washington, D. C. : Information Center on Instructional Technology, 1973. 55 p.

Schramm uses a systems perspective to describe the educational reform project built around instructional television (ITV) in the Pacific Islands USA, specifically American Samoa. The project began in 1964 as an attempt to completely modernize the educational organization. After nine years there is insufficient data for satisfactory program evaluation, but some conclusions are drawn: Allocation per student is very high, due to the application of an expensive medium to a relatively small student body. There was some improvement in achievement in English but students' performance is similar to second-language schools elsewhere. Generally, students could be compared with disadvantaged groups on the mainland. As regards student attitudes and teacher attitudes towards ITV, resistance increases from lower to upper grades and between primary and secondary teachers. The author uses the Samoan example to raise questions about the value of instructional television in educational reform efforts.

- 2.2.47 Towagry, A. M. Organizational Analysis and Proposed Reorganization of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Doctoral dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1973. 131 p.

2.2.48 Wong, R. H. K. Educational Innovation in Singapore. Paris: The UNESCO Press, 1974. 82 p.

*Wong, R. H. K.*  
 Description of educational reforms in Singapore since 1960 to promote government policy of national integration and provide educational opportunities for all ethnic groups: curriculum development, with particular emphasis on the mathematics, science and technical subjects needed in an industrial society; development of compulsory extra-curricular activities in schools; and teacher education are designed to overcome difficulties presented by the multilingualism and multiracialism of the population (Chinese, Tamil, Malay, and English). The objectives of curriculum innovation are four-fold: individual, societal, national, and international. Innovation is initiated by government decree which is then interpreted and translated into educational strategies by the Ministry of Education. Pilot projects are run prior to implementation, requiring close cooperation from teachers. So far, <sup>the changes</sup> changes have been too fast for proper evaluation."

- 2.2.49 Jayasuriya, J. E. "Educational Dilemmas of a Developing Country-- Ceylon." Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1968), pp. 199-205.

The author laments the inability of local educational reformers and suggests an imported solution:

The people who achieve positions of leadership by political processes are distinguished by their demagoguery and not by any capacity to work out reasoned solutions to national problems. They depend heavily on bureaucratic officials, who have reached the top rungs of the administrative hierarchy by their consummate skill in tinkering with problems, maintaining the status quo, and attempting nothing unhallowed by long tradition. Unimaginatively rooted in the grooves of their own thinking, they are unappreciative that any wisdom could exist outside their own ranks. They nominate themselves for training opportunities abroad, and more often than not the persons so nominated have not been interested in the fields of training before the training, nor do they use the training after they return. Generally speaking, officialdom is quite willing to welcome foreign expertise.

Herein seems to lie a ray of hope for working out some possible solutions to Ceylon's educational dilemmas. If a high-powered team of foreign experts with some local personnel would work out a program of action that takes into account the interrelationships of society, economy and education and make foreign aid an integral part of its implementation rather than a simple act of generosity, there is every likelihood of some progress being achieved in the course of time, and the present aimless drift in Ceylon education arrested.

- 2.2.50 Jayaweera, S. "Recent Trends in Educational Expansion in Ceylon." International Review of Education, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1969), pp. 277-292.

Argues in S/F terms that educational reforms and development have "outrun economic development," that

In Ceylon, the disparity has been very marked and the lack of planning has been characteristic of policies of expansion has caused the educational system to be temporarily dysfunctional in the context of immediate social needs.

2.51 Radcliffe, D. Indigenous Responses to Changing Educational Needs:  
Buddhism and Education in Sri Lanka.

Argues that because Western theory and models have dominated <sup>development education,</sup> <sup>too</sup> little attention to concepts and solutions emanating from other traditions.

Sri Lanka was selected for study because it provides an excellent example of the interaction of two systems. As in most Theravada Buddhist countries, education was well developed in relation to the society's needs in pre-colonial times, and the tradition of the Buddhist society as an educative society was upheld. Overlaying this, and in many ways in direct conflict with it, colonial Ceylon was provided with an extensive and generally effective school system on the western model, resulting at the time of independence in relatively high educational ratings by (western) international standards for similar countries.

The conjunction of these two elements has given rise in Sri Lanka to significant controversy over the control, content and objectives of education, and one product of the high expectations generated, and the economic, social and cultural imbalance which resulted, was the dramatic youth revolt of 1971.

The study draws upon research in Sri Lanka during the summer of 1973. Research proceeded in two areas - (i) an historical examination into the resurgence and renaissance of the Sinhalese (Buddhist) cultural influence upon education from ca. 1830 onwards resulting in the establishment of the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara pirivenas, and the leading Buddhist secondary schools, Mahinda, Ananda and Nalanda Colleges. (ii) a survey of contemporary developments in education, with particular reference to non-government and extra-systemic organizations such as the Sarvodaya Educational Institute at Moratuwa.

The intention is to contribute to more effective understanding of the functional and dysfunctional impact of educative forces in the development process, and to ways in which the reformulation of traditional ideals and techniques can contribute to the solution of contemporary problems in education.

- 2.2.52 Cho-Ye, T. "Education of the Aborigines in Taiwan: An Illustration of How Certain Traditional Beliefs of a Majority People Determine the Education of a Disadvantaged Minority." Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 41 (Summer 1972), pp. 183-194.

THAILAND

L.2.53

Bennett, N. "Educational Reforms in the Republic of Thailand." Education in Asia. No.8 (September 1975), pp.

5-12. Educa-

2.2.54 Carpenter, H. P. Adult Education and the Transformation of Rural Society in Turkey. Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1970. 460 p.

The author, from a functionalist bias, examines a literacy education program seeking both educational and community reform, and suggests that:

What is needed in Turkey today are incentives sufficiently strong to keep potential migrants in the villages. Only when the village becomes more attractive, more comfortable, and much more profitable will, in my opinion, this outward flow be eliminated. To accomplish these changes it is absolutely essential that a cadre of villagers who possess not only the desire to undertake such changes but also the necessary knowledge and skills be found in the villages. Our investigation revealed that the participants, upon completing the program, were receptive to changes in the village. They also possessed the necessary "attitudes of modernism," and were not committed to supporting the traditional village public culture. However, they did not possess the knowledge and skills necessary to effect the transformation of the village generally and the village economy specifically. The content of the adult education literacy and general education classes gave no attention to rural specific problems and possible strategies which the village participants themselves could follow in solving them. This, in my opinion, is the second major shortcoming of the present adult education effort in the villages of Turkey. Those villagers who are most committed to making changes in their situations are not being provided with the skills necessary for the execution of such changes.

This research revealed that the desire to acquire literacy skills was not a primary factor in motivating the villagers to participate in the literacy classes; rather, it was the desire to participate in an urban donor culture program which offered a chance of acquiring a new positive self-image which motivated the participants. Hence, most of these villagers would have participated in any adult education program perceived by them as a means for the acquisition of a new identity--it was not essential that it be a literacy education program. This suggests that the present content of this adult education effort in the villages of Turkey could be changed significantly with no drop

In villager motivation of participation resulting. To be of more immediate relevance to the transformation of rural society, the new program should provide the participants with knowledge and skills necessary to effect changes in the village--such as the improvement of the village water system, the construction of a public toilet and bath, the use of fertilizers, and the growing of new crops.

.2.55 Kazamias, A. M. Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966. 304 p.

Using a neo-evolutionary perspective, the author explains the establishment of "a public national system of schools" as a functional response to requirements for modernization-cum-Westernization and political socialization following the Kemalist revolution of 1923 and the creation of a republic:

In the emerging ideology of atatürkism, education was inextricably bound up with political, economic, and cultural independence and with breaking the shackles of traditional beliefs and outlooks: it was the means of nourishing national aspirations, creating the consensus necessary to sustain a free national state, training new Turkish leaders, and paving the way towards a dynamic and modern society. Knowledge and science were regarded as power and as the leverage in transforming the entire society." (p. 115)

Kazamias argues that:

Atatürk's task of educational reform and reconstruction was facilitated by (1) continuing traditions of centralized state control; (2) the high prestige enjoyed by education in the general value system; (3) the disestablishment of religion; and (4) the key role of education in occupational and social advancement (~~and~~)... in spite of the fact that only a very small fraction of the youth can expect to attain what they and their parents think is necessary to satisfy their aspirations in life.

- 2.2.56 Stone, F. A. "Rural Revitalization and the Village Institutes in Turkey: Sponsors and Critics." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. (October 1974), pp. 419-429.

Explains that following World War One Turkish intellectuals "awakened to the problems of rural Anatolia." Under the close control of a small group of technocrats in the government and University of Istanbul, a program of popular education and rural reform, of community schools and "village institutes" was put into motion to modernize rural Anatolia.

But the reform soon encountered serious opposition:

The official decision to abandon the Village Institutes stemmed from political as well as pedagogical considerations. A key factor was the increased belief in the efficacy of the "high level manpower" trained by Turkish universities. Of equal importance, however, was the negative effect the Village Institutes seem to have had on rural support for the policies of the ruling Republican People's Party. Moreover, rural support for the Village Institutes began to evaporate as it became clear that the classical lycées and universities remained the best routes to upward social mobility. And, finally, educational traditionalists attacked the notion that rural teachers required different skills and training than their urban counterparts.

The author suggests that

The controversy over rural revitalization preceded the establishment of the Village Institutes. In fact, the various postures that are currently being defended in Turkey all have historical antecedents. It is also evident that those hostile to the Village Institutes do not necessarily see eye to eye. Some oppose the Movement because it threatened their elitist Kadro concept. Others rejected the Village Institutes because they believed them to be nests of anti-Islamic Communist ideas. Still other critics attacked the Village Institutes on the grounds that they were primitive institutions managed by unqualified staff and were lacking well-conceived objectives.

Among the advocates of the Village Institutes there is also considerable variation. Some recall the era of the late 1930s and the early 1940s with nostalgia, but they admit that the noble experiment was aborted and cannot be re-initiated. Others take a more militant position. Not only do they support re-opening the Institutes, but they also insist that the entire Turkish school system ought to be thoroughly reformed in light of the Village Institute experience. To them, the present educational establishment and arrangements block national progress by favoring a privileged minority. A third type of supporter argues that the chief value of the Village Institutes was to institute innovations in the curriculum and methods of instruction which can now be injected into the existing Turkish schools.

The frequency with which aspects of this controversy are being discussed in Turkish newspaper and journal articles proves that the conflict is not over. At the moment, the more radical positions taken by militant Village Institute advocates are in bad odor with the policy makers at the Ministry of Education. Village Institute alumni who were too active or outspoken in their opposition to present policies have been jailed or had other sanctions imposed on them.

So it is possible to conclude that Turkish education will continue to adhere to conventional patterns. The Ministry of Education probably will keep on using the services of domestic and imported specialists, rather than again launching another "grass roots" experiment of the dimensions of the Village Institute Movement. But who is to tell when the tide might turn? At some other juncture, alternative approaches to rural revitalization and national development might again make a major impact on the Turkish educational scene.

2.2.57 Dodd, J. W. "Aspects of Recent Educational Change in South Vietnam." Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 6, No. 4 (July 1972), pp. 555-570.

Dodd contends that

In order to institutionalize a new arrangement or radically change an old arrangement in a society, a change agent might rely upon a combination of the following approaches: (1) destroy the agents of socialization of the old institution; (2) change the orientation of the socializing agents of the old institution to that of positive orientation toward the new institution; and (3) create new agents of socialization with a positive orientation toward the new institution.

Given the necessary amount of power and the will to use it, the first approach appears to be relatively easy. The French, for example, were able virtually to annihilate without difficulty the traditional Vietnamese educational system, which had stood essentially unchanged for hundreds of years. Also of importance is the fact that this destruction took place over a short period of time.

He notes, in contrast, that

the American advisers in Vietnam, who seem to have been quite sincere and persistent in their efforts to stimulate changes in the Vietnamese educational system and have been little hampered by lack of funds, have experienced only limited success. This may well be due to the fact that the United States, in attempting to stimulate changes with respect to both curricula and method, has been introducing change items which are diametrically opposed to both pre-French and French items. Immediately one thinks of agricultural and home economics education, engineering, the social sciences and learning by participation, all of which are essentially alien to Vietnamese cultural traditions.

He concludes that

the general view of most American advisers in the field seems to be: "We have something good to offer this society. All we have to do is point it out and any rational individual will accept it immediately." It would appear that increased awareness of the complex

nature of social change would eliminate at least some of the runaway expectations which seem to characterize the views not only of these advisers and their superiors but also the views of the American people and the American Congress. Such awareness also might serve the broader purpose of reducing the current growth of pessimism concerning the prospects for producing significant changes in the underdeveloped countries.

- 2.2. 58 Duc Bang, V. The Viet Nam Independent Education Movement, 1900-1908. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1971. 308 p.

2.2.59 Khoi, L. T. "Literacy Training and Revolution: The Vietnamese Experience." Convergence, Vol. 8, No. 4 (1975), pp. 29-38.

If one asks the necessary conditions for reforms to eradicate illiteracy on a national scale, the author's conclusions<sup>As a result of the experience in North Vietnam</sup> are instructive:

History has shown that, up to the present, revolutionary regimes have been the only ones capable of organizing successful mass literacy campaigns. From the Soviet Union to China, from Vietnam to Cuba, all revolutionary governments have given high priority to the eradication of illiteracy because teaching people to read and write awakens consciousness and stimulates participation in political action. It is impossible to transform society if the great majority of adults do not turn a critical eye upon social reality and do not strongly desire to build a better future and to assume responsibility for their destiny.

Vietnam provides an example of the integration of education into the movement of national and social liberation, generating acceptance by the people of the necessary efforts and sacrifices and of the need to eradicate ignorance.

He concludes that

The following lessons emerge from the Vietnamese experience.

1) The political factor (struggle for independence, for social emancipation) is the most powerful driving force in persuading populations to accept the necessary sacrifices and efforts in order to wipe out ignorance. But the political factor alone is not enough. In one year, two and one-half million were taught to read and write, which is a remarkable achievement (even if the degree of literacy acquired was rather superficial), but it was a long way off the target. Illiteracy was not entirely eliminated until 1958. It took 13 years to teach the entire population to read and write, although the initial rate of illiteracy was high (80 to 90 percent) and the task was carried out in war conditions.

2) Ideology must be backed up by suitable organization in accordance with a mass line so that people know it is their job to implement literacy programmes and that they should do so by relying on their own material and human resources rather than on the State. The role of the State or Party intervention comes at the outset of the process in the work

of ideological "conscientization." We are not concerned with doing things for the masses, but rather with making them capable of carrying out the work themselves.

3) Apart from the political factor, Vietnam benefited from such favourable conditions as the existence of a written language with a long secular tradition of study. The written Vietnamese language is exactly the same as the spoken one and is extremely easy to learn because it is a monosyllabic invariable language. The lack of this favourable factor is one of the reasons for the failure of certain literacy campaigns where political motivation was nonetheless strong (as in Algeria in 1963 after independence where literacy campaigns were conducted either in a foreign language--French--or in an Arabic that differed from the spoken language).

4) Learning to read and write is merely a first step. There has been no relapse since 1954 because constant effort has been made to raise the educational level of the people. Each year, complementary education mobilizes some 1-1.5 million adults. The dynamism of the environment plays a major role in helping to imprint knowledge permanently and to broaden it.

5) A multi-national state such as Viet Nam is obliged to pay close attention to the education and training of minorities. It is not enough merely to bring about political and economic improvements; it is also necessary to raise their cultural level, to create written languages where none existed before, to fight against feudal traditions and superstitions, to rapidly train local cadres. Autonomy for minorities and the improvement of their material and cultural levels--these are a guarantee of national union and integration.

LATIN AMERICA

2.3.01

Benjamin, Harold: "Latin America: Educational Perceptions." In International Education: Understanding and Misunderstanding, S. Fraser (ed). Nashville: Peabody International Center, 1969, pp. 73-79.

The author contends that educational reform projects, by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> U.S. universities in Latin American have not produced results that are worth the investments employed. Technological gaps between North and Latin America are making the transmission of aid more difficult. He feels that educational programs must be tackled by the people of these countries themselves in order to change the customs of the people in the directions of their own aims and needs. He ignores the fact, however, that in Latin America "the people" seldom decide what is in their interest. In this way the ~~SAT~~ <sup>school system</sup> prescription avoids the problem of exploitive and inequitable <sup>institutions, the identification of the community,</sup> status quos, and assumes democracy and consensus.

- 2.3.02 Correa, H. "Quantitative Analysis of the Implementation of Educational Plans in Latin America." Socio-Economic Planning Sciences, Vol. 9 (1975), pp. 247-255.

Using a systems framework, the author presents a statistical analysis of the degree of implementation achieved by educational ~~plans~~ ~~con-~~ reforms seeking to increase enrollments in Latin America from 1960-1970. He argues that

The reason why results both below and above the target levels are considered to be defects in the implementation of the plan is that a plan requires the optimum use of resources. If the results achieved are inferior to those planned, either a scarcity of resources or inefficient utilization of them must have occurred. If the results are superior to those planned, either there was an error in the computation of the resources available, or their planned utilization was deficient, and a better distribution of resources would have made it possible to achieve targets set even higher than those planned.

and that

An assumption that seems acceptable at first sight is that the quality of educational plans depends more on the technical preparation of the functionaries of the Departments of Educational Planning than on their number. A first approximation to the study of this hypothesis can be made by considering the average number of years spent in study by these functionaries. This information is not sufficient, because it is clear that the quality of the plans depends not only on the type of preparation of the functionaries, but also on whether they work in occupations related to the preparation that they received.

He concludes that

The statistical analyses presented in this paper suggest some steps that could be used to improve the process of educational planning in Latin America. The greatest degree of attention should be given to the improvement of the statistical information used, if possible including the integration of the office in charge of collecting the data with the Department of Educational Planning, and

in improvements in the preparation of the personnel in charge of the preparation of the plans, with emphasis on specializations in planning, administration and economics. Countries in which these two points are considered have a high probability of success in their educational programs.

- 2.3.03 Illich, I. "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America." Saturday Review, (April 26, 1968), pp. 56-59.

Illich comments on the failure of formal schooling programs in Latin America. He states that educational reforms will not succeed because of economic factors limiting access to education and societal factors which prevent education from being a viable road to upward mobility for lower-class citizens.

- 2.3.04 Lugo, J. "Los estudios generales y la reforma universitaria en America Latina." La Education. Vol. 35-36 (July-December 1964), pp. 32-39.

2.3.05 Paulston, R. G. "Revolutionary Educational Reform Efforts in Latin America." Pitt Magazine (Special Issue on Latin America), Vol. 30, No. 2 (May 1975), pp. 16-20.

The author argues that

Beginning in the early 1960s, the U. S., through the AID, the Peace Corps, the military, and other technical assistance missions, sought to encourage and support the reorientation of Latin American educational systems. International organizations such as UNESCO and ILO and large foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, et al.), along with numerous U. S. universities, addressed the same set of problems. These efforts worked variously to provide educational facilities which would reduce unit costs and make schooling more internally efficient by reducing waste and increasing completion rates, and perhaps most importantly, to relate reformed educational programs to ongoing and proposed economic development plans. In education as in other social sectors, models and standards from the U. S. and Western Europe--i. e., from advanced urban and technological societies--were naively superimposed on rigidly-stratified and largely rural Latin American societies with entrenched educational traditions focused on the granting of academic professional titles and the cultural symbols considered appropriate for elites already determined by family membership.

Results of this multinational educational intervention in Latin American development have, to say the least, not been as expected. Rather than the hoped-for incremental improvements in production, consumption, and participation, we have seen the rise to power of military dictatorships in what was a continent where at least quasi-democratic states predominated. The consequences of this development for educational reform have in most cases been increased inequity in educational opportunity, and accordingly, increased inequity in life chances for the vast majority of children.

In sum, attempts at incremental social reform in Latin America have failed because privileged elites have been unwilling to accept even modest reform and corresponding minimal redistribution of resources in favor of the grossly deprived and impoverished majority. The military regimes that have come to power to halt any further moves toward redistribution have viewed schooling essentially as a mechanism for social control and the maintenance and legitimization of inequality and special privilege.

2.3.06 Pelczar, R. "Latin American University Reform: Some Case Studies." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 230-250.

Examines reform efforts and the university crisis of 1971. Notes that

External agencies that invested so heavily in Colombian universities were left puzzled, exasperated and disheartened by the recent crisis. Discontent was most serious in institutions which had received the most attention and were viewed as centers of excellence. Paradoxically, the crisis originated in the university that had received more assistance (over \$24 million) than any other institution. Comprehensive reforms, millions of dollars in long-term aid, foreign trained administrators and academics, and relative stability for many years--all the elements of a supposedly "modern" university--were not enough to overcome the accumulated resentment of students who from the start were excluded from negotiations for external aid and the planning and implementation of reforms. Consequently, the crisis has resulted in a super-sensitivity to all activities of external entities. In the future, these agencies will find it very difficult to influence the universities, if indeed they choose to get involved at all. More than likely their activities will be regulated by a central government body and the terms of any grant, loan or agreement will most assuredly be minutely scrutinized.

The government response to the crisis came in the form of a proposal for a new university reform law. Among other controversial actions, the projected law would: (1) reorganize higher education along regional lines; (2) give students and professors more power in university councils at the local, regional and national levels; (3) eliminate the presence of Church, professional and industrial sector representatives from local and national university councils; and (4) increase the regulation of private universities and significantly diminish their influence through only token representation on regional and national university councils. The government proposition, however, has been met by amendments and alternate draft laws from the positional opposition and from professors at the National University. As might be expected, the Church, industrial interests and the private universities have all voiced their opposition. All this, combined with the reservations of many educators who feel it would cause more problems than it would solve, have kept the bill languishing in congress with little probability of passage.

Universities in Colombia, as in other Latin American nations, continue to reflect society more than they shape it. The policy of "reformism" which has manifested its bankruptcy as a solution to the serious political and socio-economic problems of the area, has proved equally unsuccessful in the realm of university development. The reform "era" for both university and society in Latin America seems to be coming to an end. Several Latin societies have already embarked on radical political paths and others exhibit willingness to explore novel alternatives. If past patterns offer any clue to the future, Latin American universities will also soon enter a period of revolutionary change.

2.3.07

Pelczar, R. S. "University Reform in Latin America: The Case of Colombia." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 230-250.

Notes that

Since, generally speaking, only students from well-to-do and middle class families can afford private higher education, it seems that expansion of enrollments has primarily benefitted the offspring of the growing middle class. This interpretation is reinforced further by evidence that the majority of students in Colombia, even in the supposedly popularistic National University, are graduates of private secondary schools and come predominantly from upper and middle class backgrounds. The sons and daughters of workers and landless peasants who make up the majority of Colombia's population are grossly under-represented, even though 7,000 students benefitted from an innovative program of educational credit which offers low interest long term loans to needy students. In addition, many universities have adopted tuition scales graduated to parental incomes. But, because of the inability to sacrifice foregone earning and the regressive rates of some of the tuition scales, higher education has remained an expensive proposition for students from humble backgrounds.

Concludes that the reforms "were not successful... in checking proliferation of institutions or in raising academic standards," that "efforts at regulation and control were hampered by the evasive tactics of the universities." The latter

were not above employing political pressures, "the red carpet treatment," or the old ploy of "wine, women, and song" as they sought "loopholes" in accreditation criteria, official recognition and financial support for their programs.

Concludes that

Of all the strategies implemented... to correct the ills of Colombian universities, none carried more responsibilities, spurred more hopes, or caused more frustrations than the

promotion of university planning. Charged with advancing intra-university, regional and national integration, the Division of planning... soon discovered that its main obstacle was the old bogeyman of university autonomy. Required by law to respect the legal autonomy of the universities, the planning division was unable to apply coercion or sanctions and was limited to recommendations, moral persuasion, and professional expertise to accomplish its objectives. It had a hard time convincing anyone that its aim was not to plan for the universities but rather with the universities.

2,3 69

Philosophy of Latin American University Reform, Latin American University, 1970, 23 p. (Mimeo)

He also shows the Latin American University reform movement that began in 1918 as still evolving.

...a repertory of ideas and values which operate as a frame for the claims and the proposals for change in the Latin American University.

He suggests that

If we look at Latin American University Reform from today's perspective, a half century after the date symbolically considered as the initial point of the process of agitation and transformation of the Latin American University, it is possible to distinguish two chief stages of events. Disregarding some earlier events--such as, besides others, the Montevideo Students Congress and the Mexican University Movement of 1910-7, it is possible to relate the first stage of reform to the atmosphere following the First World War. The second stage is related to the international and Latin American situation following the other Great War and extending up to our days.

It has been customary to speak of University Reform as the process initiated in 1918 and its consequences and aftereffects in the years immediately following. Nevertheless, the concept of University Reform, as an historical concept, cannot be confined within so short a period. Moreover, even in the shortest period that could be chosen, it is possible to find fluctuations and disparities of rhythm, different cases according to national circumstances, and even reactions counteracting the action of the forces of change. Besides, many of the phenomena we now observe in our universities are results of the process crystallized in 1918 and can be interpreted with the same explanatory schemes that account for the facts of thirty or forty years ago. Without minimizing the difference in the least, we shall thus speak of the Reform as a developing process of the Latin American University up to date and we shall apply the same concept to the process after the second World War, whose differential features with regard to the first stage we shall try to determine.

He argues from a neo-Marxist orientation, and without evidence, that because of the reform, "the University of Latin America is thus an institu-

~~University Reform~~

tion essentially of the masses, oriented towards social problems."

He laments that the reform continued to face serious obstacles:

The real problem is one of a lack of an authentic reorganization, one capable of transforming our Universities into modern and progressive schools, prepared to serve the country in the levels and fields required by today's social progress and scientific knowledge. The Reformers have not succeeded in being productive in this sense, perhaps among other reasons, because they were mainly concerned with the great topics of social transformation, assumed and developed into a political plan, because they were mainly concerned with the great topics of social transformation, assumed and developed into a political plan, because they did not think that there existed a task of social transformation in the University itself, or they trusted that this task would be completely fulfilled later on.

But the tragedy of the reform is that the delaying of the deep University changes from the academic and scientific, and even instrumental, points of view was not accompanied by and compensated for decisive achievements in the political field to which the Reformers' efforts were consecrated. The most noticeable party movements that were hatched by the University Reform and went out with great energy to operate, ended by being absorbed by the environment, assimilated by the current structures, transformed--sometimes after years of fighting and suffering--into the most notorious defenders of the present social order and the establishment. The Reform, which sacrificed itself as an academic movement on behalf of the political activism expected of it, later, as a returning wave, a total remodeling of the University, ended by being checked by the politics it had generated since there was not the radical social change capable of giving birth to the new University.

He concludes, however, on an optimistic and somewhat evolutionary

note:

It should be very clear that what is required and foreseen is not a weak University of the kind of a simple folkloric product or a repetition of the traditional or classic institution or a copy of a foreign University only in a lesser degree, let us say, with a more modest rank. What is required and anticipated is something completely different from these mystifications, it is a genuine University fit for our historical task.

It can be seen that an analysis such as this one, far from making useless all reconstructing efforts, represents a necessary first step, an indispensable moment of the new stage of the University Reform.

- 113.000 Ghezen-garcia, D. "Some Institutional Aspects of International Assistance and the Role of the University in Social Change in Latin America." International Social Science Journal, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1967), pp. 337-403.

- 213.10 Veces, F.J. El problema universitario y el movimiento reformista, Buenos Aires: Editorial Eude, 1967, 361 p.
- 3.11 Walker, K. N. "A Comparison of Educational Reform Movements in Argentina and Colombia." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 1966), pp. 257-272.
- Concludes that

... it would appear that where the University Reform was successful, as in Argentina, it provided an important impetus toward needed reforms in the character and conduct of higher education, a defense of academic freedom against the claims of the state, and a politicizing experience for students in the democratic process. Where the movement was relatively unsuccessful, as in Colombia, student politics would appear to be more alienated from university and society, and less responsible in its choice of means. The different fate of the movement in these two societies was due to quite different conditions and events, differences, however, which are part of the broad historical trends in these societies and which must be taken into account if one is to interpret the character of student politics in the two nations.

- 2.3.12 Walter, R. L. Student Politics in Argentina: The University Reform and Its Effects, 1918-1964. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968. 236 p.

Suggests that the reform movement must resolve a number of serious conflicts and dilemmas if it is to adapt and survive.

In the 1960's the Reformistas must re-examine the basic points of their philosophy in relation to the economic, social, and political conditions of post-Perón Argentina. They must consider whether the Reform principles which were applied to a university system of 14,500 students in a nation of eight million in 1918 are still applicable for a university system which in 1960 numbered 150,000 students in a nation of twenty million. In light of poor facilities, high drop-out rates, and lack of personal attention, will Reform principles of unregulated attendance at classes, unrestricted enrollment, and student participation in university government serve to better or worsen the academic quality of Argentina's institutions of higher learning? The Reformistas also will have to re-examine the consequences of their actions with regard to national developments between 1918 and 1964 and will have to determine where their activities have been beneficial and where they have been detrimental to the Republic's long-term interests. Finally, the Reformistas will have to confront the argument that during times of institutional normality, the proper role of the student is that of student, not political activist.

The fate of the Reform and the Argentine student movement will hang upon the ability of the university youth to meet the serious and challenging problems which confront their universities and their nation in the 1960's. One of the aspects of student political activity which has prevailed from the days of the Córdoba Reform movement into the 1960's, has been the claim that the youth have acted to promote the best interests of the nation. This principle should be a prime consideration for the Argentine youth in the future and should guide them in the difficult and important decisions they will have to make in the years to come.

Gohen, S. "Problems in Bolivian Higher Education & Their Origin and Proposals for Their Solution." Journal of Higher Education, Vol. 36 (February 1965), pp. 80-87.

Comitas, L. "Education and Social Stratification in Contemporary Bolivia." In Education and Development: Latin America and the Caribbean. T. J. La Belle, ed. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, 1972, pp. 364-377.

Comitas, from a functionalist orientation suggests that . . . a true revolution requires the development of a new education to help build the new society as well as to safeguard against social reaction and regression and the possible collapse of the new system. However, if over a period of time, the revolution is consolidated and protected, the function of education shifts from revolution back to one of social maintenance--to help assure the stability of the new order. Consequently, while the revolutionary function in education is of fundamental importance in any radical and permanent reformation of society, it is, almost by definition, transitional in nature. The social *raison d'être* for its existence diminished once the social reorganization has been established. If this argument holds, every revolutionary society, to be in fact revolutionary, needs to initiate and support a revolutionary education, even if only for a relatively limited period of time. It follows then that an analysis of education in a society labeled revolutionary should be uniquely suited to assess the intensity and social impact of any centralized attempts to change the traditional patterns of stratification since such attempts are the keys to a successful and completed revolution and education an integral part of the process.

He concludes, however, that in the case of Bolivia, educational reform has seen only limited change:

The Balkanization of the educational enterprise, the multiple allocation of responsibility, the differing educational goals for different socioeconomic groups, in my opinion, lead inevitably to further qualitative distinctions between these groups. In fact, the more efficient each section of the total educational system is in the training of its wards, the more distant becomes the ideal goal of integration through education. Furthermore, since the divisions of Bolivian education correspond closely with the old social divisions of

Bolivian society and since the rural segment is virtually barred from participation at the secondary and university levels, the effect is to institutionalize, in education, the stratification patterns of the past. Given the structure of education, there is no opportunity, short of physical relocation and cultural transformation, for the campesino to receive that level of training which will allow him to compete successfully for the advantageous positions in society. It is of more than academic interest to note that most of the sharply stratified societies which have made resolute moves toward modernization and toward a consensual form of social structure select unitary systems of education to aid in the process.

Conservative rather than revolutionary thought is also seen in the content of rural education. Subject matter and mode of instruction reflect both patronizing and paternalistic features. A leitmotif of the educational philosophy is the suppression of all cultural elements in campesino life which are considered dysfunctional, but little is offered to replace that which is suppressed. When this is combined with the central decision to give highest priority to training for rural life, the campesinos, from an educational perspective, are sealed off from social movement in the society. A short-run gain for the national economy is a long-run investment in the continuance of a sharply stratified state. I do not argue here for absolute homogeneity for all sectors of Bolivian education, but for Bolivian youth to have institutionalized opportunities to move, if qualified, from one differentiated educational sector to the other. This would provide an important condition for an open society and would decrease the social dangers which will ensue when unrealistic aspirations hinged to education are not realized.

This cursory review suggests that, in education, the revolution of 1952 and the 14 years of MNR dominance did little to modify the hierarchical order of the socially significant segments of Bolivian society and did little, if anything, to provide new, institutionalized forms of social articulation. It is obvious that, whatever else the directives were that emanated from the center of the system, they were not revolutionary in effect. The considerable change which Bolivia has experienced during the last 14 years seems to be more the result of a partial splintering of the traditional order than a thoroughgoing

social reform. It is a change generated, in the main, by an uncoordinated but mass pressure from a discontented social base. One can then speculate that the post-1952 phase of Bolivian history represents a period of campesino coalescence and emergence which, if not diverted, will lead to serious upheaval before resulting in reform and social regrouping. In this present process of coalescence, any opportunity for formal education is of value. This is perhaps the true legacy of the present system.

- .3.15 Duvan Fadilla, M. La Reforma Universitaria en Bolivia. Oruro, Bolivia: Editorial de La Universidad Technica de Oruro, 1961, 146 p.

## BRAZIL

2.3.16 Chagas, V. "A Reforma Universitaria e a Faculdade de Filosofia." Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagogicos, Vol. 35 (July-September 1961), pp. 38-80.

2.3.17 Da Fonseca, G.D. "The Secondary Reform in Brazil." Prospects, Quarterly Review of Education, Vol. 4 (Spring 1974), pp. 84-92.

The reform is described as an attempt to bridge the gap between schools and the world of work, and between education and social development. Problems arise, however, due to the interpretation of the law in regards to vocational qualifications, and demands of employment. The author argues that with a re-evaluation of these laws, the school reform will be able to meet the demands of manpower and the needs of society.

2.3.18 Dias, H. "Mobral: A Model for Adult Education?" Brazilian Studies, Latin American Research Unit EB 740620, Toronto, Canada, July 1974. 16 p.

Examines the main orientations of the Brazilian Movement for Literacy (MOBRAL) and evaluates the reform's major outcomes from a conflict perspective. The reform is viewed as most beneficial to the Brazilian private sector, and to the existing exploitive political and economic system. In sum, the literacy reform is a short-term measure substituting for needed system-wide reforms.

- 2.3.19. Johnson, P.B. Ruy Barbosa and Educational Reform in Brazil, 1868-1970. Doctoral Dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1971. 245 p.  
<sup>suggest</sup>  
 Johnson notes that

Barbosa's family background was decidedly urban, middle class, and financially insecure. Although this is certainly a factor in explaining his subsequent adulation in a more egalitarian Brazil, it was a definite hindrance to the ambitious young politician in late imperial Brazil. In order to offset the disadvantage of birth, Ruy conscientiously cultivated members of Bahia's traditional ruling elite, many of whom assisted the energetic young lawyer in his rise to prominence within local and national political circles. But attached as he was by temperament and ambition to the ruling elites, Barbosa was fully aware of the potential of the small yet increasingly vocal urban professional and commercial groups, both as a potent political force and as agents for Brazil's economic growth and modernization. Thus, as a means for increasing their numbers and influence Barbosa fashioned a number of proposals, most notably his educational reform project of 1882-1883.

He notes that his study analyzes

... the actual preparation of the Reforma, an examination of the project itself, its failure to win the immediate approval of the Imperial government, and the ready acceptance it was later accorded by legislators and policy-makers. The latter theme is especially important, because the vast majority of writers on Ruy have ignored the possibility of the Reforma's persistent influence. Also, in analyzing the phenomenon of the continuing repercussions of the Reforma, this study examines the fabric of mythology surrounding Barbosa which, in part, has guaranteed the surviving influence of the Reforma.

- .3.20 Rosenn, K. "The Reform of Legal Education in Brazil," Journal of Legal Education, Vol. 21 (June 1969), pp. 251-283.

CHILE

2.3.21 Barrera Romero, M.J. "Trayectoria del Movimiento de Reforma Universitaria en Chile." Journal of Latin-American Studies. Vol. 10 (October 1968), pp. 617-636.

2.3.22 Glazer, M. and P. Glazer. "Estudiantes y profesores en la reforma universitaria de Chile." Aportes, No. 23 (January 1972), pp. 101-119.

The authors argue that "It now seems clear that the reform of 1967-1969, as well as previous efforts, will not achieve many of its basic objectives" because of weak administration, lack of necessary resources, and the highly politicized reform setting. They conclude that "ya no parece muy posible remodelar por entero la universidad".

2.3.23 Schiefelbusch, E. "Constraints to Change in Traditional Educational Systems." Interchange, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1971), pp. 181-185.  
*Journal of the American Association of Special Education*  
 The author suggests that

the experiment[al reform effort] was carried out under favorable circumstances, with the support of high officials in the Ministry, and the enthusiastic work of supervisors. For those who launched the experiment it was possible to verify how difficult it is to convince central authorities of the need to carry out experiments and to obtain quick decisions when some legal changes, additional personnel, or improved facilities are required. For example, in spite of the success of the preliminary experience, central authorities did not accept a proposal for a full experiment with the proposed new secondary schools in specially designed buildings.

The main objective was to measure the flexibility of the system for change, but the main result was a different one. In spite of defining goals implying a small amount of change it was not possible to introduce similar changes in the rest of the system or to continue exploring more ambitious targets. Given this result, it does not seem worthwhile to attempt implementation of more radical schemes, but instead to look for new strategies of change.

We learned that the comprehensive type of school provides a better solution than does the current system, but we also learned that it will not be diffused through all the system unless a special effort is carried out. New research therefore should be devoted to how to get the innovation implemented on a national scale. The relationship between educational policy and educational technology should be carefully explored in the third world context.

I believe that this conclusion is also relevant for most of the underdeveloped countries but unfortunately there are few opportunities to test this hypothesis in the decision-making structure of the educational system, which types of information are more weighted in the decisions in each of the different decision levels, what are the adequate "quantums" of change it is possible to introduce in each period without generating resistance, or up to what extent it is possible to make positive use of group reactions in front of challenges. The comprehensive school seems to be an adequate step in the Chilean situation today but we have no theory to support us in designing the future steps of transforming the whole system to the new pattern.

2.3.24 Schiefelbusch, E. "The Politics of National Planning: The Chilean Case." Educational Planning, Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 1975), pp. 27-34.

The author uses a SW framework to examine constraints on educational reform implementation in Chile during the Christian Democratic Frei government, 1964-70.

He cites a warning from Machiavelli in 1513 concerning the difficulty of reform in another Latin setting:

"There is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in all who profit by the old order, and only lukewarm defenders in all those who would profit by the new order." Machiavelli sent this message to princes who had immense power. Today, of course, the educational planner seldom has any power, and he works for (and with) politicians and administrators whose grasp of power may be very short-lived indeed.

After reviewing the evidence, he asks:

What can we learn from these examples taken from the experience of Chile? We must not push our conclusions too far; there are too few cases to justify general conclusions. The cases describe projects which were developed in a situation that was neither a revolutionary situation nor a stagnant society. The political climate favoured attention being paid to better ways to reach old targets. In Chile in 1964, means and ends were analyzed to develop a strategy for change, so that, by making changes in some of the functional aspects of the educational system, attention could be focused on the goals of education and a climate could be created favourable to significant changes in the curriculum and structure of the system.

These cases suggest that, in certain situations, the planners may produce conditions which will ensure that political acceptance of change becomes more likely. They also underline the need to develop tactics which will enable them to generate the power necessary to energize a stagnant bureaucracy. At the risk of going far beyond what the cases might suggest (planners must always go far beyond the available objective data), I should like to summarize a few personal lessons learned from my 1964-1970 [reform] experiences inter alia:

- Progress creates decision stress; the accelerating thrust of technological change is forcing executives and politicians to outpace the tempo of decision-making. Political leaders are overloaded with information. Many people are asking them to solve their specific problems. Many channels are open for pressure groups to have access to politicians, thus transforming a number of routine decisions into "non-programmed" decisions which are higher in psychic cost. The school construction case is an example of this type of pressure. The planner then becomes invaluable to politicians; he will be accepted by them as a help in dealing with a demanding array of new problems for which routine handling is no longer a valid answer.
- Executives cannot tolerate too many simultaneous battlefronts (an example is the university case), nor too many options. Discussion of only a few choices seems to offer more help to the decision-maker in understanding the problem and the available alternatives. But there are a large number of options open. And their increase also increases the amount of information that should be processed to cope with them. Thus, when changing the curriculum, it was only possible to discuss three alternatives. The optimum number may differ from person to person. The planner must be able to detect evidence which reveals the personal optimum of the individual with whom he is dealing. He must screen the alternatives without oversimplifying the choices. He walks a delicate tightrope.
- Choices must be submitted to a set of demanding tests. Educational systems are large and complex and they are intimately linked with the major groups of society. Whether the planners are proposing a new educational structure or a new technology, they must attempt to determine how the change will alter the delicate balance upon which the executive and the system itself depend for survival. If the results of the set of tests are not completely satisfactory, if the planners do not feel they can reasonably forecast the effects of the change, they should reduce the proposed changes. Small changes are less likely to encounter resistance than large ones. By neglecting to consider this point carefully the bargaining on the teachers' salaries was lost.

- Personal relationship between the politician and the planner must be good. In some instances planning seems to limit the freedom of action of politicians. Their acceptance of planning will depend on demonstrating that their basic objectives will actually increase the probability of achieving their personal and organizational objectives. Planners must present the analysis (cost-benefit) of their recommendations in terms of variables important to politicians. In the literacy campaign case the technical arguments were rejected because the politicians were reacting to a very different set of objectives from those of the planners.
- Current obstacles to change often were innovations themselves. The programs now most fiercely defended often are those which were established only after a bitter struggle against an earlier tradition. The universities, for example, were defending an autonomy they had gained only after fierce struggle. The acceptance that organizations are changeable involves the search for the perfect organization--an odyssey that consumes valuable resources and, when it ends in failure, results in apathy. In developing countries authoritarian organizations often emerge from the efforts of utopians to squeeze imperfect individuals into their (developed) model of the perfect system.
- Strategies for change should consider the role of mass media. Public opinion plays an important role in shaping educational decisions. It is difficult to predict how news media will react to proposed changes, but timely reports and news releases may improve their fair coverage. In the case of the curriculum reform the newspapers supported the change and aided its eventual implementation, while in the teachers' salaries case they joined the opposition.
- Information seems to be the planner's best weapon. Executives are aware that someone should process the information they need but don't have the time to study. The capacity of the planner to gather, tabulate, and interpret data represents for other actors (in developing countries at least) a "scientific" way of solving administrative problems. Thus, the myth that the planner provides objective answers is generated and it legitimizes his intervention. The school construction case is an example of this point.

