"International/Intercultural Education Reports" represents an experimental effort by the Office of Education Institute of International Studies to share with professionals some recent information, ideas, and resources in three areas of international/intercultural education that are otherwise insufficiently provided for in ongoing reports or publications programs: 1) Educational experience and perspectives from other countries relevant to program priorities in the Education Division of DHEW; 2) concepts, programs and developments concerning the intercultural dimension in general education in the United States; and, 3) foreign views of American education. In this volume, the focus is on the current Federal priority of career education. It is hoped that this collection of articles, which report on selected foreign initiatives and practices, may offer insights to U.S. planners in the field. The fourteen articles do not attempt to provide full analyses of these activities, but rather are intended to alert concerned American specialists about experiences in Sweden, France, Pakistan, and the U.S.S.R., and elsewhere. The articles draw heavily on foreign sources and are well-documented with references that provide useful starting points for any further analysis. (Author/OPH)
FOREWORD

International/Intercultural Education Reports represents an experimental effort by the OE Institute of International Studies to share with professional staff members within the Education Division of DHEW some recent information, ideas, and resources in three selected areas of international/intercultural education that are not otherwise sufficiently provided for in ongoing reports or publications programs:

1. Educational experience and perspectives from other countries relevant to program priorities in the Education Division of DHEW,

2. Concepts, programs, and developments concerning the intercultural dimensions in general education in the United States, and


From time to time, other material may be included for various reasons.

These Reports are intended to draw on the talents of professionals throughout OE and NIE as well as on specialized knowledge outside our DHEW education agencies. The distribution is primarily within the Education Division of DHEW, but the material may also prove to be of interest to colleagues in other Government agencies or in the educational community outside the Government. This trial effort stems largely from the initiative of Seymour M. Rosen, Louis J. Setti, Raymond E. Wanner, Helen R. Wiprud, Margot A. Lyddane, and their associates listed on page iii. These IIS staff members have developed this first collection in addition to their regular duties and assigned responsibilities and, in most cases, largely on their own time.
In this trial run, *International/Intercultural Education Reports* focuses on the current Federal priority of career education. An interesting collection of articles report on selected foreign initiatives and practices that may offer relevant insights to U.S. planners in this field. The articles do not attempt to provide full analyses of these activities, but rather are intended to alert concerned American specialists about experience elsewhere. They offer enough information and commentary so that our colleagues in career education can--on the basis of their special expertise--determine whether or not further examination is warranted. The articles draw heavily on foreign sources and are well-documented with references that provide useful starting points for any further analysis.

Robert Leestma
Associate Commissioner for
International Education
CONTENTS

Foreword, by Robert Leestma, Associate Commissioner for International Education.

EDUCATION FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

A critical review of the principal characteristics of selected European programs of vocational and technical education.

A succinct analysis of the important French legislation of July 16, 1971, on career and continuing education.

A detailed description of several career orientation programs currently being implemented in Swedish comprehensive and secondary schools.

An analysis of recent developments in Soviet "polytechnical education" with particular emphasis on curricular modernization and vocational guidance.

A description of the career education concept and research models, indicating the significance of career education for adult education in the United States.
INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

An analysis of the need for an intercultural dimension in American education and a suggested general strategy for its development.

An International Dimension in Undergraduate Teacher Education, by George E. Urch, University of Massachusetts. p. 64.
A description of an international teacher education program at the University of Massachusetts.

A Cultural Approach to the Teaching of Foreign Languages, by Frank M. Grittner, Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction. p. 70.
An essay urging that the teaching of foreign languages focus more heavily on cultivating attitudes and developing values that relate to a pluralistic world.

AACTE's Commission on Multi-Cultural Education, by Richard L. James, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. p. 77.
An explanation of the rationale of this new commission and its program objectives.

Notes and Comments, by Maryann Fisher, Institute of International Studies. p. 79.
Lincoln-Filene Intergroup Relations Curriculum
Mobile County Intercultural Program
International Programs in Ohio Secondary Schools
Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs
Internationalizing Swedish Higher Education.

INTERNATIONAL CURRENTS

An analysis of the Government of Pakistan's recent educational policy statement.

Comparisons based on several recent trips to the United States.

An overview of the 90-year history and current activities of the world's largest private organization for vocational and technical training.