- Discussion of objectives requires a high degree of political consensus. It is easier for politicians to assess the effects of changes in means. The means-end relationship in education is not yet well enough understood to predict accurately the way the system should be designed to reach the defined goals. What the system actually produces is more a function of inputs, processes, and structure, than dependent upon goals that have been established for education. In the case of the curriculum change, the definition of a whole new set of operational objectives did not require a single change in the goals traditionally assigned to education.

It is suggested that these principles would be useful in a wide variety of situations in Latin American countries. However, organizational design and the implementation of change are not learned by reading about them, or by listening to the descriptions of even the best of lecturers. The problem for all planners is that much of what must be done to produce change successfully requires original solutions to problems that cannot be anticipated in the lecture hall. This paper has merely presented a few examples to sensitize you to the kinds of problems an educational [reformer] might well face in developing countries. If a political problem can be recognized for that it is, there is always the possibility that the planner can help create the conditions for an adequate solution--that he will not persist in thinking he has merely a technical problem until he arrives face to face finally with the failure.

- 2.3.25 Schiefelbein, E. and R. G. Davis. Development of Educational Planning Models and Application in the Chilean School Reform. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974. 236 p.



inequality. Even so, the implication remains that it is the inequality of the underprivileged that is to blame, not the inequality of the better placed. That is, the problem remains defined as one of underprivilege, not as one of privilege. In fact, of course, it is the nexus between privilege and its relative absence which begins to outline the problem meaningfully.

Because our theoretical assumptions were different from those of Warner, Havighurst, Coleman, Jencks, et al., we have produced not only different "facts" and conclusions, but also a very different feeling. We started, it will be remembered, with the supposition that disjunctive social relations are normal. Thus, straight-line causality was discarded, and we wove a causal concept into our attitude-survey and into the definition of modernity whose full relation was expressed in this chapter. What we examined were not "cognitive skills" in the usual sense, but the social and political attitudes we plumbed are certainly indicative of cognitive skills of another kind--the ability, given an appropriate society, to live a modern life, to help to cause events. We looked at education institutionally, and found that enough participation in that institution did, unmistakably, help students create secular, relativistic, changeful, and autonomous views. But we make absolutely no presumption that to hold such ideas and have such skills will in itself produce desired social change. Schools, important as they are, remain but schools. They are not armies, international power groupings, social classes, congresses, or social-work agencies. The student rebels of the 1960s, roundly condemned by many of the same persons who pursued their feckless quest for equality through schooling, were involved in the same problem--how to have national impact in the absence of an effective voice in national political economy. The social-reform-through-schooling advocates and the revolution-through-the-university advocates were doing the same thing: using the educational institution as a lever to what they otherwise would not or could not affect. We do not mean that activities in pursuit of such ends are without meaning or significance. They are, of course. But they cannot in themselves bring into being their objectives unless the remainder of the institutional structure is so weak as to permit, in effect, an internal conquest from schools employed as a power base.

.3.27

Vial Larrain, J. La universidad en tiempos de cambio.  
Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Pacifico, 1965, 783 p.

COLOMBIA

2.3.28

Bonin, E. Changing the Educational System: A Colombian Case Study. München: Welforum Verlag, 1974. 285 p.

2.3.29

Daze Samper, M-L. The Colombian Comprehensive Secondary School. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1974. 292 p.

1.3.30

Hannon, M. "Reform and Governance in the Ministry of Education: The Case of Colombia." International Review of Education, Vol. 20, no. 2 (1974), pp. 155-176.

He describes the 1968 Regional Educational Funds (FER) reform as an attempt to turn the national educational system from a collection of loosely knit, relatively independent educational subsystems into a coordinated network in pursuit of a single body of policy.

Concludes, that:

providing such mechanisms on paper and enforcing them in practice are two distinct tasks. A reform is not carried out solely by drafting rules, signing contracts, or giving orders. It must be carried out in the minds, actions, and motivations of the participants if it is to have any real success.

Concludes that

Even though the FER program has been ridden with difficulties, as is the case with all change-oriented programs, most observers agree that the practice of organization and administration of the public primary schools has significantly improved in Colombia since 1968. The number of teacher strikes has been reduced, the states are more responsive to Ministry policy, and irregularities in management have declined considerably. Also, the organizational processes involving authority, communication, personnel, and rule elaboration have notably improved over the pre-reform era. In short, definite progress is being recorded.

It is the writer's judgement that any measure of success that the FER program might enjoy probably cannot be attributed to any powers of control built into the contract. This paper has demonstrated that a governor can override the contract at his pleasure. It is the writer's opinion that what the FER program has done is to wear away at a tradition of administrative independence at the level of state government. Prior to the reform the state leaders tended to look at the Ministry controlling policy in the context of what Alvin Gouldner refers to as "mock rules," that is "Rules (which) are neither enforced by management nor obeyed by the workers."

Through the FER program the Ministry has succeeded in making a semi-convincing argument that it is now quite serious

about fiscal responsibility, administrative efficiency, and disciplined decision-making at the level of state government. The presence of the delegado, his constant reminders of official policy, and attempts to check the state records serves as a daily prodding to state officials. The words "semi-convincing argument" were used because the state officials are also aware that the Ministry is not yet serious enough to start making the hard decisions about suspending national funds for violations of the contract. To date, this clause still remains in the category of a "mock rule."

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm generated over a new national law on educational finance, the Ministry developed a new set of contracts for the governors to sign. In terms of control, the new contracts are different from the old one in one rather curious way--they are weaker. For example, in the original contract 13 delegados were given the power of approval over the hiring of new teachers, and the new contract makes no mention of this. The reason for this de-escalation is attributed to the need to reduce the level of tension between the state officials and the Ministry in regard to FER. It is the ministry's hope that this approach may create a spirit of understanding and cooperation, which in the long run, may prove to be more effective than direct control procedures.

The FER program is a transitional device which will probably evolve through planning into a more effective mechanism of educational development. In designing an improved organizational structure, at least two basic issues must be dealt with. First, the state educational leaders must be directly responsible to the Minister of Education and not to an intermediate official such as a governor. Second, the number of educational subsystems must be reduced from 23 to, say, six or eight regional offices. By cutting down on the multiplicity of educational systems, it becomes possible to staff the larger units with qualified, career-oriented educational administrators. It also reduced the problems of coordinating, planning and executing decisions, as well as permits an efficient degree of decentralization related to regional needs.

Most important of all, by expanding the size of the local educational subsystems to dimensions covering two or three states, the local political influence that now dominates the administrative process should be dramatically diminished. In short, if the leaders of the new educational units are employees of the Ministry who report to the Minister, and the boundaries of the system go beyond the boundaries of any single state, it will be extremely difficult for local politicians of any single state to get control of the management of the system.

Dramatic changes such as the two mentioned are more than simply a remote possibility. In recent years the Ministry has been assuming more and more of the cost of state primary school education and the pressure from the states is intense in advocating that the nation pay for all such education. When the nation finally does assume the entire burden, a natural shift in responsibility from the governors to the Ministry can take place. With this shift in responsibility, it will be possible for the Ministry to establish a limited number of regional offices of education to govern the primary and secondary programs in Colombia.

In closing, it might be appropriate to say that because a reform confronts traditions, vested interests, and established mental attitudes, changes do not summarily follow the drawing of plans and the signing of documents. As the Colombian experience has shown, change comes slowly, but it does indeed come.

2.3.31

Wickham, R. S. University Reform in Latin America: A Case Study of the University of Valle, Cali, Colombia. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1973. 248 p.

The author explains that

the groundwork for making academic planning decisions of a reform character was laid by a series of steps taken by several "reform modernizers" following their entry into the University. (The principal individual was the first Dean of Medicine). These steps were designed to strengthen the administrative, academic and financial autonomy of the University, particularly in relation to traditional parts of the social environment. The steps included: changing the University statutes so that the local Governor could no longer appoint the Rector; participating in the creation of the Association of Colombian Universities so that Valle University was no longer obliged to follow the curriculum of the relatively traditional National University; and attracting substantial financial support from the modern Colombian private sector and foreign foundations.

As the University increased its autonomy in relation to traditional parts of the environment, the reform leadership sought additional links with modern local and foreign groups. In this process the University increased its dependence on those modern elements of the environment from whom it sought collaboration. This increased dependence was of only moderate concern to the University's reform-minded leadership. Several reasons can be offered for this: (1) the modern groups within and outside the University shared similar views; (2) the process of university modernization was strengthening the University's autonomy in general through repeated articulation of the University's mission and through a strengthening of the formal planning process (which in turn strengthened the University's capacity of initiate and shape new program plans); (3) the reform university by its character, and in contrast to the traditional model, attempts to play a role in the development of, and thus have many links with, its social environment. The study reveals also, however, the danger in being too dependent on any particular environmental group for support. One program, that of graduate management, flourished while outside support was forthcoming, but shrank substantially when that assistance ended.

3.32 Bowles, S. "Cuban Education and the Revolutionary Ideology." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No. 4 (November 1971), pp. 472-500.

Bowles argues that

school and society are always closely linked; in pre-revolutionary Cuba, schooling helped reproduce the class structure of economy and society from one generation to the next. In Cuba today education is attempting to serve the four major objectives of the revolution: economic growth, escape from the economic, political, and cultural hegemony of the United States; attainment of an egalitarian society; and the transformation of work into a creative activity for a new socialist man. . . .

The continuing social and economic revolution in Cuba since the overthrow of Batista in 1959 has been reflected in a radical transformation of the educational system. The class structure, the social relations of production, the stagnation of the pre-revolutionary economy, and the imperialist domination of capitalist Cuba were replicated in the school system inherited by the revolutionary movement. Not surprisingly then, every major economic and social objective of the Revolution has been manifested in some aspect of educational change. Similarly, every major dilemma in the construction of a socialist society has had a counterpart in the school system.

He notes that educational reforms have in one way or another touched all Cubans:

Verbal and quantitative description captures only weakly the diversity and breadth of educational activities initiated by the Revolution. In a stable society not undergoing rapid change, the education of adults occupies only a peripheral role devoted almost exclusively to the transmission of narrowly defined skills. By contrast, where a sharp revolutionary break with the past has been made, the educational process must extend throughout the population, encompassing the old and middle-aged as well as the young. The role of formal schooling in this process of re-education of the Cuban population is for this reason relatively limited. Herein

lies a basic problem confronting post-revolutionary Cuban education: The potential economic output sacrificed by withdrawing any sizable portion of the adult population from directly productive activity in order to attend schools is simply prohibitive. Effective channels for education must be developed outside the schools--through labor organizations and the armed forces; through participation in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women, and other mass organizations; and through direct political education such as that which has invariably surrounded every major political event in Cuba since 1959.

*Ch. 3, p. 101*  
Bowles sees the Cuban educators as trying to create (primarily through education outside the classroom) "the two pillars of socialist construction: the formation of the new human being and the development of technology," and he concludes that this "continuing search for new social relations of schooling--at once both productive and liberating--seems likely to bear fruit if it does not succumb to immediate pressure to gear the school system solely to meeting the manpower requirements of economic growth."

2.3.33

Cepeda, R. "The Cuban Lesson." Tempo (National Council of Churches), *(June 1971)*  
*pp. 4-6*

The author's utopian explanation of Cuban school-reform success stresses attempts to replace "egotistic individualism" with "sacrificial, optimistic and hopeful ventures towards high, but not unreachable, objectives." Basic changes in values and structures result, it would seem, as a consequence of "a radical revolutionary movement." Cuba's great warrior for national independence, José Martí, the author contends, provided us with an answer of sorts when he declared that "sometimes it is necessary to shake the world, so that all that is rotten falls to the ground."

- .3.34 Cuban National Commission for UNESCO. "How and Why Education Changes in Cuba. UNESCO Bulletin. Vol. 14, No. 60 (Nov./Dec 1975), pp. 2-19. Describes educational reform efforts and argues that Cuba's educational revolution is successful because Cuba has broken its ties to the capitalist world, and is aggressively seeking to build a socialist society free of dependency and exploitation.

- 1.3.35 Dahlman, C. J. The National Learning System of Cuba. Research Program in Economic Development Discussion Paper No. 38, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton, N. J., July 1973 (mimeo.). 141 p.

This review of Cuba's nation-wide learning system (i. e., both the formal and non-formal educational sectors) presents a comprehensive description and assessment of educational reforms during the period of socialist reconstruction after 1959. The author concludes that these reforms have been largely successful because of their high priority, the heavy funding they have received, their close fit with the new national reward system and development plans. Educational reforms, in short, are viewed more in ideological than in economic terms. For the new educational system will provide the environment where the new revolutionary social values will be taught and operationalized in work-study programs. And because difficulties have occurred, "the Cubans are turning toward more discipline and regimentation as a solution to some of the problems and motivation in the transitional stage." The author believes that "this implies, to the extent that the educational system fails to create the new social consciousness, more discipline and regimentation may be in store." (~~para~~) He concludes that

Whether or not the New Man can be developed through the educational system depends to a large extent on the success of the concept of combining work and study at all levels, since besides being the solution proposed for ideological and pedagogical reasons, it is what enables the Cubans to finance the very expensive educational system required to produce the New Man. This program is still new, and it is not possible to make any predictions about the large-scale applications of this new concept. It will be necessary to go beyond the descriptive material presently available and analyze the way the programs are working in practice. Cuba has done much in the area of educational reform and innovation, and there is much that other countries can learn from its experience.

2.3.36

Nelson, L. "The School Dropout Problem in Cuba." School and Society, Vol. 99, No. 2333 (April 1971), pp. 234-235.

The author contends that while revolutionary school reforms have got most children into school, the reforms have been undercut by high dropout rates.

He notes that the situation is improving somewhat, and that "the regime has been concerned constantly with the dropout problem."

The pressure of the government on children and their parents to attend school is applied in many ways. The Ministry of Education has promoted the organization of Parents' Councils, the purpose of which is to "get parents to cooperate in the work of the school and actively involve them in political and mass organizations in educational work."

"Through school councils," the statement continues, "parents will be encouraged to keep close tabs on the conduct of their children in and out of school, their attitudes [and] time they devote to their studies...."

Another organization which is enlisted in the campaign for school attendance is the CDR (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution). There are now more than 3,000,000 adults in these vigilance committees throughout the country. They are asked to have representatives visit parents whose children are not in school, or whose attendance is irregular.

Some parents have been brought before local judges and fined for not sending their children to school. A case was reported from Cienfuegos of a mother who was fined a modest sum by a judge who warned her that, if she were brought before him again, she would be "punished severely."

Despite all the urging of Fidel Castro, and all the propaganda and other pressures to get the children in school and keep them there, many fall by the way. In an Associated Press dispatch from Havana published in the Miami Herald, January 21, 1969, Fenton Wheeler said that "figures supplied by Prime Minister Castro show that 22 percent of Cuban youth ages six to 16 do not attend school." Figures by Castro show 479,861 out of school, of whom half are between 12 and 15 years of age. "What are they doing?" Castro asks. "What does this mean for the future generation of this country?"

2.3.37

Paulston, R. G. "La Educación Rural en Cuba: Una Estrategia para el Desarrollo Revolucionario." Problemas de Desarrollo: Revista Latinoamericana de Economía, Vol. 4, No. 13 (November 1972 - January 1973), pp. 45-76.

Explains how educational reforms have been woven into rural development priorities, ~~and~~

Suggests that

~~in Cuba, rural education reform~~ In Cuba is increasingly viewed as the basic strategy for accomplishing key revolutionary objectives in the areas of production, ideological formation, and educational preparation. The need to involve all youth in work-study programmes, functionally linked with production, has been established as the number-one priority of the revolution in the years to come. Previous revolutionary offensives in Cuba have sought to mobilize the masses and involve them in efforts to achieve moral victories—often at great material cost. The rural education offensive now getting underway is no exception to this pattern. It is an audacious, frontal attack on the still traditional formal school system and continuing attitudes of urban superiority and elitism. It is, moreover, indicative of belief that the new socialist man with his attributes of dedication to collective rather than individual interests will be best formed in rural settings where youth can supposedly be removed from family and urban influences. In a larger sense, Cuba's attempts to seek salvation in schooling and in rural development provide a revealing indication of cultural continuities and discontinuities in what must be Latin America's most ambitious effort to find a way out of poverty, underdevelopment, and dependency.

Concludes that

Efforts of the revolutionary government in Cuba to reform rural education—i. e., to make primary schools available to all rural school-aged youth, and to develop a vast network of secondary, technical, and higher schools linked with agricultural production have been largely successful because of: (1) the national priority on rural development, (2) the shift of investment from urban to rural areas, and, inter alia, (3) the combination of study and agricultural work so that all students pay a considerable part of the costs of their schooling with their own labor.

See also the author's related study "Preconditions for System-Wide Educational Reform: Learning from the Cuban Experience," paper presented at the Conference

2.3.38

Perez, R. F. "The Parallel System of Education in Cuba." Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Education, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn 1972), pp. 361-368.

The author explains the rationale and programs of the parallel system of education "for young people between the ages of 13 and 16 who have either left school or have fallen behind."

It offers to those who have failed under the regular system of education a means of re-entry, of raising their educational level, of learning a trade or of acquiring skill in some particular job. This presupposes a twofold tactical objective: to convert under-educated young people into a qualified labour force by the time they reach working age, and to curb the growth of anti-social tendencies and behaviour.

It is important to note that in our experience the parallel system has thus become a most effective instrument of social prevention, which has a specialized structure in our country and includes educationalists, psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers attached to centres of evaluation and diagnosis who deal with youth problems coming before the courts.

The parallel system of education has created new forms of schooling which are more appropriate and more interesting. Cuba now has vocational youth schools, "pre-column" schools and workshop schools of various types and sizes. The existing day-time youth centres continue as part of the vocational youth schools for the time being.

Besides solving the problems of absenteeism and wastage among under-educated young people, the strategy of these new forms of schooling includes: (a) the possibility of restoring these young people to the regular system of education through training in specialized fields given in the technical schools; and (b) the creation of a labour force sufficiently skilled to contribute to the implementation of plans for industrial development, cattle raising and other services.

He concludes that this reform--as <sup>do</sup> those in formal schools--result from the need to create a socialist society:

The last decade (1960-70) coincided in our country with the national liberation which, supported by its fundamental achievements brought about the organization of a national effort on the part of all the social sectors.

The forces unleashed have been both protagonists and apprentices in the accelerated campaign against the underdevelopment. This work of transformation and social and economic construction has also logically included an educational effort the success of which can be measured by such achievements, among others, as the literacy campaign of 1961 and the doubling of school enrolment during the decade.

The first fruits of this drastic educational effort were the establishment of mass education groups in 1961, since when growing needs have been overthrowing old structures and concepts and a programme of action has been emerging with ever greater forcefulness in order better to shape and adapt education to the characteristics and the needs of the socialist society we are building. This tremendous undertaking with the obligation of serving all society as its major principle, is the fundamental reason for the many novel experiments we are making at all levels of education. It forms the basis of the search for a new kind of education which will correspond to the new educational trends in the world and at the same time meet the exceptional situations we have experienced in our country since liberation, where priority is given to education as a duty and a right of all and where everyone, from the humblest worker to the Prime Minister, is aware of the vital need for education and its inseparable links with development plans. It was Fidel Castro who said: "Education is the most important task this country has to carry out since carrying out its revolution."

2.3.39 Read, G.H. "Persisting Problems in Cuban Education." Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 53, No. 6 (February 1972), pp. 352-357.

The author argues that Cuban educational reforms, although impressive, have been limited by a number of factors. He contends that

...it is obvious that Cuba as yet has not achieved a complete transformation to the new socialist society, the new socialist man, and the new progressive model of education. In fact, a very traditional and formal system of schooling has been carried over and perpetuated by the revolutionary government because of an immediate and pressing need for manpower, expertise, and a higher level of mass culture and elementary learning.

The destruction of the old organization of education is a necessary and even imperative requirement if the final processes of the Cuban Revolution are to be carried on. Structural and functional reforms in education are relatively easy to manage, especially on paper when a revolution is concentrated in the hands of a few who are committed to change. As the attempt to formulate the proposed compulsory school law in 1969 demonstrated, however, real difficulties arise when the leaders undertake to translate into reality the methods and content they think will enable them to reach their revolutionary goals. Yet it must be said in their behalf that they are persistently seeking to eliminate once and for all the class bias and social exclusiveness which have contaminated all of the educational establishments of Latin America.

Major Castro has promised that the 2,500 or more recommendations, suggestions, and resolutions of this first congress will be published in a memoir. This document will require studious and careful analysis, since it will reveal how the first socialist country, in the Americas expects to achieve more revolution in its still traditional model of formal education.

2.3.40 Read, G. H. "The Cuban Revolutionary Offensive in Education." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 131-143.

Fundamental reform of Cuba's educational system, the author indicates, has been greatly facilitated by Castro's near "total control of everyday life and activities, thoughts and attitudes..." The Island can at the present time be characterized as a vast reformatory, or, more charitably, a comprehensive school, with the Party showing no sign of discouragement in its mission to inculcate revolutionary enthusiasm, commitment, and morale. The leadership has given top priority to rural development and a regeneration of the masses through education in the spirit of the July 26th Movement and Ideological evangelism.

2.3.41

Rodriguez, C. R. "La Reforma Universitaria." Cuba Socialista, Vol. 2 (February 1962), pp. 22-44.

Rodriguez explains why the Cuban universities are undergoing sweeping reforms of structure and content. He argues that these changes are required by the new role universities will play in Cuban national development, in efforts to break free of capitalist dependency.

2.3.42

Varona y Pera, E. J. Las Reformas en la Enseñanza Superior. Habana: "El Figaro," 1900. 262 p.

Varona, the "father of Cuban education" in the early days of the Republic, argues for positivism and sweeping reforms in Cuba's archaic university.

EL SALVADOR

- 2.3.43 Carnoy, M. "The Economic Costs and Returns to Educational Television." Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 23, No 2 (January 1975), pp. 207-248.

The author, from a conflict perspective, rigorously assesses the claims of education reformers in El Salvador where "television in the classroom has been proposed as a solution to the problem of providing 'quality' education to the mass of children in countries short of qualified teachers."

His findings, summarized below, are of great significance:

1. Is the schooling of children using ETV less expensive than teacher training? In general we find that ETV requires teacher retraining anyway and does not provide instruction cheaper than adding more trained teachers to the school system. However, ETV can apparently be used to expand an educational system more rapidly than by training more teachers.

2. Is the schooling of children more effective (in terms of their school performance) using ETV than using teacher-oriented methods? In general, the data show that when teachers are retrained to work effectively with ETV, test scores of pupils exposed to ETV rise more than those who are not. Nevertheless, it is unclear how long such greater increases can be continued in the child's school experience; the data from El Salvador indicate that the improvement in test scores using ETV are concentrated in the first year of exposure to the new method. Furthermore, it appears that although ETV raises test scores when compared with traditional teaching methods the increases may not be significantly different from those obtained when other, non-ETV innovations are introduced.

3. This leads us to the conclusion that educational television is a particularly expensive means of increasing the amount of schooling available in a society, and, on a cost-effectiveness basis, an inefficient way to improve the performance of pupils in school.

But ETV (along with other educational media) does have the advantage of comparatively rapid implementation. In other words, even though expensive, its effects of getting

more children schooled and upgrading the performance of children attending school can theoretically be felt within a few years of installation. This leads us to a series of additional questions which related to the economic benefits of rapid expansion and upgrading of the educational system: while educational television may not be rationalizable in cost-effectiveness terms, there may be a high economic and social payoff to expanding the educational system over a short period of time.

4. Is there a high pecuniary rate of return to investment in educational expansion? Although rates of return to schooling appear to be relatively high as compared with other public investments, particularly to the primary and secondary level, these observed rates are usually not corrected for the fact that those who get more schooling also have greater human capital investment from home. Based on a number of empirical studies, we feel that the net material gain resulting from additional schooling alone is not nearly as high as these studies indicate. Furthermore, a rapid expansion of schooling would probably drive down the rates of return to schooling substantially, especially at the lower levels of schooling, and especially in those countries or regions with little physical capital per capita. Using higher-cost methods to expand schooling--such as ETV--would also contribute to falling rates. All in all, then, the argument that a rapid expansion of schooling has a high economic yield is at best ambiguous. Increasing the cost of schooling would decrease what may already be a low net economic payoff to society.

5. Is there a high rate of return to increased student performance in school? The evidence from several countries indicates that, in general, the economic payoff to increasing performance of students in school is higher at lower levels of schooling than at higher levels. But there exists no conclusive evidence that this payoff compares favorably with that to other public investments or even to the gains associated with expanding schooling.

6. Does ETV, either through expanding schooling or upgrading it, contribute to an equalization of incomes and consumption or to a reduction of unemployment in the labor force? We conclude that, although the expansion and upgrading of schooling through ETV or any other means could

contribute to equalizing incomes and to the reduction of unemployment, the education sector can only contribute to these goals if, in fact, political and economic decisions have been made which will reorganize the economic and social structure. None of the ETV projects we reviewed was carried out or was planned to be carried out in a form which would redistribute education itself or the income associated with more schooling. Educational television itself can certainly not be a driving force in the equalization of incomes or the provision of employment. Indeed, the use of ETV and other innovations to expand schooling may be an effective way of maintaining inequitable social structures by diverting attention away from the lack of equal opportunity inherent in most educational and social structures.

In summary, then, the arguments used to promote ETV are not persuasive either on cost-effectiveness grounds, on cost-benefit grounds, or on distributive grounds. Although ETV has been pushed hard by media people and international agencies, we find that the hard economic and educational facts which could substantiate such a promotion are simply not there. It may be that other media can achieve educational expansion and upgrading at lower cost, but they too should be subjected to the same criteria we have outlined here.

2.3.44 Mayo, J. K., et al. Educational Reform with Television: The El Salvador Experience. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975. 210 p.

Using a systems-analysis perspective, the authors present a technical assessment of how educational television has contributed to a "national reform embracing curriculum revision, teacher training, and new concepts of supervision and pupil evaluation." The study is advertised as a demonstration of "how-to-do-it," of "how El Salvador achieved positive results there other countries failed" at educational reform.

- 2.3.45 Mayo, J. K. and J. A. Mayo. An Administrative History of El Salvador's Educational Reform. AID Series in Educational Technology. Washington, D. C.: Information Center of Instructional Technology, Academy for Educational Development. 1971. 83 p.

The history of the administrative policies of the educational reform of secondary education in El Salvador is presented in this report as a basis for continuing research and as reference for educational planning. Particular attention is paid to adoption of instructional television, teacher improvement, preparation of television teachers and pre-service teacher education as factors in utilization. Curriculum development as a result of reform is also discussed as well as technical assistance.

~~The~~ This study combines a systems analysis with a neo-evolutionary perspective. As such, it is a typical example of AID educational intervention strategy and supporting assumptions of the 1960's and early 1970's. The authors conclude that key factors in the reform's "continued success" seem to be "local initiative and control, integrated change, strong leadership and judicious use of foreign advisors...."

- 2.3.46 Ingle, H. T. Television and Educational Reform in El Salvador. AID Studies in Educational Technology. Washington, D. C.: Information Center on Instructional Technology, 1973. 114 p.

Educational reform of secondary education continued in El Salvador in 1972 and instructional television received its own facilities and began operating two channels. New methods of student evaluation and teacher supervision were introduced. Research was done by achievement tests and reading tests. Behavioral objectives were introduced and this made possible a check on Bloom's hypothesis of educational development. It is doubtful that the hypothesis works in El Salvador. Teacher attitudes and student attitudes toward instructional television are still favorable although less than originally. Teachers did not have a favorable attitude toward the profession. Educational interest of students was higher causing concern about insufficient places.

HONDURAS

2.3.47

Bardales B., R. "Secondary Education Reform in Honduras." In Educational Innovations in Latin America. R.L. Cummings and D.A. Lemke (eds.). Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1973, pp.112-119

In describing the 1966 reforms, the author uses functionalist and manpower assumptions to explain how and why secondary schools will be brought into greater harmony with national development needs:

The secondary reform project in Honduras will completely transform the educational system during the decade of the 1970's. The extensive planning has resulted in a balanced attack on all the old problems which traditionally face the secondary systems in Latin America. The hope is that this transformation will help supply trained individuals to fill the gap of middle-level manpower positions which Honduras so desperately needs to develop and to better prepare individuals to live in the world of the 20th century.

JAMAICA

2.3.48 Foner, N. Status and Power in Rural Jamaica: A Study of Educative and Political Change. New York: Teachers College Press, 1973. p. 155

The analysis of national education for rural Jamaica shows that the attempt to "Westernize" curriculum and provide <sup>preparatory</sup> agricultural training in schools has met with difficulties because "schooling is desired precisely in order to qualify for nonagricultural occupations." ~~(p. 155)~~

2.3.49 Kirkaldy, J. "'Equal Up Yourself': Jamaica's Literacy Drive." *New Society*, Vol. 33, No. 677 (September 1975), pp. 692-693.

1.3, 50

Matranga, E. C. Radical Educational Reform and Alternatives to Schooling in Revolutionary Mexico. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1974. 245 p.

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MEXICO

1.3, 51

~~N. Myers, Education and National Development in Mexico. Princeton: Industrial Relations Section, Department of Economics, Princeton University, 1965. 177 p.~~

2.3, 52

Myers, C. N. Education and National Development in México. Princeton: Industrial Relations Section, Department of Economics, Princeton University, 1965. 177 p.

*Myers, using a functional framework, suggests*  
~~Suggests, using E/P perspectives,~~ that rural education reforms in México following the revolution have largely failed for lack of far-sighted regional planning and an efficient "fit" between what the rural schools provided--and what Myers views as the nation's human resource needs for technological development.

He concludes that

The less developed and predominantly rural regions of Mexico endured the worst abuses of the Diaz Regime and radicalized the Revolution that overthrew it. The primary demand was land reform, and after some initial hesitancy, the new governments gave increasing priority to redistribution of land and provision of education for the new landowners. Manpower and materials for this effort were severely limited, and the choice was between improvised education or none at all. The rural schools and the Cultural missions that supported them were the most important products of the experimentation and reflected the high priority assigned to it. But the land reform and the education that accompanied it were only the first steps in developing the backward regions. Land reform without new technology and education designed to improve but sustain old patterns of life in small, self-sufficient communities are static conceptions. The "planners" of the reform decades did not anticipate rapid population growth, development of new economic activity, or large-scale internal migration. They did not foresee the need for changes in land use or the importance of modern agricultural technology. Human resource development in the less advanced regions was thus concentrated on education for a pattern of life that was viable then but has become less viable since.

After 1940, the priority assigned to these regions declined, and the poorer states have had to depend to a greater degree on their own resources. Ironically, primary schools in the rural areas adopted the urban curriculum, a step not accompanied by the increased effort or the fundamental economic and social investments necessary to make it work. Post-primary education in the cities has

grown very slowly, agricultural education has not been provided, and the extension service has had a limited impact. The educational attainment of the <sup>total</sup> population is still far below the national average, and high-level manpower necessary to expand education, carry out programs of investment, and increase economic growth is in short supply. Under these circumstances, the launching of the literacy campaign and the adoption of the urban curriculum could have produced only limited results. These measures were little more than orphaned segments of a larger overall strategy that must eventually be applied.

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Tannenbaum, F. Peace By Revolution: Mexico After 1910. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 317 p.

In Chapter 25, "Difficulty and Achievement In Education," the author contends that with regard to México's rural education reforms, "as the Revolution provided the impulse for the movement, so it provided the instrumentalities." He argues that critical factors in the reform's "success" were the missionary zeal of young revolutionary [i. e., largely middle class] university students, and the inspired leadership of Minister of Education Vasconcelos.

The following summary evaluation clearly indicates the author's liberal bias, his view that more equitable access to education will somehow produce a more "equitable society."

In addition to the traveling cultural missions, the rural normal schools, and the permanent cultural missions, there was, until recently, also a school for Indians located in Mexico City, which admitted only pure-blooded Indian boys from the mountains, provided them a three-year course and prepared them to be teachers. The school was interesting and valuable as a manifestation of the changed spirit in Mexico toward the Indian, and was a symbol that the Indian had come into his own. It stood also as a proof to the City of Mexico, which has for so many centuries been the Indian's greatest enemy, that the imputation of the Indian's inferiority came out of a prejudice originating with the Conquest. For the fact seemed patent that these children, taken from the most backward areas of Mexico, showed within a very short time an aptitude and ability that gave them a scholastic status in the regular schools equal to, and not infrequently superior to, the children of the city. In fact, so striking was this manifestation of scholastic aptitude that it caused no little comment and helped to strengthen the conviction that the ancient imputation of inferiority is unjustified. This school was recently closed because it was too expensive and because it had served its purpose. [sic.]

2.3.5<sup>d</sup>

Urban, M. A. *Schools for Social Control: Mexican Educational Policy and Programs, 1880-1938*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973. 395 p.

This study explains Mexican educational-reform efforts following

the revolution, ~~from a middle class perspective~~

to show how Mexican educators sought to create through the school a modern society manipulable by a bourgeois elite. In primary education they sought to increase workers' productivity by imparting manual skills and a scientific attitude toward the world, by imposing industrial discipline and conscientious attitudes toward work, and by deepening class consciousness to ensure loyalty to the nation-state.

What makes this process interesting and conclusive is that between 1910 and 1920 Mexico experienced a revolution in which the urban working class and the peasantry manifested their disaffection from ruling groups. Middle class educators were therefore especially articulate in their concern with quelling working class disaffection: the school was for them a means of incorporating the lower classes as an obedient and productive labor force into a nation-state they could control. Thus I argue that in educational goals continuity between pre- and post-revolutionary educators was profound. Pre- and post-revolutionary educators shared a similar Europeanized middle class perspective of values, goals, prejudices, and fears which they in turn imposed on the school system they created.

In Chapter 5, she examines a number of nationwide reforms associated with

José Vasconcelos, first minister of education after the Revolution (1920-1924). Hailed as the initiator of modern education in Mexico, Vasconcelos launched a crusade for schools and articulated a theory of cultural nationalism which impressed intellectuals in Latin America, Europe, and the United States. [She shows] his cultural nationalism masked continued dependence on a United States model of development, fear of the working classes, and a general revulsion against non-European Mexico. . . . Vasconcelos'

crusade for schools was an effort to co-opt and neutralize the working classes. . . . Mexican educators used art to dampen revolutionary agitation and to create loyalty to the nation-state. Chapter eight analyzes history texts used from 1920 to 1929 to demonstrate the degree of class stratification they engendered by disparaging the indigenous races and the poor while lauding the cultivated, European upper classes. The tenth chapter examines the Action School based on the ideas of John Dewey and introduced in 1924 to increase working class productivity. In this chapter I seek to emphasize the extremely limited opportunities for social mobility through the school system and the desire of policy makers to enhance the working capacity of Mexicans within the strata into which they had been born.

The most serious obstacles, he <sup>notes</sup> ~~notes~~ have resulted from lack of resources:

Evaluation and reformulation are built-in components of the Reform program. As previously noted ~~by~~ the Ministry has conducted a formal appraisal on an ongoing basis; then there are appraisal inputs from visiting consultants and project teams such as that of UNESCO/World Bank. In general the synthesis of comments to date have indicated resources shortfalls in time and talent--men, money and material. Therefore the time frame of the Reform has been recast from 1975, then to 1978 and now finally set at 1980 for full implementation.

The Plan for Transition of the System is being revised accordingly having been described by a top education adviser as "too optimistic in terms of the resources definitely available to us at present." More emphasis is now being placed on training of personnel in technical and practical techniques of administration and teaching in lieu of the "concientización" philosophical focus of some programs a year ago.

2.3.56

Alessandro, J. V. An Experiment to Assist the Decentralization Process in Region VII, Trujillo, Peru. Cultural Foundations of Education, College of Education, Pennsylvania State University, February 1976. (mimeo.) 17 p.

Observes that the Peruvian Educational Reform Movement has sought a major reorientation of the entire national learning complex:

The system was to change from a highly centralized structure of a rigid public formal educational system with individual and uncoordinated private and non-formal **schools existing in isolation**, and basically oriented to a limited part of the traditional school age population, to a community controlled "nucleo" structure with the capacity to coordinate all of the learning resources in each community, and to serve the needs of all individuals throughout their life times. These learning resources were to be organized to serve three different levels; initial (overall child development), basic, and higher education.

The most innovative aspects of this structural transformation, according to the Reform designers, were the following: (a) priority attention to be given initial education for both children and parents (involving close inter-ministerial coordination on programs); (b) an obligation of private schools and non-formal programs to serve the "nucleo" system in an effort to meet the needs of all members of the community; (c) the transferral of students from non-formal to formal programs as it would assist individuals to meet their needs; (d) the automatic movement of students from each of the three basic levels to the other; (e) the absorption of the upper secondary level by higher education; (f) the elimination of age as a qualification for learning at any particular level; (g) utilization of the ESEP level (Escuelas Superiores de Educación Profesional) or a non-formal vocational training course as a determining factor for access to higher education.

Concludes that

The decentralization of the educational system into educational Regions, into Zones (33) and into "Nucleos" (135 at present with a view to 1000 in the immediate

future) would need competent, well trained professional educational leaders. The almost complete lack of any well defined and integrated program for in-depth training of Educational Administrators would indicate that the selection process of school administrators is based more on influence than professional commitment and professional competency. Therefore, hopes for an improved teacher-learning situation and all out community involvement seems like a far reaching goal that has little or no chance of being achieved.

In the absence of effective leadership at the Regional and local levels the Ministry of Education continues to exercise control as before the Reform, therefore the decentralization process is slow moving and non-existent in some areas. At the same time that the Ministry is concerned with minutia, there is no high level administrative entity free to make continuous evaluation of progress, to change direction in light of new developments and to look forward to development plans for the future.

The need for the strongest leadership is where it is weakest. Teachers are invited to participate in the administration of the Nucleo centers and it is here where the selling job of mounting community interest, cooperation and participation is the most difficult. It is at this level that the Reform has a long road ahead. There is a long history in this country of looking to the Central Government for solutions to all problems and it is difficult to change this mentality. Effective trained leadership and nothing less will give the Reform the expected widespread impact it is seeking.

2.3.57

Ampuero, M. "Reforma educativa avanza para construir una nueva sociedad [sic.]." La Crónica (Lima), (May 14, 19 ), p. 2.

*Argues*  
The author ~~states~~ that

Peru is developing a profound educational reform to carry out a radical transformation of the country's socio-economic structures. . . and to create a new society based on justice and liberty.

*Argues*  
Argues that

the new education will make possible a "new Man" for this new society. "

The problem, however, is that the national teacher corps "is not participating in this political action. "

2.3.58 Bizot, J. Educational Reform in Peru. Paris: UNESCO, 1975. 63p.

The author explains Peruvian attempts to relate the educational reform to structural changes in the industrial and agrarian sectors. She suggests that the most serious obstacles lie in the resistance of teachers to play radically new roles.

2.3.59 Black, G. "Can Educational Reform Change Peruvian Society?" Contact (Canadian International Development Agency), No. 4 (September 1971), pp. 15-19.

The author notes that

Cynics say there have been many Peruvian education <sup>systems</sup> before--ever since 1855 when President Castilla prematurely organized schools into primary and secondary; down the the grassroots democracy of President Belaunde's 1963 law that petered out due to bad planning, lack of funds and political opposition from everybody except his own Popular Action Party.

But this time General Velasco vowed to change the whole socio-economic structure--to "facilitate the integration of all the population. . . reduce the margins which separate social groups and afford real possibilities of well-being to the majority of Peruvians."

What does Law number 19326 actually say? First it promotes a "total learning system" to meet the needs, both technical and cultural of all regions, from Amazon jungle to industrial seacoast; covering every age group, aptitude, language and income level, and treating both sexes equally.

Concludes optimistically that

Bringing four million Sierra Indians into the national life after four centuries' isolation is a formidable task. Everyone knows it will take time--General Velasco estimates as long as 20 years. Ivan Illich is sceptical about all mass education. "It's as devious in Latin America to question the right of social salvation through schools as it was devious 300 years ago to question the divine right of the Catholic Kings," he says.

Still, most Peruvians see the new Law as a hopeful step forward in the task of nation building, begun with optimism in 1824, but since bogged down in privilege and neo-colonialism. The Ley General just might propel Peru headlong into the 21st century.

- 1.3.60 Cornehlis, J. V. "Forecasting Manpower and Education Requirements for Economic and Social Development in Perú." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 12, No. 1 (February 1968), pp. 1-27.

Argues<sup>by</sup> from structural-functional and manpower perspectives; the author states that reforms seeking to enhance the productivity of Peruvian education will probably be successful because they are needed for economic development. He concludes rather ambivalently that

Although pockets of firmly entrenched resistance to educational innovation can be found...they are probably outnumbered by pockets promoting change, although it must be admitted that the influence of the former may still be greater. But such resistances can always be worked around... There seems to be something of a ground swell of popular support for implementing educational reforms which will meet the nation's development needs.

2,3,6! Drysdale, R. S. The Peruvian University System Since 1968: Reform Under Military Rule. Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, January 1976. (mimeo.) 24 p.  
*Compendio, 1977*

Examines "three contradictions which flow from the ambivalent plan for university reform as adopted by the Velasco regime: first, the trade-off between mobilization and depoliticization; second, the antagonism between full participation in governmental policy and the creation of a corporative hierarchy; and, finally, the attempt to modernize Peruvian universities at a time of rapid expansion. "

Contends that government efforts to depoliticize and reorganize Peru's universities, and to up-grade and improve the quality of university training and research have been thwarted by the military government's "inability or unwillingness to stem the flood of university admissions-- increasing at 13 percent a year. As enrollments continued to grow without commensurate expansion in finances, the goal of improvement in the universities became even more distant. " ~~(p. 8)~~

Concludes that

the Velasco government's policy of university reform provides a particularly good example of a shifting position over time in the face of strong opposition. From a non-participatory, authoritarian position in 1969, the government moved in 1972 to a more participatory, and conciliatory stance. But by mid-1973 the regime found that repeated attempts to work out a viable policy and obtain the support of a mobilized academic community had only weakened authority within the universities and catalyzed ever-present political contests there. The regime's flexibility and willingness to respond to criticism, which has favored the adoption of reforms in some sectors, merely antagonized progressively different segments of university opinion. Ironically, had the regime been less tolerant of criticism and firmer in its original approach--to depoliticize and strengthen technically the universities--disruption and instability would have been less. But it was the failure of these early measures to gain broad sympathy and support that encouraged the adoption of the more radical purpose of mobilized university participation in the revolution. Yet even the implementation of this latter design was not without condition. The military regime sought both structural change and the control of change. Savoring change they nonetheless preferred control, with the result that at the universities they have obtained neither change nor control.

- .3.62 Drysdale, R. S. and R. G. Myers. "Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education." The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change under Military Rule. A. F. Lowenthal (ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 254-301.

Presents a structural functionalist analysis of Peruvian educational-reform efforts mounted by the Military Junta after 1968. Notes that "the almost exclusive dedication... to the perfecting of a legal text," the continuation of religious instruction and private schools, "the opposition of teachers," the failure of university reform, the continuing gap between "the urban and rural worlds," etc., indicate that "much of the legal debate and process analyzed here will not ~~not~~ result in realized educational change." Then concludes optimistically that "a basis has been laid for further progress." That "although there is as much evolution as revolution [sic] in these changes, promulgating the reform will surely be interpreted as a critical point in the development of education." (~~p. 255~~) Concludes that key factors influencing reform implementation in the future will be "some measure of redistribution of resources and power on other levels" and the increase of "meaningful participation in education by a larger sector of the population (participation in formulating and managing educational policy as well as in attending school)."

2.3.63 Gall, N. "Perú's Educational Reform" (In Four Parts: I - "More Schools," II - "Escape from Poverty," III - Dialogue of the Deaf," and IV - "A Social Democracy of Full Participation.") American University Field Staff Reports, West Coast South America Series, Vol. 21, No. 3 (March 1974), pp. 25, 17, 12, 15.

Gall argues that "Perú's educational system can now challenge the Army's traditional role as the only truly national institution," that "its expansion has been the single consistent expression of social democracy [sic]." "The Reform's bold strategy still must," he contends, "be invested with the assent and coherence needed to rationalize the explosive growth of schooling."

It is a bit difficult, however, to accept this essentially optimistic assessment of reform potential given his sobering account of reform implementation, to wit:

The General Education Law of 1972 marks an enormous advance over the legislative and administrative patterns of previous educational reform efforts. Not only does the new law directly attack the problems of wastage and productivity in a rapidly expanding public school system; it has also provided for a badly needed administrative decentralization that has invested additional authority in the regional and zonal offices outside Lima. It is now easier to solve routine personnel problems that for decades brought a mass migration of school teachers to Lima each summer to lobby and wait in the corridors of the Education Ministry. Beyond this, through the nuclearization of the school system, it has placed real power in the hands of parents and community leaders to influence the operation of the schools and see that teachers and administrative personnel fulfill their obligations. Implementation of the reform is moving along deliberately, year by year, and the new curriculum and methods have reached through the third year of primary school. There is a long way to go, however, and there are disturbing signs of conflict and confusion in the reform's execution.

The kind of problems that seem to lie ahead are dramatized in the teacher retraining program that has been central to the reform effort over the past three years. The

1970 report of the Education Reform Commission asserted that the teacher must be converted into a "lucid and critical agent of the educational process and the other structural changes initiated in the country. . . . The difference between the old and new educational systems, not only in its general outline but also in its conception, doctrine, ends, and means, is of such magnitude that a new type of teacher is needed, as well as infrastructure, equipment, materials, and techniques adapted to its special character." To meet these needs the retraining of Peru's 120,000 teachers has been assigned a key role of utmost urgency. "We are trying to get the teachers to shed their old methods and habits of thought," said Augusto Salazar Bondy. "We are trying to get them to think critically, to question everything, to enrich their own and their pupils' perspective by constant discussion, to break through the old forms that made the school an instrument of domination by the ruling classes. This is the only way we can make the educational revolution."

One cannot get a feeling for the dynamics of Peru's Education Reform without comparing this rhetoric with the Dantesque indoctrination procedures by which the military regime tries to reshape the thinking of a bitter and recalcitrant mass of teachers. In 1974 I visited teacher retraining sessions in Lima and Cuzco. In the town of Sicuani (population 13,000) near Cuzco, I found about 300 teachers corralled into a single classroom to suffer through a six-week series of three-hour lectures by envoys of the Education Ministry and other government agencies. One soon concludes that these lectures have little to do with the Education Reform and its new methods and curriculum, and that the official propaganda about questioning, criticism, and discussion boils down to supine repetition of what the lecturers have to say. Many of the lecturers are the same kind of young "promoters" who give talks to assemblies of peasants in the agrarian reform, explaining to both teachers and peasants that "Peruvian history has gone through three stages: The First Independence that lasted through prehistoric times until the Spanish Conquest in 1532; 400 years of Dependence that ended with the seizure of power by the 'Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces' on October 3, 1968, which initiated the third stage, the New Era of Peru's Second Independence." While the

military regime forces the teachers to sacrifice half their  
 vacation periods without pay so they can receive this  
 revolutionary message, the retraining sessions in many  
 places have become merely another political battleground.  
~~between the government and SUTEP.~~ Ironically, the new  
 methods of imaginative thinking and questioning are being  
 taught to the teachers by the old methods of interminable  
 lectures, rote learning, and submission to authority.  
 Except for an item or two of political propaganda, there  
 is no printed material available for reading and discussion.



2.3.64 Hinton, Hugh F. Administering a Revolution: Administrative Reform in Ministry of Public Education. Paper presented at the Southwest Political Science Association Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 1972. 27 p.

In 1969 Peru's Military Government began a thorough-going reform of the Ministry of Education seeking two basic objectives: to approve efficiency and to increase control. Hinton notes that "the problems of this ministry seemed hopeless. Its expenditures were out of control as its budget deficit increased yearly." Moreover,

financial problems were exacerbated by the political functions the MEP filled as both an employment agency and a means of dispersing regional patronage and financing political parties. Employment in the ministry was based on political and social connections rather than on technical competence. The political parties claimed patronage jurisdictions over the ministry's activities. . . .

Internally the MEP drifted with little administrative control. Cabinet instability kept the tenure of ministers short, and there were eight ministers of education in five years. . . . The enormity of this problem can be further seen by examining the scope of the ministry's activities. It occupies the largest building in the country, has more employees than any other ministry (1800 in 1968), and has the largest and possibly the most volatile clientele (80,000 teachers and 2,500,000 students in 1968) of any organization in the country. Its activities include the planning and regulation of virtually every educational activity under its broad jurisdiction, from the planning and modifications of curricula, the construction and equipping of physical facilities, the transfer and promotion of professors, the appointment of school directors, to the payment of salaries and bonuses, and the granting of sick leave.

*Consistent with the idea of*  
Suggests that progress has been made because

The existence of the military regime does not rest on political support but on the physical power and internal cohesion of the military. Freed from these political and environmental constraints, the government can and must pursue administration reform more seriously. Indeed, its ability to fundamentally alter the static administrative system is imperative to protect the régime's past gains.

From a Marxist perspective, the author explains the failure of Peruvian school reforms ("Reforma y Reacción") in terms of class interest, of ideologies in contrast. Because children of the proletariat attend public schools and children of the middle and upper classes attend private schools, liberal democratic reforms are <sup>he suggests</sup> more often idealistic statements of pious intentions than serious proposals for change.

- 2.3.6 Middlebrook, K. J. In Search of Community: National Integration and Educational Reform in Peru. Department of Political Science, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., December 1975. 40 p.

*Using a structural-functional description, the author*  
proposes that

A comprehensive appraisal of the 1972 Peruvian educational reform requires an understanding of the part which it is intended to play in the general process of societal change. The military government's ideological commitments to socio-economic equality, cultural diversity, and citizen participation lend the educational system considerable potential importance in the national integration process. However, the armed forces' institutional concern with maintaining internal security demands that the educational reform narrow its long-term goals in order to address the immediate disruptive effects of increasing social mobilization and unregulated change. Where the social mobilization process had produced urban migration and rural unrest, the structure and content of the educational reform attempt to limit spatial mobilization and encourage social mobilization in situ. Whereas the overall goals of the educational reform advocate the broad-ranging citizen participation which characterizes the growth of national community, the educational reform in practice is intended to promote orderly participation within the carefully defined limits of the military government's coordinated national development program. The Peruvian educational reform's ultimate success in promoting effective national integration, then, will be moderated by the complexity of the context in which it operates.

- 2.3.67 Paulston, Rolland G. "Inovación y cambio en la educación superior peruana." Revista del Centro de Estudios Educativos, No. 2, Vol. 1 (1971), pp. 29-48.

Periodic government attempts to reform Peruvian higher education and re-oriented it to national development goals have largely failed given continuing university traditions of personalismo, autonomy, political activism, and cultural elitism.

2.3.68 Paulston, R.G. Society, Schools and Progress in Peru. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1971. 312 p.

The author concludes this historical study of educational reform efforts on a somewhat pessimistic note:

Both in the U.S. and elsewhere, the Peruvian attempt at non-violent revolution is being closely watched. The question is asked if it be possible for a country as divided and troubled as Peru to make the prerequisite changes in its structures, institutions, and value orientations required for greater national unification and development? Can this be done without recourse to violence and an ideology more potent than nationalism--which is no ideology at all? Can the Peruvian military create a viable development model somewhere between the extremes of Cuban Marxism and Puerto Rican capitalism?

On one side the realists and cynics point out that despite all the new laws, little has actually changed. That a new revolutionary political party or a value system reflecting the desired new behaviors--i.e., a reorientation from egoism and personalism to social responsibility--has not appeared. That despite its obviously revolutionary interventions, neither the generals nor the planners, as products of the system they are attempting to change, actually know how to transform ideals and objectives into concrete reality. That all the "beautiful words" of the revolution will largely remain just that--as they have always remained so in the past.

The doubters also stress that if the revolution is to become more than just the same old idealistic rhetoric, it will need money and brains and will. With regard to the first requirement, ex-President Belaúnde's five-year spending and borrowing spree put the country deeply in debt to foreign creditors. The Central Government's overall deficit, for example, rose to 23 percent of current revenues in 1965, 25 percent in 1966, and a staggering 31 percent in 1967. These deficits, in large measure attributable to runaway educational expansion and gross inefficiency, were financed by increasing recourse to foreign loans. In the five years of Acción Popular rule from 1963 to 1968, government expenditure quadrupled.

Beginning in 1968, economic stagnation resulted from the Junta's attempts to arrest runaway inflation (the cost of living rose over 20 percent in 1968), and from the flight of investment capital following the Junta's expropriation of a U.S.-owned oil complex at Talara on the north coast. In 1969, organized labor complained of the worst unemployment crisis in the history of the country. Over 250,000 workers were unemployed out of the some four million people, or

~~Paustun (cont'd)~~

31.5 percent of the population classified as economically active. The Junta's austerity program and pressure on foreign investors to pick up their options, or lose them, had by 1970 put the Peruvian economy solidly in the black. The revolution would not falter for lack of funds.

With regard to the brains and the will required to carry out the proposed revolutionary program in society and education, the doubters would point not only to the staff weaknesses of the Ministry of Education previously noted, but to the overall general ineffectiveness of all government agencies. They would perhaps also observe that not even the generals are free of the debilitating influences of the rejected pre-revolutionary order. That nearly all Peruvians, especially the middle-level bureaucrats, who will be responsible to implement the revolution are products of the society, the culture system, and schools that they now will be called upon to transform. In sum, the doubters would wager that the entrenched existing elites, the rigid hierarchy, the aristocratic value orientations, the gross inequalities will by and large survive. They would concur with Ortega y Gasset's observation that "the tiger does not detigerize itself", that only violent social revolution would be capable of forging the radically altered Peru ordered up by the Junta.

At the other extreme, supporters of the revolution argue that there is no turning back. That a combination of newly awakened expectations of those long dominated, of intensifying demographic and social change, as well as the revolutionary reforms already begun have given the revolution an unstoppable momentum.

A concerned foreign educator viewing Peru's prospects for revolutionary reform in society and education at this point might take a more neutral position. If he were one of the brave new breed of development-oriented educators who study the role of education in the modernization process, he would be knowledgeable about the exquisitely difficult problems and complex interrelations between socio-cultural and educational change. He would, moreover, insist on viewing all the processes of human resource development in terms of structure, functions, and within their ecological and environmental settings. Furthermore, if he happened to be a veteran of attempts to apply his special knowledge of directed change processes in Latin American school systems, he would most likely avoid undue pessimism or optimism but, rather, agree with J. Dewey that reform, if it comes, usually arrives from the flank.

2.3.69

Paulston, R. G. "Socio-cultural Constraints on Educational Development in Peru." The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 5, No. 3 (April 1971), pp. 401-415.

Suggests that the well-known Peruvian aphorism that "any educational reform in Peru ends in failure" continues to hold, that

Although Peru is currently experiencing renewed attempts to alter the country's institutional structure, it appears unlikely that these efforts stand much chance of success without corresponding changes in the existing ideology of socio-cultural evolution, an underlying rationale that has been used to justify the privileges and institutions of the superordinate groups since the Conquest. Until Peru begins to experience a poder indigena movement and responds with attempts to develop a new national culture that, as in Bolivia and Mexico, seeks to combine in some greater degree both the Hispanic and indigenous elements in a new cholo national culture, efforts at educational modernization will quite likely continue to be both acclaimed and subverted.

2.3.70 Paulston, R. G. "United States Educational Intervention in Perú, 1909-1968." Paedagogica Historica, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1971), pp. 426-454.

~~Argues that reforms proposed and supported by U. S. technical assistance missions have failed.~~

Argues that the efforts, <sup>to</sup> U. S. educational mission to make Peruvian education more like an idealized version of U. S. education (i. e., with universal primary enrollment, technical and vocational programs, efficient decentralized administration, professional teacher training, etal) have failed because Americans <sup>have</sup> remain ignorant of Peruvian education's basic functions. This is: (1) the assimilation of Indians into the Hispanic culture, (2), the socialization of children to accept the values, structures and inequalities of a colonial society. Without an understanding of how the schools teach "the rules of the game, " i. e., who gets what, when and why, U. S. educational reform efforts have been naive and superficial. Concludes that they have been welcomed and manipulated by dominant <sup>Hispanic</sup> elites and used to give the appearance of reform while in fact they have served to help perpetuate a grossly inequitable and exploitive status quo. While 59 years of reform efforts have resulted in little if any enduring change in Perú's schools, U. S. interventions have helped a number of Peruvian educational leaders and planners to improve their skills and contacts. And it is this group, the author contends, that are presently in the forefront of uniquely Peruvian educational-reform efforts seeking many of the same goals espoused by American reformers years ago.

2.3.71 Taylor, F. C. Reform of Education in Peru. USAID, Lima, Peru, September 8, 1972. 7 p.

Examines the Reform Law of 1972, the major changes proposed for the educational system, and asks "What factors are critical to the success of the implementation of the reform?" The factors, Taylor proposes, are to be found largely in the educational system. He concludes that

Due to the comprehensive and revolutionary nature of the Reform Law, its success will be dependent upon many factors. The most important of these appear to be the following:

1. The Ministry of Education is already aware that resources are not available to implement all of the Reform at once. Therefore, priorities for the scheduling of the implementation of various parts of the Reform must be carefully made so that each stage supports the successive one.
2. Ambitious goals have been set. It seems important that implementation in the early years should not move faster than is realistically possible so as not to provoke disillusionment. The Ministry of Education's controlled experimentation with implementation in a sample of the "nucleos" is a wise trend to follow.
3. The availability of resources may be a handicap. A continuous search should be made of the feasibility of new mechanisms of financing education, such as tuition payments in public schools for those able to pay at the higher, and perhaps even at the secondary, level.
4. Ministry of Education resources must be effectively redistributed so as to benefit disadvantaged sectors of the population and geographic areas. Additional resources also should be available for stimulating experimentation and rewarding performance at the local level.
5. Decentralization and the complexity of the Reform requires that highly qualified administrators be trained for and attracted to the staff at the regional, zonal and "nucleo" level. Likewise, there is a need for a strong unit in the Ministry of Education and regional offices to provide the technical assistance required at the local level.
6. Teachers must be effectively retrained for their new role of mobilizing all the learning resources in the community.

2.3.72

UNESCO. Perú: Educational Reform. Vol. II. Paris: The Organization, 1972. 14 p.

Reports that educational-reform efforts have had some unintended and undesirable outcomes: i. e., rapid expansion of enrollment has been accompanied with a lowering of efficiency in primary and secondary schools. The retention rate has dropped from 39.1 percent in the former to 38.2 percent in the past two years. In general secondary schools, the decline has been even greater--from 66.7 percent to 56.0 percent. In the same vein, the percentage of students in technical secondary schools dropped from 19 percent in the total secondary enrollment in 1963 to 14.5 percent in 1970. ~~Power~~ Social demand for education combined with poorly paid teachers ("Qualified professors and instructors. . . prefer employment in industry where they may earn three to four times more") make basic reforms difficult. Where teacher remuneration comprises some 96.7 percent of the allocation for primary education, as in the 1970 budget, there are few resources available for costly reform efforts.

3.73

Wallace, J. M. "Progress" without Development: Rural Education at the Cultural Interface in Highland Peru. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, June 1975. (mimeo.) 14 p.

This paper questions the effectiveness of rural school reform by "examining the impact of formal schools on peasant communities in one rural district in the central Peruvian highlands." The author found that

Peasants. . . have redefined the function of the school, which is based on a western model, and have assigned it a set of values that have meaning within their own cultural context. In so doing, they have limited the effectiveness of the school as an agent of modernization and given it a place within their own cultural tradition. They have been assisted by the existence of an educational system that is too rigid to adapt to their cultural milieux. The lack of effectiveness of the ~~curriculum~~ curriculum contributes to and reinforces the redefinition of the school in the cognitive map of the peasants. Consequently, although the peasants are anxious to have a school in their community, obtaining a symbol of "progress," they are somewhat less concerned with sending their children there.

- 2-3-74 Wallace, J. M. Teaching in a Peasant Community: A Case from the Peruvian Sierra. Paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society, 20th Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, 1976. 27 p.

Wallace suggests that national plans for the reform of rural education fail for lack of trust, lack of resources, and lack of social consciousness. He uses a conflict perspective and George M. Foster's notions of "the image of limited good, a world view in which all goods are seen in finite quantities... and short supply. A Corollary is that an individual can only improve his share of the 'good' at the expense of someone else."

Thus educational reforms requiring innovative & cooperative behaviors of rural school administrators, teachers, and peasant parents will be thwarted; or as he concludes, teachers

are unlikely sources of innovative changes and leadership in the community, especially since they are unable to provide either commodity in the school. Furthermore, the teachers spend a considerable amount of time directing their energies toward planning strategy and impression management. Their concern with how to protect and increase their share of the limited good makes it difficult for them to engage in activities that would change the peasant community, even if they wanted to.

In the school, the teachers are largely ineffective and incapable of changing their pedagogical techniques to fit the curriculum to their students. They are neither trained nor prepared socially to attempt radical departures. In sum, the teachers are only pawns in a social and educational system that allows for no deviation from the social norm without sacrificing gains already made.

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

3.75

Newton, E. and R.H.E. Braithwaite. "New Directions In Education In Trinidad and Tobago." Comparative Education. Vol.11, No. 3 (October 1975), pp.237-246.

VENEZUELA

- 2.3.76 Hanson, M. "Reform and Regionalization in the Venezuelan Ministry of Education." In Educational Alternatives in Latin America: Social Change and Social Stratification. T. J. La Belle (ed.). Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1975, pp. 75-101.

Notes that "all too often in Latin America reform movements do not get beyond the paper they are written on, but this has not held true in Venezuela." Using <sup>in a more realistic perspective & direction</sup> ~~an~~ ~~old~~ frame of reference, he argues that

Reform in a large complex organization does not imply the creation of a new organization, but the modification of the old in such a way as to make it more effective and efficient. As the transition goes from the old to the new, it necessarily must go in stages--if for no other reason than that human beings cannot overnight adopt new behaviors, learn new skills, reject old ego satisfactions, and dissolve long-established traditions. . . . Adopting the required behaviors is no easy task; therefore the transition from the old system to the new one takes considerable time. During the transition period, a degree of turbulence was generated which, among other things, served to indicate that old patterns were being disrupted and some form of change was taking place.

Much of the turbulence generated was linked in one way or another to the reallocation of power, as some individuals and groups were establishing claims on unsettled territory in the MOE and others were firmly holding on to former possessions. These struggles were taking place between, for example: (a) the COPEI government and the Congress ~~was~~ regarding whether the reform should be permitted (other political parties would stand to lose a great deal of influence in the ministries); (b) the pedagógos and licenciados, each wanting the positions, prestige, and influence for its own group; (c) the national supervisors and the regional directors, with the former wanting to retain their influence and the latter wanting the authority necessary to perform their newly assigned missions; and (d) the old-line politically oriented educators and the aspiring educators with professional orientations.

- 2.3.77 Febres Cordero, J. Reformma Universitaria, Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1960, 135 p.

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

- 3.0.01 Jallade, J.P. "The Evolution of Educational Systems in Industrialized Countries: A Summary." Western European Education, Vol.4, No.4 (Winter 1972-73), pp. 330-366.

The author presents an "overview" of the evolution of educational systems in industrialized countries during the last fifteen years and concludes that reforms have been limited, that "the decision-making process remains too administratively oriented, and allows interest groups to participate only in a nominal and superficial way."

AUSTRALIA

- 3.1.01 Dunn, S. S. and C. M. Tatz. Aborigines and Education. Melbourne: Sun Books and Centre for Research into Aboriginal Affairs, Monash University, 1969. 366 p.
- 3.1.02 Harman, G. S. The Politics of Education: A Bibliographical Guide. St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1974. 316.p.

ISRAEL

3.1.03 Glasman, N. S. "The Structural Change Proposal in the Israeli Schools: Conflict and Conquest." Journal of Educational Administration, Vol. 8 (May 1970), pp. 88-100.

3.1.04 Gross, M.B. "Israeli Disadvantaged." Teachers College Record, Vol. 72, No.1 (September 1970), pp.105-110.

In his presentation of compensatory educational programs for youth of sephardi origin, Gross claims that they are successful because "compensatory programs [in Israel] are related to national purpose, priority and pride;" a view shared and supported by both the establishment and people of Israel. Projecting his findings in Israel to similar attempts in the area of compensatory education in the U.S.A., Gross concludes that "there is a way. [but] Is there the will?"

- 3.1.05 Schachter, H. L. "Educational Institutions and Political Coalitions: The Case of Israel." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 3 (October 1973), pp. 462-473.

How can one explain the continuation of a dual educational system in Israel? What change would be necessary if structural reform is to take place. The author seeks to answer these questions by first describing the dual system, i. e. ,

Institutionalized patterns of education are often a function of systemic political needs as well as of social and economic ones. In examining the creation of the dual educational system in Israel, emphasis will be given to importance of the political configuration for the establishment of specific educational patterns.

On August 20, 1953, the state of Israel established a dual state-maintained primary school system for Jewish students. One school network was secular and under the control of the Minister of Education and Culture. The other was a moderately Orthodox religious system theoretically under the supervision of the minister but actually supervised by officials responsible to the National Religious Party (NRP).

In the decade that followed, a number of American educators argued that the persistence of the dual pattern was a function of social pressures from the religious communities in Israel and America and its effects would be dysfunctional to national integration. This analysis cited American precedents which mandated against the use of public monies for religious education. The attempt to transfer American arguments to the Israeli context failed to take into account Israel's historical past and unique political system.

The author also argues that:

It is futile to try to understand the dual educational system in social or psychological terms; to comprehend it, one must understand the contemporary Israeli political system and the historical contingencies which led to its creation. The institution of the dual system can best be understood as a mechanism to ensure political stability through partisan compromise on an educational issue. NRP officials will continue to exercise control in the religious

state system until such time as there is a shift in voting patterns that would necessitate Mapai's forming a stable coalition without the NRP; at such time, the entire structure of primary school education in Israel would probably change.

- 3.1.06 Tadmor, S. "Problems and Reform in Elementary School Teacher Training in Israel." International Review of Education, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1968), pp. 445-455.

Reform results have been limited by a labor shortage resulting in a tough competition between the teaching profession on the one hand and industry, science (universities), government (civil service), and commerce, on the other; the general slackening of the old pioneering spirit (a result of the erroneous feeling that the country "has arrived"); the low social and financial status of teachers leading to a "negative selection" of teaching as a career; the "feminisation" of the profession, this being a problem not only of a quick turnover of the female teacher, but also, because of the cultural composition of Israel's population, one that makes the employment of female teachers in schools with a predominance of pupils from Middle Eastern and African backgrounds extremely difficult.

- 3.1.07 Etamura, K. and W. K. Cummings. "The 'Big Bang' Theory and Japanese University Reform." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 303-324.

The authors suggest that

University reform became one of the key issues in Japanese society in the 1960's and aroused the concern of both the academic community and the general public. Stimulated by massive student demonstrations and by the expansion of the university system and the subsequent structural and financial problems, many Japanese universities began to seriously consider reform. Indeed, in the late Sixties, Japanese public opinion considered the university "crisis" one of the most important issues in the nation. . . . ~~we argue that~~ the various attempts at university reform have yielded few lasting results. We argue that there is a distinct pattern that successful university reform movements in Japan have taken. Success in the past has depended on a "Big Bang," a profound international and domestic crisis that instigates a reform movement and skillful leadership "from above" for that movement. We conclude that the recent reform movement does not fit this "Big Bang" pattern and are therefore pessimistic about its outcome.

They conclude that

little will come from the contemporary reform proposal boom. The boom has not developed in the manner of past successful eras of major reform. More disturbing is the possibility that the current crisis has opened a trend towards permanent neglect of higher education in Japan. Japanese universities have always stressed university autonomy and have resisted outside interference. This tendency has strengthened in the postwar period to the point where the universities appear unwilling even to heed criticism from outside. The universities made a great effort to fend off recent criticism by developing numerous reform proposals, but once pressure from the outside slacked off, the universities forgot their own proposals. We are even more pessimistic concerning reform from within than we are concerning reform from above. Japan seems destined to a future of low quality higher education until some truly great shock shakes the very foundations of Japanese society and challenges all concerned to face the dismal realities. The contemporary reform boom is passing, "not with a bang, but with a whimper. . . ."

- 3.1.02 Lee, K. B. The Postwar Reforms and Educational Development in Japan, 1945-1970. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1974. 504 p.

Lee proposes that

Japanese development has become one of the outstanding examples to be studied for those who are keenly interested in the modernization of under-developed countries because the Japanese model often has been recognized as one of the most successful ones. This is especially true since Japanese socio-economic development of the post-reform period has been remarkable. This postwar development began with revolutionary reforms in education, business and labor organizations, women's rights, and distribution, etc., which took place in the period of 1945-52.

These reforms brought about a fairer distribution of income, greater educational opportunity, decrease of the landlord class, and decentralization of government structures, including educational organizations, and improvement in women's positions. The findings of the study show that these seemingly unrelated reforms were in fact inseparably interwoven; that it was difficult to achieve one reform without the others. For example, decentralization and democratization of the educational administration was related to the essence of the political organizations. Since the level of educational expenditures by each family and by the national and local governments were determined by family and national incomes, business and economic reforms were tied to the financing and growth of the educational system. The improvement in women's rights expanded the educational opportunity of that half of the population. The educational sector also satisfactorily met the needs of the society as there was little unemployment of school graduates.

- 3.1.09 Masui, S. "The Problem of the Comprehensive Secondary School in Japan." International Review of Education, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1971), pp. 27-37.

Notes recent attempts to reform Japanese elementary and secondary education, and to move towards a comprehensive secondary and upper-secondary school "diversified by different kinds of courses and other arrangements for different kinds and levels of abilities."

He also notes that although the reforms are only proposals, "they have aroused severe criticism among some scholars, teachers, and parents on the grounds that they will lead immediately to the discrimination of pupils in terms of their ability and eventually to selection by their family background, which has so much influence on their ability."

- 3.1.10 Nishihira, I. Western Influences on the Modernization of Japanese Education. Doctoral Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1972. 482 p.

The author examines the impact of Western Education on educational reforms introduced during the Meiji era and observes that

The period indicated also marked the beginning and eventually the culmination of the country's attempts at reorganizing governmental systems, both vertically and horizontally, after the Western pattern; educational reforms were but part of all-out efforts for modernization initiated by the Meiji government.

Concludes that reform influence centered

around the proclamation of the Code of Education, Japan's first modern educational system, and the various identifiably Western elements which found their way into that system during the period when the Code was in effect, from 1872 to 1879 (or to 1880). The period of the Code was that period of the Meiji era in which Western influences were at a peak, these influences being perceptible in the preparation of the Code itself, in the opening of the secondary and technical schools of various kinds and of the university, in literature on education, in textbooks on all subjects, and in the mission school.

Concludes that from 1880-1912,

Japanese education became increasingly conservative and nationalistic, using Western sources only to reinforce their new educational policies.

EUROPE

3.2.01

Beck, R. H. Change and Harmonization in European Education.  
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971. 250 p.

Using a "moving equilibrium" perspective, the author optimistically concludes that "everywhere in Europe, especially in Sweden, ad hoc reform promises to give way to rolling reform, " that "in general, European education, then, is converting to the comprehensive school structure. The fullest realization of a student's ability is the guideline. More educational planning and research, as we have seen, are being used. Training for occupations is improving, and the prestige of vocational-technical training is increasing. Demands for enrollment, especially from the lower class, tightly press both secondary and higher education. Reconstruction of both systems is taking place. These general trends, along with the formal educational organizations and communication between East and West Europe which were discussed in the first two chapters are contributing to a remarkable harmonization of European education. "

3.2.02

Council of Europe. "Research and Reform in Teacher Education." Special issue of Information Bulletin, (Strasbourg). No. 3 (December 1973). 43 p.

Surveys recent reform efforts in Western European member-states from functionalist perspectives. Political obstacles to reform are minimized, while research is proposed as the necessary but largely missing element necessary for successful change.

3.2.03

Joyce, J. "Educational Reforms in Europe: The Role of the United States Exchange Program." International Education and Cultural Change, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 1970), pp. 36-43.

- 3.2.04 Knoop, K. "Schulentwicklung und Schulreformen Westeuropas aus Sowjetzionaler Sicht." Pedagogik und Schule In Ost und West, Vol. 14 (April 1966), pp. 108-110.

Argues that, with the attempts to create socialist societies in Eastern Europe, the egalitarian school reforms have fundamentally altered the goals and programs of the educational systems. In Western Europe, the middle class continues dual educational systems, with minor alterations, to maintain its cultural and socio-economic dominance.

- 3.2.05 Reguzzoni, M. "Die Reform des Bildungswesens in der Europäischen Gemeinschaft." International Review of Education. Vol. 20, No. 1 (1974), pp. 53-62.

Examines recent efforts of the nine member countries of the EEC to coordinate secondary-level educational reforms. Contends that the impetus for such efforts have arisen from the need for more harmonious economic development. Efforts to reform vocational training programs have been blocked, however, by deteriorating economic situations. This has given rise to unemployment and a serious mismatch of youth qualifications and job requirements.

3.2.06 Nico, I. and C. Birzea. "Educational Innovation in European Socialist Countries: A Comparative Overview." International Review of Education, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1973), pp. 447-459.

The authors review recent educational reforms in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the USSR. They note that increased social demand for secondary and higher education has led to extended secondary schooling and delayed specialization.

They conclude that educational reforms in Western and Eastern Europe are converging in goals and content and that

It is highly likely that further trends and innovations can be observed (e.g. the stressing of the economic returns on education, the institutionalisation of permanent education as a national system of teacher training, the expanding of educational technology, the balancing of formal and informal education, etc.). We feel that it is worth stressing that education in the European Socialist countries generally will have to face some problems in common with other nations throughout the world by the end of this century. We are passing through an important stage in the development of humanity, in which each nation seeks the best solutions for its own social, political and economic organisation and to transform education from a beneficiary to a producer of progress.

3.2.07 Robinsohn, S. B., et al. Schulreform im Gesellschaftlichen Prozess, I and II. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970 and 1973.

These two volumes, prepared by the Institute for Educational Research of the Max-Planck Society in Berlin, present case studies of educational-reform efforts in the two German republics and the USSR (Vol. 1) and in England, Wales, France, Austria, and Sweden (Vol. 2). Using for the most part conflict frames, the authors <sup>present</sup> ~~use~~ demographic, economic, and political data and view reform efforts within the context of basic socio-structural changes. With a combined social-science and historical approach, they have attempted to move beyond a purely quantitative-comparative approach. Using essentially the same research outline, they contend that educational-reform efforts in industrialized societies have been characterized most of all by structural differentiation in secondary education. And they hypothesize that given present socio-economic demands on education, these various reforms attempting to remedy deficiencies in present patterns of differentiation will eventually lead to a variety of differentiated comprehensive schools. East Germany and Sweden, because of the centralized nature of educational decision-making and administration--along with socialist ideological imperatives, are seen as leading in this regard. In the USSR, historical, geographical, and ideological reasons have impeded reforms and resulted instead in optional additional courses and institutions.

3,2.08

Springer, U. Curriculum Reform in French, West German, and Italian Schools. New York: Teachers College Press, 1969. 169 p.

*The author*  
 reviews educational-reform efforts in three Western European countries and finds notable similarity of goals and factors influencing change. *She* observes, for example, that

The objectives of the national reform decrees, plans, and agreements, which were subsequently translated into directives and guidelines by the ministries of education, are remarkably similar in the three countries. In broad outlines, the following measures were recommended as essential:

1. To identify the abilities and inclinations of the students
2. To win the able students and especially their parents to a decision for longer school education in academic programs
3. To modify the academic school programs, especially at the early secondary level, toward a more modern, realistic character, and to give sufficient instructional assistance to students whose families cannot furnish educational background and help
4. To arrange for easier transfer possibilities at later stages than the normal starting point of academic and semiacademic schools in order to give chances to "late bloomers" and "late deciders."
5. To upgrade the nonacademic programs for children of average abilities in order to provide sufficient background for future technical and other semiacademic training.
6. To establish many more secondary schools easily accessible to children from rural and working-class areas. (The sparsity of such schools was proved to be a significant factor in enrollment practices.)

*She* concludes that

These reforms were presented and defended not merely as matters of national economic interest, but as a means toward a "democratization" of the educational systems, which in fact they are. It is an interesting reflection on the political situations in France, West Germany, and Italy that operating with the goal of democratization

alone, the same or similar antecedent reform proposals had not found enough official support. The road of school reform in the three countries had been paved with disappointments. Only when factual surveys and statistical projections demonstrated the present and future needs for more trained manpower, were the legislators and administrators persuaded to accept the costly and somewhat radical steps toward a more democratic distribution of educational opportunities and the general upgrading of compulsory schooling. The reform-minded politicians, that is, mostly those with social-democratic leanings, and the progressive educators finally had their day.

The spirit of democratization is an overt feature in the ministerial directives that were issued to implement the reforms. The term itself is used in references and exhortations dispersed throughout the official directives, more so in France and in Italy than in West Germany where nowadays official language tends to avoid terms that may hint at political ideology.

The major focus of the broad reform policies, and correspondingly of the ministerial directives for implementation, centers on the middle level, that is, those years that are decisive for the subsequent school career of the child. The planned innovations have a potentially far-reaching effect, not only for a more democratic distribution of educational opportunities, but also for an eventual modernization of the upper levels of academic education. The socio-political impulse has mobilized new thoughts on curriculum, on student observation and guidance, on improved teaching methods, and on better cooperation with the parents. While all these facets were observed in the research for this project, the emphasis has been placed on the new developments in the curriculum itself.

3.2.09 Whiting, C. "A Decade of Educational Reform in Western Europe." Educational Forum, Vol.34 (March 1970), pp.397-306.

The author reviews attempts to make secondary and tertiary levels of national education systems less selective and less traditional in content during the 1960's. He concludes that social demand, student activism, and pressure from politicians have been key factors leading to fundamental structural changes:

Thus as the sixties end and the seventies begin, it is clear that a great deal of value has been achieved in the fields of secondary and tertiary education in Europe. Voluntarily at first and under pressure in the end, the various European authorities responsible for these two sectors have carried out the necessary reforms at an unprecedented rate, each in their own way. In fact, there has been nothing quite like it in the whole long and checkered history of the European education system.

Generally speaking, secondary and tertiary schooling is no longer the prerogative of the rich or the intellectual elite. In the United Kingdom, for instance, 1969 saw some 26 percent of the university population coming from the working class, twice as many as ten years before. In France the figure was 8.3 percent, again almost twice as many as in 1959. In fact, of all the European countries which had initiated reform, only West Germany lags behind in the encouragement of working class students to enter the field of higher education. With a figure of 5.8 percent of last year's university population coming from the working class, Germany exhibits virtually no change from the 1959 figure.

Whiting concludes that students have emerged as the leading actors in educational reform:

In the late sixties there were several instances of final students tearing up their examination test papers and still being awarded their degrees by the frightened university authorities! By the end of the sixties most students had realized that by virtue of their sheer numbers, their ability to vocalize their protests to press and television, and naturally, the real inadequacies of the European universities, they, the students, were the real powers in higher education. They could now call the tune--the educational authorities would dance to it. Thus as the European university enters the seventies, the big enigma/re-

~~Writing (cont'd)~~

mains as to how the students will act and react. Writing in 1959 in a decade which had seen the end of most of the European empires, that old Imperialist Sir Winston Churchill wrote wearily: "The New Empires are the Empires of the Mind." By 1970 it is clear that his prediction has come true--they are. The problem now remains, who will take over control of those empires in the seventies? Will it be a straight fight between the students and the authorities for power? Or will some happy medium be found that will ensure joint control by both parties?

BELGIUM

3.2.10 Blake, D. "Divisive Issues Still Strong [~~Belgium~~]." Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3080 (June 7, 1974), pp. 44-45.

Blake notes that

Ever since Belgium gained independence, the educational system has been a battlefield over which its chronic political divisions are fought. For a hundred years the dominant issue was the relationship between the state and the Roman Catholic Church.

The struggle is indelibly marked on the educational structure of the nation. Belgium has two educational systems, state and private, both of roughly equal size.

The private system is run almost exclusively by the church, and its very existence was for many years the source of bitter dispute. The problem is that the Belgian constitution, and the country's early history, were heavily influenced by liberal and rationalist ideals, while most of the inhabitants are firmly Catholic.

Opposition to the idea that the church should play a key role in the state became the central political philosophy of the Liberals, one of the two major parties in the nineteenth century, and the church responded by fighting even more firmly to keep all education in its own hands.

The state retaliated by setting up its own education system, and trying to put the church schools at as big a disadvantage as possible. Although at some of the best church schools education of a high standard was available, the system as a whole was starved of funds and constantly under attack by politicians of the Left.

Supporters of the pro-Catholic Christian Social Party, on the other hand, tended to oppose any improvement of the state education system. All of this, apart from providing a constant source of bitterness, had a highly damaging effect on the quality of education, and in 1958, after much wrangling, a truce was arranged between the two sides.

Under this truce, usually called by its French name of the Pacte Scolaire, the two systems co-exist. The state guarantees to provide every area with access to a state school as a guarantee of the right of all parents to choose not to send their children to a Catholic institution. What the church gets is an operating subsidy from the

Blakely (cont'd)

state, which guarantees to pay teachers' salaries and provide an additional payment for every pupil. Educational standards have risen as more money has flowed into the system.

The proportion of the national budget devoted to the educational expenditure rose from 10 percent in 1958 to 24 percent in 1970, and there has been some considerable reequipment. But in spite of these ~~improvements~~, the school system is still under-financed and teachers in particular are underpaid. 2. / 21 1973

A part of the reason for this is the general problem of reforming public expenditure in the country, a reflection of the other major problem which has left its mark on the Belgian educational system.

3.2.11 Saedeleer, H de. De Open Universiteit: Projecten en Realisaties in Vijf Landen. Gent: Centrum voor de vergelijkende studie van het hoger onderwijs, 1973. 80 p.

This is a comparative analysis of projects and realizations of open college reforms in the United Kingdom, United States, Poland, Japan, and Germany. It describes educational innovations based on multi-media instruction, providing lifelong education and attempting to give everybody access to education at the university level regardless of their social background. The study examines educational objectives, admission requirements, instructional programs, and cost-effectiveness of the open universities. It concludes with an analysis of the applicability of these reform projects to Belgium and suggests measures to be taken.

3.2.12 Unesco. Meeting of experts on Education Integrated with Rural Development, Lima, 1973. Final report. Paris, 1974. 24 p.

A Unesco conference report on the interaction of rural education and integrated rural development in Latin America--2 pilot projects in Peru and Uganda provide methodological models for the integration of educational policies with development goals. In any attempt of this integration the achievement of a level of basic skills is necessary. The concept of basic education is defined as the development of critical reasoning which enable the individual to master his environment rather than submit to it. Adult education and agricultural education have to play an important part in rural development in Latin America. Mass media must be adjusted to the general education policy and educational interaction centres incorporating formal and nonformal learning should be created. Among the goals of a strategy for integrating education with development are: decentralization of bureaucratic decisions, programme coordination, ending of administrative discrimination against rural areas and teachers. Ultimately the ideal curricula of any national educational organization should aim at increasing learning skills rather than at amassing irrelevant knowledge.

This document, it should be noted, presents an unfortunately all too typical Unesco approach to rural education reforms. This can be described as 1) ignorant and ill conceived regarding local development potentials with regard to who gets what and why, and 2) pious exhortations for education to change the very structures that maintain and legitimize an exploitive status quo. Unesco, it seems, has yet to learn that internal colonies will not disappear with the creation of "pilot projects" and idealistic statements.

3.2.13 Vanbergen, P. "Educational Reform: The State of the Question." ~~(Belgium)~~  
Western European Education, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1972), pp. 166-179.

From a Utopian-humanist perspective, the author argues that recent structural reforms of secondary education <sup>in Belgium</sup> are far too limited, that a great reform vision is called for.

Belgian education in general, and the French-speaking schools in particular, are engaged, as is seen, in an important operation that should end in a fundamental renewal.

New problems are already arising, however, which are not sufficiently integrated in the actions now under way.

I am thinking of all those problems that the development of educational technology poses for us. I shall not emphasize this point for the moment.

But how can I fail to mention permanent or continuing education, which is seen by our societies as an absolute necessity?

It is indispensable that, from this time forward, we conceive of education as the overall educative system to be installed in order to permit man to educate himself during his entire life. Who can fail to see that our school structures, our rules relative to the sanctioning of studies, our methods, must be modified considerably if we place ourselves in this perspective?