The Tokyo Conference on Adult Education
Meetings on Recurrent Education
Conference on Future Structures of Post-Secondary Education
The Co-Operative Education Abstracting Service
International Directory for Educational Liaison
IBE's Comparative Education Newsletter.
EDUCATION FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

SOME RECENT TRENDS IN VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN EUROPE

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, Professor of Educational History and Comparative Education at the University of Pennsylvania, received his Ph.D. from New York University. He was the first president of the Comparative and International Education Society and became president again in 1967-68. He has written more than 100 books, articles, and reviews on questions affecting American and international education, and is a frequent guest-lecturer at American and foreign universities. His latest studies for the Office of Education include Educational Reform and Renewal in Contemporary Spain and the report prepared for OE's Career Education Task Force (now in NIE) on which the following article is based.

There is a deep awareness in other countries of the crucial need for vocational education in relation to the economy, society, and general education. This awareness is evidenced by the various reforms all over Europe and in other continents as well. It will be recalled that the Krushchev reform of 1958-64 stressed the role of polytechnical training and multivocational skills in the Soviet Union. One of the major focuses in the new educational reform of Spain, frequently considered less developed economically than many European countries, is upgrading and modernizing all levels of vocational and technical training. "Since the Second World War, and particularly during the past decade [the 1960's], there has been considerable expansion of technical education and vocationally biased courses in secondary schools," states an English specialist currently teaching in Canada. The signs of the times indicate that this trend will continue—and possibly expand—in various parts of the world as expectations and demands for more "relevance" and practicality increase among broad segments of the population.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The study of any educational problem or issue cannot be carried on in an intellectual vacuum. Every event has its antecedents, and it is enlightening to consider the backgrounds of a contemporary development, so that one has some idea of how and why things came to be as they are. Obviously, it is not the function of the present article to delve extensively into historical precedents; the best that can be done is to remind the reader that
there is a vertical as well as a horizontal dimension in vocational and technical education.

Such an outstanding work as Brubacher's on the history of educational problems finds relatively little of significance to say about education toward careers. Let it be pointed out, however, that there are a number of scholarly studies and general works on the history of vocational education from ancient times onward, some of which concentrate on the United States. The reader of history in this field soon learns that there has not been a clear demarcation in terminological usage, with vocational education regarded as more or less synonymous with manual training and industrial education.

The importance of vocational preparation for an active and successful adult life was recognized by all peoples from antiquity onward. In actual practice, however, efficiency tended to vary in accordance with the determination of purpose, expenditure of effort, and various socioeconomic factors. An example of undergirding vocational training with the demands of moral principles can be found in the Jewish tradition from ancient times onwards. Thus, the Talmud warns that "he who does not teach his son a trade[in effect] teaches him to become a robber." The impact of the Industrial Revolution on the curriculum of secondary and higher education in different areas is too well known to require more than passing mention. The teaching and learning skills developed by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg in Switzerland exerted a powerful influence on vocational and industrial education throughout the 19th century in East and West Europe, the United States, Japan, and elsewhere. The excellence of the Moscow Imperial Technical School's exhibit at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, recognized by President John D. Runkle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, proved that the Russians were capable of an educational Sputnik about three-quarters of a century before they launched their space satellite. It was Runkle's influence that gained adherents in America for the Russian principles of learning fundamental skills separately before practic-
Some Recent Trends in Vocational and Technical Education in Europe

ing them in workshops.

The period of World War II, with all its crises, emergencies, stresses, and strain, was marked by the introduction of new and frequently more efficient programs and devices for more accelerated training and retraining in vocational and industrial skills. Very likely, it was this experience that was applied to vocational and industrial education in the secondary and higher educational programs of many countries. The need for civilian and rehabilitative training resulted in expansion of adult vocational education. The advent of automation in the post-war period was still another factor influencing the direction of vocational studies in various areas.

VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Reports on vocational and technical education in various countries have been published since the late 19th century, but comparative analyses and interpretations have been rather rare and recent. Although comparative education has been cultivated as a field of study, instruction, and research for some time, it has "rarely made more than passing reference to technical education, and then only as a relatively unimportant fringe." Such an omission has been an unfortunate fact of the development of comparative education. It might be explainable, even if not fully forgivable, on the ground that, on the one hand, most comparative educators have had little vocational experience and less knowledge, and on the other, specialists in vocational and technical education seldom have possessed the necessary background and languages to understand the context in which these programs operate.

Even with pertinent preparation, it is not at all convenient to compare vocational-technical training internationally.

The organization of technical and vocational education everywhere is more complex than that of general education, which makes inter-country comparisons very difficult. The primary cause of this complexity is the highly varied content of technical and vocational education, which by its very nature necessitates many subject branches of study. Another factor is the existence of several international authorities. In addition to the ministry of education, other administrative units are involved, given that they are not directly concerned with vocational and technical training in one or another sector of the country.