On this level, the situation in our country is rather disquieting. For authority in matters of education is spread among various ministries and ministers (National Education, Culture, Work and Employment, Family, National Employment Office, Radio-Television, etc.), and one might reasonably fear that the formulation of a coherent educational policy might be difficult indeed. It is therefore to be hoped that we can recognize the problem before too much more time passes; for, if we do not, we risk, once again, missing the boat.

.2,14 Connell, J. "New Minister Puts the Brakes on Further Reforms." Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3030 (June 22, 1973). 15 p.

.2,15 Driver, C. "Higher Education in Britain: The Cow Ruminant." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 325-339.

Gradual efforts to democratize British universities has been a painful process. Or as the author observes,

It may seem strange, in an article intended to pay special attention to academic reform and innovation in Britain, to spend so much time on administrative structure and past history. But there are reasons for this. British society--or more precisely, the institutions and professions particularly associated with public service, in local government, social work, and education--is at present passing through a period of far-reaching structural change, demoralising to some, and stimulating to others. The anxieties thrown up by the re-drawing of geographical boundaries and the redefinition of areas of responsibility are hitting the professions where it most hurts--at the seats of status-consciousness and job-delineation. There is also in the professions today a strong sense of wrestling with unfamiliar principalities, powers, and bureaucracies, with new colleagues in the office, and inconveniently hungry publics in the front room, waiting for attention. This does not mean--in higher education for example--that no meaningful reforms of content as opposed to structure are taking place; quite the contrary. But it does mean that most of the changes taking place in the curriculum, in teaching methods, and in the relations of courses and departments with other courses and departments, are often to be understood best by reference to the new framework within which higher education is being carried on. Sheer scale is an important factor here. By international, and certainly by North American standards, the British higher education conglomerate is still comparatively small: 443,000 students, about 15 percent of the age group, well above Robbins' predictions already, but well short as yet of the phase of mass higher education (though Martin Trow apparently now thinks that this phase and the institutional popularisation that it demands, really begins at the 15 percent level). But by comparison with the size of the university system in the mid-fifties, when only 4 percent of the age-group in Britain even qualified for university entry, 15 percent of the age group is a great many people.

The problems of university reform are, in sum, those new  
 "redbrick" institutions growing up in the shadow of older, more powerful,  
 and more prestigious institutions; <sup>draw, or</sup> problems of a "binary system."  
*They are*

3.2.16

Eliot, T. S. Notes Towards the Definition of Culture. London:  
 Faber, 1948. 137 p.

Eliot critiques comprehensive school-reform efforts in England and  
 argues for the continuation of the privileged grammar schools. His  
 elitist lament of nearly three decades ago has a curiously prophet  
 ring today:

In our headlong rush to educate everybody, we are lowering  
 our standards. . . [and] destroying our ancient edifices to  
 make ready the ground upon which the barbarian nomads  
 of the future will encamp in their mechanized caravans.

3.2.17 Ford, J. Social Class and the Comprehensive School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972. 17+1'

Ford asks "What are the chances of comprehensive reorganization of secondary education bringing closer the Utopia we seem to be seeking? How far will such educational reforms produce the 'Fairer Society?' What hope is there that comprehensive education will reduce the salience of social class in this society?" She reports that research at three London schools produced no evidence to support the two "academic" and three social arguments put forth to justify the reform. But briefly her evidence tends to deny that replacement of a dual system by a comprehensive one leads to any greater development of talent; or to a greater equality of opportunity for those with equal talent; or to a widening of children's occupational horizons, or to any increase in social contact within schools across social boundaries. Rather,

in the comprehensive school as in the tripartite schools, children learn early what level they can expect to achieve in the occupational structure, they are in this respect conscious of the class nature of society in which they live. For schools reflect the structure and culture of the society as a whole. As long as we live in a class society, then the influence of social class will be felt in the schools determining the kinds of education children receive and the results they obtain from them. Thus in order to minimize the effects of social class in the schools we would somehow have to diminish the salience of social class in the world outside school rather than the other way around. It is therefore not surprising that comprehensivization does not seem to bring the classless society any nearer. (~~p. 102~~)

Ford concludes that "there is a great deal of truth in this argument," an argument clearly framed in the conflict perspective. She acknowledges further that "there is certainly something in Corwin's assertion that pressure for educational reform comes from those who are afraid of more

radical social structural reform;" that "one might well argue, as did Warner, that the notion that social structures can be changed through educational reform is a liberal myth."

3,2,18 Griffiths, A. Secondary School Reorganization in England and Wales.  
New York: Humanities Press, 1971. 118 p.

Notes that England entered the second half of the 20th Century with an educational system conceived by expediency out of Platonism, a system that perpetuates "undesirable social divisions which can only lead to ill effects for the nation as a whole." Argues thus, that logic compells and commends the movement toward comprehensive secondary-school reform.

3.2.19 Hansen, G. B. "Separate But Equal:" Some Myths and Realities of English Secondary Education. " Comparative Education Review, Vol. 9, No. 3 (October 1965), pp. 356-365.

The author asks why secondary-school reforms in England have produced so little change:

Notwithstanding the mass of evidence piling up against the present educational system--in the form of scientific studies and the attacks of numerous critics--it manages to survive, scarred and battered perhaps, but still in its familiar shape. Why is this the case?

He concludes that

It is this writer's belief that the ideal of equal quality "secondary education for all" will not be accomplished in England in the foreseeable future and not even later unless two major obstacles--both having roots in the outmoded 19th century social class system--are overcome.

These are: First, the presence of an inflexible educational system which operates solely on the principle of rigid selectivity, whereby a limited number of "superior" children are selected out for a first-rate education befitting future leaders and the remainder afforded an inferior education better suited to their lesser ability and station in life, and that such education is carried out in "segregated" schools. Second, the maintenance and conservation of social class differentiation by an "Establishment" (both levels) which will continue to oppose extreme equalitarianism in education at all levels.

This writer feels that these values will persist for many years to come and will continue to be reflected in the development of English education. There may be some concessions--especially as the demand for more technologically trained individuals increases--but there will not be a radical departure from the present path. The Establishment is too strongly entrenched and the tripartite educational system too much a part of the English "way of life" to be easily changed. A system that has taken 100 years to develop cannot be dismantled overnight. The only possibility of radical change lies with the

Labour Party. If the Labour Government remains in power long enough and if they live up to their more extreme campaign pronouncements, a thorough-going reform could well be initiated. But even here there seems to be an acceptance of the principle of selectivity in varying degrees (the first criteria listed above), by Harold Wilson and other Labour leaders. This fact, if coupled with strong Tory opposition and the conservative nature of the English themselves, may nullify any effective proposals for radical reform.

3.2.20

Kantor, P. Educational Reform and English Urban Politics.  
 Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972. 312 p.

3.2.21

Koemer, J. D. Reform in Education: England and the United States.  
 New York: Delacorte Press, 1968, 332 p.

Argues that British educational reforms have generally been more effective than comparable efforts in the United States because of superior British school inspection (i. e., Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools), and more efficient school administration.

3, 2, 22

Litt, E. British Education at the Crossroads: Social Justice or Excellence? Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, September 1975. 10 p.

Litt suggests that British educational reforms are powerfully influenced by the Labour Party's educational policies and ideology of egalitarianism. He notes that the educational policy of the British Labor Party stresses the provision of quality education regardless of social class background. In a time of downward economic spiral, the Labor Party is committed to education for social justice through the redistribution of resources and research priorities, as well as the reorganization of the educational system. Budget decisions have redistributed funds from elite British universities to the comprehensive secondary schools and vocational colleges. Post-secondary reorganization involves efforts to merge the patch quilt of polytechnical schools, colleges of education, and colleges of further education under a single local authority. At the secondary level, comprehensive schools and semiprivate, direct grant schools are being merged to provide a strong alternative to expensive and exclusive private schools. Research and development funds are being shifted from open-ended cultural and scientific support to programmatic research designed to rescue a beleaguered political economy. More money is being infused into trade union projects, workers' economic cooperatives, adult education programs, and vocational training. The belief is that worker incentives are critical to economic productivity and recovery.

- 3.2.23 Lukes, J. R. "The Binary Policy: A Critical Study, ~~[Britain]~~." Universities Quarterly, Vol. 22 (December 1967), pp. 6-64.

Argues that the new Binary policy for higher education--i. e. , that traditional universities under the University Grants Commission and the popular "red bricks" under the Local Educational Authorities is an ill-conceived reform as it does not, the author suggests, link up efficiently with secondary-school reforms.

- 3.2.24 Open University. Education, Economy, and Politics. Bletchley, Bucks., England: Open University Press, 1973. 7 parts in 8 vol.

- 3.2.25 Oxtoby, R. "Reform and Resistance in Higher Education: A Critique of Current Research, ~~[Britain]~~." Educational Research, Vol. 10 (November 1967), pp. 38-50.

Surveys "research and provision for the systematic development and evaluation of reforms" in British higher education during the early 1960's. Concludes that research findings have played all too limited a part in reform efforts, that improved research and communication of research findings are badly needed.

Concludes that: "It is only by discovering how the student changes during his year: at college or university that the agents responsible for defining and assessing educational objectives can discover what it is that their policies and programmes accomplish;" that "All involve important administrative decisions which ought to be informed by factual information based on carefully conducted research;" and that "not only is a further insight needed into the nature of educational research, its limitations, functions and goals, however, but a thorough consideration is also required of the ways in which political forces affect the translation of research findings into policy. "

3.2.26 Parkinson, M. The Labour Party and the Organization of Secondary Education [England]. New York: Humanities Press, 1970. 139 p.

Reviews British Labour Party contributions to the secondary education reform movement seeking "secondary education for all." Despite the fact that most Party leaders had their own children in the elite grammar schools, the author concludes that the Party served an indispensable role in securing reform legislation and as a rallying point for the propagation of comprehensive schools.

3.2.27 Perkin, H. "Adaptation to Change by British Universities." University Quarterly, Vol. 28 (Autumn 1974), pp. 389-403.

3.2.28 Peterson, A. D. C. "Educational Reform in England and Wales, 1955-1965." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 288-299.

Peterson <sup>from an introduction to</sup> - Argues that "secondary education for all" reforms have been for the most part a rational, evolutionary process.

In England, as perhaps in most countries, the gap between educational reform in theory and in the practical possibilities of change is largely determined by financial and political considerations. There is less dispute about what needs to be done than about the size of the resources which society, whether privately or through government, should devote to education and about the priorities in the allocation of these resources. It is realistic, therefore, to begin a survey of educational reform in England by stressing the growth during the decade in the fraction of the gross national product that has been devoted to education. This, and not ideals or objectives accepted, has been the decisive factor in producing reforms. Moreover, even though reform is achieved through political decisions, it has not really been dependent on the political complexion of the government. The Labour and Liberal parties, when in opposition, have demanded the allocation of a greater proportion of national resources to education; but, although figures are not yet available, it is doubtful that there has been any significant change in the rate of growth of this proportion since the Labour government has come to power.

He then goes on to note that political parties have taken strong positions, but totally ignores how these positions represent social-class conflict:

Opposition to the reform or, in more neutral terms, the "change" implied in the abolition of selection for "academic" or "non-academic" education at 11 was strong. It came mainly from middle-class and professional parents who feared that both the academic and social standards of the comprehensive school would be lower than those of the selective grammar school and from the teachers in these schools whose attitude was not unlike that of the Société des Agrégés in France. It was reinforced to some extent, and less predictably, by the headmasters of

some Secondary Modern (non-selective secondary) schools, who had become so committed to the provision of realistic courses for their pupils that they were unwilling to see them absorbed as a "less promising group" into a comprehensive school which they feared would be dominated by the academic tradition of the grammar school. Nevertheless the evidence that selection to different types of school, if operated at the age of 11, differentiated on the basis of social class rather than that of supposedly innate "intelligence" was so overwhelming that the great majority of professional educators were convinced, mainly by sociological arguments, during the course of the decade that the change would be in reality a reform. They were opposed in this conclusion by a smaller group of educational psychologists, mainly of the psychometric school, based at the University of Manchester, who criticized with some force the research methods of the sociologists. But the latter had the support of the majority both of teachers and of parents and gradually the administrators have come round to their point of view. It is unfortunate that the issue has become to some extent one of party politics, with the Labour and Liberal parties favoring the change and the Conservatives either opposed or accepting it reluctantly.

¶ Concludes that:

All in all, therefore, this will probably be seen as one of the revolutionary decades in the history of English education. Indeed the pace of change is presenting the individual teacher, at whatever stage of the educational process, with such a multitude of new challenges that there is a danger that the pace will become too intense. Indeed many are beginning to call for some kind of a moratorium on reform. This pressure is the more intense because the extremely decentralized system of authority which has been referred to earlier puts an unusual burden of responsibility on the individual teacher. How well this system can stand up to the pace of change is one of the unanswered questions in English education. It has great value in insuring that change and reform are genuine and not merely prescriptive, but if there should prove to be an insoluble conflict between the maintenance of the system and the progress of reform, then it would seem that the needs of reform should take precedence and we should be prepared to accept changes in the system. If the demands of both can be met without sacrificing either, then it is possible, and surely desirable, that this should be the outcome.

3.2.29 Peterson, ~~Paul~~ E. "The Politics of Educational Reform in England and the United States." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 17, No. 2 (June 1973), pp. 160-179.

Peterson proposes that

historically, the politics of educational reform in Britain and the United States differed both in the character of the reformer's objectives and in the political strategies that they followed. In Britain reformers sought, above all, to democratize the educational system, while American reformers focused more on "modernizing" educational practices. British reformers sought to use the Labor party as the major political mechanism for achieving their objectives, while reformers in the United States developed a non-party, indeed, an anti-party movement to promote their cause. The sources of these differences lay, first of all, in the greater significance of class differences for both British education and politics, and, secondly, in the quite different structures for governing education which have evolved in the two countries. Some of these historical differences have begun to wane in recent years, however, as the politics of education in the United States show some signs of taking on a more "British" character. At least this is what is suggested by a review of the literature on the politics of education in Britain and the United States.

He concludes that

In recent years, changes in the politics of educational reform in the United States have been so substantial that the British pattern is becoming more evident in this country as well. The inegalitarian features of the American educational system have recently been attacked more directly and forthrightly than at any point in the twentieth century. In this regard, the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was of the greatest political significance for it took as its basis for distributing federal aid the number of children from low-income families living in a school district. Admittedly, the formula was chosen in part because it would concentrate federal aid in both urban cities of the North and the poor Southern states, two key components of the Democratic coalition in Congress. And

since educational resources are a function of the number of children of a district, not the number of poor children within it, this formula, too, was not a direct way to equalize educational resources among school districts. But its stated emphasis on compensatory education for the poor focused attention on inequalities in education in an important, new way. Even more recently, inequalities in educational expenditures among districts within states have been challenged in several court suits, and two of them have succeeded--at least in lower federal court decisions. At the same time educational research has begun to focus on the social and educational factors that lead to differential educational performances of class and racial groups. In general, the new educational reform effort has been, admittedly without much success, on the mechanisms by which such differences can be moderated or institutional changes.

These changes in the politics of education have been due in large part to the increased saliency of the racial conflicts in Britain during the inter-war period. The rising social and political aspirations of black Americans directed public attention to the differences between its democratic ideals and educational practices. The 1954 Brown decision at once made manifest the racial cleavage in American society and focused attention on the social significance of educational institutions. Whether the conflict has been about implementing this court decision, de facto segregation, busing, compensatory education or community control of schools, middle class reformers have been joined (and at times led) by racial groups articulating the aspirations of low income blacks. Indeed, it was just this set of forces that produced the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the war on poverty, both of which were obvious precursors of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Clearly, without these new socio-political forces, federal aid to education would never have taken the form it did.

Since then, the debate over education, at least at the federal level, has become increasingly partisan in tone. Republicans under the Nixon Administration have sought to

limit federal expenditures on education, while the Democrats have sought to expand them. Republicans have sought to limit racial reform in education, while northern Democrats have generally opposed these efforts. To be sure, the two parties are not cohesive, disciplined, programmatic parties to the extent that British parties are. But it is unlikely that a bipartisan approach to educational reform, such as was almost worked out in the Eisenhower years, is possible in the near future.

If educational reform in the United States has taken a democratizing direction, it has also simultaneously turned against the educational professionals who were once the promoters of reform themselves. The bureaucratization of educational systems has been taken by reformers as a major impediment to educational progress. The power of professionals, once only the concern of right-wing groups, is now the object of concern among left and right alike. Community control, school voucher plans and free schools are all alternatives that have been proposed to weaken the autonomy educational professionals have enjoyed in the past.

These are significant changes in the politics of education in the United States, but they should not be taken as signs that the British model will become dominant here. In the first place, race conflict is not quite the equivalent of class conflict, especially when the subordinate racial group is only about ten percent of the population. The support of this group does not provide a broad enough political base to build a broad partisan movement. Pressure group tactics and ad hoc alliances, however inadequate, must serve as the only substitutes available. Secondly, the institutional differences between the two countries remain. To be sure, greater centralization of financing may occur, particularly if teacher unions continue to gain in strength, and court suits to equalize financing are successful. The property tax may disappear, and with it will go the citizen participation that surrounds tax and bond referenda. The increasing capacities of the Office of Education may eventually make that institution a potent shaper of educational policy. Yet the traditions of local control run deep, are supported by a decentralized party system, by the federal arrangements written into the Constitution, and by the separation of school boards from other municipal agencies. As long as these decentralized, fragmented institutions remain, educational reform efforts are likely to lack the same centralized, focused character that is typical of the partisan politics of educational reform in Britain.

Percival, A. "Death of Red Ellen: Minister Who Tried to Make the 1944 Education Act Work." Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3103 (November 15, 1974), pp. 20-21.

3,2,30

3.2.31. Robinson, E. E. "Comprehensive Reform of Higher Education  
Western European Education, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1971-72),  
 pp. 283-309.

3.2.32. Simon, B. Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920. London:  
 Lawrence and Wishart, 1965. 387 p.

*Can complete*  
 Describes from ~~neo-Marxian~~ perspectives the labor movement's  
 pressure to reform public elementary education, their attempt to create  
 an independent educational program for workers and the emergence of  
 the movement's goal of secondary education for all. "Concludes that  
 labor's reform demands and aspirations were effectively strangled  
 by the "parson and squire," the middle-class dominated local  
 educational councils, by scholarships for bright working-class youth  
 to elite grammar schools, and by the continuing cultural hegemony of  
 the upper-class and enduring class barriers.

- 3.2.33 Grant, N. "Educational Reform in Bulgaria," *Comparative Education*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (November 1970), pp. 179-193.

argues that the educational reforms of 1959 and 1969 have been powerfully influenced by polytechnical practice in the USSR. The road, however, has not been altogether smooth:

Polytechnical education in Bulgaria has met with failures, in other socialist countries also. Everywhere, in Bulgaria and in the other socialist countries there have been created secondary polytechnical schools, technicums and other special schools. However, what is called the polytechnical gymnasium is polytechnical only in name.

The trouble is familiar enough all too often, there has been a failure to distinguish between polytechnical education and trade training. With the growing tendency to postpone specifically vocational training--which makes sense in the light of faster technological change--there has been a strong current of opinion, especially in the academic world in favour of pushing polytechnical education into the background and stressing general education of the traditional academic type. The frequent failures of polytechnical education, in spite of attempts during the 1970s to make it a more meaningful part of the general school programme, have reinforced this point of view. In 1969, however, when the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party was discussing the school reforms, Todor Zhivkov sent a letter to the meeting taking a strong line on the subject. While conceding past failures, he insisted that the basic policy was sound:

I consider that it is not correct to give up the polytechnical school, or the school of labour as the Party has called it. The setbacks are not due to the principle, but are the result of other causes: weak theoretical argument, methodological problems and methods not examined in sufficient depth, lack of experience in organization, inadequate training of teachers, difficulties arising from the shortage of instructional equipment in the schools, etc. There are no reasons there to make us renounce the system outlined by Marx and Lenin. On the contrary, our reform of the educational system can only be realised on the basis of the unified polytechnical school. Zhivkov, like Khrushchov ten years earlier, made it clear that his reasons were at last partly ideological:

Our present task is to create a model of the polytechnical school of the future. The raising of the new man requires the coordination of work in study with work in the production of material good. This participation in labour will help to root out the remains of bourgeois prejudices, and create respect for physical labour.

There, for the time at least, the matter rest. Whatever the problems facing polytechnical education and whatever methods are used to deal with them, letting it drop out in practice is not to be countenanced. On the contrary, "Polytechnical education must be extended in all school courses." At the same time, more attention is to be paid to general education in technical courses, in accordance with the principle of "humanizing technology."

Other problems are not lacking. Ideological education, for instance, is not producing the desired results; there are complaints about "certain signs of nationalist nihilism," "gross indiscipline" and "anaemic life" of some of the branches of the youth organization, and a general "lack of rapport" between the authorities and many young people, especially in the higher institutions. There is still felt to be some inefficiency in the rural sector, where the existence of very small schools militates against equality of opportunity for children in the countryside.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

3.2.34

"Reforms In Higher Education In Czechoslovakia." School and Society, Vol. 67, No. 1737 (April 10, 1948), pp. 276-277.

"The privilege of getting a higher education in the new Czechoslovakia will be limited. . . to students showing evidence of loyalty to the regime. A loyal student is one who participates in 'anti Fascist activities' and who is not tainted by membership in a subversive organization." Also part of the "reform" is the purging of "non-loyal" elements from the universities. The U. S. Department of State has, accordingly, taken steps to remove the universities from the list of accredited institutions under the GI Bill of Rights on the grounds that they are being transformed "from educational to propagandistic institutions."

3.2.35

Roucek, J. S. "Educational Reforms of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia." School and Society, Vol. 50, No. 1294 (October 14, 1939), pp. 503-504.

Roucek describes German efforts to reconstruct the educational system in their "protectorate" of Bohemia-Moravia after the breakup of Czechoslovakia. The reforms have brought compulsory pre-school for four-year-olds, curriculum changes, and more rigorous selection for secondary school. The author notes that "the authorities seem to have the most difficult time with planned reform of the teacher-training program." Political leaders, he observes, will be educated in "special" schools.

3.2.36

Roucek, J. S. "Recent Reform and Progress in the Czechoslovakian Educational System." School and Society, Vol. 38, No. 991 (December 23, 1933), pp. 837-839.

The author suggests that Czechoslovakian efforts to build and reform a national educational system following liberation from control of the Austrian monarchy have been troubled by problems of minority schools and a complex system of Protestant and Catholic schools.

DENMARK

3.2.37 "Dates Divided over University Center." The Chronicle of Higher Education. Vol.12, No.13 (May 24, 1976), p.9.

Denmark's experimental University Center at Roskilde-- established following the educational ferment of the late 1960's has become the subject of this country's bitterest educational debate in more than a decade.

The four-year-old institution has barely survived a vote of confidence in Parliament, 79 to 77, after a bitter, day-long debate over whether it ought to be continued.

Had the vote gone the other way, observers say, Denmark's minority government, a coalition of center and leftist parties led by Premier Anker Jørgensen, would probably have been forced to resign.

The vote came after academic traditionalists and members of the conservative opposition parties called for closing the center or merging it with the more traditional University of Copenhagen.

Critics of the experimental [reform] institution charged that it had become a hotbed of left-wing radicalism where academic standards have been disregarded.

In 1974, the government scrapped plans to allow school teachers to take advanced training at the center after completing their first two years of "projects."

The government said it was concerned over academic standards, but most observers believe it was more concerned over the prospect of hundreds of Marxist teachers being turned out for the country's classrooms.

Last summer, the government told officials at the institution that they would have to introduce more formal academic standards.

3.2.38

Simon, E. Réveil National et Culture Populaire en Scandinavie. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960. 766 p.

In this monumental historical study, Simon relates a number of educational reforms in <sup>Denmark, Norway, & Sweden</sup> Scandinavia to the rise of nationalism, pan-Scandinavianism, and folk-culture movements in the last century.

The "folk high schools," or residential colleges for rural youth,

viewed as making important contributions to these movements from outside the dominant social, economic, and high culture sectors.

FINLAND

3.2.30 Grossen, E.L. The Comprehensive School in Finland. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Utah, 1973. 123 p.

The author suggests that comprehensive school reforms in Finland have been accelerated by a number of situational factors, i.e.:

...(1) the emphasis of the Lutheran church on educational achievement; (2) a need for a unified system of education espoused by Uno Cygnaeus; (3) a combination of socio-economic and political incidents; (4) the Swedish comprehensive school model; (5) the work of school committees and leaders; (6) parliamentary legislation which adopted committee recommendations.

He concludes that

There were four impelling agents expediting reform. Providing educational equality for students and personal growth were social aims. Reducing unemployment and developing marketable skills provided economic motivation. Leftist politicians wanted to "democratize" the school and remove it from its traditional setting. The chief outside influence came from Sweden because of the Nordic alliance.

Although the movement toward a comprehensive school was prolonged by wars, politics, and economics, the major impetus for ~~the~~ ~~change~~ came after World War II through the actions taken by parliament in reorganizing school committees.

3.2.40

"Assessment of Permanent French Adult-Education Program Finds: Its Lack of Success Is Because of Disinterest Among Country's Workers." (March 28, 1976), pp. 4 and 1.

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FRANCE

FINDS

3.2.41

Bourdieu, P. New York Times "Les Inégalités devant l'école et devant la culture [France]" Revue Française de Sociologie, Vol. 7 (July-September 1966), pp. 325-347

Presents a Marxist explanation of why educational reforms will do little more than refine the school's role in reproducing the existing socio-economic relations and inequalities in France. Argues that is a penetrating critique and a convincing analysis, the solution prescribed, i.e., fundamental change in the national ideology and social structures, appears almost utopian.

3.2.42

Chagot, A. "La Réforme du 2<sup>e</sup> Cycle de l'Enseignement Secondaire Français." Revista di Legislazione Scolastica Comparata, Vol. 23 (July-October 1965), pp. 147-153.

Argues that implementation of the reforms has been limited by resistance to the new structures. This opposition to reform by decree creates great system rigidities.

3.2.43

Ducol, R. "Kampf um die Schulreform in Frankreich." Vergleichende Pädagogik, Vol. 4 (1962), pp. 137-153.

3.2.44

Farr, W. "Reforms Spell Change from Top to Bottom," Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3112 (January 17, 1975), p. 17.

3.2.45

Fraser, W. R. Education and Society in Modern France. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963. 300 p.

Examines the "conflict of forces which has shaped and is shaping French society" and how this conflict of forces either inhibits or encourages educational reform, (p. 121). He concludes that efforts to reduce dualism in French education have become a battleground between the forces seeking greater democracy, and the elite; between the traditions of the Jesuit classical colleges and the Revolutionary Central Schools. Thus, "Frenchmen disagree on the meaning of 'freedom' when schools are under discussion and seem unable to avoid resuscitating the issues of the French Revolution in their educational disputes." He quotes M. Roger Gal's comments about reform failure in France:

Reforms in a country like ours, which knows how to make revolutions but is much less adept at evolution, look much more like 'coups de force' than like improvements that have been proposed, tried out, checked, and then generalized. . . . It is because in our country the syllabuses are uniform everywhere and because all changes must be made general at the same time that it is so difficult and dangerous to change anything at all.



- 3.2.46 Fraser, W. R. "Proposals in French School Reform." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 3 (February 1964), pp. 271-278.

Notes that French reforms seeking to expand secondary-level enrollment in a dual system came from above (as decrees) and are best described as structural differentiation. The reforms are highly political, nevertheless with democratic elements describing them as "illusory decrees," and conservative elements complaining that too many unqualified students have already been admitted to secondary education.

- 3.2.47 Fraser, W. R. Reforms and Restraints in Modern France. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971. 178 p.

Contends that recent technical education reforms fail because parents want high-status academic education for their children; that reforms to extend elementary schooling and keep all 14- and 15-year-olds in school have ended up with 25 percent without full-time schooling opportunities; that repeated attempts to modify the examination system lose to beliefs that French education exists to select an intellectual elite; that reforms seeking balanced development of well-rounded individuals ~~and~~ end up as information stuffing into young minds. He concludes that politicians and professors dominate educational policy making, an exercise in rhetoric and idealism.

3.2.48 Fraser, W. R. "Reform in France." Comparative Education Review,  
Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 300-310.

Explains the following <sup>1)</sup> ~~in the~~ French reforms <sup>2)</sup> response to social demand for schooling, <sup>3)</sup> the need for trained manpower, and <sup>4)</sup> the growing volume of knowledge to be transmitted: *The reform process de...*

1. The maintenance of certain existing structures which have been "rationalized." This is a less alarming formula than "abolition" or "integration." The Ministry retains its earlier functions and has developed a few more. The passage from elementary to secondary education remains, and the first cycle operates in schools of quite distinct tradition and status. The baccalauréat is retained but classics are no longer dominant, and the technical baccalauréat is more convincingly welcomed than before.
2. The framework of proposed reforms has been presented first, and the initial proposals have then been followed in 1959, 1963, and 1965 by more detailed provisions that have taken into account the reactions of interested bodies. And of course the basic framework, not always admitted, has been the still unfulfilled plan presented by Langevin and Wallon in 1946. The process has been an interplay of plan and of pragmatic measures, of idealism and interests.
3. Certain elements in the French educational system are as yet almost immovable, and these have to do mainly with the habits or status of people. Competitive examinations for the recruitment of secondary teachers are retained. The agrégés keep their privileged position as teachers of the top three classes and of the classes preparing for the Grandes Ecoles, and they also remain eligible for posts as assistant lecturers in the universities. Slow to change is the pedagogy of the secondary teacher--characterized by verbalism, analysis, note-taking, memorization, exercises done at home, essays written in class, and the apparatus of marks and grades. It is doubtful too whether any syllabus is less encyclopaedic than it was.

4. The management of parliamentary debate was not a wisely opportunistic. The first steps in reform were taken in the absence of a National Assembly. They were not large steps but they triggered other changes. The unexpected majority sympathetic to private schools was used to secure legislative implementation of the recommendations of an investigating commission with a socialist chairman, and the resultant Debré Law made some progress towards the creation of a more integrated national education service.

Even the new colleges of secondary education, which a few years ago as écoles moyennes or as a form of collège commun would have split the nation, have been accepted as a suitable technical response to the problem of offering equal opportunities in areas where new schools are needed. In fact, their size and location have been determined by the size of the local population, and the decisions have been made administratively. This transfer of the debate from the realm of ideology to the field of demography has vindicated the comment made ten years ago by J. Fauvet: "The school problem would be very easy to solve in terms of procedures to be respected or even more simply of needs to be satisfied. Left in the framework to which it belongs, that of a village or a region, it can be settled concretely. Raised to the level of a national law it becomes philosophical, that is to say, insoluble." It is in the Ministry's offices of the carte scolaire that the concrete solutions are worked out in an attempt to provide each rural and urban district with opportunities and options.

*In sum, the concrete solutions exist.*

Government has done what government does most easily. It has altered structures, built new types of schools in areas of population growth, upgraded technical education, supplied certificates and diplomas. The problems of content, method, and professional training remain.

2.49

Gérjuon, C. and J. C. Passeron. Innovation in Higher Education: French Experience before 1958. Paris: OECD, 1970.

The Case Studies on Innovation in Higher Education series seeks to present "a representative sample of major overall reforms of higher education." This work examines attempts to reform university faculties, reform, and the democratization of recruitment, as well as reform of organizational structures. The authors conclude that reform efforts have been characterized by "declarations of intention," by "purely rhetorical exhortations," and by "ritual confrontations." That because of their limited nature, "the present reforms are condemned to introduce into the university systems only those innovations which are by definition unable to change its structure. Thus, insofar as the recent reform of higher education does not change the basic structure of the university system (i. e., preparatory classes for the Grand Ecoles, the Grand Ecoles themselves or such rewarding diploma from the professional and social point of view as the agrégation), the most spectacular innovations run the risk of being remodeled and reduced by the logic of the system (p.-35).

2.50

Hallack, T. "Is There a Limit to the Financial Commitment to Education (France) Western European Journal of Education, Vol. 4, No. 1 and 2 (Spring and Summer 1972), pp. 39-55.

3.2.51

Patterson, M. "French University Reform: Announcement of Restoration." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 15, No. 2 (June 1972), pp. 281-302.

Suggests that

The Faure reform was a truce rather than a permanent peace treaty, but the initial agreement on the passage of the loi d'orientation created the illusion of consensus on its ends as well. Enacted in a period of great excitement, the Faure reform witnessed a rapid waning of enthusiasm during the transitional period of its new structures. When the restructuring was completed, the unresolved issues that lay below the law resurfaced to leave an indelible mark on the reform.

The French, it has often been noted, have a passion for diplomas and equality; they like the latter because awarded according to uniform rules, ensure the latter. The question of national diplomas had not been answered by the loi d'orientation, and, when it reasserted itself, the forces demanding their retention were imposing. The students and their families cling to the national diplomas because they are recognized equally everywhere in the nation and because they assure the status of their holders. Some professors are equally reluctant to see the demise of the national diplomas, for their own prestige would then in large measure be determined by the prestige of the university with which they are associated. National diplomas, carrying equal weight no matter from what university awarded, ensured the equality of all universities and that differences in status would correspond to professorial rank rather than university affiliation.

The decision to retain and generalize the national diplomas was the decisive victory for the forces of centralization. The awarding of a degree of uniform value throughout the nation engenders the need for uniformity in pedagogy, curriculum, and evaluation of students for it, regardless of university. Uniformity requires a centralized authority to enforce it. Thus, the Minister of National Education will continue to prescribe requirements and programs of study in minute detail. The decision on the national diplomas also has serious repercussions on participation because it substantially constricts the bounds within which the autonomy of the mixed-participation councils can be exercised. Inter-disciplinarity may survive but it too will be limited by the requirements for the national diplomas.

The University reform follows the traditional pattern of institutional innovation in France. Some accommodation will be made to the necessities of technological society, but these changes will be made in the same framework and by essentially the same procedures as before. The University thus has not been fundamentally changed by the 1968 law. The reform which was taken place in the course of the French University law, basically carried out despite the H. Frenay's resistance to its implementation.

.52 Tallon, J. E. The Politics of Educational Reform in France, 1918-1940.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. 233 p.

(b) 277  
Presents an excellent historical study of "the failure of hopes"  
in reform efforts to secure an "Ecole Unique" and a greater equity in  
the French educational system.

(c) 282 Concludes that

The Third Republic's educational system both reflected class distinctions and helped to perpetuate them. It maintained such a fine balance between the encouragement of limited social mobility, by means of the primary system, and the inhibition of social mobility, by means of the secondary system, that the effects of the lycée worked to cancel out the effects of the primary school. The bourgeoisie's quasi-monopoly of secondary education gave it a quasi-monopoly of positions of leadership in the Republic as well. Avenues of social ascent did exist, but they were avenues of individual ascent, too narrow to bear much traffic. By traversing the narrow passageway between the primary school and the lycée, one might become a member of the dominant social class, but on that class's own terms. The educational system was a sort of self-propelled engine of social control, acting as a brake upon social mobility and as a counterweight to civic and political equality. It was one more means by which the working class could be held at arm's length from the chief beneficiaries of the Third Republic.

The movement for educational reform that arose at the end of the First World War was an attempt to end this state of affairs. Structural reform was intended to open access to secondary and higher education to able members of those social classes--the peasantry and the working class--whose members had previously been excluded from it. Every child was to receive an education commensurate with his ability, without regard for his social origins. Clearly, it was an ambitious undertaking. The more radical proponents of reform believed that a change in the educational establishment would cause fundamental changes in society. To be sure, a call for the transformation of the educational system was a challenge to the existing balance of social forces in French society.

Whether higher education should be made accessible to all the nation's able citizens, or remain restricted to some of them, was a political decision to be made by Parliament.

Under the Third Republic, educational reform required an effort to effect social change by political action. This strategy meant conflict between political parties and interest groups that held incompatible ideas of how French society should be arranged, of the function of education, of the nature of the relationship that should prevail between the society and its educational system, and indeed, of human destiny. Beneath the clash of ideologies, the conflicts of class interest, the claims made on behalf of the welfare of the nation, and the long-standing quarrel between church and state that inevitably made its way into the dispute, the fundamental question at issue was about the individual: should a child be enabled to make his way in a democratic society on the basis of his own merit, or should he not?

3, 253 Ueberschlag, R. "Quelques Aspects de la Réforme de l'Enseignement en France." International Review of Education, Vol. 13 (1967), pp. 321-324.

French school reforms are numerous, but highly controversial. Suggests that the lack of consensus about appropriate reform goals and procedures follow logically from a dearth of empirical evidence-- and from the rigidly hierarchical nature of the school system where teachers at various levels have little common interest in reform.

3.2.54/ Watson, D. "The Politics of Educational Reform in France during the Third Republic, 1900-1940." Past and Present, No. 34 (July 1966), pp. 81-99.

Asks "Why did the movement for educational reform achieve so little?" Concludes that the reasons lay in (1) the opposition of the radical party ("the real conservative party in France"); (2) Catholic opposition to the école unique; (3) the absence of high prestige private education; (4) the highly centralized nature of the French educational system; and (5) the over ambitious and utopian nature of the reforms.

All the schemes, from those of Buisson before 1914, down to the recommendations of the Langevin-Wallon commission, gave no attention to the practical difficulties of adapting existing buildings, nor to such matters as the reactions of the teachers and parents. Instead the reformers drew up the blueprints for an ideal system, without attempting to reach a compromise with opposing views, and without considering the question of transitions from existing different structures; any discussion of the cost of the proposals is noticeably absent from the reformers' plans. This is only a reflection of the fact that most Left-wing thinking centered on a complete social revolution, rejecting palliative reforms as tending only to make existing society more stable. This was a valid argument against educational reform; if the cleverest children of the lower classes were provided with a road to the top through equality of opportunity in education, the proletariat would be deprived of its leadership. This argument was in fact used by the Communist party which opposed the école unique movement at certain times in the inter-war period. The more usual attitude was not to reject the very idea of educational reform, but to propose far-reaching schemes without taking account of practical difficulties.

He concludes with the observation that

In 1925 Albert Thibaudet, who was then teaching in a French institute in Sweden, explained the intricacies of the quarrel over educational reform to a Swedish colleague. The Swede said that Sweden had had an educational system such as that advocated by the reformers

for some time, and that he could not understand how anyone could oppose such a sensible scheme. Tailbaudet continues:

I tried to make him understand that France is a very old society and that the école unique, although it looked natural and harmless, touched a most sensitive spot, that it involved our whole social structure.

This comment can hardly be bettered as an explanation of the long drawn-out quarrel over educational reform in France. It was not a pedagogical question, but an intensely political one, and a question that exposed deep-rooted conflicts of ideology and interest.

WEST GERMANY

3, 2, 55

Darreendorf, P. Bildung Ist Bürgerrecht. Hamburg: Hannen-Verlag, 1965. 155 p.

The author identifies basic goals for West German educational policy and proposes reforms. His thesis, essentially neo-Marxian, is found in his title, i.e., "Education Is the Right of the Citizen." His proposal calls for equality of educational opportunity, regardless of origin or economic status. And equally important, each citizen must actually have the opportunity to make full use of this "right" to education. He contends that the present highly selective, elitist system is wasteful of human talent, that children from rural areas, workers' children, Catholic children, and girls are mostly selected out of the system at an early age and are less likely than others to attend the secondary level Realschule or Gymnasium. To bring about such reforms, changes will be required in social attitudes towards the role of education, in attitudes towards the role of women in German society, in accessibility of secondary education and in the curriculum and instruction so as to make it more meaningful to students with a variety of backgrounds.

1, 2, 55

Fuhr, C. "Ten Years of Educational Reform in the Federal Republic of Germany, or Was There an Educational Catastrophe?" Western European Education, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 1974/75), pp. 38-51.

3,2,57

Greenberg, D. S. "West German Educational Reform is the Major Domestic Issue." Science, Vol. 167 (February 1970), pp. 1108-1110.

Examines the political background of frustrated reform efforts and concludes that progress is now underway:

The grounds for worry have long been proclaimed by German educational reformers, many of whom, like their anti-pollution American counterparts, suddenly find themselves eagerly employed or consulted by government after years of being virtually ignored. But among the educational reformers it is not unusual to encounter the view that it was not reasoned tracts or statistics that brought political respectability and power to the reform movement; rather, it was the nearly nationwide uprising of German university students--involving perhaps the most sustained violence to sweep any educational enterprise in the world, with the exception of Japan--that produced the current enthusiasm for reform.

These uprisings, in response to an archaic system that makes West Point look like a showcase of academic democracy, seem to be played out for the moment, but, after a long time in the wilderness, the reformers repeatedly talk about how little time they feel there is to get at the problems. Thus, one of Germany's most renowned evangelists for educational reform, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, recently installed (to her own great astonishment) as Secretary of State for Education in the new Ministry, remarked in an interview, "I fought for reform for 15 years and didn't succeed. But now, because of recent events, we have a new atmosphere. The question is whether we will get the money we need fast enough to do the things that should have been done long, long ago. Germany is rich, but the states are strong, and in the past there has not been enough public money or understanding to provide properly for education."

Accordingly, the author reports

The most packed and blighted places are being given priority, in what is apparently a desperation move to make the most of the relative calm that has now settled on German campuses. In the meantime, the Ministry is conducting extensive consultations and discussions throughout the country on long-range reform in the schools and universities, and controversy and debate go on in the press and in public meetings. To a visitor, "healthy" is the word that comes to mind in viewing Germany's efforts to deal with its educational

problems. But many persons living among those efforts, while grateful that they are at last being attempted, are not very cheerful about the prospects. An American whose work involves keeping a close watch on German education said, "They'll need an enormous amount of money to fix things up, and I doubt that they're going to want to pay the bill."

3.2.58

Halls, W. D. "Present Difficulties in Educational Reform: Some Points of Comparison." In Educational Reform in the Federal Republic of Germany: Initiatives and Trends. C. Föhr (ed.). Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1970, pp. 163-171.

Argues that English and French attempts at comprehensive school reform have been opposed because "the man in the street" has never been sufficiently informed as to the aim of the reforms in progress. "Because the debate over the comprehensive school has proceeded from ignorance rather than a knowledge of the facts... the lines have been drawn between the Conservative and Socialist parties, and it has taken too long for a satisfactory compromise to be evolved." Moreover, "It would not be unfair to say that a similar politicisation of issues concerning the 'common school' has also occurred in France. An informed public opinion is the best guarantee in a democracy for an effective educational reform."