In the first place, technical and vocational schools teach different subjects and apply different standards of instruction. Moreover, there is no definite demarcation between what is considered a secondary level of training in one country and a higher level in another. Among the other difficulties is that many schools are part-time. In view of these considerations, the O.E.C.D. report warns specifically against "any outright comparison of trends" in vocational and technical education in the member countries.

To continue on a negative note, "even now, for many administrators and even educators, vocational and technical training is an unknown territory. Moreover, the expert in the subject, though he may be thoroughly familiar with the complexities of his own country's system of training, often has little idea of what goes on across the neighboring frontier." Such a situation, it can well be understood, results from the variety and complexity of training programs of different levels, all of which are affected by the context of tradition and society. And yet, "a comparative study to
International/Intercultural Education Reports

improve cooperation in this field of activity across international boundaries has become a functional necessity. Recent developments in the employment practice in Europe whereby workers of several national origins migrate to an industrial country (the Gastarbeiter in West Germany, for example), indicate the need for a more precise understanding of educational and vocational backgrounds.

What would seem to be desirable is an expansion of the study of comparative vocational-technical education. This would involve collaboration between the technical specialists and those in the field of comparative education.

TRENDS AND ISSUES

Combining Vocational and Technical Education with General Education

Several elements are common to the "career education" programs of England, France, Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. First, there is an unmistakable trend toward coupling general education with vocational training programs. Although the links between the two forms of education have been "very tenuous" until recently, it is evident that many persons of diverse backgrounds concerned with preparing skilled workers have become increasingly aware of the humanistic nature of their task. A worker, no matter in what field, is first and foremost a person, a human being. As such, he has to have a general education in terms of his humanity and is not to be regarded as a trained and hired hand. A functionally illiterate worker is an anomaly in a world where new things and processes develop almost daily, and adaptations to changing work and social situations have to be made. Retraining and advanced training often require reading, thinking, and interpretive skills if any efficiency is to be attained. It no longer seems logical—or even economically wise—to put the young to work before they have obtained a solid basic education, which in recent years has come to mean secondary-level schooling. Furthermore, in these times, inadequately educated employees become a liability to the industrial and economic development of a country.

In this connection, one may note the persistence of the prejudice that general education is "intrinsically superior to vocational or technical education." In some circles, it is recognized that it is inconceivable that

...in our predominantly scientific and technical society a man may be educated without learning something of the technical aspects of social and economic life; so-called "general" studies will therefore have to include a technical part. As a result the difference in character of the two kinds of education will diminish progressively. This is what the Swedish concept of the comprehensive school promises.

To this might be added the example of the East European Socialist or Communist countries, which have emphasized the role of polytechnical training in overall development of the individual, in line with Marxist theory.

Related to this issue is the prestige of predominately technical schools vis-à-vis traditionally academic institutions. Not only educators but also parents continue, in many cases, to express bias against education in a vocational or technical institution. However, since World War II, in several countries (e.g., Germany) assiduous alumni of vocational-technical educational programs are beginning to be allowed to
pass into higher technical and academic streams. Perhaps, in due time, as alternate paths make higher education more easily accessible to more persons, invidious distinctions will tend to melt away.

One possible explanation of the foregoing phenomenon is the dichotomy between training and education in method and content. So long as it remains, it is likely that the vocational-general issue may not be resolved so easily and so soon.

Cooperation Between Schools and Industry

Another development in the several countries is the close cooperation between various institutional components in technical education. This has been pointed up with abundant evidence in a study prepared by the International Centre for Research into Vocational Training (CIRF, Geneva) for the O.E.C.D. This study, which covered Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, showed varying patterns of collaboration, such as vocational schools with industrial plants and workshop-schools established within firms and drawing upon outside teachers for general education. Reports of collaborative activities between schools and industry throughout Europe are common.

Even more, cooperation is the essential element in any effective program of vocational-technical education in any particular country. In point of actual fact, there is a consensus among informed persons that the problems of industrial training can only be solved "through some kind of partnership between educators, employers, employees, and public authorities." Specifically, ...what is needed is... a co-ordinated system of policies at a national level which will deal with vocational guidance, methods of recruitment, the content of pre-occupational training, industrial training, and the examination system which has two functions—those of selection and of qualification.

Such coordination need not be accompanied by centralization and control at the center of the country. On the contrary, there are some tendencies toward decentralization even in countries where the Western democratic ideal does not dominate society and political thought. In any event, it is reasonable to argue in behalf of a coordinated system that can facilitate employment, re-training, and other aspects of the manpower situation.