3.2.59

Heald, David. "Reform and Tradition in German Universities Today." Universities Quarterly, Vol. 21 (September 1967), pp. 453-461.

Efforts to implement reforms in German universities after 1966 have been severely circumscribed by

Overcrowded universities, too few ideas, too few new buildings, resistance to reform, a worsening staff/student ratio--these are some of the problems which face the Federal Republic in its attempts to reorganize a university system which may have been the best for the nineteenth century, but now shows signs of needing a firm push into the mid-twentieth century. It was, among other things, his great admiration for the German universities he had just visited that inspired Thomas Campbell to write the letter to The Times in 1824 which was the first step in the foundation of the University of London. Germany's main task is to raise her universities again to that once exemplary level.

3.2.60

Kloss, G. "University Reform in West Germany: The Burden of Tradition." Minerva, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Spring 1968), pp. 323-353.

The author describes how lack of a coordinated reform policy, professional conservatism, and other problems have frustrated reform movements. He concludes that:

The present-day German student agitation is part of a worldwide student unrest. But in Germany it has grown over many years and has gathered much of its impetus from a gradual disillusionment with the academic establishment. It has reached such proportions only because of the conservative and authoritarian system which was revived in West Germany after the Second World War. The only concern of most of the professors, with a few notable exceptions, appeared to be the perpetuation of the existing system and the preservation of the "dignity of the university." . . . .

There are many motives at work--including some which have little to do with the universities as such--in the recent agitation of German university students. It is nonetheless likely that, had some changes been introduced earlier, students would today not be asking for one-third representation, together with professorial and non-professorial staff, on the university senate and other committees.

The next decade will obviously be a time of turmoil for the universities in West Germany. But it is also clear that the forces of tradition are at last yielding, though slowly, to the forces of reform.

3.2.61

Lawson, R. F. Reform of the West German School System, 1945-1962.  
University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series  
No. 4. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1965. 230 p.

Concludes that:

The foregoing discussion of current developments in areas of German education selected for reform by the Allied Occupation and including important independent developments which might fall under the broad heading of "democratization," reveals that some reforms toward ends envisioned by American educators have been accomplished. Moreover, the work of liberalizing the German school system and making it more responsive to present social needs is proceeding as vigorously today as it was ten or fifteen years ago, in some ways more vigorously. This indicates a favorable attitude among many educators and also in the general public toward the principles for German educational reform supported by the Americans and British Occupation authorities. It has been pointed out earlier, however, that Germans tend to look for the origin of these reforms in pre-war progressive movements, and their specific form today is independently German. Furthermore, school reforms have been incorporated into the traditional structure and made to accord largely with unaltered aims. In other words, changes have occurred both practically and philosophically within the German educational context, which explains why perceptions of degree of change vary considerably between German and foreign observers. ~~(p. 196)~~

3.2.62

Moltke, K. von. "Reform Proposals Not Carried Through," ~~Germany~~  
Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3080 (June 7, 1974), p. 47.

3.2.63

Otto, P. A. "Curriculumrevision als Voraussetzung einer Reform der Grundschule." Welt der Schule, Vol. 25 (June 1972), pp. 216-224.

- 3.2.4/ Robinsons, S. B. and J. C. Kuhlmann. "Two Decades of Non-Reform in West German Education." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 311-330.

The authors first explain their title:

It is not meant to be polemic but to indicate that, in contrast to some other European countries, the adjustment of the educational system to the socio-economic and cultural developments of the mid-twentieth century has not yet really taken place in Germany. The authors do not consider certain changes in the organization of schooling and instruction which have occurred during the post-war years to have altered the system of West German education in any important degree. It is significant that a high official of the Bavarian Ministry of Education after enumerating a number of internal reforms, such as the participation of primary school teachers in deciding on selection for secondary schools, a concentration of subjects in the upper secondary schools, the introduction of social studies, the organization of study groups, and certain changes in the organization of the time-table, declared: "The secondary school has completed its reform;" and concluded: "peace must now return for a long period."

They contend somewhat pessimistically that

... the strong tendency towards conformity of cooperating groups within West German society has, in the absence of equally strong counterforces and of any real challenge by social research, succeeded in either mobilizing public opinion against structural reforms or in neutralizing it. Rational discussions of educational problems have been thwarted by the intrusion of ideology. Cultural federalism has tended to act more as a brake on innovation and experimentation than as an inspiration to pioneering competition. Finally, public pressure "from below" has not been present because of the low level of educational aspiration in some social groups.

Their conclusion, however, is that: "The answer will depend largely on effective mobilization of public interest and political forces."

3.2.65 Van De Graaf, I. The Politics of German University Reform, 1810-1970. Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1973. 403 p.

*University of Education*

The author suggests that von Humboldt's reforms of German universities around 1800 continued until the 1960's:

Until well into the 1960's the prevailing ideology remained essentially Humboldtian. It viewed the university's function as pure research combined closely with teaching, as a means for shaping individual character. Structurally, the university was ideally to be a community of teachers and students. However, even from the time of Humboldt only the full professors (Ordinarien) were in practice treated as full members of the university, and they maintained this dominant position until the late 1960's, successfully blocking internal reform efforts by students and younger staff. The other major hindrance to reform was the traditional conception of the state as a neutral, benevolent patron and provider, insulating the university against the merely partial interests of society at large. Since the parliaments made no effort to exercise their prerogative of legislation, this left only the ministerial bureaucracies as potential sources of reform, and for the most part, in an alliance of interests with the Ordinarien, they were content to maintain the status quo.

He concludes that reform following the student unrest of 1967-68

reflects

...two new conceptions of the university and shows continuity with certain threads of traditional ideology. Functionalism sees the university as supplying the needs of the economy for knowledge and highly trained manpower and advocates a hierarchical structure, with participation graduated on the basis of competence, under the guidance of the state. The democratic university, on the other hand, is envisaged as a haven for humanistic, emancipatory and socially critical research and teaching, oriented towards the genuine needs of mankind. Such a university would be structured as a fully participatory community, with autonomy from the state but responsive to progressive forces in society. These contrasting constellations of ideas have influenced not only the content of university legislation, but also the course of the legislative process itself.

3.2.66 Van de Graaff, J. H. "West Germany's Arbitrar Quota and School Reform." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (February 1967), pp. 75-86.

Recent efforts to reform "the elitist nature of German secondary and higher education" and to open these levels "to a broader segment of the population in a nage of world-wide social and economic change" have been obstructed by the following: i. e., the principle of "cultural federalism" where each state retains complete control of educational policy and programs, by the concept of bildungsideal or classical studies as the only proper gymnasium curriculum, by industry's resistance based on complaints of "over-qualified technical graduates," and by the elitist and privileged higher secondary teachers and administrators who tend to reject on ideological grounds the reforms which they feel might dilute the high intellectual standards of the gymnasium.

3.2.67

Weller, H. N. The Politics of Educational Innovation: Recent Developments in West German School Reform. A Report to the National Academy of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, California, October 1973. (mimeo). 7-10.

Observes that efforts to reform German education with the introduction of an "integrated comprehensive school" have been rather effectively opposed by gymnasium teachers using "pure" pedagogical criteria.

Weller contends that the reform will eventually be resolved according to which social groups hold political power--i. e.,

If the forces of democratic socialism and Liberalism consolidate their hold in German politics to the extent that the Christian Democrats were able to do for the first two decades of post-war Germany, then it is almost inevitable that some form of an integrated, horizontal system of post-primary education will emerge, eventually reaching a critical mass that forces the then remaining pockets of vertically organized state systems to adjust themselves to the prevailing mode of school organization. If, however, a more alternating pattern in the succession of West German governments at the federal and state levels is going to prevail over the next twenty years or so, then the issue may very well remain unresolved, and competitive systems may continue to co-exist more or less comfortably for as far into the future as one would care to predict today. In many ways, the departure to new educational goals and their implementation has only just begun in West Germany, and the difficulties which already the first few steps have encountered are indicative of both the magnitude and the intensely political nature of the task that lies ahead in the next decade or two.

3.2.68

EAST GERMANY  
Anweiler, O. Bildungsreformen in Osteuropa. Berlin: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969. 204 p.

3.2.69

Wirzberger, K-H. "The Third Reform of Higher Education in the German Democratic Republic." Prospects, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1973), pp. 497-503.

Explains that universities in the GDR have, despite major economic difficulties, attempted to "serve in multifarious ways to promote social progress." Tasks addressed have included: (1) destroying the bourgeoisie's privileged position, (2) introducing Marxist-Leninist theory into academic life, (3) training of a new socialist intelligentsia, and (4) since 1968, carrying out reforms required for the creation of a "unified" socialist educational system "in" the construction of a full-fledged socialist state. Notes that

... one of the key features of the third university reform is, in our view, the fact that it has produced sufficiently flexible structures to be capable of further modification in accordance with changes in praxis. Our present and future efforts are and will continue to be characterized by the concern to collaborate--using the specific tools of knowledge and in full consciousness of our great responsibilities--in fulfilling the primary duty of a developed socialist society and so contribute to the further improvement of the people's material and cultural standard of living, thanks to a rapid rate of expansion of socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific and technological progress and a continuous rise in the productivity of labour. [my underlining]

- 3.2.70 Kazamias, A. M. "Plans and Policies for Educational Reform in Greece." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 331-347.

Kazamias explains that:

When the reformers and the critics referred to the improvement of the educational system so that it will meet contemporary techno-economic needs and the goals of economic development, they invariably stressed technical and vocational schools and these as substitutes for general schools. The argument has been that the demands of a growing economy require the application of technological skills and that such skills are best developed in formal technical and vocational institutions. While the first part of this argument may be true, the second is open to serious doubts. Are technical skills or competencies of industrial growth indeed developed in formal institutional settings? Are the facilities and environment conducive to skill development better provided in schools or by industry and by "on the job training?" To what extent is formal technical training accepted and actually utilized by employers? Would the people who go through technical schools actually seek careers based upon their training? What light does Greece's past experience throw on these questions? None of the recent proposals, statements, or plans addressed themselves to such questions of the education-development problem. In the five-year plans and the Mediterranean Regional Project, global estimates of manpower requirements are made. Like all such enterprises, this one makes the questionable assumption that schools and individuals are going to behave according to certain prescribed patterns. Educational reformers have looked primarily at the pedagogical aspects of the system and have barely considered the relationship of education to the socio-economic structure, job opportunities, and the structure of incentives.

This last observation is worthy of further comment. While the reluctance to abandon tradition may have a rational justification, since tradition can provide cultural cohesion and stability, nevertheless, it also reflects an entrenchment into positions of power of a group of intellectuals, pedagogues, and politicians with similar educational backgrounds, similar social ideologies, and similar interests. This oligarchy can easily be identified in the educational bureaucracy, the University of Athens, the Church hierarchy, and the conservative political parties. Their positions on the 1964 measures speak for themselves.

But equally illustrative of the persistence of a traditional approach is the fact that both critics and reformers have viewed the reform of education from a similar orientation, mostly from the narrowly pedagogical one. Education, a national concern, touching the lives of every individual, has been almost exclusively in the hands of "specialists," consisting of a few university professors and bureaucrats and some educational practitioners. As a popular magazine exclaimed: Have the specialists ever called upon successful industrialists, merchants, bankers, the "pragmatists," to ask them how they perceive the man of tomorrow, or what type of individual is needed in today's changing world? One could also add: Have the specialists ever asked the ordinary man--the peasant, the worker, the small business man, the artisan--or the students themselves to express their views on their aspirations, expectations, and preferences?

He concludes that

Despite these strictures and the inadequacies of its nature, scope, and basis, the reform movement, particularly the 1964 policies, may well have turned out to be the beginning of a silent social and pedagogical revolution in Greek modernization. There were indications that the acuteness of some issues, for example, that of language, which could previously shake governments, dismiss eminent professors, cause public riots and bloodshed, and send people before the public prosecutor had been blunted. Other issues, such as classicism and classical humanism had been forcefully challenged. The very idea that education can be regarded as investment or that educational policy must consider the techno-economic needs of the country was a radical departure in Greek thinking. A new generation of people who had been educated in countries other than Germany or France or who had been exposed to different ideas had reached maturity and had been clamoring for change. Economic development had expanded the horizons of the rural, peasant population, and the demand for education had increased. More people were asking questions about the benefits to their children of former types of schooling. Others wanted equal opportunities and privileges. But on April 21, 1967, the army staged a coup d'état. Since then, parliamentary government has been suspended. The military junta has vowed to destroy the reforms of the previous years and bring about a moral revolution based on the "purity" of Greek traditions.

.2.71

Cesareo, V. and M. Reguzzoni. "Enseignants Italiens: Attitudes Relatives à leur Position et à la Reforme de l'École Moyenne." International Review of Education, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1971), pp. 324-331.

3.2.72

Codignola, T. "The University Reform." Western European Education, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1971/72), pp. 316-328.

Italian universities, traditionally among the most conservative in program and hierarchical structure, are state institutions which depend in their basic policies, organization, and financial support entirely on the national government. Jolted to action by the student revolts in 1968 and 1969, the legislature began working on a broad and partly radical reform design, which, after long political controversies, became law in 1971. Internal democratization was the main goal of this elaborate new law.

~~He~~ <sup>The author</sup> ~~sadly~~ concludes that

... the ~~proposal~~ <sup>reform</sup> approved by the Senate is a fundamental and well-articulated law for integral renovation which meets the problems squarely and points to the possible solutions which have emerged from ten years of proposals, polemics, and the fiery atmosphere of debate; as things were, no one has presented any useful alternatives. Whether it will be possible to reconstitute an organism which had arrived at the brink of collapse is a question which cannot yet be easily answered: even if the political situation were to permit the implementation of the legislation proposals, the question remains whether the university can find, in itself and in society, the necessary strength for this rebirth. The overcoming of old animosities, the passage from an exasperatingly individualistic administration of university power to a community mode, the ability of everyone to work together, without feelings of vendetta--all require a common persuasion, constructive decisions, and a faith in scientific and instructional work which today seem a distant mirage.

3.2.73

Gelpl, E. "Structure and Function of Italian Universities." In Education In Europe, M.A. Matthijssen and E. Vervoort. The Hague: Mouton, 1969. pp. 241-246.

Plans for reforming Italian universities have failed because of vested interests of professors, and because reforms did not respond to the demands of students who proposed more radical changes and less authoritarian control.

3.2.74

Santoni Rigiù, A. "The Evolution of the Italian Educational System." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 348-359.

Santoni

Observes that

At the beginning of 1956, the general structure of the Italian educational system was not much different from that decreed by the Casati Law of 1859 plus the modifications which had emerged from the reform carried out in the first years of fascism...

In 1962, a new single middle school was legislated ... for students from eleven to fourteen years of age, compulsory and free, as was the elementary school, and non-discriminatory, is without doubt the most important educational reform of the past twenty years. At last, effective realization of compulsory education to age fourteen, decreed in 1923 and confirmed by the present Constitution, is in sight.

It contends

... it is [now] unanimously recognized at all levels of Italian educational administration that the new [middle] school has been successful quantitatively. At present over 90 percent of the children who leave elementary school enter the middle school; differences between North and South and between advanced and depressed areas have been narrowed, and communes still without middle schools now contain only 6.9 percent of the total population. In a few years the number of teachers has increased from less than 90,000 to approximately 140,000 in the middle school alone. If one bears in mind the starting point of these efforts, the quantitative progress is undeniable.

It concludes, nevertheless, that serious obstacles <sup>to the reform</sup> remain, <sup>official</sup> and <sup>academic opinion,</sup> ~~for example~~

Official and academic opinion continues to pay little attention to the proposals of those who study educational problems. The world of the school resists educational reform, in which it sees a threat to cultural models and traditional roles.

There are also ideological obstacles. Except for two brief and not particularly significant periods over the past twenty years, the Minister of Public Instruction has been

dependent upon the Democratic Christians, who are strongly influenced by the Catholic educational associations (relatively the best organized and most homogeneous) and upon the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Church has been traditionally very cautious toward proposals for educational reform, if only out of fear that any change will encourage secular directions in education. However, Catholic forces prefer not to oppose change outright, but to go along with them in the hope of controlling them in the direction of moderation. A Catholic scholar described this approach recently as one of lentocrazia ("slowcracy").

3.2.75

Martin, G.D.C. "Microstate Reforms Its Educational System. [~~Liechtenstein~~]." International Review of Education, Vol.19, No. 3 (1973), pp.396-403.

Martin describes the 1972 educational reform, and observes that Liechtenstein's greatest problem "is preservation of its national identity and very existence as a state." He concludes that

...the Liechtensteiners, true to their reputation as hard-headed Alemans, have produced a realistic basis for educational reform in their minuscule state. One of the main advantages of the limited size of the territory is that administration remains a personal business: every teacher, for instance, knows his Director of Education, most will have met their Prime Minister, many will even have spoken to their Prince. This, coupled with a genuine wave of enthusiasm for educational reform current not only in the teaching profession but throughout public life in the Principality, is the best guarantee that the reforms will be carried out both in the letter and the spirit of the law.

3.2.76

Hansen, E. "Marxism, Socialism, and the Dutch Primary Schools." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 1973), pp. 367-391.

Hansen notes that: "In 1962, 26% of the elementary school pupils in the Netherlands attended a public school, 74% were in private or confessional schools. This has not always been the case. At the turn of the century 69% of all elementary school students were in public schools and 31% in private or confessional schools. One of the great turning points in this confessionalizing trend was the constitutional revision of 1917 which placed confessional elementary schools on a parity with the public schools in terms of state subsidy." This reform, the author concludes, enabled the Socialists to appeal "to rural and small town sectors in the Netherlands." The reform made the Social Democratic Party less vulnerable to charges of Godlessness, atheism, and materialism. It would also allow the devout worker to enter the <sup>labor</sup> movement without compromising his belief in a confessional education for his children."

3.2.77 Kamm, H. "Fast Dutch Campus Reform has Made Some Furious." New York Times (May 21, 1976), p. A12.

*From an equilibrium perspective*  
 ^ Kamm notes that

Student demands for university reform in the Netherlands achieved more immediate and far-reaching results than elsewhere in Western Europe. So far-reaching are the results that protests are not largely limited to teachers who believe that the changes are threatening their freedom to teach.

Student demonstrations and occupation of university buildings in 1969 led to the Government's introduction of the University Reorganization Act that year and its passage and enactment in 1970.

From a system in which full professors had nearly absolute control over studies, administration and the careers of all teachers below their rank, Dutch universities were democratized to share power at more or less parity among teachers, students and administrative employees.

He quotes a professor of architecture's critical comments on the role of students in the reforms:

"When I came in 1966, the atmosphere was stuffy and the professors authoritarian," he recalled. "It was a wonderful moment when everything opened up. We thought, 'Now we are among ourselves and can start happily on a new architecture.'

"But then the problems of architecture disappeared and politics began. It all became a question of changing society rather than architecture. Architecture almost got drowned. The architecture department is almost entirely in the hands of radical students and younger teachers. They do nothing but govern the school instead of teaching and being taught. They just govern, govern, govern."

~~'No Solution'~~

"I wouldn't mind at all if the great percentage of people were Marxists, if they only used their brains. A weird and almost absurd concept of what architecture is developing. It is an attack without an answer. They offer no solution."

"They say architecture should be scientific and objective and must be Marxist," Mr. van Eyck went on. "There is no such thing as Marxist construction; there is Marxist thought--no Marxist bricks."

~~Kamm (cont'd)~~

"My colleagues and I are accused of humanism, representing the last stage of a humanistic concept that began in the Renaissance. We are no longer relevant and they don't talk with people who are no longer relevant."

"An extreme form of unbelievable centralization and bureaucracy have taken over," he said. "It is a dictatorship of boys and girls who haven't completed their education. It smacks of fascism. They are trying to argue in the name of everybody the obsolescence of architecture because they don't know how to do it."

"Design has been replaced by reports of 2,200 pages. People are finishing their architectural studies without creating a design, just words and statistics.

"There is contempt for the individual and for quality. They are very brutal. Their index is even stricter than that of Rome."

3.2 78

Stellway, H. W. F. "On Reform of the Educational System in the Netherlands." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 360-365.

Explains that

The "Mammoth Act" is a first attempt at reorganization of the educational structure to bring it more into line with the social and political changes of the last half century. It has tried to solve one of the great problems of the prevailing system, the transfer of pupils from primary to post-primary education into one Department for Continued Education in order to facilitate vertical and horizontal transfer. It also attempts to provide for more differentiation within each of the various types of continued education.

Observes that

Some supporters of state schools feared that certain organizational features of the "Mammoth Act" favored denominational schools. However, few difficulties have arisen and Dutch education, like Gaul in Caesar's time, is divided into three parts. The "public" schools enroll the children of parents who do not care for denominational tuition, the "private" schools the children of those who prefer denominational tuition or of those who have taken the initiative in founding a school for some other reasons. This possibility is open to any group of parents provided they secure the legally required numbers. Although the State does not interfere in the religious matters of the schools, the curriculum, the qualification of teachers, teachers' salaries and social security rights fall under the same regulations and supervision as the public schools. In this sense, private education, in the usual sense of the term, does not exist in the Netherlands. Cooperation in various fields has been achieved among the three Centers for Educational Research belonging to the three teacher unions. Since the Second World War, these organizations have promoted experimentation and research. As a result of their efforts many important projects have been carried out by university and other research institutes with the financial support of the government. The necessity for coordinating all educational research has led to the founding of a national Research Institution to encourage and coordinate the research projects of the various institutions. The Act on Experiments in Schools (1963) provides the legal basis for experiments to prepare for the introduction of the various reforms proposed by the "Mammoth Act."

3.2.79

Van Lutsenburg Maas, J. "The 'Mammoth Law' Reforms of Dutch Education." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 7, No. 3 (February 1964), pp. 279-285.

Dutch reforms of post-secondary education after 1963 have changed the educational structure from a dual to a tripartite system. The new secondary school branch is semi-academic, but does not qualify for university entrance.

Concludes that

the reforms were not brought on by hard economic calculations alone. Just as potent a factor was the social--and hence political--pressure of the rising lower and middle classes. The prestige of academic education in Western civilization plays a significant role here. Since in the popular imagination the assured road to success is through an academic education, and since such an educational background has certainly provided wider occupational and social horizons, the pressure on such schools to expand enrollment has become a common phenomenon in virtually all modern and modernizing nations. However, as discussed earlier, to open wide the doors and thereby lower the standards of the established "secondary" schools would be intolerable. An alternate solution is to create parallel institutions whose standards are of less strategic importance. Whether this new approach will in fact meet the popular demands or merely shift the "bottleneck" from the doors of the secondary schools to those of the universities remains to be seen.

3.2.80

Weeren, D. Historical and Contemporary Aspects of Inter-Religious Relations in Dutch Education and Society. Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1967. 294 p.

NORWAY

7 / Palm, E. Norwegian Education and Cultural Nationalism, 1832-1896. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972. 241 p.

Examined how the rise of "cultural nationalism" led to successful reform efforts seeking to "Norwegianize" the school. The peasant groups and intellectuals pressing for cultural revitalization, she suggests, "sought to replace an avowedly elitist school system with a democratic nationalist system. They wanted the same 'Norwegian' education for everyone in the state. Our radical (i. e., U. S.) school critics are engaged in what appears to be almost the opposite enterprise: fragmenting an accepted [sic] notion of national American culture into a series of sub-cultures."

*Sive* concludes that:

In nineteenth-century Norway, the concept of a "natural" Norwegian nation which existed apart from the state was crucial in the struggle to depose a ruling elite and to alter an education associated with that elite. The chief argument used by a Christopher Bruun (inborn spirit of a people) is no longer acceptable, but the cultural nationalist position can be--and is being--recast in suitable modern terms (group identity, social cohesion, ethnic complementarity, cultural heritage, and the like). To me, the interesting point about cultural nationalist theory is its ideal construct of a nation as distinct from the state. Such a construct can be a powerful battering ram against existing state institutions and those who control them. In the United States, it would seem--where we have for much too long pretended that there existed, or that there must exist, a single American nation which corresponded to the state--several doses of old-fashioned cultural nationalism could only be salutary.

3.2.82

Hansen, L. B. "Ends and Means in Norwegian Educational Reform." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 8, No. 3 (December 1964), pp. 269-275.

Argues convincingly that "Norwegian educational reform is but part of a broader attempt by the State to implement political equality through planning." The "political movements in Norway have strongly influenced the direction and scope of educational reform." This has led to attempts to replace parallel educational programs with

... a nine-year "streamed" comprehensive school which would eventually consolidate the realskole and continuation school (the school for the non-college-bound) and provide a common general education for all young people of diverse backgrounds, abilities, and educational goals. It is in essence a ~~unitary~~<sup>flexible</sup> approach which aims to bring different types of secondary education under one roof, allow for easy movement from one type to another, and to stress flexibility and choice rather than rigidity.

Concludes that

Notwithstanding the State's ambitious plans to make the change to the nine-year school, there is considerable trepidation in some quarters, partly because the new structure threatens to replace schools long in existence, partly because of fear of moving too fast, and partly out of skepticism about visionary programs which cannot practically be implemented. Although most political parties agree on the need and desirability of a nine-year school, one can find some rumbles of dissent. Criticism and opposition seem to center around (1) the examination system and basis for differentiation, (2) language problems, (3) status of teachers, and (4) school organization.

3.2.83

Naeseth, H.C.K. "Early Years of the Norwegian Folk High School." Scandinavian Studies, Vol. 25 (1953), pp. 87-99.

This article uses a cultural revival perspective to illustrate the use of folk schools by the Norwegian government in their quest to break away from Sweden. They decided to use songs and poetry of their country to inculcate in the young a greater awareness of Norway's rich folk culture.

This use of the folk schools to create attitudes of cultural nationalism was

3.2.84

Sausjord, Gunnar. "Norwegian Educational Reform and the Enhetsskole Idea." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 366-373.

The author  
1 Explains that

The idea of a unified or unitary educational system, symbolized by the term and ideal of the enhetsskole, to replace the dualistic character typical of most European educational systems until recently is a key concept and the dominant theme in Norwegian educational history since the latter part of the nineteenth century. And while this ideal generally has inspired educational reform movements in Europe for generations, as evidenced by the Einheitsschule idea, the école unique movement, the drive for "comprehensive" schools, and the like, the general societal setting of Norway posed a special set of circumstances leading to somewhat unique practical interpretations and achievements.

Factors obstructing an enhetsskole, or comprehensive school reform, are seen as

Social class differences and traditions of cultural exclusiveness [are] by no means nonexistent. At the same time the powerful example of such culturally advanced nations as Germany [has] exerted a strong formative influence on the philosophy and practical organization of the educational system. Finally, the very important rural-urban dichotomy within the national culture--attributable to historical and topographical factors and reflected not only in a wealth of greatly varying dialects, but also in the existence of two official language forms, one primarily urban and the other primarily rural--[has] presented particular difficult and challenging problems to the realization of a unified system of education with equality of opportunity for all. In fact, common laws, policies, and regulations for elementary education in urban and rural areas, a goal envisioned by

educational leaders already in the nineteenth century, was not achieved until a few years ago. Thus the struggle for the enhetsskole--whose practical program was directed toward extending the period of compulsory, common, and undifferentiated education--[has] implied a special effort to improve the quality and availability of education for rural children and youth.

... both the concept of differentiation and its practical implementation in the youth school have undergone significant changes. The earlier system of "lines" and "branches" and the related "levels" of study, all uncomfortably reminiscent of the difference between the real schools and continuation schools of the past with their different prestige values and inherent vocational-professional promise, has given way to a more moderate and flexible type of differentiation. This gradual process of change testifies to the wisdom of the empirical approach followed and to the contributions of the many schools which cooperated in the experimental work. The idea of a bilateral system of lower secondary education, faintly visible in the "line" concept, has receded from view, and the future youth school promises to become in fact a common "unitary" school providing an authentic secondary education for all.

3.2.85

Beyer, L. R. "The German Educational Policy for the Poles." School and Society, Vol. 60, No. 1563 (December 9, 1944), p. 376.

Germany's goal of turning Poland into a colony for German settlement calls for the elimination of all high schools and most elementary schools. "Germany's guiding idea is the transformation of some 18 million Poles into slaves capable of performing only the physical work required by the Germans." The German network of schools created during the war to replace Polish schools "consists chiefly of four-year schools employing unqualified German teachers, whose primary aim is to eradicate all traces of Polish culture and tradition and to develop the Nazi spirit among the newly created 'Germans.'"

3.2.86

Fischer, H-J. "Der Stand der polnischen Schulreform." Pädagogik und Schule in Ost und West, Vol. 16, No. 1 (February 1968), pp. 43-47.

3.2.87

Fiszman, J. R. Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland: Education and Socialization. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1972. 382 p.

Assesses Polish educational-reform efforts and finds that basic conflicts have arisen from the clash of still powerful religious and nationalistic traditions and Marxist scientism.

.2.88

Jablonski, H. "Les écoles supérieures et la réforme de l'enseignement," ~~[Poland]~~ Synthesis, Vol. 22, No. 253 (June 1967), pp. 77-80.

The author sees major problems in carrying out nationwide educational reforms in the rapid expansion of the system, in articulating the major levels, and in the shortage of high-level manpower.

3.2.89

Jablonski, H. "The Universities and the School Reform," Polish Perspectives, Vol. 9 (June 1966), pp. 8-12.

Complains that reform attempts to egalitarianize, to open-up the Polish school system are limited by the universities' continuing dominance of the educational sector.

3.2.90

Moorman, P. "Shake-Up Puts Learning Society in the Vanguard of the New Revolution." Times Educational Supplement, No. 3059 (January 11, 1974), pp. 18-19.

From a functionalist viewpoint, the author reports Poland's current controversial efforts to shift from an elitist to a <sup>more open</sup> ~~an open~~ educational system. He argues that the long-term rationale for a highly educated "learning society" is because "it is essential to continuing material progress." The reform "causes" are, thus, viewed explicitly as the need for more highly trained technical manpower; and implicitly <sup>as a result of</sup> ~~the~~ the shift in national goals from "building communism" to building a "consumer society."

3.2.91

Kuberski, J. and J. Wolczyk. "The Bases of the Reform of the Educational System of Poland." Prospects. Vol.5, No.3 (1975), pp. 301-311.

The authors explain that:

...the purpose of the reform will be to raise the level of education in Poland, make secondary education available to all, introduce institutional forms of lifelong education for the people as a whole, and provide multilateral links between school and life so as to prepare the generations to come for creative roles in society.

The development of an educational system on these lines calls for collaboration from schools, families, firms, youth organizations, the mass communication media and from the entire social and institutional context in which the pupil lives. For it is only by developing the educational functions of society and its institutions as a whole that it will be possible to achieve the desired results. The school is, and will continue to be, an essential element in the process, but it will not be the only one.

They suggest that:

Unity of action by all the important educational forces will certainly play a decisive part in the modification and development of the national education system. In this respect a special task devolves upon the family, as providing the child's natural early background. Hence it is important that the family should receive all the necessary assistance, not only from the school but also from specialized establishments and social organizations. Such assistance should, for example, help parents to learn more about the educational system and associate them with the various stages of consultation while guaranteeing that their children will enjoy the material conditions which are essential if they are to receive a proper education.

.2.92 Pecherski, M. "Changes in the <sup>323</sup> Polish System of Teacher Education Since 1972." International Review of Education. (Part I: Institutional Reforms in Teacher Education Since 1972). Vol. 21, No. 4 (1975),  
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.2.93 Polny, R. "Über die Reform der allgemeinbildenden Mittelschule in der Volksrepublik Polen." Vergleichende Pädagogik, Vol. 4 (1969), pp. 25-42.

3.2.94 Roucek, J. S. "The New Reforms of the Polish Educational System." School and Society, Vol. 36, No. 927 (October 1, 1932), pp. 431-432.

Attempts to reform secondary schools have been hindered by "the remains of the Russian and Austrian school organization" and by private schools.

.2.95 Wegrocki, H. J. "Educational Reform in Poland." Educational Method, Vol. 13, No. 5 (February 1934), pp. 247-251.

With independence in 1918, Poland attempted to create a new "more democratic" educational system. In fact, however, "the only thing that really changed is the division and organization of studies" and the increased subordination of universities to a more centralized Ministry of Education "whose seal of approval will be necessary as much for the election of university rectors as for the existence of student societies."

3.2.96 Herzlich, G. "Portugal: La réforme à l'épreuve de la 'Normalisation.'" Le Monde de l'Education, Vol. 14 (février 1976), pp. 18-20.

3.2.97 Simão, J. V. "General Reform of Education in Portugal." Western European Education, Vol. 4, No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1972), pp. 106-119.

Simão, the Minister of Education, discusses sweeping reforms in the educational system that express

a philosophy of education which would embody the double principle that the education of the individual is the main aim of the educational system and that all, on the basis of equal opportunities, should find in any such system the paths that will guarantee their inalienable right to be educated. From this we may conclude that the educational system should not be directly subordinated to the demands of economic development, even though we understand that to ignore such a relationship may lead to individual cases of frustration: the concept of educational structures should make it possible to obtain concrete qualifications for the exercise of a profession considered to be socially useful. This is, in fact, the manner in which we seek to embody in educational matters the humanistic principles and the community vocation of the Social State, which recognizes the rights of the citizen, considered as an individual and as an element of an integrated collectivity.

... The reforms we want to see effected cannot be limited to static, definite schemes, but should rather be the sum of sectoral measures and actions, all of them interconnected and inspired by a single, coherent thought and principle. We are thus faced with a process of continuous improvement and enrichment which will contribute to the institution of an eminently Portuguese, New School, without detriment to its universality, in which the Homeland will fulfill its sacred duty to ensure the education of its children, who will later be in a position to maintain, in coming generations, that spirit of renovated education that each period of history calls for.

He suggests certain conditions necessary for the reform's success:

So vast a programme as the one I have just outlined very briefly calls for vast efforts and naturally huge material resources. The necessary conditions for the ample, harmonious development of such projects include the training and modernization of indispensable human

means, the formulation of suitable educational methods and curricula, call for the definition and implementation of a complex educational structure, the establishment of appropriate administrative structures and give rise to an infinite number of problems to be solved, questions to be meditated, solutions to be discovered and energies to be used up.

But little or nothing will get done unless we manage to get the population of the country really engaged in the responsibilities of educational work. The achievement that we are planning is for the Nation as a whole, and the Nation must contribute.

3,2,98

Braham, R. L. Education in Romania: A Decade of Change.

Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1972. 155 p.

The author reports important reforms that have <sup>strengthened</sup> the educational system and ~~monitored~~ provides a picture of the system at all education levels as of the 1969-70 academic year. Since Communist acquisition of power late in 1947, three major educational reforms have reflected a progressive nationalistic educational trend. The first, in 1947, aligned Romania's Western-oriented educational system with that of the Soviet Union; the second, in 1955, called for reorganization of the schools along polytechnical lines. Revealing a bolder posture toward national independence and also reflecting political aspirations and educational objectives of the regime, the third reform in the 1970's was designed to further Romania's long-range plans for industrialization and technical development and fostered change in general education, higher education, teacher education, and the vocational system. Among the achievements of this latter reform were: (1) the revitalization and modernization of higher education, and alignment of Romania's higher education with the modernization process occurring in the west; (2) extension from 8 to 10 years of free and compulsory education; (3) a rise of enrollment at all levels; and (4) reorganization of vocational education.

- .2.99 Hayashida, R. H. The Third Front: The Politics of Soviet Mass Education, 1917-1918. Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1973. 572 p.

What enabled the Soviets to radically transform Russian education in a short period. This study attempts an answer by concentrating on "the Third Front." This was

a term coined by the Soviet state's first Commissar of Education, A. V. Lunacharskii, [it] referred to the field of education and culture after the Bolshevik Revolution. This dissertation concentrates in detail on the formative years of the "Third Front" from 1917 to 1918 and examines the problems and methods of the take over of the educational system by the new Bolshevik regime. It focuses on the transference of the mass educational system (i. e., primary and secondary education) from the Tsarist autocracy to the Provisional Government and from the Provisional Government to the Soviet state.

Progressive education in Russia, especially as it was developed between 1880 and 1917, was found to provide the principal ideological foundation for all the major protagonists between 1917 and 1918. After the February Revolution in Russia, a period of dual educational power, similar to the political situation, ensued between the Provisional Government's Ministry of National Education, on the one hand, and the State Committee for National Education on the other. The latter was powerfully supported by Russia's largest teachers' union, the All-Russian Teachers' Union (VUS), which was controlled by the moderate socialists (principally Socialist Revolutionaries) as well as by the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. Although the progressive educational programs of both the Ministry and the State Committee were almost indistinguishable as they vehemently clashed over questions dealing with the mechanics of decision making and popular participation in the educational system. Just as the State Committee for National Education had gained the upper hand in the dual power relationship with the Ministry of Education, the Bolshevik Revolution occurred, giving the small number of Bolshevik educators (also proponents of progressive education) power over a hostile educational system. Astutely using both positive and negative policies, the new Soviet

educators extended their control over the schools and teachers and eliminated the incompatible elements of the old educational system, such as the State Committee for National Education. The major opponent of the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros) proved to be the All-Russian Teachers' Union. Creating a united front of teachers' organizations against Soviet power, VUS attempted to ignore and isolate Narkompros. In December 1917, however, its affiliates were drawn into a disastrous teachers' strike by their allied unions in the teachers' united front. Organizationally and financially weak, VUS was not able to preserve the teachers' united front during the strike; and in January 1918, after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the teachers' strike was broken and the united front was dissolved.

From the beginning of 1918, Narkompros actively began to encourage teachers to accommodate themselves to Soviet power. Indeed, collaborationist majorities in VUS and its affiliates appeared and demanded that their "irreconcilable" leaders work with Soviet power. Narkompros, moreover, moved rapidly to develop its own teachers' union, the Union of Teachers-Internationalists. Confident of its increasing influence among the mass teachers, Narkompros in December 1918 asked the Soviet Government for the dissolution of VUS.

Meanwhile, the nascent Narkompros began to develop the structure for its new educational system as well as the content of its school programs. Structurally, the Commissariat of Education imperiously sought to unify all schools into its jurisdiction and brought about a prolonged conflict with Proletkul't, on the one hand, and the economic commissariats, the trade unions, the Supreme Council of National Economy, and the old vocationalists, on the other. Narkompros, nonetheless, managed to gain control of all educational institutions by year's end, and, simultaneously, began to institute its policies of decentralization, educational reform, and democracy within the educational system. Already, however, the development of a centralized, mobilizational Narkompros began to erode the original intentions of its policies.

Along with the development of the structure of the new Soviet educational system, Narkompros also commenced to work out the content of the school. This, however, proved to be an extremely polemical issue and resulted in the great educational debate between Moscow and Petrograd educators. The result of this debate was "The Position of Unified Labor School" that provided for a uniform, general educational schooling for all adolescents up to the age of 17.

Thus, by the end of 1918, the People's Commissariat of Education, in a phenomenally short period, had eliminated its principal opponents in the educational system, established its hegemony over all educational institutions, and instituted a unified labor school for all youth.

3,2..100 Johnson, W. H. E. Russia's Educational Heritage. New York: Octagon Books, 1969. 351 p.

Johnson suggests that the three goals of educational reform in Czarist Russia continue to exert a powerful influence on subsequent reform efforts in the USSR after 1918.

He explains that in the study

Many important connections between Empire and Soviet procedure are pointed out, indicating that instead of "smashing the old order," the Russian Revolution created a new state on the foundations of the old. The work reveals that the progressive educational theories and practices imported from abroad during the early years of the Soviet regime have been superseded by concepts and methods which were outlawed and despised in the 1920's.

The book also traces the interesting history of Tsarist Russia's famous trilogy--Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationalism--and indicates how these same concepts dominate Soviet thinking today. Even though the Revolution produced a new "religion," a new sovereign, and a new patriotism, the demands of these institutions upon the ordinary citizen bear an astonishing resemblance to those once imposed by the Altar, the Throne, and the Fatherland.

3,2,101

Noah, H. J. and B. Beach (eds.). "Current Ten-Year School Reform [USSR]." (Symposium) Soviet Education, Vol. 13, No. 3-4 (January-February 1971), pp. 3-143.

In their introduction, pages 3-5, the editors suggest that

Because the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be held in March, this is an especially appropriate time to evaluate the important reforms of Soviet schooling, begun during the last five years, after the removal of Khrushchev from his seat of power and the failure of the poly-technical experiment in secondary schooling.

In 1966, a single Ministry of Education for the entire Soviet Union was established, concentrating educational policy-making for primary and secondary schooling in one all-Union body. Previously, the policies of the RSFSR Ministry of Education, as primus inter pares of the fifteen republic ministreis, had been imitated and adapted to the particular needs of the non-Russian republics. The creation of a centralized Soviet educational hierarchy may have indicated that mass schooling throughout the non-Russian republics, as well as in the RSFSR, had grown in such vast proportions that a central administration was necessary.

The impetus for the current school reforms was given by the 23rd Party Congress in November 1966, when it was announced that the number of years of compulsory schooling should be increased from eight to ten, making complete secondary education mandatory throughout the Soviet Union. The reforms were to be carried out by 1970.

They suggest that

The concentrated effort to improve course content, so that students have the scientific and technological knowledge they will need later in employment, can be viewed as an attempt to incorporate the socialist principle of poly-technical education, as preparation for industrial employment, into subject-oriented school learning. It represents a rejection of Khrushchev's polytechnical educational policies that attempted to train students for industrial and agricultural jobs by employing them in productive labor in workshops or at factories and farms as an integral part of their schooling.

Between 1966 and 1970, to implement the reforms, a crash program was undertaken by the Ministry of Education-- with a joint commission of the scientific research institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Academy of Sciences--to design, test, and publish new curricula and the requisite new textbooks. The actual introduction of the new programs and the reorganization of the school system began in September of the current academic year; and, as the articles in this issue of Soviet Education suggest, the levels where these first efforts are being concentrated are the three primary grades and the science and mathematics courses in the secondary grades.

102 Rosen, S. M. Education and Modernization in the USSR. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971. p.

Recurring efforts to implement a genuine polytechnical foundation school for all children since the 1920's have failed because of the demands of a rapidly modernizing society geared to the achievement of rigid quotas in a planned economy and society.

103 Sinel, A. "Educating the Russian Peasantry: The Elementary School Reforms of Count Dimitrii Tolstoi." Slavic Review, Vol. 27 (March 1968), pp. 49-70.