An example of national-local cooperation between educational and industrial manpower agencies can be found in Sweden.

As a UNESCO report points out, "vocational training in Sweden has had the benefit of much cooperative planning and action on the part not only of the public authorities but particularly of the representatives of industry." Since 1944, the Joint Vocational Training Council (Arbetsmarknadens Yrkeshåll), formed by the Swedish Employers' Federation and the Federation of Trade Unions, has been reviewing vocational training, initiating policies, cooperating with public and private organizations, and performing other functions. Of special importance has been the cooperation with the Board of Vocational Training (Overstyrelsen för Yrkesutbildning), a unit of the General Board of Education (Skollöverstyrelsen) in the Ministry of Education (Ecklesiastikdepartementet). Although the Board of Vocational Training is responsible for "controlling, inspecting and, to some extent, standardizing vocational education throughout Sweden, the
initiative in setting up new vocational schools lies with the municipalities, or, in some cases, with individual industries, or with large industrial groupings." 22

Training for Adaptability

The question of general vocational skill as against specialized skills comes up frequently in the literature. Training in the special skills bears immediate fruit, both to the worker and to the employer. However, in an age of rapid obsolescence of trades and even industries, it becomes a rather serious matter if large numbers of workers are rendered industrially impotent within a short time. Crash programs may prove too costly and inefficient in the long run.

The idea of general technical and vocational skills, whereby the worker may adapt himself with relative ease to a new type of work, has been proposed at various times in the different countries. One approach to a solution appears in a recent document prepared by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the O.E.C.D. This report notes the problems resulting from changes in the labor market.

...But those changes are bound to become more marked and more frequent with the acceleration of technological progress, and the difficulties in forecasting occupational structures, already considerable, will become much more daunting. As a result, there will be an even greater need than at present for a flexible educational system capable of adapting itself at short notice to the exigencies of technological change and of offering the right kind of training to the right people. Though the remedy may lie, partly, in a rethinking of the content and objectives of present forms of education, aimed not only in training people in new techniques, but also in retraining those whose skills become inadequate to cope with constantly changing techniques. 23

Planning for Manpower Needs

Before World War II, industrial training was regarded as a responsibility and concern of the industrial sector. Since World War II, however, the problem of acquiring an adequate supply of skilled manpower has become the subject of considerable thought in most countries. A consensus seemed to develop that skilled manpower was a national resource of the first importance, a basic capital investment.

...The economic value of vocational education is recognized, and government spending on this form of education can be justified on national grounds. No longer is training thought to benefit only employers. It benefits all.

The growing awareness in government and in the private sector of the mutual dependence of the various parts of the economic system has led to the consideration of firmer financing and more effective planning of vocational-technical training programs. In several instances, thought has also been given to the relation of technical instruction to the other aspects of society and education.

While the need for cooperation is apparent, particularly in relation to national manpower requirements, there is some sentiment to avoid "the temptation to adjust the education system to the employment situation." 25 The reasoning underlying this attitude is that employment forecasting is subject to margins for error which become wider at the regional level. Nor is the demand for particular knowledge and skills in the different occupational fields foreseeable. In fact, ...

...to gear education to employment would be to preclude all advancement and evolution and
This viewpoint would seem to call for a flexible policy with regard to the relation between education and employment. As a comprehensive publication of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe sees it, the school must fulfill four important functions: occupational training, basic education, "teaching how to take advantage of out-of-school possibilities (the parallel school of informal education)," and "putting the future adult in a position both of being able and of wanting to continue to educate himself after his school life and to further his own development and the unfolding of his personality." 27

Amid the understandable enthusiasm for vocational-technical training, it would be helpful to remember that it is not the be-all and end-all of the educational effort, but rather one part of it, however significant. This appears to be the message conveyed by the important and influential Council of Europe. This thought should be weighed with care. It also suggests that ample consideration should be given to the functions of guidance and adult (or lifelong or permanent) education in relation to vocations.

Development of Guidance Services

An integral part of vocational-technical training is guidance—before, during, and after. Several countries have organised guidance services of varying types. Information on occupations is presented through printed matter, radio, film, and television. The state of development is different for the various countries, as are the effectiveness and the up-to-dateness of the career data. Similarly, the administration and organization of guidance, and the preparation of the counselors, are not of a uniform level in the European countries.

An interesting example of a long-established guidance service is the Youth Employment Service, established in England in 1944. The Service offers career guidance on a voluntary basis to youth about to leave school. Operating both on a centralized and a decentralized basis, it is administered nationally on a joint basis by the Central Youth Employment Executive (under the Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity) and the Department of Education and Science, and locally by the local education authorities.