Tolstoi in his article "Public Education," published in 1874, presents his most concrete proposal concerning the necessary conditions for radical educational reform in Czarist Russia. His orientation is one of populist anarchism; he argues that only with complete learning and teaching freedom, with complete freedom of school organization will the Russian people create the educational programs that they need. This must be done, Tolstoi argues, without interference from government or progressive intellectuals who are hopelessly corrupted by German pedagogical pedantries.

3.2.104 Schiff, B. Die Reform der Grundschule in der Sowjetunion. Berlin: Osteruropa-Institut an der Freien Universität, 1972. 138 p.

Stresses the important role of psychological research inputs into the primary-school reform process as plans are implemented and refined through testing and re-testing. Other factors contributing to planned change are, according to Schiff, the effective coordination of pre-school education with primary reforms and coordinated teacher training and re-training programs.

3.2.105 Schiff, B. Grundsulreform in der UDSSR: Motive und Problem,  
 [USSR]." International Review of Education, Vol. 15, No. 3  
 (1969), pp. 261-277.

Examines primary school reforms in the Soviet Union from 1958 to the 1970 reform that introduced ten years of schooling.

Proposes that the leading factor in these reforms has been the excellence of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (APN) staff and their work on intellectual and psychological development. "They have made a significant contribution towards primary-school reform in the Soviet Union," he concludes.

SPAIN

3.2.106

Brickman, W. Educational Reform and Renewal in Contemporary Spain. Washington, D. C.: Institute for International Studies, USGPO, 1972.

Although Spain is experiencing some change in educational programs, any large-scale reforms will have to wait for more popular involvement in national institutions and a corresponding change in the infringement of creative freedom by the government, the church, and military conservative elements controlling the schools and universities.

3.2.107

<sup>M.J.</sup>  
Cambre ~~Manso~~, J. Estructura y Problemas de la Enseñanza en España. Barcelona: Editorial Nova Terra, 1971. 167 p. ✓

The 1969 "libro blanco" reform brought forth by Ministry of Education technicians and planners is viewed as a response, a gesture stimulated by the French university revolt. The author sees little if any hope of implementing the reforms proposed. Moreover, he especially criticizes the "insignificant attention paid to the educational problems of Spain's cultural regions." He concludes that the reform plan is valuable as a diagnosis of Spain's grave educational problems, but that no progress will be made until "Spanish society is allowed to participate effectively in the new educational reform process!"

3.2.108

Cambre, M. J. "La Reforma de la Educación y la Planificación Educativa en España." Cuadernos Americanos, Vol. 24, No. 4 (July-August 1970), pp. 7-33.

The author describes recent reform efforts and concludes that "... it is dubious that the oligarchy of financial and industrial leaders, who in the end control important political decisions in Spain today, will accept the 'sacrifice' of a progressive tax reform" required to carry out expansive and expensive national reform of education.

3.2.109

Cleverly, J. "Succession Battle Spills over into Education and Starts Mass Debate." Times Educational Supplement. No. 1233 (April 9, 1976), p. 13.

3.2.110

Smith, D. "Frozen Funds Stop Up Reforms [~~Spain~~]." Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 3053 (November 1973), p. 16. ✓

3.2.111 Walsh, J. "Spain (III): Education Reform Drawn on Outside Ideas, Support," Science, Vol. 177, No. 4045 (21 July, 1972), pp. 241-244.

Walsh observes that

The Spanish government has launched what is probably the most ambitious program of education reform attempted in Western Europe. Not surprisingly, the reforms, which affect education at every level, have caused controversy and confusion in Spain, but what puzzles the outsider is that, on so many issues, those who would appear to be natural allies work at cross-purposes. In Madrid, for example, the phenomenon of radical students and reactionary professors joining forces to oppose reforms now causes little surprise. Indeed, many professors identified as liberals are cool to the reforms, not on political grounds, but because they view them as ill-designed and ill-managed.

Díez Hochleitner, an Undersecretary of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, <sup>is</sup> viewed a leading reform exponent: L

Díez Hochleitner was firm in espousing the democratizing rationale of the reform. "Primary education was different for rich and poor," he said. "The main issue [of the reform] is to have people living together and understanding each other in the micro-society of the school. Higher education in Spain was a search for a title, not for knowledge. It used to... differentiate the children of the rich. Universities were not adapted to the reality of the society."

Now Díez Hochleitner is gone from the big office in the ministry. The word from Madrid is that he was rusticated as a result of the effects of trying to do too much too fast. Certainly the Catholic church was concerned about the increasing role of state-operated schools in secondary education.

SWEDEN

- 2.112 Alkin, M. C. "Analysis of National Curriculum and Instructional Reform: Application to Sweden." International Review of Education, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1973), pp. 208-218.

Presents a highly focused examination of Swedish reforms using a systems-analysis approach. Hypothesizes that Swedish reform efforts have largely been successful because of the (1) explicit goals set by planning groups, (2) the continuous, cumulative nature, i. e., the timing, of reforms, and (3) the provision of effective feedback.

3.2.113

Heidenheimer, A. J. "The Politics of Educational Reform: Explaining Different Outcomes of School Comprehensivization Attempts in Sweden and West Germany." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18, No. 3 (October 1974), pp. 388-410.

The author observes that

Few national policy struggles in post-1945 Western Europe have exhibited such familiar fundamental characteristics, and so many variations regarding substantive detail, pace, and style of reform, as the initiatives to replace the established tripartite systems of secondary schools with comprehensive schools more similar to the American high school model. The attempt to compare the reform initiatives in Sweden and West Germany is challenging because the two countries rank near the top and bottom of the European countries in the degree to which they have implemented comprehensivization. Sweden now has all of its secondary students in such schools. West Germany, however, enrolls only about three percent of its junior secondary pupils in Gesamtschulen. How do such factors as the reception of new research findings, the pro- and counter-reform positions of interest groups, the leadership of party politicians and bureaucrats, help explain why Sweden led and Germany lagged? What inhibited strong German reform initiatives in the 1950s and 60s, and what slowed an energetic attempt at "takeoff" even after the German Social Democrats won control of the Federal government in 1969?

He asks in conclusion:

What does the overall German-Swedish comparison suggest about the capacity of Social Democratic parties to function as sponsors and motors of basic educational reforms such as comprehensivization? Other European cases, especially that of Britain, suggest that educational policy is not a sector in which Social Democratic parties have been at their most effective as prime agents of reform. Even more generally, it may be that educational reform is a task for which political parties are inadequately equipped to compete with bureaucracies and interest groups in influencing the flow of supports and resistances from service suppliers and clients. What the Swedish case shows is that they can effectively provide sustaining leadership under optimal conditions, i. e., continuity in power, supportive interaction with the bureaucracy, lack of socio-cultural obstacles, etc. In Sweden under the conditions of the

1950s and 60s, mutually reinforcing mass and elite supports could be harnessed for consistent approaches to the final goal in a way which could be harnessed for consistent approaches to the final goal in a way which they could not in Germany, even in SPD-led Laender. What the German experience of 1969-74 seems to show is that high-pressure attempts at "takeoff" can be accomplished if enough political instruments are under reformer influence, but that the thrust of the carry-through reform effort can all too easily be derailed as the result of resistance engendered by a "maximalist" program and opposition willingness to resist consensus solutions. ✓

The reform, by promoting centralization, has followed official policy in other fields, particularly the reorganization of local government. It is part of a far-sighted plan to consolidate the powers of the central authorities and make their work easier. . . .

Since the educational system is monolithic, control from the top is effortless. A small group of planners in the Directorate establish ideology and methods to be adopted by all teachers. The centre of power is therefore compact and easily controlled. And the teachers, for their part, follow their orders with little protest.

By ensuring that the leadership of the Schools Directorate is in their hands, the party has imposed its own ideas, without the approval of the Diet. The director-general at the time of the school reform, Mr. Hans Löwbeer, was a militant Social Democratic ideologist; his successor was also a Social Democrat. In this way, party programmes and party slogans have rapidly been brought to the classroom, and incorporated into the body of established truth. Textbooks are severely controlled. They must be approved by a State commission, subordinate to the Directorate, and they may not be used without approval. The power of the Commission is absolute, and, in consequence, not only teachers but their textbooks are also directed by the State.

His conclusions see school reform as a part of a monolithic and seemingly irreversable threat to liberty;

The Swedish experience suggests that the choice before us is between technological perfection and personal liberty. The Swedes have chosen perfection.

Pioneers in the new totalitarianism, the Swedes are a warning of what probably lies in store for the rest of us, unless we take care to resist control and centralization, and unless we remember that politics are not to be delegated, but are the concern of the individual. The new totalitarians, dealing in persuasion and manipulation, must be more efficient than the old, who depended upon force.

2, 14  
 Huntford, R. The New Totalitarians. New York: Stein and Day, 1972.  
 354 p.

In a vicious critique of Sweden's Social Democrats and their welfare society, the author argues that

For their intended society, the Swedish planners require a type of person that, thinking collectively, and suppressing his individuality in favour of the group, is technologically oriented, and socially well-adjusted. To this end, the educational system was profoundly altered during the 1950s and 1960s. From imparting knowledge, its aim was changed to that of guiding social behaviour.

In Western countries, the very intimation of educational reform, even without ideological undertones, usually arouses ferocious opposition, and authority does not always get its way. But in Sweden it took less than five years from the adoption of policy to the recasting of schools and universities, new textbooks and all. There was some public discussion, but no substantial opposition. In Sweden, all education is rigidly centralized under government direction. It is a long tradition and a legacy of the Reformation.

Perhaps the most important change brought by the Swedish Reformation was in the educational system. In order to enforce Lutheran doctrine, and tear out Catholicism by the roots, teaching was minutely supervised. It was a means of controlling what was put into the minds of the population--and what was kept out. The original purpose has faded away, but the mechanism remains. It has really come into its own in the twentieth century, and only now is Sweden fully reaping the benefit.

He suggests "The Swedish school reform took the outward shape of a device to promote egalitarian principles."

He argues that the ease of basic reform is attributable to a number of additional factors as well, i. e.:

The ease of reform and the lack of resistance are in no small measure due to an almost complete lack of competition from private schools, and an absolute lack of alternatives.

3,2,1,15 Husén, T. "Case Study in Policy Oriented Research: The Swedish School Reforms." School Review, Vol. 73, No. (Autumn 1965), pp. 206-225.

*The author*

Notes that in Swedish comprehensive school reform efforts

We had taken it as self-evident that educational research would have to form part of the bases upon which important national policy decisions on educational matters are founded. In fact, we had come to believe in educational research as a necessary prerequisite to long-range planning of our school system.

Other factors have also contributed to the reform's successful implementation, however: i. e.,

Sweden, with a population of less than 8,000,000 people, is socially, economically, and religiously a homogeneous country. It is a parliamentary democracy, and the Social-Democratic party has been in power since 1932. The present prime minister has held office since 1946. Before that he was minister of education. The Social-Democratic party, upheld in successive elections, has consistently viewed educational reform as a prerequisite to creation of a social-welfare state and as an implementation of it.

3.2.116 Husén, T. "Responsiveness and Resistance in the Educational System to Changing Needs of Society: Some Swedish Experiences." International Review of Education, Vol. 15, No. 4 ( 1969), pp. 476-487.

Husén asks why educational reforms are so controversial, "Why the hard resistance against a change that from an abstract point of view would seem to be self-evident?"

He then proceeds to answer his question:

Let us begin with the question why, for instance, countries like the United States, the Soviet Union, or Sweden by and large have a comprehensive system in providing education for the large majority of the children during the first eight or more school years, whereas England, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany on the whole have kept their dualistic or parallel system on which the academic goats are separated from the non-academic sheep as early as at the age of 10 or 11. It is immediately evident to us that there are certain historical factors which account for the difference. The European society has been and still is more class-stratified and has a relatively low degree of social mobility. The majority of children with working class background have to be content with the mandatory elementary school whereas the middle-class and upper-class role includes the privilege of attending the selective and academic secondary school and qualifying for university entrance. Until now only six or seven percent of the students at the French or West German universities have had a working class background, whereas their parents represent fifty percent of the electorate.

Education has, in a social system with ascribed status, the character of a status symbol. In a society where education more and more tends to become the democratic substitute for inherited wealth and background, and where demands for more equality of opportunity become more vociferous, those who are demanding change are regarded as threats to the prerogative of the establishment. As long as those who are seeking to reform society are not powerful enough to dominate the legislatures and to implement their legislation, attempts to bring about changes in education are mostly launched in vain.

He concludes that

the responsiveness of the educational system as such to changing needs and conditions of the society is rather low, if not non-existent. The increasingly important role that education plays in present-day meritocratic and expert society provides more power for those who represent education. They become the gate-keepers to social promotion and therefore more and more feel that they represent the established society. They can speak for the established strata of society in resisting changes, particularly changes which broaden educational opportunities. No educational reforms, at least in Europe, have had their main backing from the teachers and school administrators. As far as Sweden is concerned, and the same seems to apply to other European countries, the increased standard of living provided for by the Welfare State stepped up aspirations for education. The various people's movements began to realize that they had a stake in an educational system which could provide greater equality of opportunity. The politicians began to realize the changed priority status of education ~~in~~ with the general public and began to pay more attention to it.

3.2.117 Husén, T. "Two Decades of Educational Research in Sweden." Interchange, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1970), pp. 86-98.

Describes the contributions of educational research to school reform efforts in Sweden after 1945. Notes that "by comparison with the Continent, educational research in Sweden has had less of a philosophical--humanistic--historic bent," that the Swedish government has developed a research network to support sweeping school-reform efforts.

3.2.118 Husén, T. and G. Boalt. Educational Research and Educational Reform: The Case of Sweden. New York: John Wiley, 1967. 233 p.

The authors describe over two decades of fundamental reform in Swedish education and ask why Sweden alone has been able to carry out such sweeping reforms without social upheaval:

The structure of the entire school system in Sweden, both at the primary and secondary level, has been changed radically by legislation since 1945. On the basis of ten years of committee work the Government in 1950 submitted legislation to Parliament whereby provisions were made for a decade of experiments with a nine-year comprehensive school covering the entire compulsory school age. On the basis of experiences gained during the 50's, which were evaluated by means of among other things several research projects, the 1962 Parliament passed a new Education Act which made provisions for the establishment of comprehensive schools all over the country. Both the change in the basic school structure and--above all--the rapidly increasing enrollment in the schools covering the age range 16 through 20 made it necessary to revise drastically the goals and content of instruction of the school for this age level. This was, as were all the other changes, done on the basis of thorough committee work and research. According to the legislation passed as the 1964 Education Act the gymnasium, which so far had dominated this age level, was revised and diversified with five different sections, and a new type of school, a two-year continuation school, envisaged already in the 1962 legislation, was set up. The 1967 Teacher Education Act makes provisions for a teacher training geared to the new types of schools. At the beginning of 1966 a Government Committee submitted a report on vocational training which proposed a thorough reshaping of vocational education and a reorganization of the vocational schools which are to be incorporated into the gymnasium-continuation-school structure.

One might ask why these rather drastic changes have taken place in Sweden and not in countries such as England, France or the Federal Republic of Germany. Without purporting to carry out an analysis of all the factors it seems evident that behind the Swedish school reforms the same forces are operating which have brought about political

democracy, economic growth and the Welfare State. The sequencing of the reforms might be regarded as typical of the school as a highly institutionalized system. Reforms creating social security and economic improvements to a large extent have been the precursors of the educational changes.

3.2.119

Mallea, ~~John~~ R. "The Implementation of Swedish Educational Policy and Planning." Comparative Education, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1970), pp. 99-114.

Mallea contends that

Clearly the concept of "rolling reform" is being actively implemented. It is obvious, too, that "social demand" and not manpower requirements is forcing the pace of educational change. Freedom on educational choice is assuming first priority and the structural barrier of early differentiation has virtually been removed. As a result, Sweden now possesses all the necessary elements for the establishment of a system of compulsory, comprehensive education up to the age of eighteen. Moreover, the name tentatively given to the proposed new secondary school--the Intermediate School--suggests the direction future developments will take.

3.2.120

Marklund, S. "Comparative School Research and the Swedish Reform." International Review of Education, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1971), pp. 39-49.

Marklund suggests that research has made valuable, if much limited contributions to Swedish school reforms:

The contribution of comparative studies of the school reform may seem to have been a very small one. The results are often diffuse and depend on certain conditions. Strictly controlled experiments are difficult to arrange; when they are feasible, they give rise to situations and problems of application that may not coincide with reality. The most important aspect of the investigations was probably that they helped to disperse a number of prejudices, and to show that the real problems were those of evaluation rather than of determining facts. In the last analysis, the school reform has been a political question, for it was impossible to demonstrate conclusively that one differentiation model was superior to another. As far as retention of knowledge is concerned, the opinion is becoming more general that the type of differentiation is of subordinate importance, or rather that it is of significance only to the extent that it indicates the scope of various forms of study and instruction, for it is in these that the greatest source of differences probably lies. There is good reason, therefore, to make forms of study and instruction the principal subject of educational research.

2/27

Moberg, M. "Great Swedish School Reform: Can You Really Make Social Change Happen by Remodeling the Schools?" Saturday Review of Education, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1973), pp. 55-58.

Moberg notes that

Prime Minister Palme and an army of school-board bureaucrats claim that they are counting on schools to provoke social change, to restructure a small and rather monolithic capitalist country into a genuinely modern democracy. The comprehensive school reform that Sweden began planning back in the Forties and inaugurated in 1962 is designed, they say, to do just this.

What it boils down to is a total integration of the public school system into a single comprehensive system offering (theoretically) a good general, basic education to everybody from the age of seven to sixteen. Previously, students were channeled at an early age into either college-preparatory or vocational programs. In effect, parents made this choice for the children, who by the time they reached the university level had little opportunity to make up the work (often including a mastery of Greek and Latin). Now, in the new comprehensive system, the choice of specialization comes at a much later stage; and even if students do "major" in vocational subjects in the upper grades, they may still enter the university (which now operates on essentially an "open enrollment" basis). Under the new system uniform programs of study are closely regulated (including not only requirements but also "compulsory electives"). Much of the inspiration for the new plan came from the United States.

Despite its obvious advantages over the system that preceded it, the Great School Reform is apt to sound tragi-comic to many American observers. You don't democratize a school system just by standardizing the various game plans for graduation. And allowing students to pick their major fields of concentration certainly doesn't mean that they're liberated from the high-power pressures of family or class or sex-role stereotypes.

According to critics on the right of the Social Democrats, the Great School Reform is indeed bringing change, but not in the direction of democracy: the school system is becoming increasingly centralized and homogeneous, they say, and there's no longer room for a variety of styles of education--including, for instance, Christian education. (Some people have even threatened to start, as it were, religious free schools for this purpose.)

In the view of the leftist critics, the name of Palme's game is repressive tolerance; the subsidies to student government and all the talk about school democracy are parliamentary safety valves to make the Social Democrats look good--which they very much need to do with a new prime minister in the midst of a painful period of inflation now several years old.

But surely the comprehensive school means considerable improvement. In the past schooling was determined by class in Sweden, and in 1930 only a small percentage of the population went as far as the gymnasium (the next stage in school for the college-bound). In 1945 it was only 13 percent, and by 1972 it had grown to 80 percent.

Nevertheless, at the university level the percentage of the student population with working-class origins has not increased very much over the years, though nobody pays tuition and generous financial aid has been available for decades practically for the asking. Class prejudice, apparently, is more than a money thing: it's centuries of ingrained attitudes about who is supposed to be inferior, a conception of higher learning as a luxury reserved for the rich.

3.2.122 Ostergren, B. Planning for Change in Higher Education. [Sweden]. Stockholm: Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, 1975. 37 p.

The author describes large-scale university reforms currently underway <sup>in Sweden</sup> and notes that

An overarching political goal of the reform is to promote social equality. The proposal of the Minister of Education to Parliament marks a relative shift in emphasis of the goals of higher education: from the concept of growth to redistribution of social values.

He explains that

The reform marks a desire to admit more students from "non-traditional" groups: grown-up people, people with experience of working life, students without traditional educational background. Opportunities for higher education will be more evenly distributed over the country. In principle, the concept of higher education will be widened to all post-secondary education. Even if the institutional organization may vary, higher education will be treated as one coherent system. Six regional boards will be established, with certain specified responsibilities. Recurrent education will be favoured.

The reforms are being carried out using a "Research and Development Model" that stresses experimentation and evaluation. In this effort to fundamentally alter the governance, structure, programs, and roles in Swedish universities and shift from an institute to a departmental system, the author suggests that serious attention must be paid to such problems as the key role of teachers, the fragmentation of planning and decision-making, and inter alia the need for information and institutional research.

3.2.123 Paulston, Roland G. Educational Change in Sweden. New York: Teachers College Press, 1968. 193 p.

<sup>1 using both functionalist & conflict perspectives</sup>  
The author contends that Sweden's vital parliamentary acceptance of the comprehensive school reform in 1950, a European first, resulted from: (1) popular support in the large folk movement, (2) the Social-Democrat political dominance, (3) post-World War II pressures for the democratization of residual elitist institutions after 18 years of welfare-state reform, and (4) a rational assessment of anticipated manpower requirements in an advanced technological society.

3.2.124 Sjöstrand, W. För och mot den nya skolan. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1960. 221 p.

Sjöstrand, Professor of Education at Uppsala, has been the leading academic critic of the Swedish school reform. Here, in a compilation of arguments "for and against the new school," he argues the conservative position that the school reforms should be decided more on "scientific" than on "political" or ideological grounds.

2.125

Thomasson, R. F. "Radical Restructuring of Higher Education in Sweden." Educational Record, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Spring 1975), pp. 78-88.

From a functionalist perspective, the author explains that new legislation passed in Sweden in the spring of 1975 begins the most extensive restructuring of higher education in western Europe. Changes that will come about in the next decade should broaden the concept of higher education, decentralize facilities, introduce a numerus clausus, bring "representatives of society" into the local administration of the universities, extend the paths of admission, place a new emphasis on current education, increase support of adult education and short-term occupationally related courses at the expense of traditional higher education, and internationalize the curriculum. Some of the changes are intensely opposed by faculty and students, and the organizations that represent them.

He proposes that

The egalitarian transformation of the Swedish schools in the past quarter century has been the most thoroughgoing conducted by any modern society in the world. The next decade will see a similar restructuring of the whole system of higher education in ways that go beyond the inclusiveness and diversity of U. S. public higher education. Even now the Swedish universities are no longer the autonomous, insulated, and överklass institutions they used to be. But before sketching the changing forms and purposes that are emerging, it is necessary to say something of what has happened to the primary and secondary schools. They have been reshaped by the same egalitarian values and national purposes that have now focused on higher education.

His conclusions stress the ideological motivation of the reforms:

The planned transformation of the Swedish variant of the traditional Germanic university to a People's University is an experiment in higher education worthy of watching. There will undoubtedly be many changes and additions... as new experience is obtained, but the directions of change are as clear as is the powerful egalitarianism that is the force behind them.

SWITZERLAND

3.2. 126 Panchaud, G. "School Reform in Switzerland." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 11, No. 3 (October 1967), pp. 374-386.

*Thesis* Explains that

[The] absence of coordination is a result of Switzerland's tradition of federalism and the complex linguistic and confessional divisions. It is the price paid to maintain harmony between Swiss people speaking and worshipping in different ways. However, the Swiss educational system as a whole is characterized by a number of features: (1) the country is well endowed with schools and there is no illiteracy, (2) there is an absence of competing systems of private and public schools; (3) direct control over the school is exercised through the local authorities; (4) the economic prosperity of Switzerland depends on the quality of its products and its tourism and upon fulfillment of its international responsibilities. Education, therefore, attempts to prepare competent individuals, able to work efficiently at whatever level of skill their jobs require, as well as to widen their linguistic knowledge. The goal is less to educate an elite composed of brilliant students than to give all citizens a solid education, whatever the type of school they select.

He then summarizes the opposition to secondary-school reforms as follows:

Those who introduce school reforms are, of course, convinced of the correctness of their ideas and the urgency of taking action. Opponents are more inclined to criticize the proposed changes than to offer some constructive contribution. They often look with nostalgia to the past to find the solution to all problems. The arguments advanced are quite varied. First, they claim that the aim of education is to make men and not to satisfy the economic and technical needs of a depersonalized society. It is, therefore, dangerous to modify the structure and the function of the school according to economic imperatives. Goals such as equality of opportunity, the discovery of brain-power, investment for education to signify the pressure utilitarian materialism is exerting on the traditional concepts of humanism. The existing school system has given enough proof of its value; better stand by it. It will guarantee the respect due to each human being.

Secondly, they assert that the propositions of modern psycho-pedagogy should be treated with caution. The use of aptitude tests in entrance examinations and during secondary education has provoked a violent reaction. It was considered an attempt to substitute a mechanical and anonymous device for the teacher's direct knowledge of the student. However, during the last ten years, these prejudices have been lessening. The teachers have become used to the tests and are often glad to find in their results a corroboration of their personal judgment of the pupil.

Third, the introduction of the new tracks and postponement of the commencement of Latin are considered to be serious blows to the humanities. The proportion of students learning Greek has lessened considerably, and Latin has lost some ground, too. This trend is observable everywhere, however, and is not due solely to the introduction of the reforms. It is clear that by trying to introduce parity of esteem among the tracks in the secondary schools and by allowing the bearers of different types of baccalauréat to enter any university department, the familiar concept of the superiority of the humanities over any other pattern of studies is denied. The students are more and more attracted to modern languages or science. It is, thus, no wonder that the opponents to the reforms are to be found mainly among university people and parents who have been educated in humanities. This attitude expresses the instinctive distrust of that class of society of seeing a greater proportion of children coming from all sorts of environments entering secondary and higher education; although one is surprised to note sometimes, even among the members of the teaching profession who profess radical tendencies in politics, a fundamental opposition to the democratization of education. Fourth, measures which imply the unification of the cantonal structures or intervention of the federal government come up against desires to maintain cantonal autonomy and freedom. It is asserted that schools should be the exclusive responsibility of the canton. People may favor, in theory, the suppression of existing differences, but in practice this often means that they desire merely that the other should adjust their system to their own.

Fifth, it should be noted that, besides those who in fact do not want any change, a minority of critics view the reforms as too cautious and demand more drastic change in the educational structure as well as in the methods. These people are generally either from left-wing political movements or educators who would like to put into practice the most valuable discoveries in the field of pedagogy.

Lastly, it must be remembered that the efficiency of the reforms is limited by the attitude of large sectors of the teaching profession. Any change means abandonment of habits considered valuable and the necessity of adapting to new methods. Between the enunciation of reforms and their achievement stands the inertia of those who have to apply them in the classroom.

- 3.3.01 Anderson, G. J. and J. A. Lauwerys. "Altering the Structure of Teacher Education: A Case Study from Atlantic Canada." Interchange, Vol. 4, No. 2-3 (1973), pp. 88-98.

The authors use a functionalist framework to explain attempts to implement educational reform of the outer structure of teacher education in Atlantic Canada. Outer structures implies here the formal aspects affecting teachers colleges like educational legislation, educational finance, and educational administration. A case study of various attempts to change the structure in the province of Nova Scotia in the last 25 years is used to illustrate the problems involved with adoption of innovations. The fields of counselor training and special education exemplify various strategies for educational development undertaken by the Atlantic Institute of Education.

- 3.3.02 Connelly, D. J. "School Change in the Seventies." Education Canada, Vol. 14, No. 1 (March 1974), pp. 34-39.

The author notes that "something suspiciously like lethargy" has settled on Canadian reform efforts." He suggests that "a kind of overall continuity marks the story of mankind, making revolutionary directions exceptional and generally transitory."

A more respectable basis for judgment can probably be found by estimating the degree to which fundamental elements in the school organization are susceptible to change. Among such elements the really crucial one appears to be the purposes which society believes the schools serve and the value it attaches to those purposes. Other basic aspects of schooling include the structure of the education system, the allocation and use of authority within it, the part played by the community in the process of education, and the role of the teacher. The school, in my opinion, could accommodate considerable modifications in the present functioning of all of these elements except the first without radical change resulting. As long as the central purposes remain basically unaltered there will be no really major change in the schools as we know them.

Can we expect change in these central purposes? It seems undeniable that schools are now production-oriented, that society sees them as providing input of an acceptable standard for other important social institutions. In this respect the schools accurately reflect the values of the larger society to which they belong, for our technological age is clearly managerial in character. In fact, it is hard to imagine how there could be a substantial degree of dissonance between the values expressed in the functions of schools and the values which epitomize society in general.

- 3.3.03 Katz, M. B. "Education and Social Change in English-Speaking Canada." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Fall 1972), pp. 251-253.
- 3.3.04 Stamp, R. M. "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario." In Studies in Educational Change. R. D. Heyman, et al. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972, pp. 9-87.

Not until the decade of the 1960s did Ontario schooling fully adjust to the challenges of urbanization and industrialism first posed in the closing years of the nineteenth century. For almost half a century following 1914 the hopes of James and Ada Hughes, of Adelaide Hoodless and James Robertson, for meaningful curriculum reform remained largely unfulfilled. The traditional "academic" subjects continued to dominate the curriculum while industrial arts, home economics, and nature study remained on the fringes. And content continued to dominate process; "what" children learned was more important than "how" they learned. . . . But during the 1960s a current of reform swept through the Ontario educational scene--a movement not seen since the early years of the century and a movement that turned into reality many of the hopes of the earlier generation of reformers.

The full adjustment of the province's secondary schools to the demands of a modern industrial society was foreshadowed in the spring of 1961 when Ontario opted into the federal government's Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act. Under this legislation, Ottawa agreed to finance 75 percent of the cost of expansion in secondary and post-secondary technical education, with the remaining 25 percent divided between the province and the municipality. The result was a mushrooming of technical schools and technical wings in large city, small town, and rural Ontario that went beyond the wildest dreams of Seath. This physical expansion was paralleled by a Reorganized Programme of Studies (more popularly known as the "Robarts Plan") for Ontario secondary schools. This provided a much greater variety of technical and commercial programs and attempted to give them equal prestige with the academic program. Later in the decade the abolition of the Grade 13 provincial examinations further encouraged local school boards and individual high schools to diversify their course offerings. The various demands of a highly complex twentieth century industrial society were at last recognized by the Ontario secondary school.

. . . Curriculum reform, spurred on by parallel developments at the secondary level and by the Hall-Dennis Report, resulted in major revisions in the organization of learning in the elementary classroom. The nongraded school, continuous progress, individualized instruction, the inquiry approach, and locally originated curriculum materials, came into vogue.

It remains to be explained why so many fundamental changes took place in Ontario education during the 1960s. In his comprehensive study of the postwar Ontario scene, W. G. Fleming attributed the changes largely to the two ministers of education of the day--John Robarts and William Davis. Fleming welcomed Robart's assumption of the education portfolio in 1959 as a fresh breeze following the "defensiveness, negativism, and resistance to change" that characterized the William Dunlop years of the 1950s. But Robarts was merely the herald for the later arrival of the new messiah. "Davis's appointment as minister in 1962," stated Fleming, "was an event of such importance that it can hardly be exaggerated." The author then proceeded to chronicle the outstanding achievements of the Davis regime. "In a sense they are all Davis achievements, and few will begrudge calling the period the Davis era."

3.3.05 St. John, J. B. "The Delusion of Change." Education Canada, Vol. 10, No. 3 (September 1970), pp. 3-8.

The author suggests that attempts at educational change in Canada are increasingly circumscribed by a lack of agreement over what schools should do, over values and goals.

UNITED STATES

- 3.3.06 Adams, Frank. "Highlander Folk School: Goals, Information, Going Back and Teaching It." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, No. 4 (November 1972), pp. 497-520.

Adams contends that the Highlander Folk School, an attempt to implement social movement education programs which <sup>used</sup> ~~was~~ directly related to mountain people and their common problems, was successful largely through its "vagueness" concerning its governing principles, and because it let "the people it serves and the times they live in define precisely what they (ideals and/or governing concept) mean." (p-520)

- 3.3.07 Apple, M.W. "Curriculum Design and Cultural Order." In Educational Reconstruction, N. Shimahara (ed). New York: Merrill Pub. Co., 1973, pp. 157-173

Apple contends that the discipline centered curriculum reform movement of the '60's has had little lasting effect. One of the reasons may be that the conceptual systems used to deal with schooling and reform are so limited. Until modes of fact are devised that can handle the politics of institutional life, we may <sup>have</sup> find ourselves merely repeating past curriculum <sup>reform</sup> failures.

In a subsequent article "Curriculum as Ideological Selection," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 20, No. 2 (June 1976), pp. 209-215, Apple elaborates his argument taken from Antonio Gramsci that "a critical element in enhancing the ideological dominance of a certain class is the control of the knowledge preserving and producing institutions of a particular society. That is, in the conflict over competing economic and political forms, the establishment of cultural hegemony is of no small moment." Attempts to "reform" curriculum in U.S. schools are examined from this group conflict perspective.

- 3.08 Berman, P. and M. W. McLaughlin. "Implementation of Educational Innovation." The Educational Forum, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March 1976), pp. 345-370.

The authors, RAND Corp "Social Scientists," note that some "ten percent of the federal aid to public schools which currently exceeds \$3.5 billion annually" is used to promote educational reform in, for example, (1) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title III (\$150 million annually); (2) Bilingual projects (\$45 million); (3) the Right to Read reform (\$12 million).

From a systems orientation, they propose three major factors affecting the implementation and continuation of reforms:

We hypothesized in our theoretical approach that three general factors can influence the course of innovative projects--project characteristics, the institutional setting, and federal policies. The preceding analysis of the innovation process suggests key components of these general factors, which are listed, along with the previously discussed measures of the effectiveness of implementation and continuation, in Table 1.

Project characteristics ~~listed in Table 1~~ consist basically of four elements: educational treatments, resource level, scope of proposed change, and implementation strategy. Although most studies distinguish the project's educational treatment and its resource level (e. g., level of federal funding, number of students served by the project, and per-pupil expenditure), many studies attempting to relate project characteristics to outcomes fail to distinguish the treatment from the scope of change contemplated by the would-be innovators. Yet such dimensions as the complexity and the amount of change required by a project can be expected to place different demands on the institutional setting and thus may have strong effects on project outcomes. Moreover, project evaluations seldom differentiate the educational treatment or technology from the (usually implicit) implementation strategy selected to carry out the treatment. Yet our research provided us with many illustrations of the same basic treatment being implemented in contrasting ways in different school and district settings, resulting in different outcomes.

Another general factor assumed to affect innovation is the institutional setting. Experience and common knowledge suggest that schools and school districts differ from one another in many ways. Some statistical studies have analyzed the background and demographic characteristics of a project's school, school district, and participants. But our study of the process of innovation suggests that the organizational climate and the motivations of principal actors can also play critical roles in project outcomes.

The final factor that might affect innovative projects is federal policies. The Rand change agent study examined four federal programs designed to promote educational change, each with a different management strategy and a different set of priorities. This diversity provided an opportunity to compare the innovations funded by different programs and to assess the extent to which differences in federal program strategies and priorities could account for variations in the innovative process and project outcomes. However, our primary concern was not with evaluating any particular program, but with using program comparisons as one measure of judging the effectiveness of policy instruments common to these change agent programs.

3. 3. 09

Booth, H. "Compensatory Pre-school--Do Its Effects Justify Its Existence?" Educational Review, Vol. 28, No. 1 (November 1975), pp. 51-59.

Contending that the positive results of <sup>U.S.</sup> compensatory pre-schooling *reforms* in terms of cognitive achievement, are "washed out" during the course of subsequent schooling, Booth concludes that it is not a useful strategy. She refrains, however, from condemning these programs, noting that "other aspects which are outside the scope of this paper and which include both social and emotional development should not be forgotten and their importance should not be underestimated."

3. 3. 10

Bruce, R. E. "A Review of Recent Proposals for Reform in Secondary Education." Educational Forum, Vol. 40, No. 2 (January 1976), pp. 145-156.

3. //

Bowles, S. and H. Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life. New York: Basic Books, 1975. 340 p.

Using a Marxist frame of analysis, the authors examine what they propose as the three major periods of reform in the United States, i. e., (1) before the Civil War, (2) before and after World War I, and (3) during the last decade, or so. These "reforms" have all sought to protect and perpetuate the advantage of privileged groups, none have resulted in a more equitable society. The authors accordingly ask:

Does this mean that a more equal school system has no role to play in creating a more equal society? Not at all.

The reduction of economic inequality is ultimately a political, not an economic question. The legitimation of economic inequality is critical to the political defense of the fundamental institutions which regulate the U. S. economy. An educational system purged of its social biases would hardly contribute to the legitimation of inequality. Given the current emphasis on meritocratic process, an equal school system would substantially undermine the defense of hierarchical privileges. Indeed, we believe that the movement for racial equality and the widespread dissatisfaction among increasingly well-educated workers is, to a degree, the result of the increasing equality of educational attainments. But a more equal school system will not create a more equal society simply through equalizing the distribution of human resources. It will only create the political opportunity for organizing a strong movement dedicated to achieving greater economic equality. Egalitarian school reform must be explicitly political; its aim must be to undermine the capacity of the system to perpetuate inequality. This entails at least three objectives. An egalitarian program of educational reforms must make it perfectly clear that equality is not a question of sub-cultural values, nor is it a biological issue, nor is it a narrowly economic issue. Equality is a political issue, and the only route to a more equal society lies through political struggle. Second, egalitarian reforms in education must seek to disable the myths which make inequality appear beneficial, just, or unavoidable. Finally, a program

of egalitarian reforms in education must seek to unify diverse groups and combat attempts to segment workers of different social circumstance.

Let us consider how these principles might apply in the case of a particular egalitarian reform: open enrollment in higher education. This reform could very well meet the first objective--the politicization of inequality. If youth of minority and blue-collar families gained their share of higher education credentials, the legitimacy of organizing production and social life hierarchically along class and race lines would be drastically undermined. The continued exploitation of labor and social oppression of minorities would increasingly come to be seen as rooted in the political power of dominant elites rather than in any cultural, biological, or skill deficiencies of workers. But open enrollment does not necessarily generate a more equal distribution of educational credentials. Along with freer admissions policies have come a stronger internal tracking system within higher education and the proliferation of sub-B. A. degrees. These symbolize the new educational stratification.

The relationship between open enrollment and the second objective--undermining antiegalitarian myths--is similarly ambiguous. Certainly, open enrollment can, and has, in important cases, laid to rest the notion that only a select few can benefit from higher education. The presence of increasing numbers of black, Chicago, and blue-collar youth in college has also made it increasingly difficult for college teachers to propagate the racist and elitist myths of conventional social sciences without incurring protest. Yet, in many institutions, large numbers of students with drastically deficient high-school backgrounds have been confronted by a hostile or indifferent faculty who are committed to a traditional academic curriculum. In these cases, widespread failure among the new students has probably reinforced discriminatory ideologies.

Lastly, we believe that open enrollment can play a significant role in unifying workers of diverse social circumstances. The universalization of higher education breaks down artificial cultural distinctions among working people. More concretely, by vastly increasing the potential numbers of beneficiaries of higher education,

it strengthens public higher education in the political arena. This can yield direct material benefits to faculty as well as to students already enrolled. Yet this is often not the case. If state legislatures and university administrations opt for open enrollment without augmenting the available resources, the increased size of the student body will be reflected in heavier course loads for teachers, larger and more impersonal classes for students, and a heightened probability of blaming the new students for the "decline in educational quality."

It turns out, then, that this reform--indeed, any reform--cannot be evaluated in the abstract. It could have strongly inertial consequences, but it need not. A program of open enrollment, free tuition, no tracking, curriculum and evaluation procedures appropriate to all students' needs, significantly increased finances, and a critique of ideologies which celebrate the status quo would need to constitute a revolutionary reform program. Essential to the success of the program would be a functioning coalition of students, teachers, community groups, and workers' organizations. A similar analysis of other egalitarian reforms would reveal, at least in some, a genuinely revolutionary potential.

- 3.12 Campbell, D. T. "Assessing the Impact of Planned Social Change." In Social Research and Public Policies: The Dartmouth OECD Conference. G. M. Lyons (ed.) Hanover, N. H.: The Public Affairs Center, 1975, pp. 3-45.

3, 3, 13

Carnoy, M. Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: McKay, 1974. 278 p.

In Chapter 6, "Education as Internal Colonialism: Educational Reform and Social Control in the United States, 1630-1970," Carnoy presents a neo-Marxist assessment of three major school-reform periods--i. e., during the 1840's and 1850's, the 1900's to 1920's, and the 1970's. During each period, school reform is viewed as a result of the changing needs for capitalist development. Carnoy contends, for example, that reforms were

not the result of conspiracy between business leaders and schoolmen, although there is ample evidence that business interests did control the schools through pressures on schoolmen and that schoolmen were businessmen. It was the result of the same kind of sharing of societal views as occurred in Horace Mann's time. The key to understanding why schools were organized for the benefit of the few and the repression of the many in enlightened self-interest. Both reformers and business leaders were interested in maintaining a social order in which those who shared their view of societal change, not the immigrant and working-class rabble, came to power in the next generation.

Description of these... reforms should make clear that the structure of U. S. schools today is not an accident or the result of inefficiencies or of conservative administrators and teachers. Rather, schools are the way they are today because of successful reforms between 1850 and 1920, reforms which were designed to meet the needs of capitalist industrialization. The objective of schoolmen was to inculcate faith in the capitalist system, especially in its objectivity and rationality, and to prepare people to take their proper place in that system. This objective was derived from a particular and hierarchical view of society which in turn was derived from a particular and hierarchical economic philosophy: the rich and powerful are cleverer than the poor and weak, and therefore have the right to be rich and society is better off for that division and ordering of power. (pp. 255-56)

Carnoy concludes that today,

... as in the past, educational problems in the United States are a manifestation of a much more profound malaise in the economic and social order, particularly the hierarchical relations in production-consumption brought on by large-scale capitalist industrialization. In the past, educational reformers, many idealistic and with good intentions, imposed on the mass of urban workers an educational system which contributed to preserving social order, but did so while maintaining an inequitable class structure. In the 1970's, professional educators continue to try to rejuvenate this same educational system because they continue to believe in the existing economic and social structure, and in the corporations' view of America's future.

33.14

Clark, M. "Education and Exploitation." in Miseducation in Appalachia. Huntington, W.Va.: Appalachian Press, 1974, pp. 4-13.

Clark, from a cultural-revival perspective, argues that because Appalachia is an internal colony dominated by powerful corporations, social and educational reform programs will seek to buy off militant people and keep the poor quiet. In this commencement address at Berea College, he explains that corporate ownership in Appalachia has direct consequences for the structure and ideological cast of the educational system:

It's not enough to simply own a region if you cannot control it and then exploit it. In order to do this you need people in the middle who will do the dirty work. You need an educated class willing to run the local businesses, set up schools and other institutions which train people to do the job and keep their minds and mouths shut. You need an educated class to keep poor people in their "place."