Each secondary school and local educational system has the function of providing each young man or woman in its area with the best possible information and encouragement to embark upon a satisfying vocational career, in terms of his or her interests and competencies.

The Youth Employment Service has been criticized for not living up sufficiently to the aims and expectations of its sponsors, although the help given young people by the Service represented more than any single teacher could offer in a secondary school. As the growing interest in secondary school programs of "career orientation" and guidance suggests, the potential for this type of service remains strong.

One suggestion toward improvement is to intensify the guidance programs in the years ahead through higher level training in vocational information, development, decisionmaking, and counseling for school guidance personnel. "It is only now that such people are becoming available for the first time in Britain; it
remains to be seen what roles they will be allotted in British schools and the effectiveness with which they will be able to fulfill these roles." 26

We need to study carefully all aspects of career guidance within the framework of the entire educational system. The cooperation of the mass media and other elements of the society and culture will be needed to disseminate--with dispatch and specificity--recent, live information on the requirements and availability of occupations. There can be little doubt that both the vocational teacher and the guidance counselor are key figures in the field of career education. This means that the educational and the socioeconomic systems should pay careful attention to the selection, preparation, assignment, and inservice development of these persons.

The seven countries in the full study--England, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and Yugoslavia--devote some attention, at least, to the vocational interests and needs of adults on the various levels. This is accomplished by government, education, and industry, individually or in combination. There are many problems involved in training adults, whether before or during employment. Solutions or experimental efforts have been undertaken in European countries, and some seem to have had much success.

Not commonly discussed in the writings on adult vocational education is the guidance function. In most cases, the guidance services seem to emphasize the needs of pupils and students at school. And yet, it would appear that, if vocational training is to be effective for the nation at large, adequate guidance programs should be provided for all concerned. Such programs would call for more published materials adapted to the backgrounds and needs of adults, plus the preparation of individuals equipped with the knowledge, patience, and skills to deal with adults of different ages and experience. 30 Adequate adult guidance would seem to be a prime necessity in upgrading and expanding any national program of vocational education in an age of frequent technological and commercial change.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

There are signs that educators and others are moving toward consensus on some broad aspects of vocational training, as, for example, the final report of the international regional trade union seminar convoked in 1968 in Paris by the O.E.C.D. There was general agreement that "vocational training in the future should only start after a period of broader general secondary education," "post 'school' industrial training should be broadly based and accompanied by a continuation of general education," "employees should be provided with opportunities for continued training and education throughout their working life," and "organizations should be structured so as to offer opportunities for job satisfaction and for upward mobility of employees." 31

The delegates, who represented Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, also agreed that educators, trade unionists, and employers share joint responsibility for cooperation in the planning and development of general and vocational technical education through new techniques and institutions. Special stress is to be laid, according to the seminar, on
Some Recent Trends in Vocational and Technical Education in Europe

Trade unions are criticized for concentrating on traditional collective bargaining demands and for having given "insufficient priority to the role of education and training not recognizing that it may well have a greater effect on the improvement of living standards than wage bargaining." The seminar reminded trade unions that 1980 was just around the corner and that plans and decisions should be made well before that date.

It should not be assumed that only trade unions require urging toward action. Although the literature does not abound with such self-criticisms by other groups who are concerned with technical and vocational training, it is safe to say that planning and decision-making can well be considered by all organizations and institutions dealing with career preparation.

In conclusion, it would be appropriate to quote a pertinent passage from a 1964 report issued jointly by UNESCO and the International Labor Organization:

"Technical and vocational education should be an integral part of an overall system of education and, as such, due consideration should be given to its cultural content. It should do more than train an individual for a given occupation by providing the person concerned with the necessary skills and theoretical knowledge; it should also, in conjunction with general education, provide for the development of personality and character and foster the capacity for understanding, judgement, self-expression and adaptation to varying environments. In this end, the cultural content of technical and vocational education should be infused at such a level that the inevitable specialization in technical and vocational education does not stifl the broader interest."

Technology and commerce, under these principles, are regarded as means, not ends. Man cannot fulfill his potential unless the ends are carefully considered along with the means. At the time when career education and guidance are receiving considerable attention in the United States, it would be well to take note of the concerns expressed by the international bodies of educators and others interested in furthering occupational study and practice. In the words of a leading American specialist, "the future almost certainly portends a co-mingling of learning, labor, and leisure over the lifetime of the individual."

FOOTNOTES


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Some Recent Trends in Vocational and Technical Education in Europe


SELECTED READINGS


Jonsson, Bo. "Sweden," Labour and Automation, Bulletin No. 5--Manpower
Some Recent Trends in Vocational and Technical Education in Europe


On July 16, 1971, the French National Assembly adopted new legislation on technological and continuing education that is bold, far reaching, and of considerable interest to American educators working to develop models of Career Education.

This legislation, part of the wide-ranging renewal of French education underway since 1959, was given particular impetus by the student disorders of May 1968, which convinced French officials that the ever-widening gap between classroom and career had to be bridged. The new laws are not completely original, in concept, incorporating as they do certain provisions of earlier legislation on technological and continuing education promulgated since 1959. They are, however, a dramatic new expression of a long tradition of career and vocational education in France that extends back at least to the guilds of the Middle Ages.

INCREASING THE PRESTIGE OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The framers of the new legislation have attempted to come to grips realistically with the fact that, traditionally in France as in the United States, it has been difficult to interest students or their parents in technological and vocational education. Former French Minister of Education Olivier Guichard has observed, however, that, as France approaches the 21st century, general culture cannot suffice where competence and specific skills are needed. Moreover, in a world that is technologically oriented, there can be no true culture without a certain understanding of the uses of technology. "Everyone knows this," said Guichard, "but the logical consequences of it have not been drawn, and so it must be done by law. In stating clearly that the education of our children must provide them with some professional competence and that this implies necessarily a certain technical and scientific sophistication, you [the National Assembly] will transform what is already an objective fact into a requirement by law." The Fifth Republic and, in fact, states in the new legislation that it considers its responsibilities to provide continuing professional and technological education "une obligation nationale.""
dispel the prejudices against it, the new law provides for better dissemination of information about careers in industry, technology, and crafts. Each school is required to offer its students guidance and counseling services and provide them with up-to-date information about the nature of such jobs and the training programs for them that are available in the schools. Furthermore, counselors are to give students presentations of future employment possibilities in those fields on the list of the most recent social and economic factors affecting them. From the 9th grade on, introductory courses in the role of economics and technology in society (l'orientatation économique et sociale et l'initiation technologique) are to be given to all pupils. Minister of Education Gaucher personally encouraged adoption of these courses. Assistant Secretary for Education, S. P. Marland, Jr., underscored the importance of instruction such as this when he described it as teaching "...survival skills—the interpersonal and organizational understanding without which one simply cannot exist in a modern nation-state...."

DIPLOMA EQUIVALENCIES

There is little doubt that the new laws of July 1971 give much more than cosmetic attention to the rather pedestrian face of technological and vocational education. They attempt to better the image by improving the product.

Article 10 of the orientation (No. 71-577) is of particular significance. It requires the Ministry of Education to establish equivalencies between diplomas in general academic courses and those in programs of technological and vocational studies. Such equivalencies will permit trained technicians and workers to qualify for certain positions of public employment that formerly had been available only to holders of academic diplomas. Moreover, the law provides that the possession of a diploma in technical education can be required for acceptance in certain public positions or for the pursuit of certain studies. These provisions are representative of the French Government's willingness to use its bureaucratic power to reinforce and implement its commitment to broaden prevailing concepts of professional preparation and career education.

Of special interest to the practical minded is the stipulation in article 8 that technological and vocational diplomas may carry the notation that upon completion of training the graduate demonstrate his ability to practice his professional skill in an up-to-date manner. Also the concept of the "educational raincheck" enables the holder of certain diplomas and certificates to return to school periodically throughout his career without loss of academic credit or standing. Under the provisions of the new law, the student would be paid during this further training and study and would enjoy the same status and privileges under law as other students. Special programs of study and professional formation would be available for him in technical schools, in university-level institutes, in a formal apprenticeship, or in programs of continuing education.

IMPROVEMENT IN TEACHER STATUS

Legal Qualifications

In an attempt to improve the status of teachers in vocational schools, the new laws state that all teachers of general academic subjects are to enjoy the same professional status.
whether they teach in academic high
schools or technical schools. Teachers in both kinds of schools are to
have the same qualifications, receive
the same salary, and have the same
opportunities for professional advan
cement. Instructors specializing
in industrial and technical subjects
must have a professional standing in
their field equal to that of their
academic colleagues. They are re
dquired, moreover, to take special
courses in teaching methods and to
maintain professional contacts. Some
commentators see the Government's
willingness to accept the recruitment
and salary expense of such highly
skilled teachers as a measure of its
commitment to upgrading vocational
and technological education.14

Teaching Leave

Interestingly enough, the law pro
dvides for skilled workers and techni
icians to receive, at their request,
teaching leave (congé d'engagement)
during which they may give courses
of instruction in their specialty
either in industry-based training pro
grams or in technical schools. This
 provision of law strengthens the work
ing relationship between industry
and the schools and helps provide a
source of teacher-practitioners who
are often in short supply. It is also
of particular interest to educational
planners because the salary expense
of these specialized instructors,
which can be considerable, are shared
by school authorities and industry.