Around the world, wherever empires are built, you can see the same process at work. An educated class is built from the native people. A class whose loyalties are not to their own people but to the people who own the region. These educated people, the middle men, are paid well with material benefits, money, status, power. And they rule with an iron fist. Once such a system is established, it's not necessary for the rich folks to pass down orders to their stooges. The stooges already know what their self interests are and they will protect them at all costs.

But where do you recruit an educated class and how do you train them? It's my belief that Berea College and other colleges in Appalachia have fulfilled this function since they were established.

Berea College was founded by missionaries who believed they had a divine purpose to bring enlightenment and education to this rugged land. But education, in our society, means control not freedom. It means a way of transferring values from one group to another so that the first group can keep the second under control. Missionaries, or their supporters, ended up by controlling

the people they were trying to save from eternal damnation. This was true in India with the British, in Latin America with the Spanish, and in Appalachia with our own missionaries. By setting up an educated class of native people who are trained to be doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, a larger society can control a smaller one, or one without political power.

How does Berea help in all of this? I think it is fairly evident. By training the people who have functioned best in mountain schools, Berea helps to insure a steady supply of people who will take over the reins of power when the existing local leadership dies. By teaching students a new set of values--values based on the dominant middle class American society, this college insures that people can be co-opted and bought off like most other people in this society who are formally educated and middle class.

This system will always allow a few people to fight their way to the top--for those few are needed to control those who are on the bottom. Remember this fact, and remember it well, fellow Bereans: we got where we are by climbing over the backs and bodies of our brothers and sisters who now work in the mills, mines, factories; who fight in Vietnam, or who sit jobless at home and wonder what tomorrow will bring.

I don't know what your reaction is to these thoughts. I don't mind anger. I hope you do have some kind of reaction. I also hope you don't feel guilty if you find some truth in what I say. Guilt is the traditional means of escape for the American liberal who rushes out into the cold world to help poor folks--whether poor folks want help or not.

The problem is not with poor folks. The problem is with the rich folks in this country who control the wealth and then control us. And part of the problem is with the middle class who help to perpetuate this evil, racist system which we now have.

We have the potential as a people to build a democratic society in this country. If we want to build a democratic society we must begin to figure out how the present system works. Then we must begin to build a new society which will serve people, not exploit them.

3.3.15

Cohen, S. "Urban School Reform." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall 1969), pp. 298-304.

Cohen suggests that urban <sup>School</sup> reforms in the first decades of this

century must be viewed in the context of pressure for "Americanization."

In 1908, for example, 57.8 percent of public school children in thirty-seven of America's largest cities were of foreign parentage.

He concludes that

With its attempt to channel immigrant children into manual labor, industrial education was another answer to the swift upward thrust of the new immigrant. In short, a growing apprehension that competition for position and prestige was becoming too keen is an important factor in the industrial education movement. The zeal with which progressives pursued industrial education into the lowest grades of the public school cannot be understood if this factor is overlooked.

3.3.16

Cooper, R. and J. Gregory. "Can Community Control of Indian Education Work?" Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 15, No. 3 (May 1976), pp. 7-11.

The authors, using a cultural-revival orientation, explain that only a revitalization of Indian culture will make recent Indian education reforms work:

We ~~not~~ stand on top of the mountain, about to walk down the other side into a valley of sunshine, with a new ray of hope called Indian self-determination. Hopefully, we will realize that our future as a people rests in a rediscovery of our Indian roots. We must accept the challenge of creating a well-ordered and meaningful school system in all our communities.

Should we fail, it is not likely that we will be given another chance. Civilization is in mortal danger, because the spirit has been lost in today's society, and as Crazy Horse said: "It is hard to hold a Great Vision." Let us now demonstrate our spirit, our great vision and lead the way to a better tomorrow for our children and theirs. The job of educating Indian people is an awesome responsibility. A new threshold of opportunity has been opened by the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. Future success or failure now rests in our hands.

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3.3.17

Cremin, L.A. "The Free School Movement: A Perspective." Infopac No. 8. National Education Association, Washington, D.C., Division of Instruction and Professional Development, August 1974. 136 p.

*reform*

Cremin argues that the Free School Movement fails because: 1) it has provided no new profound questions about education, 2) it has suggested no new alternative curricula and, 3) it remains as school-bound.

3.3.18

Cremin, L. A. The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964. 387 p.

Cremin suggests that the reform movement called

progressive education began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life--the ideal of government by, of, and for the people--to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The word progressive provides the clue to what it really was: the educational phase of American Progressivism writ large. In effect, progressive education began as Progressivism in education: a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. In the minds of Progressives this meant several things.

First, it meant broadening the program and function of the school to include direct concern for health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life.

Second, it meant applying in the pedagogical principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and the social sciences.

Third, it meant tailoring instruction more and more to the different kinds and classes of children who were being brought within the purview of the school. In a sense, the revolution Horace Mann had sparked a generation before--the revolution inherent in the idea that everyone ought to be educated--had created both the problem and the opportunity of the Progressives. For if everyone was to attend school, the Progressives contended, not only the methods but the very meaning of education would have to change.

He cites Walter Lippman's critique of the *reform* movement:

There is no common faith, no common body of principle, no common body of knowledge, no common moral and intellectual discipline. Yet the graduates of these modern schools are expected to form a civilized community. They are expected to govern themselves. They are expected to have a social conscience. They are expected to arrive by discussion at common purposes. When one realizes that they have no common culture, is it astounding that they have no common purpose? That they worship false gods? That only in war do they unite? That in the fierce struggle for existence they are tearing western society to pieces?

He questions

Why this abrupt and rather dismal end of a movement that had for more than a half-century commanded the loyalty of influential segments of the American public? A number of reasons suggest themselves.

First, distortion. As frequently happens with social movements, success brought schism in the ranks. The pluralism of the nineties became the bitter ideological fragmentation of the thirties and forties. Factions developed, and within the factions, cults, cliques, and fanatics. The movement became strife-ridden, given to bandwagon behavior, dominated by the feuding of minorities.

Second, there was the negativism inherent in this and all social reform movements. Like many protestors against injustice, the early progressives knew better what they were against than what they were for.

Third, what the progressives did prescribe made inordinate demands on the teacher's time and ability.

Fourth, and this too is a common phenomenon of social reform, the movement became a victim of its own success. Much of what it preached was simply incorporated into the schools at large. Once the schools did change, however, progressives too often found themselves wedded to specific programs, unable to formulate next steps.

Fifth, there was the impact of the more general swing toward conservatism in postwar political and social thought.

Sixth, there was the price of the movement paid for its own professionalization; for given the political realities of American education, no program can survive that ceases assiduously to cultivate lay support.

Seventh, and most important, progressive education collapsed because it failed to keep pace with the continuing transformation of American society.

2. 3.19

Cuban, L. "Reform by Fiat: The Clark Plan in Washington, 1970-1972." Urban Education, Vol.9, No.1(April 1974), pp. 8-34.

Cuban explains why a reform effort failed in Washington, D.C. He notes that:

In July 1970, the Washington, D.C. Board of Education approved a design to reform elementary and junior high schools in order to increase academic achievement. Called the Clark Plan after its author, New York psychologist Dr. Kenneth Clark, the rhetoric and later actions of the board of education, the superintendent, and the administration sparked expectations that a new era had been initiated in school affairs.

The decision to experiment in Washington was called by the Saturday Review (1970:55) "one of the few positive reports received by big cities in recent years." Labelling it "revolutionary teaching, Jet (1970:21) magazine said it was "a salute to Black unity." To the New York Times (1970) it was the "most significant test of public education in America today."

National acclaim, however, could not prevent the Clark Plan from dividing teachers, administrators, board of education, and community; it triggered a volatile debate about education that, at one point, almost sparked a teacher's strike. Other than the tracking controversy of 1966-1967 and Superintendent Carl Hansen's resignation, no issue in Washington in the previous decade had compellingly focused community attention upon schooling for black children as did the Clark Plan. The furor generated by the plan in its first few years reveals two elements that appear and reappear in efforts to reform schooling: the struggle over reform is often a battle for the control of reform, and imposed changes carry the seeds of failure within themselves.

He concludes that the reform goals focusing on:

...accountability and administrative leadership... seem to be mechanistic, simplistic in conceptualization. It ~~were~~<sup>was</sup> as if teachers were to miraculously shift a negative belief system about black children into a positive one, march into classrooms, and teach children to read. All because of a 9-1 board vote. It ~~were~~<sup>was</sup> as if a superbly gifted educational leader would grace the superintendency, and a domino effect would be created in the hierarchy, automatically equipping supervisors and principals with the skills and attitudes

~~Gaban (cont'd)~~

necessary to carry out board wishes. This conspicuous absence from the design of political and organizational awareness is puzzling.

Is it possible that the Clark Plan was a fantasy, a dream in which many people wanted desperately to believe? The deep-seated wish to reform schooling in Washington has continually fathered dreams that there is such a thing as instant reform. To the extent that the Clark Plan nourished these dreams, it was a fantasy. Yet, if it ~~were~~<sup>were</sup>, then perhaps it was fantasy perceived by Allen and Clark as politically necessary to initiate fundamental movement within the system and further consolidated board power.

Of the four key influentials involved in the birth of the Clark Plan, only Simons remains. In January 1973, the board voted not to rehire Hugh Scott.

No doubt vestiges of the Clark-Allen efforts remained both in the schools and the community expectations for hard-core improvements in student performance. But little else. Another conscious attempt to impose reform upon the system was buried.

3.3.20 Engel, M. "Politics and Prerequisites in Educational Change [US]"  
Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 55, No. 7 (March 1974), pp. 457-459.

argues hopefully that U. S. educational-reform efforts point to three political prerequisites for constructive change:"

First, only decentralization of authority will make citizen participation in decision making more likely. Sherry Arnstein indicates that community involvement can run the gamut from therapeutic non-participation, through tokenism which does nothing to change the balance of power, to various degrees of decision making, such as partnerships or even citizen control. Bigness is a national pathology from which school systems and even individual schools enjoy no immunity. The politics of change demands a reduced--a human--scale. A smaller organizational structure is the necessary precondition for client participation and shared decision making. The local inefficiencies and corrupt inequities which stimulated centralization in the first place must now be dealt with on the basis of a much more thoroughly informed and activist community.

Information is a second prerequisite for successful change through the political process. Widely distributed, extensive consumer education, about education, is essential to inform the client population about what is really happening to kids in the schools. It cannot come from the system and its status quo bias. Parents and kids need to know what options are and the implications of each option for them. Consumer incentives for change derive from a familiarity with the shape and effects of alternatives; modest or grand, cautious or radical. This familiarity is a necessary precondition for participating in decision making and for making consequential decisions. Because of lack of information, we tend to be satisfied with mediocrity on the one hand or dabbling in the playlands of the free schools with the other. Without a well-informed client constituency, there is either whimsical and uncritical pressure for change, or no change at all.

Fiscal power is a third significant necessity in the politics of change. Hierarchical authority in school systems follows from the top-down injection of funding. An open voucher system, with necessary safeguards, will

put fiscal power with the consumer, at the base of the educational pyramid. Parent choice in a competitive market place of educational practice, not tyrannized by a monopolistic public school system, is an essential link in the chain of decentralized authority and consumer education. Our goal here is informed, participatory democracy within the school system. It can be attained if those who benefit from the system and who pay for it can share in its authority and become responsible participants.

The three elements we have singled out--decentralization of decision making, information acquisition, and actual choice making among a variety of options through vouchers--are by no means the only important considerations in the politics of change, but each is significant and indispensable. Perhaps, with such democratic tools, education will finally rid itself of its compliance with the nineteenth-century assembly line model; research and development will rid themselves of the positivistic behavioral model; and educational management will rid itself of the technocratic social engineering model. Perhaps a richer diversity of paradigms will emerge for a responsible multifunctional school system.

3.21

Forrest, M. D. "Diversity: Alternatives to Urban School Reform." *Yearning Book of Education* (1970), pp. 142-143.

Forrest, M. D. "Diversity: Implementing Equal Educational Change." *Harvard Educational Review*, Special Issue on Equal Educational Opportunity, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Winter 1968), pp. 169-170.

Forrest, M. D. "Basic approaches to intervention to educational reform." *Journal of the American Educational Research Association*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1972), pp. 1-10. "The poor alone, but for all." These are identified as: compensatory education, desegregation, model subsystems, parallel systems, and total systems reform. He concludes that the latter offers the most promise:

Since the compensatory approach has apparently failed, since desegregation is not a realistic short-range prospect, since model subsystems do not give much evidence yet of fulfilling their promise, and since parallel systems are basically an avoidance of the challenge to reform all schools where most children will continue to be educated, the latest--and, in my view, most promising--approach to intervention is reform of total school systems, structurally and otherwise.

There are several approaches to total system intervention.

One approach is to provide new leadership for the system as a whole, while leaving the system's form and structure basically intact. This approach is exemplified by trends in Philadelphia, where a reform-minded central school board, including former Mayor Richardson Dilworth and a new superintendent of schools with a record of innovation are attempting to strengthen the effectiveness of the old system with the infusion of new staff and new styles. Pittsburgh, too, is improving the efficiency of the existing system, within the operational definition of quality education as achievement according to norms.

Another approach consists of reorganization of the system into quasi-autonomous districts--i. e., decentralization. Washington, D. C., has begun moving in this direction, beginning with single model schools. The Passow Report on the District's schools recommends a total system reform by decentralizing the system into eight subsystems of approximately equal size.

Still another form is the proposed merger of the school systems of two entire political jurisdictions--the city of Louisville and Jefferson County. The

Louisville-Jefferson County is quite different markedly from the piecemeal metropolitan experiments noted earlier. In this case, the new metropolitan system is to consist of a number of subdivisions, each with considerable autonomy yet federated into a single system, to preserve the best of the worlds of bigness and smallness.

In the subsystems, models of excellence must swim against the tide of the status quo system. The total approach has no such constraint; there is no barrier from within, for everyone starts at the reform gate at the same time. In a federation of autonomous subsystems, each with an equitable share of resources, instructional practices would operate in an open, competitive market. The most successful models would be on display as a challenge to other school systems to adopt their approaches or surpass them in performance.

The problem is to create a system that  
is not any longer a monopoly of the  
state but by state action, in fact,  
is a system of free competition between  
schools, districts, or systems. This is  
the goal.



3.3.23

Ginzberg, E. "Reform of Urban Schools: Illusion or Reality [unclear]?"  
Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 52, No. 3 (November 1970), pp. 176-179.

Argues that utopian school reforms are unrealistically expensive.  
 Calls instead for "realistic" reforms that look for "partial answers  
 to complex problems." These include:

(1) a performance requirement on the school system; (2) ungrading the first three years; (3) use of more volunteer manpower [i. e., college students] in schools; (4) the provision of free breakfasts--as well as well as free lunches--for poor children; and (5) the expansion of work-study programs.

He concludes that

... as long as racism continues to confound our society, we will experience difficulties on the educational as on every other front.

Secondly, as long as poverty afflicts large groups, to that extent the schools will be handicapped in performing effectively.

But having stressed the importance of racism and poverty as causative factors in the malperformance of the schools, let me quickly add that I believe there are a reasonable number of things that the school can do, either on its own or with the help of the community, that will enable it to meet its obligation to provide basic skills for all children, poor as well as rich, black as well as white.

3.3.24

Gold, M. The Brief Interlude: Federal Intervention in American Education, 1944-1974. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 1974. 41p.

Gold argues that

Liberals have been largely successful in accomplishing their goal of equalizing educational opportunity through the use of federal powers, but it is now quite clear that this achievement has in no way brought about the expected increase in domestic tranquility. Indeed, the relationship between them seems to be the reverse of those great expectations. Education, by being linked to the economy, while lacking commensurate power to shape industrial activities, is not capable of fulfilling its goals for [reforming] society.

3.3.25

Graham, R. H. Graduate Student Discontentment, Political Activism, and Academic Reform. A Study of the University of Wisconsin, 1966-1970. Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972. 365 p.

This thesis investigates the relationship between increasing graduate student activism and the socio-political and academic causes of discontentment. It postulates a causal model of the process of becoming an activist in the graduate school setting which includes three sets of variables: (1) the independent variables are the causes of (2) the intervening variable, discontent, which may or may not be transformed into (3) the dependent variable, activism. Each set of variables is considered in relation to two environments--the university, and society in general. Of particular interest are the conditions which affect the linkages between the three sets of variables; these are considered in terms of the cognitive, moral, and motivational states of the individual student. Kenneth Kenniston's theories regarding the attributes of Youth and the process of radicalization are used to interpret the impact of these conditions in the causal model. A case study of graduate student attitudes and activism at the University of Wisconsin during the period 1966-1970 provides empirical comment for the postulated model.

The author found that

Humanities and social science departments had the most discontented students in absolute and percentage terms. Education, biological science, physical science, and engineering departments generally had lower proportions of discontented students than the overall figure of 22.7 percent.

The levels of discontentment as of 1966-67 are compared with the distribution of reform organizations as of 1968-69 to determine whether the former might have been used to predict the latter. This relationship is highly significant. Out of 69 departments, there were reform organizations in 11, and in all of these 11 departments more than 15 percent of the students had been discontented.

The reform organizations tended to be leftist politically. Leaders of the organizations were concerned with reorienting University priorities, radicalizing the mass



of graduate and undergraduate students, and training persons who would become radical organizers in their future occupations, as well as improving the working conditions of students and improving the quality of graduate education.

During the 1969-70 academic year the reform movement collapsed. This result is not surprising given our theories regarding the resolution of identity crises, the causes--discontent--action--post-action model, and the transitoriness of most types of organized student activism.

3.26 Greer, C. The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education. New York: Basic Books, 1972. 306 p.

Greer examines records of several major urban school systems which show the high rate of school failure among the urban poor since before 1900, exposing the myth that American schools have been credited with building democracy. The author feels that this myth has been largely responsible for the resistance of today's schools to needed change and if the American school system is to help the disadvantaged, acting as a democratizing agent and facilitating social change, it must first re-examine the historical analysis of American education so as to better contribute to a radical rethinking of our contemporary social crisis.

3.3. 27 Gross, B. and R. Gross. "Radical School Reform." *School and Society*, Vol. 53, No. 2339 (January 1971), pp. 28-29.

The authors argue that the openness of U.S. education to "innovative" technical changes in large measure undercut possibilities for more basic reforms:

Even as these innovations relieved the rigid programs and teaching practices in many schools, a deeper malaise in American education was developing unnoticed. The seemingly enlightened educators who had passed these changes toward flexibility and enrichment had focused their energies entirely on making the process of learning in school more lively and rewarding. But they had not perceived that larger social forces were calling into question the relevance of the entire enterprise of formal education.

In the urban ghetto schools, starvation budgets, the impact of the slum environment, and teacher indifference and sometimes unconscious racism had reduced the schools to mere disciplinary institutions. In the suburbs, the shadow of college preparation and social conformity had blighted the process of growing up less brutally, but with comparable efficiency. In all schools, the excitement of learning seemed somehow to shrivel from the time the child entered till the time he left.

By the mid 1960's, black parents in the ghettos and white students on the campuses and in the suburban high schools began to revolt against the educational system. "Innovative" approaches, enlightened and humane as they were, simply did not seem to get at the deeper causes of the educational malaise. The riots in the urban slums and the demonstrations on the campuses of the multi-versities made it shockingly clear that the educational system had reached a point where it no longer could continue without basic, radical changes in its structure, control, and operation. Radical reform is a vigorous recoil and response to realities too long suppressed.

3.3.29

Grisb, W. M. and M. Lazerson. "Rally 'Round the Work Place: Continuities and Fallacies in Career Education." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 4 (November 1975), pp. 451-474.

The authors argue that

much-publicized efforts to tie education more closely to the world of work constitute a "hollow, if not indvidous, reform."

"Despite its assertions to the contrary," the authors maintain, "[career education] is primarily a renewal and expansion of vocational education, a movement that has previously proven itself ineffective in reducing the gap between rich and poor, in enhancing school learning, in solving social and economic problems, and in improving the status of physical work."

They challenge the basic assumption of career education reforms:

... most notably the idea that the horizons and self-images of students can be broadened through exposure to "real work."

"In fact, most work is boring," they declare. "Its unvaried routine, the simplicity of most tasks, and the constant supervision characteristic of hierarchial settings all deny workers a sense of competence and feeling of responsibility." Given the "negative aspects" of most employment situations, they continue, the introduction of "real work" in schools "might have just the opposite effect from that intended."...

they also

... challenge the idea that educational programs can equip students not only for entry-level jobs, but also for long-term careers in a given field.

In American industry, they argue, "relatively few jobs are arranged in career ladders of any length." Most mobility is horizontal and directed to "different jobs that require about the same level of skill and responsibility."

"As long as jobs themselves are arranged in short ladders and the route to occupations of greater responsibility and status lies only through increased formal schooling, the claim that career education will prepare individuals for progression of jobs is hollow," they state.

The authors also challenge contentions that career education can help ease unemployment, saying "The notion that unemployment is due to the mismatch of workers and jobs, and can therefore be cured by training workers for those jobs which do exist. Ignores the fact that the unemployment level is dependent on the overall health of the economy."

Finally, they

criticize the desire of career educators to discourage students from becoming "over-educated" and adding to the current "surplus of college-educated youth." The fact is, they argue, that the desire for what may turn out to be unusable credentials is, from the student's point of view, quite rational.

Given an occupational structure with relatively few jobs at the top, and with all social goods--income, status, control over work, job satisfaction--allocated disproportionately to those top jobs, it is rational for individuals to do whatever they can to obtain those jobs.

3.3.29

Harman, W. W. "Changing United States Society: Implications for Schools." In Centre for Educational Research and Innovation. Alternative Educational Futures in the United States and Europe. Paris: OECD, 1972. pp. 137-206.

Drawing on the work of A. Wallace and his notions of <sup>criticism</sup> reform theory, Harman suggests that <sup>educational</sup> reforms take hold and succeed <sup>only if</sup> supported by collective efforts to build a new culture to bring students into line with altered value systems.

3.3.30

Heiss, A. An Inventory of Academic Innovation and Reform. Berkeley: Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, 1973. 123 p.

From a functionalist bias, this technical report provides short descriptions of educational reforms and innovations in U. S. higher education and shows current educational development trends and changing attitudes regarding the college role. Students are given greater freedom to pursue their studies independently. To meet student needs, colleges are changing their educational strategies. The report gives examples of institutions with individualized curriculum, self-instructional programs, an interdisciplinary approach, field experience programs and other innovative educational methods.

3.3.31

Helms, E. Die Hochschulreform in der USA und ihre Bedeutung für die BRD. Hannover: Schöningh, 1971. 166 p.

This work assesses reforms attempted in U. S. colleges and universities from 1959-1969. The author concludes that efforts to reform higher education in the U. S., in contrast to comparable attempts in other universities, are greatly facilitated by its "flexibility and openness to innovation." These findings are based on analysis of questionnaire responses re. the progress of reform programs in operation in 1959 from 215 U. S. institutions. It seems likely that exaggerated claims of reform success are to some degree responsible for the author's overly optimistic conclusions.

3.3.32

House, E. R. The Politics of Educational Innovation. Berkeley: McCutchan, 1974. 312 p.

Critiques U. S. government programs aimed at effecting widespread reform in schools and argues that an interdisciplinary approach is most useful to explain why liberal programs only preserve the status quo while claiming to change society. House concludes that educational reforms in liberal societies will be most effective (1) when <sup>they</sup> aim at the lowest level in education's administrative hierarchy, (2) when communication between teachers both within and across schools is much improved, (3) when all the people touched by the reform are involved in the research and implementation process, and (4) when, inter alia, the government plays the role of regulator rather than developing specific innovations to diffuse nationwide.

3.3.33

Hurstfield, J. "The Educational Experiences of Mexican Americans: 'Cultural Pluralism' or 'Internal Colonialism'?" Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1975), pp. 137-149.

The author suggests that despite "the theoretical advantages of the bilingual approach," attempts at bilingual education reforms will be limited by three important problems:

First, the advocates of bilingualism address themselves primarily to Anglo-Chicano relations in the schools; they do not generally confront the equally important issue of the exclusion of Black culture and dialects from curricula, ~~(discussed by Macias, 1973)~~. Yet the practical and intellectual difficulties involved in institution "multicultural" education are undoubtedly immense and have not been worked out. Second, to the extent that the implementation of fully bilingual education is linked to desegregation, it may conflict with strong pressures from the Chicano community for greater control of schools located in their own neighbourhoods. Third, and most problematically, the evidence of White opposition to desegregation suggests their considerable resistance to any measures which appear to jeopardize their children's high levels of academic achievement. For this reason alone it is highly unlikely that ~~transitions~~ <sup>reforms</sup> along the lines of bilingual/bicultural education will ever be voluntarily implemented. This final thought is a useful reminder that the politics of educational reform cannot be isolated from the totality of social relations that underpin racial domination in the United States today.

3.3.34

Issel, W. H. "Teachers and Educational Reform." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer 1967), pp. 220-233.

Questions "If educational reform was an important part of the Progressive Movement, then to what extent did teachers contribute to the movement for educational reform?" Concludes that they did indeed play "an important role" through their professional organizations and especially in areas of curriculum reform and community health.

3, 3, 35

Jencks, C., et al. Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America. New York: Harper and Row, 1973. 399 p.

The authors report their research findings and conclude that

There seem to be three reasons why school reform cannot make adults more equal. First, children seem to be far more influenced by what happens in school. They may also be more influenced by what happens on the streets and by what they see on television. Second, reformers have very little control over those aspects of school life that affect children. Reallocating resources, reassigning pupils, and rewriting the curriculum seldom change the way teachers and students usually treat each other when a school exerts an unusual influence on children, the resulting changes are not likely to last into adulthood. It takes a huge change in elementary school test scores, for example, to alter adult income by a significant amount.

These arguments suggest that the "factory" model which pervades both lay and professional thinking about schools probably ought to be abandoned. It is true that schools have "inputs" and "outputs," and that one of their nominal purposes is to take human "raw material" (i. e., children) and convert it to something more "valuable" (i. e., employable adults). Our research suggests, however, that the character of a school's output depends largely on a single input, namely the characteristics of the entering children. Everything else--the school budget, its policies, the characteristics of the teachers--is either secondary or completely irrelevant.

3.3.36

Rappol, A. "The Myth of Agrarianism in Rural Education, 1890-1914." History of Education Quarterly, pp. 100-129.

Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 1962), p. 100-129.

Rappol contends that

There can be no doubt that the impulse generating reform throughout the nation stemmed in large part from a very real need to cope with the problems created in a nation rapidly transforming itself from one primarily agrarian and rural to one industrial and urban. In the years when progressivism was launched and achieved recognition and results, census figures alone offered irrefutable evidence that the urban population was increasing proportionately much faster than the population of the nation as a whole.

What separated the rural leaders for a new education from their urban counterpart was the perspective from which they viewed this change. Even without knowledge of colonial statistics, it was clearly evident to any careful observer of the rural scene that the farm was losing to the city and that something cherished and familiar in American society was being lost. Despite the positive program of action rural reformers recommended and despite the compelling similarities between the practices emerging from educational reform wherever it manifested itself in the interbellum period, an important distinction set the rural spokesmen apart. Theirs was the response of a self-consciously declining majority defending an entire way of life. Central to an understanding of what may be called progressivism in rural education is a comprehension of the faith of its adherents in the national superiority of farming as a way of life and their suspicion of the city and all its alien ways. It is the assumptions underlying rural reform rather than its major accomplishments that I would like to examine here.

Rappol concludes that

From beginning to end, the rural reform movement attracted energetic men and women from rural backgrounds who threw themselves into the cause of the new education with all the evangelical fervor usually reserved for a religious reawakening. Their dedication to nature study or the new sciences was never greater than their devotion to a rural life improved through these means....



Emerging from a wholly different environment from that which produced the ferment in education in the cities at the turn of the century, rural educational reform nonetheless accomplished much of what educational theorists elsewhere were urging. The school, its spokesmen, argued, should be a part of life itself and not be cut off from the milieu in which it was set. They reacted against the prevailing stranglehold of the recitation, they threw away textbooks to experiment with readily accessible materials, they found their motives in love and benevolence rather than fear, and they universally assumed that the educational process should begin with each child wherever he happened to be in his individual stage of development. In the constellation of beliefs shared by men and women in rural reform were many of the ideas common to the new education soon to be identified with progressivism in the American schools. What remains paradoxical is that a movement so rooted in past values could produce in the school such remarkably contemporary reforms.

37 Karier, C. J. "Ideology and Evaluation in Quest of Meritocracy." In Educational Evaluation: Analysis of Responsibility, ed. M. W. Apple, et al. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchen, 1974. p.

Karier, from a conflict perspective, reviews the role of "scientific" testing and evaluation as used to assess liberal reform outcomes. He argued that ~~the~~ most testers, including Binet, Terman, Thorndike, Jensen, and Herrenstein, recognized that social class differences not only would influence an individual's performance on a test, but also were the foundation of the tests themselves. These men usually accepted the social class system as a given, and then proceeded to argue that social class differences added validity to their observations.

He suggests that U. S. reform experiences indicate that equal opportunity is an impossible dream in a hierarchical social system, that the idea of equal opportunity has, instead, served to defend and support great inequality under the mantle of meritocracy:

In a society like ours with a hierarchical socio-economic structure, where the rich have superior health and educational care and the poor have inferior health and education care, one realizes rather quickly that equal opportunity is not only difficult to approximate, but ultimately impossible to achieve without a social revolution.

3.3.38

Karion, C. L. "Liberalism and the Quest for Orderly Change." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1972), pp. 57-80.

*an article by Karion, C. L.*  
From a neo-Marxist orientation, the author seeks to explain how and why the Progressive movement sought to use school reform to build a "new social order" grounded in a liberal world view. He argues that

The major impetus of progressive reform, whether political or educational, was to make the system work efficiently and effectively and to do so by using the compulsory power of the political state to achieve that end. The thrust of progressive reform was indeed conservative. In this way, many socialists were also, in effect, conservative. They were conservative in that they sought for efficiency, orderly change, and their desire to maintain the system.

3,39

ERIC  
 Katz, Daniel. *Reform in American Education, 1820-1880*. New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1973. 156 p.

Katz argues that "In the first half of the 19th Century four different proposals, four alternative modes of organizing public education competed for acceptance. . . that by about 1880 American education had acquired its fundamental structural characteristics, and that they have not altered since." ~~(p. 156-57)~~ This fundamental, or basic, structure, he contends, is characteristically free, universal, tax supported, compulsory, bureaucratic, racist, and class-biased. These features marked some educational systems by 1880; they diffused throughout the rest of the country in a sequence that roughly paralleled urban growth. He does "not deny. . . the introduction of important innovations--for instance, the kindergarten, vocational education, guidance, testing, and various new curricula to name but a few. These have all made a difference but they have not touched or altered the basic structural features I have outlined." Katz describes the educational model that emerged victorious as one of "incipient bureaucracy. . . a social fact, a necessity. If we want schools, hospitals, welfare, or manufactured goods, we must have it, for the alternative is chaos and anarchy." Thus he contends, "It is better to accept the reality and permanency of bureaucracy and to improve its operation." From Katz's conflict perspective the educational bureaucracy will continue to dominate in reform controversy between such interest groups as students, teachers, community groups, et al.

Katz closes with four positive suggestions that emerged from his historical analysis of reform efforts in the United States:

The first relates to the purposes of education. It must be emphasized that, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, people ask no more of schools today than they did a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Even then the schools were asked to do the impossible. As we have seen, the purpose

of the school people has been more the development of attitudes than of intellect, and this continues to be the case. It is true, and this point must be stressed, of radical reformers as well as of advocates of law and order. The latter want the schools to stop crime and cheerfully by teaching obedience to authority, respect for the law, and conformity to conventional standards. The reformers want the schools to reform society by creating a new sense of community through turning out warm, loving, noncompetitive people.

The human qualities that radical reformers seek in and through the schools are very beautiful ones; if achieved, they would give us a worthier and lovelier society. But it is no more realistic to charge the schools with the creation of such qualities than it is to expect them to fulfill traditional moralistic aims. Whatever values one attaches to the counter-culture, whatever interpretation one gives to social conflict and crime, it is clear that the powers of schooling have been vastly overrated. Despite substantial financing and a captive audience, the schools have not been able to attain the goals set for them, with remarkably little change, for the last century and a quarter. They have been unable to do so because those goals have been impossible to fulfill. They require fundamental social reform, not the sort of tinkering that educational change has represented. If, by some miracle, the radical reformers were to capture the schools, and only the schools, for the next century, they would have no more success than educational reformers of the past.

The moral should be clear. Educational reformers should begin to distinguish between what formal schooling can and cannot do. They must separate the teaching of skills from the teaching of attitudes, and concentrate on the former. In actual fact, it is of course impossible to separate the two; attitudes figure in any form of practice. But there is a vast difference between leaving the formation of attitudes unintended and making them the object of education.

...my second thought for reformers [is that] the reformulation of educational purposes cannot be accomplished within current educational structures. Bureaucracy, as I hope I have made clear, is more than a form of organization; it is the crystallization of particular values. Through their structures, schools communicate a purpose; for contemporary schools, Robert Dreeben,

in On What is Learned in Schools, has made that very clear. School structure communicates particular norms; the learning of those norms has priority to the learning of skills. Those norms that are crystallized into contemporary educational forms reflect the purposes of education that have dominated American schools. Any radical reformulation of educational objectives, it follows, requires a radical restructuring of educational forms.

... Let us examine each of the activities children will undertake as they grow up and ask how it might best be handled, best in the sense of economy, of humaneness, of making the setting a happy one. In the process, we should avoid large institutions, bureaucratic organization, and complexity whenever anything else will serve as well.

It would be well if this reformed set of educational arrangements could be voluntary; compulsion should be removed on principle, wherever possible. However, and this is my third suggestion, the abolition of compulsion should be accompanied by radical changes in educational structure; it may be dangerous for children if it happens alone. ... Abolishing compulsory education could work against the interests of all children, especially the poor, if it were not accompanied by provisions to enable them to find worthwhile work and to resume formal education with financial support whenever they want to do so. The connection between level of schooling and employment will have to be broken as well, as it should be. All these things should be done.

My fourth suggestion is... [that] decentralization should include a shift of power to teachers and students, away from administrators, as well as to local communities. Many of the recommendations for community control represent merely the exchange of one arbitrary governing authority for another. It is certainly true that parents could hardly do a worse job of running ghetto schools than educational bureaucracies have done. When the median math score of twelfth-grade children is grade six, it is impossible to argue with any honesty that community control will hurt educational achievement. But that is not enough. For decentralization to bring about improvements, the teacher as well as the school must be liberated.

There is no one way, nor even a few ways, of rightly arranging for education. There are many ways, and anyone who argues otherwise is foolish. Most arrangements should have, perhaps, certain features, and I have suggested some of them. But, for the most part, the particular form education should take in any one place should be worked out by the people involved.

despite periodic reform movements, the American educational system has remained essentially unchanged since about 1885, when it was established as "universal, tax-supported, free, bureaucratically organized, class-biased, and racist. Bureaucracy emerged as the dominant structure because it is the most practical method of keeping the lower orders orderly and regulating social mobility. Their failure to recognize the integral relationship between the bureaucratic organization of educational and certain class-bound values accounts for the failure of educational reformers past and present.

<sup>While</sup> There is no denying the <sup>value</sup> of Katz's reform prescriptions, It is equally obvious <sup>however</sup> that his calls for structural change-- i. e., alterations in basic <sup>relationships</sup>, are little more than exhortation without corresponding suggestions as to alternations in power relationships. For if his work tells us anything it is that reforms as structural changes are best understood in terms of relative power in interest-group conflicts. Yet he tends to ignore this fact in suggesting new reforms.

3.3.40

Katz, Michael B. The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. 385 p.

~~Looking back~~ <sup>the creation of</sup> Katz ~~comes to view~~ mass public education ~~coming~~ ~~into~~ Massachusetts not as a response to democratic, humanitarian and working class needs, but as a conspiracy by conservatives. He contends that early school boards sought to promote compulsory education to exert more control over lower classes and immigrants. By making education the single parameter of social change efforts, these reformers failed to take into account the effects of industrialization and urbanization. In spite of educational <sup>reform</sup> ~~change~~ efforts, social conditions grew worse. Katz contends that what is still needed today are reforms that consider urbanization, industrialization and social change factors.

3.3.41

Katz, M.B. "The Present Moment in Educational Reform." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No. 3 (August 1971), pp. 342-359.

*Simon*  
 Evaluation ~~the~~ <sup>of the</sup> educational reform efforts stemming from the 1960's, ✓

Katz concludes that "the drive and dynamism have gone...." He lays the responsibility for this with inherent tensions erupting within the movement, and concludes that: "The strains and contradictions between integration and decentralization, between radical pedagogical reform and community participation--to name but three--have driven wedges into the movements, fragmenting it into antagonistic pieces."

3.42

Kohl, H. "Community Control--Failed or Undermined?" Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 54, No. 6 (February 1976), pp. 370, 429.

Kohl's major thesis is that community control reforms could not have failed in New York because they were never allowed to happen. Kohl claims that an honest chance would have required time, money, and support all of which were either impeded, undermined, or denied by forces concerned with the perpetuation of their own power rather than the education of children. Kohl contends that due to these prevailing odds "the energy that should have gone into the schools was drained by organizational and bureaucratic struggles."

3.3-43

Kirst, M. and J. Pincus. "School Reform: The Hunt for Consensus." SACSTATE, Vol. 20, No. 2 (April 1976), p. 5.

The authors use a structural/functionalist framework to explain reform needs and constraints while drawing on the California experience:

From Sacramento to the classroom and home, there is ferment over reform of education. This widespread interest is demonstrated by the controversy over the proposals and recommendations in the recent report of the California RISE (Reform of Intermediate and Secondary Education) Commission, a broad-based blue ribbon group of 37 lay citizens. They devoted one year to studying education reform. A state task force is at work to translate RISE recommendations into action guidelines.

Several problems, unsolved by past reform efforts, stimulate the current talk of serious reform.

- Too many children still do not master the basic skills of mathematics, reading, clear writing and analytical thinking.
- There is still violence and boredom in the schools.
- Parents of black and Mexican-American children are frustrated by inability of the schools to provide their children a good education.
- School systems all too often appear bureaucratic and unresponsive.
- Society itself is searching for ways to educate children to cope with rapid change.

Schools now face major stresses. After three decades of growth, pupil enrollments are declining. Inflation and recession magnify the problem. School income generally does not keep up with inflation. All of these factors-- economic crisis, rapid social change, population shifts, public discontent--contribute to the climate for reform.

Schools have five main functions, and any reform will affect each differently which is one reason all major reforms are controversial. The five are:

- Socialization, bringing children from the family into a "mini-society" that foretells the larger society's working world.
- Sorting people out for different future roles, by grading, test scores, teacher evaluation.
- Knowledge and skills training.
- Encouragement of personal attributes such as creativity, self-reliance, ability to communicate.
- Custody, the child-sitting and care function.

It is not easy to perform all these five functions to everyone's satisfaction, and progress is particularly

difficult because of the diversity of cultures and values; variations in district size from a few hundred to more than 600,000 students; isolation of teachers in their classrooms (with teacher training conducted by schools or education whose facilities are not necessarily committed or qualified to prepare people for reform in various school districts); the requirements of accrediting and testing agencies, federal aid restrictions and complex state laws; competing political pressures; and the inertia of a large bureaucracy.

Despite these obstacles, there has been no shortage of reform efforts. A recent survey found 52 major reforms given funds in California from 1958 to 1975.

What has been learned from all this activity, much of it frustrating? Educators, legislators, and officials have discovered that added money alone is not sufficient, that one-shot isolated devices like team teaching or flexible scheduling are ineffective, and that reforms cannot be put in standard packages and imposed from above.

In our own work, the two of us have uncovered some specific guidelines that promise greater success:

- The present public demand for greater emphasis on basic skills must ultimately face the fact that earlier reform movements have discovered there is no one best approach to schooling. Different students have different needs, and the road to basic skills (or to any other goal) may run in indirect ways. The real key is that there is no one best reform; instead a variety of approaches is needed. Ancillary tasks should be handled by other agencies, and not by the schools.
- Variation in school size and student characteristics can best be accommodated by reforms that encourage flexibility at the individual school site for budget, curriculum, personnel and evaluation. Uniform "solutions" cannot be implemented by regulations from central school district offices. Parents and students should be able to choose among curriculum approaches. Higher grade students should be able to work in educational settings that may be on or off the campus.
- Teacher isolation can be offset by techniques used in the state's Early Childhood Education Program (ECE). Teachers and parents plan instructional approaches together and are held accountable as a group.
- Local schools need to be released from many needless outside restrictions such as mandated pupil/teacher ratios, loss of state aid for off-campus programs, and child labor laws that inhibit cooperative programs with businesses.

- School administrators should focus through training and staff development on working with different interest groups to build coalitions that will promote steady progress toward specific educational changes.

- Teachers and administrators should receive salary increases for extra efforts like ECE, and training that is specifically keyed to individual school and district needs. State funds for teacher training (which now go exclusively to universities) should be funneled in part through local school districts so that they can use the funds to encourage universities and district staff to focus on specific school site needs.

- Education reform must be based on the support of educators. Planning and implementing changes will never be successful unless teachers and principals are involved all the way. School site governance--flexibility at the local level--is just one step in a larger process of enlisting staff energies in changes they understand and believe in.

As long as society is in flux, working out its values by conflict and reconciliation, then school reform must remain a trial and error process, proceeding with little proven theory or conclusive data. Public schools are largely reflections of society. Therefore, there can be no single best solution now: both the quest for reform and the frustrations that accompany it are the mirror of our nation's search for a new consensus.

3.44

Kussic, M. R. Social Reform as a Tool of Urban Reform: The Emergence of the Twentieth-Century Public School in Newark, New Jersey, 1890-1920. Doctoral Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1974. 367 p.

The author asks why

have the public schools in America had a history of reform agitation and implementation followed by frequent dis-appointment and new proposals for reform? As the study of the development and reform of the Newark, New Jersey, public school system from 1890 to 1920 demonstrates, the roots of this cyclical pattern lie in the inherent conflict between the faith that the omnipotent American public schools are appropriate agencies of social reform and individual uplift and the real limitations of formal education.