GOVERNMENT LIAISON WITH
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The French Government seems gen
uinely interested in using the know
ledge and expertise of the business
and industrial community in planning
programs of career education. To as
sure that they remain responsive to
the real needs of society, govern
mental-industrial teams periodically
review existing programs of vocaton
al and technical education in terms
of changes in society and new scien
tific, technological, economic, and
social developments.16

This cooperation is organized on
the highest administrative level by
an Interministerial Committee (Comité
Interministériel) of which the Prime
Minister is chairman and the Minister
of Education vice chairman, and by a
standing committee of high-level execu
tives (Groupe Permanent de Hautes
Fonctionnaires) whose chairman is ap
pointed by the Prime Minister. These
committees are assisted by advisory
councils on the national, regional,
and departmental levels composed of
representatives from government, in
dustry, organized labor, education,
and family and welfare associations.
The councils formulate governmental
policy on career education and decide
which private initiatives in vocaton
al and technological education are to
be state approved and thus eligible
for funding.

The existence of such councils on
the regional and departmental level
(a provision of the law which enjoyed
wide support in the Chamber of Deput
ties) expresses a deepening inter
est in decentralization recently
shown by French officials. Educators
and industrial planners are hopeful
that if these advisory bodies func
tion properly, school-based and other
programs of career education will, in
fact, respond to the real and not the
imagined needs of French society.
In this respect, it is important
to note M. Guichard's insistence that
however specialized a trainee's pro
gram of study, or however responsive
that program is to current needs, he
is to be given enough humanistic and
general education to enable him, at
some later date, to continue his study or even to change careers.

RENEWED APPRENTICESHIP

The new law of July 1971 defines apprenticeship as a form of education whose purpose is to give younger workers who have satisfied minimum academic requirements a general, theoretical, and practical training with a view toward obtaining professional qualification attested by a certificate of technical instruction. This training, which is covered by a contract, will be obtained partly in a business and partly in a center for apprenticeship training.

By incorporating the apprenticeship program into the general context of career education, officials hope to improve its quality and to give apprentices (youths 16 to 20 years of age) greater legal protection. The new stipulations governing apprenticeship will go into effect over a period of 5 years beginning July 1, 1972.

In order to avoid the "dumping ground" image apprenticeship programs have often had in the past, young people entering them will be required to have completed 9 years of compulsory general education. Should a student not have completed the 9th grade for academic or other reasons, he will be required to take a special 1-year preparatory course before beginning his apprenticeship.

The relationship of the apprentice to his employer will be formalized by a contract which will assure him of a program of professional training leading to a recognized diploma. This is one of the key elements of the new law since it guarantees to each French youth the right to at least a minimum level of professional training.

Employers are considered by the law to be more or less in loco parentis and are "...obligated to contact the parents or guardians of a minor apprentice when he is ill or absent, or in any other event that might occasion their intervention." They are not permitted to take on new apprentices unless they can assure them places in an approved training center and must pay a wage equal to the level determined by an advisory committee of labor and business experts. The Government considers the apprenticeship system an important point of contact and cooperation with business and industry in the training of young workers. Consequently, the Government assumes most of its costs.

The Workman's Sabbatical

Perhaps the most interesting provisions of the new legislation are those granting workers time off to attend Government approved programs of continuing education (formation). "All during their active life, salaried workers...who wish to take training courses approved by the state...have the right, upon making a formal request to their employer, to take time off." The time off, which can extend up to 1 year, is "company time"; that is to say, it is considered as time on the job. The employee continues, during his period of training, to receive his salary and build up vacation, seniority, and fringe benefits. During this period, the Government pays part of his salary.

Most workers are eligible for the formation after 2 years on the job. Even this requirement is waived for young workers between 16 and 20 years of age who have neither a professional certificate nor a contract of apprenticeship. Holders of vocational-technical diplomas or university degrees must wait until their diplomas are at least 3 years.
old before they are eligible for further training.

The workman's sabbatical is intended not only to assure an initial minimum vocational preparation for the young but also, and especially, to provide for workingmen throughout their careers realistic possibilities for continuing professional education and personal growth. By using his sabbatical leaves intelligently, a workingman will be able to continue his formal education literally until the day he retires.