Newark was typical of many late nineteenth-century industrial cities. Although the city leaders anticipated continued growth and prosperity, Newark suffered from many common urban problems: a large influx of "new" immigrant populations, inadequate municipal services, and potential political, social, and economic instability. Civic leaders turned increasingly to the public schools to provide solutions to these problems. Newark educators willingly assumed ever-increasing responsibilities for the development of healthy, productive children and a stable, prosperous society.

As members of the progressive reform generation, Newark educators espoused goals made popular by progressive reformers and progressive educators. They came to rely on techniques developed by modern industrial bureaucracy, however, to achieve these goals. The history of the thirty years of reform illustrates the interaction of the ideal and the bureaucratic within progressivism, as well as the impact of urban realities, professional aspirations, and educational possibilities.

She concludes that

Despite enduring administrative optimism, it was apparent that the schools could not achieve urban reform through educational reform. Structural innovations did not necessarily improve school board, teaching staff, or student performance. Studies revealed that the children of the poor and the immigrant

continued to have the highest failure, retardation, and dropout rates. The poor, immigrant children, as well as striving middle-class patrons did not necessarily share the goals espoused by reformers. Many problems remained unresolved after years of reform.

The reforms of the Newark school system were based on largely untested assumptions about learning processes and the nature of socialization. The most significant untested assumption was that the public schools were appropriate agencies of urban reform. This is not borne out by the Newark experience.

3. 3. 45 Lazerson, M. "Urban Reform and the Schools: Kindergarten in Massachusetts, 1870-1915." History of Education Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2 (Summer 1971), pp. 115-142.

The author describes the development of kindergartens from a conflict view and concludes that by World War I the reforms shifted to an overriding concern for social control:

Whereas superintendents of schools had once affirmed the key roles kindergartens would play in slum districts, between 1910 and 1914 such discussion practically ceased. Where children of the poor were mentioned, it was now almost invariably in the context of non-English speaking immigrants who needed aid in being propelled through the school and into the work force, rather than in terms of helping reform the larger society of which they were a part. As they became institutionalized in the urban public school, kindergartners moved from the delicate balance they had earlier proposed between freedom and order, emancipation and discipline, to a clear and overriding commitment to control. Slum children, removed from the guiding restraints of healthy, orderly family life, growing up in the anarchic environment of the street needed, above all else, discipline, needed to be prepared for the strict environment of the primary grades. By the time of America's entry into World War I, Massachusetts' educators had resolved the tension that had existed in the kindergarten movement between focusing on the child or using the child for the larger setting. They had turned from the child in the slum home to the slum child in school, a far easier and cheaper means of education, and in the process they were ceasing to believe that positive benefits could be derived from a focus on the former.

3.3.40

Levine, A. and J. Weingart. Reform of Undergraduate Education. [1973].  
San Francisco: ~~Freeman~~ 1973. 166p.

The authors analyze reforms attempted in 26 institutions and argue that general education reforms in U. S. universities fail because of the rigidity of departmental boundaries; general educational reforms in undergraduate education, they contend, will, moreover, continue to fail until departments move together instead of apart.

3.3.47

Little, A. and G. Smith. Strategies of Compensation: A Review of Educational Projects for the Disadvantaged in the United States.  
Paris: OECD, 1971. 151 p.

The authors examine three broad strategies of educational change-- i. e., (1) within the school, (2) between the school and its setting, and (3) as a subsection of this second type, they outline projects adopting a very different conception of school-community relationships. They conclude that educational reforms associated with the War on Poverty have failed and question if "the whole compensatory education movement has not been a series of 'paper programmes' founded on inadequate assumptions and poorly articulated theory." ~~(p. 126)~~ They suggest that while educational-reform programs "may make considerable impact on the political awakening of disadvantaged groups," the educational system alone has little independent effect as an agent of social change and that improvements in educational facilities however radical could never achieve the kind of objectives that were set." Instead, "the long-term solution must be a comprehensive range of programs that strike at these political, social, and economic inequalities." ~~(p. 136)~~ It might be noted, ~~however~~, that the British authors are proposing what is a Fabian Socialist critique and prescription for America's educational dilemma, an approach that has yet to demonstrate notable success *as a guide to educational reform.*

3.3.48

Marien, M. "Facing Up to the Ignorant Society." Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 54, No. 9 (April 1973), pp. 513-514.

Marien questions if recent educational <sup>- reform</sup> ~~change~~ proposals are not simply "updated progressivism, intensified by our heightened societal crisis, but locked into the same naive pattern of hope and prescription established by <sup>C</sup> ~~Hubberly~~, Dewey, and Kilpatrick more than a century ago?" He <sup>also</sup> argues ~~instead~~ that rational appeals for futures-oriented reforms in the schools will continue to fail:

The votes are not there. Even Shane acknowledged Hermann Kahn's view of the "squaring of America"--a trend, incidentally, that is favored by Kahn as "healthy." To state it differently, the majority of Americans are moving precisely in the maladaptive directions that Alvin Toffler's Future Shock warned against: outright denial, specialism, obsessive reversion, and super-simplification. Why should an ill-prepared and future-shocked society suddenly act rationally?

Given this situation, reforms will only come with increased public debate and <sup>a</sup> "professionalism" among educators that is more than "merely an empty act of ego massage." He concludes that

Exploring these suggested areas (and hopefully many others) for new questions and new answers will not be easy. There will be considerable struggle with the cognitive status quo--within ourselves, among our colleagues, and in the community. But we are faced with such a struggle, or we perish due to our ignorance. Above all, the societal crisis of crises is an educational problem in the broadest sense.

3.3.49

Martinek, ~~Sharon~~ S. "Revolutionary Education: Reasons and Ways." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, August 1972. 18 p.

Martinek evaluates <sup>U.S.</sup> inner-city schools, free schools, and student protest and concludes that revolutionary education resulting in major social change has yet to occur. Argues that most educational ~~change~~ <sup>reform</sup> efforts do not attempt to effect social change because most planners are avowedly apolitical and bear values and norms that are contradictory to the present educational and social structures.

3.3.50

McLaughlin, M. W. Evaluation and Reform, [US]. - Santa Monica, Calif. : Rand Corporation, 1974. 136 p.

This case study in policy research examines the ~~congruence between the~~ assumptions and expectations ~~that generated these notions~~ of evaluation and reform and the dominant constraints and incentives in the Title I policy system. The central question ~~of this study~~ concerns the degree to which the expectations of reformers about the conduct and use of evaluation squared with the behavior of individuals and bureaucracies, particularly in a federal system. Senator Robert Kennedy, the principal architect of the 1965 Title I evaluation requirement, viewed mandated evaluation as a means of political accountability. Reformers of a different stripe hoped that Title I evaluation could revitalize federal management of educational programs. But state and local school men argued that an evaluation requirement would presage federal control of local education. This tension between proponents and opponents of evaluation characterized Title I evaluation history.

In a review of the author's trade edition (Evaluation and Reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965/Title I. Cambridge: Mass.: Ballinger, 1975. 139 p.) for the Harvard Education Review of May 1976, Peter H. Rossi summarizes the study's message for would-be school reformers as follows:

The overall lesson to be learned is that the federal government cannot reform schools with dollars alone. Educational reform will take a combination of prerequisites that include clear ideas of what the school should do, a means of tracing dollars through to their conversion into services, and a data collection approach that is enforceable.

3.3-51 Moorhead, J. "Who's Blocking Educational Change ~~It's~~?"  
PTA Magazine, Vol. 60, No. 7 (March 1966), pp. 2-3. ✓

Moorhead, 1966 PTA President, notes that administrators, teachers, universities, and even the PTA "want harmony." And because "change can be devilish," they will tend to oppose educational reforms that touch their professional lives.

She concludes, however, that:

To my mind a far more important question than "Who's blocking educational change?" is "What's blocking educational change?" Resistance to change, I think, stems from human inertia. It stems from human fear of failure, from apprehensiveness about the new and unknown. It stems from blind faith in some myths and sacred cows of education.

Educational change takes energy and courage and flexibility. The most profitable questions we can ask, I think are: How can we overcome the natural human resistance to change? How can we foster the equally natural human desire to adventure, to experiment, to innovate? School administrators, together with PTA leaders, must find the answers to these questions--and act upon those answers. This is the guidance all concerned and responsible need if education is to cope with change.

3.3-52 Naisbitt, N. "What School Reformers Want." Education Digest, Vol. 37 (February 1972), pp. 19-21.

.3.53

Ohlin, L. E., et al. "Radical Correctional Reform." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 44, No. 1 (February 1974), pp. 74-111.

Describes reforms that closed traditional training schools and developed a variety of alternative residential and non-residential programs. Where the key organizing principle of the former "is punishment," the reform sought to create new institutions based on a "therapeutic community model." Factors facilitating the change included a "youth advocate" administration, failure of the traditional schools, and the influence of British reforms. Major obstacles have been the selection and training of staff for counseling and therapy programs in the decentralized cottages, resistance to the change by the courts, the law-enforcement groups, and the state civil service.

Concludes that

Our research on these reforms, however, is not yet complete. There has not yet been sufficient exposure time in the community for those in the new programs to provide a valid, follow-up comparison with those treated in institutions. In addition, the collective of recidivism information has been delayed pending the development of approved regulations for access by research personnel to criminal history information of juvenile and adult offenders. These arrangements have just been completed.

Additional issues need further analysis and study. One is whether the same broad changes could have been pursued as successfully more gradually. Miller and his aides have expressed the view that gradual implementation of such major changes would permit the mobilization of conservative groups inside and outside the agency to block changes. This view is not easily discounted, given other states' experiences in reform efforts.

Another issue concerns administrative confusion and neglect of staff development in the transitional period. The rapid changes in staff assignments and responsibilities created a highly fluid administrative situation. It provided greater freedom to experiment with new treatment methods, stimulated staff members to considerable creativity and initiative, and enabled the administration to avoid premature commitment and consolidation of insufficiently tested programs. However, it has been charged that this approach unnecessarily alienated both old and new staff members.

The Massachusetts Department of Youth Services has undertaken a major pioneering step in correctional reform. It has demonstrated that radical changes in the official ideology, policies, and programs of treatment for delinquent youth can be achieved in a short period of time. Evidence thus far indicates that youth perceive the new system as more helpful and staff more responsive. There is widespread agreement that it encourages more humane treatment of youth and offers staff more resources for reintegrating youth into their home communities. Whether in the long run these new policies and programs will result in better protection for the community and more effective help for troubled youth is still to be determined.

3.3.54

Pascal, A. H., et al. "Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change (USA)." Vol. III of The Process of Change. Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1975. 88 p.

Examines career education reforms supported by the U. S. Office of Education. Concludes that: "From the limited evidence, career education in its current development phase is a fairly weak program treatment, made up of standard components, and has been used by many local education agencies to try to achieve other--to them more important--ends."

3.3.55 Pearl, A. "The Case for Schooling America." Social Policy, Vol. 2, No. 6 (March/April 1972), pp. 51-52.

*Pearl*  
 Argues that:

It remains true, ~~however~~, that although schools do not run society, they are more resistant to society's attempt to run them than are most other institutions. The fact is that our schools are not monolithic; people do not emerge from them as sausages out of a meatpacking plant. . . . [that] True educational reform inside and outside schools is really possible, then, because the schools themselves do not have an already established or pre-determined monopolistic role. They offer a variety of experiences and interests and provide a place for increasing numbers of "radical" teachers to function. It is, after all, only among persons with many years of compulsory education that Ivan Illich has any following-- and that is not an accidental occurrence. Schools develop intellectual opponents to injustice not because they are designed to, but because once a group of inquiring youths are compelled to interact with each other, a percentage will begin to question the values and direction of their society. Thus it was the students and teachers in public institutions who first questioned the war in Vietnam; and efforts to restrict them, though powerful, cannot succeed.

*He*  
 Concludes that

The public schools are clearly in desperate shape. Reform won't come easily, and we have a long way to go. Illich and other critics provide a useful function when they hammer away at the schools' inhumanity; but they become counterproductive when they offer non-solutions and lose sight of the Gideon's army of radical public-school leaders whose growing number has greatly contributed to the clamor to do something about war, racism, poverty, and the destruction of earth during the past decade. Try to deinstitutionalize education as a symbol and the beginning of the deinstitutionalization of everything and you reinstate the law of the jungle-- which quickly breaks down into a new set of oppressive institutions. The same unfortunate situation holds true

for attaining any of the other goals of a desirable society. Politics learned at the hands of Richard Daley, culture picked up at the feet of Johnny Carson, and interpersonal relations gleaned from gropings in the street are the alternatives to school. That these alternatives are already too characteristic of contemporary American society is not a reason for removing schools, but for reforming them.

3,3,56

Philips, L. "Resocialization and Re-entry." Edcentric: Journal of Educational Change, Nos. 31-32 (November 1974), pp. 28, 53-54.

Philips, in her recent evaluation of CEW Centers (Continuing Education for Women) "initiated in the fifties to reform educational institutions and to make them more responsive to women's changing roles," ~~(p. 28)~~ contends that they have failed. Acknowledging their efforts surrounding a woman's "re-entry" she accuses them of perpetuating the status-quo by: 1) reaching a homogeneous group of upper middle-class women; 2) promoting the attitude that a "meaningful career is in no way detrimental to one's femininity;" and 3) sexist testing in vocational counseling. Moreover, these programs had been taken over by non-movement members and members involved in the program have, she contends, all too often been co-opted by traditional sexist values.

3,3,57

Pincus, J. "Education, Schooling and Civilization, ~~(p. 11)~~." The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, July 1974. 11 p. ✓

Argues that "Reformers are trying to transform schooling into an educational enterprise that will create an open society. This would reverse its social role from reflecting social norms to acting on them. Since society will not subsidize its own transformation, however, reforms must be couched in realistic, incremental terms."

33.58

Platt, A. M. The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency.  
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. 181 p.

The author, from a conflict perspective, critiques <sup>U.S.</sup> reforms in the education of "delinquent" youth and examines the reformer's liberal and functionalist rationales and assumptions. He argues that:

Contemporary programs of delinquency control can be traced to the enterprising reforms of the "child savers" who, at the end of the nineteenth century, helped to create special judicial and correctional institutions for the labeling, processing, and management of "troublesome" youth. The origins of "delinquency" are to be found in the programs and ideas of those social reformers who recognized the existence and carriers of delinquent norms. The term "child savers" is used to characterize a group of "disinterested <sup>people</sup>" reformers who regarded their cause as a matter of conscience and morality, serving no particular class or political interests. The child savers viewed themselves as altruists and humanitarians dedicated to rescuing those who were less fortunately placed in the social order. Their concern for "purity," "salvation," "innocence," "corruption," and "protection" reflected a resolute belief in the righteousness of their mission.

The study addresses the origins, composition, and achievements of the child-saving movement in the United States. The child savers went beyond more humanitarian reforms of existing institutions. They brought attention to--and, in doing so, invented new categories of youthful misbehavior which had been hitherto unappreciated. It is with this recognition and discovery of youthful crime that this study is specifically concerned.

Granted the benign motives of the child savers, the programs they enthusiastically supported diminished the civil liberties and privacy of youth. Adolescents were treated as though they were naturally dependent, requiring constant pervasive supervision. Although the child savers were rhetorically concerned with protecting children from the physical and moral dangers of an increasingly industrialized and urban society, their [reforms] seemed to aggravate the problem. This study consequently attempts to locate the social bias of humanitarian

*2 reforms*  
 ideals, and to reconcile the intentions of the child savers with the institutions that they helped to create. Particular attention ~~will be~~ paid to understanding (1) the relationship between social reforms and related changes in the administration of criminal justice, (2) the motives, class interests, aspirations, and purposes of child-saving organizations, (3) the methods by which communities establish the formal machinery for regulating crime, and (4) the distinctions between idealized goals and enforced conditions in the implementation of moral crusades-cum-reforms.

3.3.59

Rasnick, H. S. Turning on the System: War in the Philadelphia Public Schools. New York: Random House, 1970. 229 p.

This is a personal account of the change effort in the Philadelphia School System in 1967-1968. The reform movement, headed by Mark Shedd, attempted to transform this large urban school system, to make it more relevant and responsive to student needs, to involve students, teachers and administrators in more "meaningful experiences." The people who promoted this change came to view the effort as a failure. These "revolutionary changes" proved threatening to members of the school system and the community. The reforms <sup>were resisted by</sup> ~~received resistance from~~ the teachers' union, city hall, administrators, parents and, most ironically, <sup>Esics, by</sup> ~~from~~ the black community, at which many of these changes were directed.

3.3.60

Rivlin, A. M. and J. O'Neill. "Growth and Change in Higher Education." In R. H. Connery (ed.). The Corporation and the Campus: Corporate Support of Higher Education in the 1970's. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1970), pp. 66-74.

.3.61

Rivlin, A. M. and P. M. Timpane. Planned Variation in Education: Should We Give Up or Try Harder? Brookings Studies in Social Experimentation. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975. γ.

Reports findings of a 1973 "conference of experts" that attempted to determine "what went wrong" in educational reform programs to "improve the education of poor children in the pre-school or elementary grades." Kermit Gordon, President of the Brookings Foundation, asks in his foreword: "What went wrong? Were the planned variations poorly designed, poorly executed, or poorly evaluated? Or was the whole idea of planned variation naive in the first place?" (p. vii) The "experts," i. e., the researchers and project administrators (those who received most of the federal funds spent on the reforms --albeit in "soft money!"), rather predictably respond that they should try harder, that the programs should continue, but on a more experimental and scientifically rigorous basis. This is a good example of how "change agents" with systems-analysis biases and assumptions are unable to explain their failures using these same biases and assumptions and ignoring conflict perspectives.

3.62

Scribner, J. D. et al. "School Finance Reform." Education and Urban Society, Vol. 5, No. 2 (February 1973), pp. 133-148.

Argues that

... the aftermath of the California Supreme Court decision in the case of Serrano v. Priest with all its complexities and unresolved issues (1) raises questions about the underlying social and economic principles of major school finance proposals, (2) elicits pragmatic alternatives for replacing present systems of finance, and (3) stimulates speculation on the potential of the court's decision for educational reform.

3.3.63 Selakovich, D. "The Failure of School Reform." Educational Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer 1975), pp. 13-23.

The author proposes that

During the decade of the sixties, the American public schools were subjected to a deep, searching, and critical analysis which was without precedent in history. The criticism ranged from massive studies such as the Coleman Report to more emotional and personal broadsides such as Nat Hentoff's Our Children are Dying. Some even suggested that schools be eliminated.

Yet not much was changed. The Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the United States Senate provided over 13,000 pages of reports and testimony in December of 1972 on the status of equality in public education in the United States. Their conclusion: the public schools were failing, and they were failing the poor as seriously in 1972 as they were a decade earlier. John Fischer's analysis in 1970 would have found few who would disagree among the hundreds who testified before the Senate Committee: "For all the turmoil of the sixties--the excitement, the demonstrations, and revolutionary rhetoric--the decade now ended has brought little actual alteration in most schools." Fischer was hopeful, however, for he felt that the decade of school criticism had caught the spirit of the people and that the schools were ready for change. In his words, "the social order appears ready to rebuild the schools." This, of course, implies that the social order had changed greatly enough so that the schools were no longer functional, unable to serve the "new" social order. This new social order is hard to find. It is difficult to find any really basic change in the economic, social, or political institutions of the society.

Even if one could find a new social order based on emerging values, the schools would be slow in reflecting the changes. The school may be one of the most resistant of all social institutions to the process of change. The critics of the sixties were concerned with curriculum reform, a more humanistic education, the democratization of the classroom and the school process, the utilization of the school as an instrument of change, and a deep interest in the schooling of the children of the poor and the minorities. In many respects, it was a call for revolution.

He then presents an "explanation of failure" using a group conflict argument:

The major question raised by this analysis is: Why is even modest change in schooling so difficult to achieve? It is possible that the old theories about the school as a reflection of the society are not tenable. Not that "society" is much interested in change, if indeed one can define "society" or its values in the United States. The idea that there is such a thing as a community of values in any school district may be a myth. Maybe schools do not reflect community values at all but only their own "values." Nor are all schools necessarily alike. If indeed, this phenomenon exists, it could go a long way toward explaining any school's resistance to change.

Perhaps the only really central value which schools have in common is that of self-preservation and perpetuation. In practice, this becomes the preservation and perpetuation of a bureaucracy with a vague, generalized function of providing schooling for a legally defined age group in every community. What this schooling is may vary, but the maintenance of a common bureaucratic structure to provide it does not vary. Maybe schools have become so bureaucratized that change is unthinkable. The teachers have assigned roles which they are reluctant to change. Most may have worked out their own "system" of relationships with students which fits them well. Most may be in such familiar ruts with the content they teach, the way they handle daily problems, and the techniques they use in teaching and in control of the student population that they are not interested in change. Change is always a threat. To an entrenched bureaucrat, it is suicide.

The same might be said of the principals, superintendents, and school boards. Principals are not typically rewarded for the ability to promote change, not by their teachers nor by the administrative hierarchy. What they are rewarded for is their ability to run a smooth organization. Low visibility and the absence of public controversy are the marks of a good principal. The same could be said for most superintendents. Similarly school boards are not noted for rocking the boat. Indeed, their major concern is to keep the schools running smoothly. Even if one assumes that the major innovations discussed in this paper were great hopes for change, the various school bureaucracies were unable to absorb them all as if nothing had happened. The alternative school movement was either ignored or absorbed, the efforts of the national government were easily accommodated, and the community control movement was a change in form more than in substance.

Yet it would have been impossible for school people to ignore the school reform movement if it had ever seriously threatened the major goal of survival. Obviously, the survival of any school bureaucracy depends to some extent on its public image. If there is widespread dissatisfaction with a school, those responsible for its operation--the teachers, administrators, and the school board--must deal with the criticisms in some way. This was never the case regarding the school reform movement. Although a few professors in colleges of education, a few of their students, some classroom teachers, and a host of professional literary critics had high hopes for reform, the general public never seemed to get the idea. Except for a few isolated instances, it is doubtful if the public was ever aware that a school reform movement existed. Parents everywhere seemed more interested in getting their kids into Headstart than in dismantling the educational bureaucracy.

What the schools are doing is not necessarily educating children or neglecting their education; not killing kids or humanizing them: not meeting individual needs or neglecting them. What they are really doing is mainly insuring their continued existence. If the school reform movement proves anything, it proves how capable the schools are in resisting threats to that existence.

Thus, with all its noise, its millions of words, its dedicated activists, the school reform movement has faded into history with hardly a trace of evidence that it ever existed. The gigantic educational system lumbers on with only a vague awareness that there ever was such a thing as a school reform movement.

- 3.3.64 Shiff, M. "The Educational Failure of Community Control in Inner-City New York." Phi Delta Kappan, Vol.57, No.6 (February 1976), pp. 375-378.

Building upon the conclusions of Kenneth Clark who contends that decentralization "had failed to improve education and so far has resulted in power grabs and struggles over jobs and control of finances," Shiff attacks community control <sup>reforms</sup> ~~programs~~ whose failure to serve the educational needs of children, he contends, lies in 1) the weakness of the solution in itself; and 2) the leadership <sup>where</sup> "many...were financially irresponsible, educationally incompetent and patronage oriented."

- 3.3.65 Shimahara, N. "Education Beyond Socialization." Paper presented at Annual Meeting, American Educational Research Association, 1974. 24 p.

Shimahara argues that radical educational reform efforts cannot take place in isolation from societal change. American schools are agents of the society. To change the schools, one must first change the society.

3.3.66

Silberman, H. F. "Involving the Young," ~~ERIC~~ Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 56, No. 5 (May 1975), pp. 596-600. ✓

The author examines two case studies (China and the Synanon Foundation) of attempts to "integrate youth into the world of work and civic responsibility." He then identifies some common features found in work-study reforms

being conducted across the United States. I discovered elements of the two exemplars already discussed. I was interested in program features which might be associated with student satisfaction, an important dependent variable in voluntary programs. My study showed that students are more satisfied with school-supervised work/education programs than with part-time jobs obtained on their own. The factors contributing most to job satisfaction were: (1) group atmosphere, i. e., the social climate of the work team, the availability of supportive stimulation, and a sense of family on the job; (2) influence of adult role models, including ratio of adults to young people and extent to which students perceived the adults as knowing their jobs; (3) meaningfulness of work, i. e., importance of the job, extent of decision making involved, status and level of responsibility, autonomy provided, and dependence of others on one's performance; and (4) feedback, which tells whether people are responsive to what one does on the job, whether they get angry at mistakes and give praise for a good job, etc.

My findings suggest that work/education coordinators might improve a student's work experience by analyzing the structure of the workplace and either assigning students to sites which have these properties or assisting employers to provide such a setting.

Spring, J. "Traditions in Urban School Reform." School and Society, Vol. 99, No. 2336 (November 1971), pp. 428-433.

Spring contends that

Historically, we know that keeping the schools out of politics really meant keeping the schools out of the hands of immigrants and Catholics. Today, opposition to community control of the schools is a combination of racial bigotry and resistance to change. Teachers particularly fear any changes that might threaten their security and jobs. The growth of an urban school bureaucracy which freed teachers from the hiring and firing policies of local ward bosses provided an important source of employment protection. One of the great stumbling blocks to a return to local control of city schools is the problem of protecting the teachers while, at the same time, assuring that they remain sensitive to local needs.

To reverse the custodial function of urban schools would require a revolution in our attitudes toward the value and necessity of education. Perhaps writers such as Paul Goodman and Edgar Friedenberg are harbringers of a future era when children will be free to attend or not attend a large variety of different schools. School laws that are based upon the fear that a child will become a moral degenerate unless protected by the school would have to be changed. It would also require a basic change in attitudes toward the social role of the urban school.

If the urban school is to continue to be used as an instrument of social reform, it should not act as a shield between the child and the community. The school cannot protect the ghetto child from a world that he must face after school hours, and protection of the middle-class urban dweller only leads to greater social ignorance and irresponsibility. While teaching about social problems is laudable, it often becomes artificial and results in moral platitudes. A student leaves a classroom with only vague feelings about the real workings of social organizations and methods of solving social problems. One thing that appears to have broken the shield between the school and community, and has made the student socially and politically aware, has been the involvement of the school in political controversy. Putting the schools back into politics appears to be one of the great educational changes of the 20th century.

3.3.68

Stein, A. "Strategies for Culture." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 41, No. 2 (May 1971), pp. 188-204.

Using a class conflict perspective, Stein argues that community demands for school reforms in New York City have been thwarted by institutional racism--strategies of containment and control. She asserts that school desegregation and decentralization have not occurred; community action has evoked empty rhetoric and token gestures from those who control the schools; and teacher training, based on biased texts, supports assumptions about low expectations for Blacks and Puerto Ricans. She further cites ways in which school policies suppress student action for meaningful change.

3.3.69

Stretch, B.B. "The Rise of the 'Free School'." In The Radical Papers, H.W. Sobel and A.E. Salz (eds). New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Despite reform efforts seeking to reach into the Indian and Spanish communities, the Santa Fe Community School remains essentially white middle class. The Chicanos and Indians tend to shy away from such experiments partly because their cultures are conservative and highly structured in terms of roles and partly because the poor cannot take chances with their children's futures. Thus the school's attempt to include all children equally is not successful as a result of cultural and economic factors.

3.3.70

Summerfield, H. L. Power and Process: The Formulation and Limits of Federal Educational Policy. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan, 1974. 328 p.

3.3.71

Useem, M. and S. M. Miller. "Privilege and Domination: The Role of the Upper Class in American Higher Education." Social Science Information, Vol. 14, No. 6 (1975), pp. 115-145.

3.3.72 VanTil, W. "Reform of the High School in the Mid-1970's." Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 56, No. 7 (March 1975), pp. 493-494.

Contents that

How one responds to the high school reform proposals of the 1970s will depend on one's view of what constitutes good education. It will also be affected in part by one's commitment to or dissent from earlier reforms.

Supporters of compensatory education for the disadvantaged and advocates of special stress on racial-ethnic groups through multicultural, pluralistic education may be troubled by a relative lack of emphasis on their concerns in the proposals of some of the high school reformers of the mid-1970s. Those who support innovative forms of school organization, such as team teaching, or who sponsor open classrooms, may conclude that their reforms have been relatively neglected. They may find solace in that the new reforms do not deny their chosen emphases. But to be largely ignored is cold comfort.

Objections to the general tenor of the reports are likely to be raised by academic critics, supporters of the structure-of-the-disciplines approach, and proponents of the large comprehensive high school. The academic critics may dissent from the heavy emphasis on community orientation and the action learning in the new proposals. More, rather than less, time devoted to the academic subjects would be recommended by the academicians. Supporters of the structure-of-the-disciplines approach may see the new reforms as too much concerned with the heat of involvement and too little concerned for the cool analysis of processes, concepts, relationships and ways of inquiry through the separate disciplines. Supporters of the comprehensive high school may see the diversity of programs inherent in the 1970s proposals as a threat to the social cement holding society together which they believe can better be provided by the comprehensive high school attended by all the young people of the American democracy.

Some may react ambivalently. A contemporary inheritor of the progressive tradition who holds that high school education must meet the needs of the learner, illuminate social realities, analyze values, and provide reorganized relevant knowledge may welcome the interest in

youth needs, the social concern, and the quest for relevance manifest in the proposals for the 1970s. Yet he may wonder whether enough attention is given to the personal needs of youth, or to value analysis, or to reorganization of the content of high school curricula. A social reconstructionist may hail the evident school concern and community orientation of the new proposals. Yet the reconstructionist may doubt whether sufficient emphasis is placed on a broad social frame of reference in a society which seems to him to require fundamental reconstruction; he may sadly suspect that the new work orientation may simply teach youth to adjust to the status quo.

.3.73 Withycombe, J. S. "Head Start in Micronesia." Young Children, Vol. 27, No. 6 (August 1972), pp. 346-349.

The author suggests that the reform program is a qualified success for two reasons: (1) because

Small children are never left without the warm supervision of an adult or older sibling. They are loved, carried, nurtured and cajoled. Young children sleep with an adult of their choosing. They are allowed great freedom in running, climbing and exploring which results in tremendous agility and confidence. They are exceptionally active and appear to be happy, secure children.

and (2) because

Parent involvement, essential to good education anywhere, is impressive in the Micronesian Head Start programs. Not only do the parents provide the buildings, their maintenance and a major portion of the equipment, but they also assist the teachers, are involved in training programs, and make many decisions in coordination with the director and teachers regarding the Head Start program in their village. They are also involved in and reinforcing of the education of their children.

3.3.74 Wolf, W. C. and J. J. Florino. "Some Perspectives of Educational Change." ~~Forum~~ Educational Forum, Vol. 33, No. 1 (November 1973), pp. 79-84.

Reports findings of a survey assessing "pedagogical reforms" and concludes that mindless technological pragmatism would seem to be the most serious obstacles to more humane schools:

And that is precisely the school's problem, not merely to satisfy interests that are already there, but to present and inculcate a value for "interests" which are not. The demand for both critical thought and expression seems almost unavoidably to be an external demand and therefore a "discipline" rather than an inclination. In the last analysis, our insistence on the child's accepting this discipline can only rest on the putative usefulness of that knowledge, in some future when it may correspond with his immediate interests, or on the notion that it is valuable, for reasons not directly connected with his momentary desires. It is, of course, precisely that distinction which many educational reformers assert cannot be made, but that is for the moment beside the point. The schools do not fail at doing something which children could do on their own. They may fail, but they fail at doing something else which no one could do on his own precisely because it is a public or social thing which is involved and not a private one at all.

All of this leads us no doubt into thorny questions about the nature of man, society, and value, which bristle with difficulty on anyone's view. The new educational critics spend little time on such issues, except to hint by their very method of proceeding that such questions are pointless. What they, like most educational theorists in our day, want to do is to substitute the problems of psychology for the problems of man and value which have always been central to any concept of educating. We are now encouraged--indeed, virtually coerced--into talking of "organism," "need," and "motivation," to the exclusion of "person," "will," or "moral justification."

Although these latter concepts may be difficult, and questions about them old and frayed by repeated attempts to answer them, they are still the only concepts and questions upon which any defensible logic of educating can rest. The

attempt to reduce every pedagogical issue to a psychological problem, and then to compel us to search for some mysterious technique to resolve it, some pedagogues' stone which will transmute the harsh elements of school experience into an emotionally pleasing harmony of interest and desire, is certainly open to question. Clearly, the results of this strategy, so carefully honored, offer little comfort. It may not be too much to suggest that continuing the attempt appears likely to lead only to a dangerous befuddling not only of teachers and parents but of children themselves.

33.75

Zacharias, J. R. "Retrospective View of Educational Change." ~~Journal of~~  
National Elementary Principal, Vol. 53, No. 2 (January 1974),  
 pp. 14-15.

Critically assesses American science education reforms since Sputnik in 1956. He suggests that "instant educational reform is a wish fulfillment for the naive," that <sup>the</sup> purpose of education should be "to provide a child with an intellectual machete that he can use to cut his way out of a thicket."

He concludes that educational reformers can learn much from American corporations:

I believe that in past reforms, we have surrendered too easily to the tyranny of the existing system: the tyranny of courses, course credits, and the enforcement mechanisms called tests and examinations. The system is geared to producing a uniformly taught product, whereas we should want variety and diversity in subject, in style, in pace, and in performance. It is tempting to blame the schools alone for their failings. But they and the colleges cannot resist the strong image of what the public believes education is supposed to be. Nor have we used the information media--the newspapers, radio, and television--to help the public revise its views so that we might gain freedom for the educational system. How many people have taken to heart the "facts, facts, facts" of Charles Dickens' Hard Times? Even the tyranny of the bells has not been altered one bit by Bel Kaufman's Up the Down Staircase. The public still considers teachers and school administrators to be inadequate when, in fact, they are required to perform impossible tasks. The Tyrannies of topic, time, and testing cannot be relieved by teachers, administrators, or educational reformers until the public understands what is wrong and is willing to try new modes.

What holds back educational reform? The thriving industries like electronics, aviation, chemicals, and pharmaceuticals spend at least 5 to 10 percent of their gross income on research and development, pilot production, and preparation for large scale distribution. In contrast, the railroad industry and the school industry (which runs at about \$100 billion per year) have spent less than two-tenths of one percent on reform. The public is not yet willing to think in terms of 5 percent--\$5 billion a year--for the processes of improving education.

Appendix I

Items Grouped by Theoretical-Cum.-Value Bias

For case studies illustrating evolutionary and neo-evolutionary approaches to educational reform, see, inter alia, the following "Case Book" items:

- |          |           |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. 1. 02 | 3. 2. 21  |
| 1. 1. 17 | 3. 2. 28  |
| 1. 1. 18 | 3. 2. 74  |
| 1. 2. 04 | 3. 2. 100 |
| 2. 0. 02 | 3. 2. 124 |
| 2. 0. 05 |           |
| 2. 1. 01 |           |
| 2. 1. 14 |           |
| 2. 1. 15 |           |
| 2. 1. 16 |           |
| 2. 1. 21 |           |
| 2. 1. 27 |           |
| 2. 1. 32 |           |
| 2. 1. 42 |           |
| 2. 1. 56 |           |
| 2. 1. 58 |           |
| 2. 1. 60 |           |
| 2. 2. C' |           |
| 2. 2. 17 |           |
| 2. 2. 23 |           |
| 2. 2. 26 |           |
| 2. 2. 31 |           |
| 2. 2. 35 |           |
| 2. 2. 43 |           |
| 2. 2. 45 |           |
| 2. 2. 49 |           |
| 2. 2. 55 |           |
| 2. 3. 04 |           |
| 2. 3. 11 |           |
| 2. 3. 42 |           |
| 2. 3. 53 |           |
| 2. 3. 55 |           |
| 2. 3. 56 |           |
| 2. 3. 59 |           |
| 2. 2. 62 |           |
| 3. 1. 10 |           |
| 3. 2. 01 |           |
| 3. 2. 03 |           |
| 3. 2. 06 |           |
| 3. 2. 08 |           |
| 3. 2. 16 |           |

For case studies illustrating structural-functional approaches to educational reform, see, inter alia, the following "Case Book" items:

1. 1. 03	2. 2. 32	3. 2. 48
1. 1. 04	2. 2. 33	3. 2. 51
1. 1. 08	2. 2. 34	3. 2. 56
1. 1. 09	2. 2. 36	3. 2. 57
1. 1. 11	2. 2. 40	3. 2. 65
1. 1. 20	2. 2. 41	3. 2. 70
1. 2. 08	2. 2. 50	3. 2. 75
1. 3. 03	2. 2. 51	3. 2. 77
1. 3. 05	2. 2. 54	3. 2. 101
1. 3. 06	2. 2. 57	3. 2. 113
1. 3. 08	2. 3. 01	3. 2. 118
1. 3. 11	2. 3. 12	3. 2. 126
2. 0. 03	2. 3. 14	3. 3. 01
2. 1. 02	2. 3. 17	3. 3. 02
2. 1. 03	2. 3. 19	3. 3. 04
2. 1. 06	2. 3. 22	3. 3. 15
2. 1. 12	2. 3. 23	3. 3. 18
2. 1. 13	2. 3. 24	3. 3. 23
2. 1. 20	2. 3. 26	3. 3. 25
2. 1. 22	2. 3. 30	3. 3. 30
2. 1. 25	2. 3. 31	3. 3. 43
2. 1. 29	2. 3. 35	3. 3. 44
2. 1. 30	2. 3. 36	3. 3. 50
2. 1. 33	2. 3. 37	3. 3. 55
2. 1. 39	2. 3. 39	3. 3. 57
2. 1. 41	2. 3. 40	3. 3. 70
2. 1. 44	2. 3. 47	
2. 1. 46	2. 3. 48	
2. 1. 48	2. 3. 52	
2. 1. 54	2. 3. 60	
2. 1. 55	2. 3. 61	
2. 1. 59	2. 3. 62	
2. 2. 01	2. 3. 64	
2. 2. 10	2. 3. 66	
2. 2. 11	2. 3. 68	
2. 2. 12	2. 3. 71	
2. 2. 13	2. 3. 72	
2. 2. 15	2. 3. 73	
2. 2. 18	3. 1. 02	
2. 2. 19	3. 1. 07	
2. 2. 22	3. 1. 08	
2. 2. 27	3. 2. 09	
2. 2. 28	3. 2. 10	
2. 2. 29	3. 2. 29	
2. 2. 30	3. 2. 39	

For case studies illustrating systems approaches to educational reform, see, inter alia, the following "Case Book" items:

1. 1. 01  
1. 1. 06  
1. 1. 15  
1. 2. 06  
1. 2. 07  
1. 2. 09  
1. 2. 10  
1. 2. 11  
1. 2. 13  
1. 2. 14  
1. 2. 15  
1. 2. 16  
1. 3. 09  
2. 1. 57  
2. 2. 46  
2. 2. 47  
2. 2. 48  
2. 2. 02  
2. 2. 24  
2. 2. 33  
2. 2. 34  
2. 2. 46  
2. 2. 47  
2. 2. 48  
2. 3. 02  
2. 3. 25  
2. 3. 44  
2. 3. 45  
2. 3. 46  
3. 2. 25  
3. 2. 112  
3. 2. 120  
3. 3. 08  
3. 3. 12  
3. 3. 61

For case studies illustrating Marxist and Neo-Marxist (i. e., economic deterministic and interest-group conflict) approaches to educational reform, see, inter alia, the following "Case Book" items:

1. 1. 05	2. 3. 74
1. 1. 07	2. 3. 76
1. 1. 10	3. 1. 09
1. 1. 13	3. 2. 04
1. 1. 14	3. 2. 07
1. 1. 16	3. 2. 17
1. 1. 19	3. 2. 19
1. 1. 21	3. 2. 30
1. 2. 01	3. 2. 41
1. 2. 02	3. 2. 45
1. 3. 07	3. 2. 52
2. 0. 06	3. 2. 54
2. 0. 07	3. 2. 55
2. 1. 05	3. 2. 64
2. 1. 09	3. 2. 67
2. 1. 10	3. 2. 68
2. 1. 19	3. 2. 69
2. 1. 26	3. 2. 91
2. 1. 35	3. 2. 99
2. 1. 47	3. 2. 116
2. 1. 53	3. 2. 125
2. 1. 62	3. 3. 03
2. 2. 05	3. 3. 07
2. 2. 06	3. 3. 11
2. 2. 24	3. 3. 13
2. 2. 25	3. 3. 14
2. 2. 59	3. 3. 19
2. 3. 03	3. 3. 26
2. 3. 05	3. 3. 28
2. 3. 06	3. 3. 32
2. 3. 07	3. 3. 35
2. 3. 18	3. 3. 37
2. 3. 32	3. 3. 38
2. 3. 34	3. 3. 39
2. 3. 37	3. 3. 40
2. 3. 41	3. 3. 41
2. 3. 43	3. 3. 45
2. 3. 54	3. 3. 47
2. 3. 65	3. 3. 58
2. 3. 69	3. 3. 63
2. 3. 70	3. 3. 68
	3. 3. 71

For case studies illustrating cultural and social-movement approaches to educational reform, see, interalia, the following "Case Book" items:

- 1. 2. 05
- 1. 2. 12
- 2. 1. 04
- 2. 1. 07
- 2. 1. 24
- 2. 1. 31
- 2. 1. 34
- 2. 1. 38
- 2. 2. 07
- 2. 2. 08
- 2. 2. 09
- 2. 2. 14
- 2. 2. 16
- 2. 2. 20
- 2. 2. 37
- 2. 2. 42
- 2. 2. 44
- 2. 2. 52
- 2. 2. 56
- 2. 2. 58
- 2. 3. 21
- 2. 3. 50
- 3. 1. 05
- 3. 2. 22
- 3. 2. 26
- 3. 2. 38
- 3. 2. 76
- 3. 2. 81
- 3. 2. 83
- 3. 2. 115
- 3. 3. 06
- 3. 3. 16
- 3. 3. 29
- 3. 3. 33
- 3. 3. 34
- 3. 3. 36

If, for example, we use the matrix in Figure One, the reform goals, or "major outcomes sought," of such organizations, to the extent that they seek greater social and educational equity, most often reflect a neo-Marxian or interest-group conflict orientation. Their choices as to reform means, or to "scope and process" of educational reform means, are, however, most often found to be grounded in neo-evolutionary, functionalist and systems theory.

For case studies illustrating Anarchistic and Utopian approaches to educational reform, see. inter alia, the following "Case Book" items:

- 2.1.45
- 2.1.51
- 2.3.08
- 2.3.33
- 2.3.57
- 3.2.12
- 3.2.13
- 3.2.97
- 3.2.103
- 3.3.20
- 3.3.22
- 3.3.65

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