The Government has committed its financial backing and administrative support to the following kinds of training programs:

1. **Transitional and preventive.** Both of these training courses are open to persons less than 18 years of age. The purpose of the transitional program is to prepare salaried workers whose employment has been interrupted because of job requirements of a differing nature, and to allow owners of farms and unsalaried members of their families (or members of unsalaried, nonagricultural occupations) to enter new lines of occupational activity. The preventive program is designed to reduce the risk of workers becoming disqualified and threatened with dismissal because they have not been trained in new techniques and organizational structures. It prepares workers for a change of activity, either within the framework of the same company or elsewhere.

2. **Adaptational.** The purpose of these courses is to give workers presently employed and paid by their company (especially young people with a professional certification) "easier access" to their present job or to a new job.

3. **For occupational advancement.** Open both to salaried and to unsalaried employees, these courses help to increase the level of employees' qualifications.

4. **For maintaining or improving knowledge.** Open to salaried employees under a work contract or to unsalaried employees, these courses help employees maintain or improve their present qualifications and cultural level.

5. **For preliminary instruction, training, or preparation for a professional livelihood or specialization.** These courses are open to young people from 16 to 18 years of age who have no work contract.

It is the responsibility of the **Conseil d'État** to establish procedures for using the congé formation. Employers may stagger the leaves of employees so as to disrupt normal business procedures as little as possible. They may also enter into a tripartite agreement (convention de formation professionnelle) with the training center and the Government to determine the precise length and content of the courses offered, the methods of teaching and evaluation, and the percentage of the costs that each party will pay.

**Sharing the Costs**

The costs of providing programs of continuing professional education are borne for the most part by the National Government with some obligatory participation by industry. The nature and extent of the Government's role is partially determined by the recommendations of the Interministerial Committee for Vocational and Technological Education arrived at after deliberation and consultation with appropriate professional and labor organizations. Governmental assistance takes such forms as assuming construction and equipment costs, supporting the organizational and operating expenses of the training centers, and totally or partially
remunerating the student-workers who take the courses.

Private enterprise is also required by law, however, for reasons both pragmatic and ideological, to participate in the costs of these expanded educational opportunities. In the first place, the financial assistance of industry, even on a limited scale, helps offset the enormous costs of this program to the state. And secondly, the Government wishes labor and business to become "social partners" with government (des partenaires sociaux) and assume a joint responsibility for providing programs of continuing education to those who need them. Government spokesmen are attempting to convince businessmen not only that they have a social responsibility to their workers but also that money spent in training employees is one of the soundest investments a business can make. 28

Specifically, each business of 10 or more employees will be required to contribute to the support of continuing education programs. In 1972 this tax will amount to .8 percent of the annual payroll. By 1976 the percentage will rise to 2 percent of the payroll. Employers who provide "in-house" educational programs for employees, expend funds in sending them to training centers, or contribute to approved organizations dedicated to furthering vocational, technical, and professional education can have all or part of this tax refunded. 29

It is thus advantageous for an employer to encourage his employees to pursue the training programs for which they are eligible since he gets in return both a tax rebate and advanced training for his work force.

Interestingly enough, business enterprises of more than 50 employees are required to present evidence to governmental officials that their boards of directors have seriously discussed the whole question of further education for employees and made some determination as to what company policy on this matter will be. 30

SOME RELATED THOUGHTS

This new French experience in continuing vocational education may suggest certain areas of further research that American educators interested in career education may wish to investigate. The normal caveats of cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons and borrowings are, of course, invoked.

To the degree that it is possible in a decentralized system of school administration, officials might explore the possibility of establishing a series of nationally recognized vocational and technological diplomas not unlike the hierarchy of certifications, brevets, and diplomes that give official sanction to a French youth's professional competence. American efforts in this direction--such as the Educational Testing Service's national test for the certification of auto mechanics now under development--as well as French and other foreign models could serve as points of departure for further research. It is possible that by earning official diplomas such as these and thus acquiring more visible professional certification, workmen might gain a feeling of personal achievement and a sense of professional pride that is at present, perhaps, not possible.

There would also be in such a program a built-in element of consumer protection, since the public would be assured of certain minimum standards of achievement for all "certified workmen." Equivalencies between these vocational and technological certificates and the traditional academic diplomas would be established so that Civil Service and other jobs requiring traditional
academic credentials such as a high school diploma or a college degree would be open to all who had reached a predetermined level of "career education."

Another idea that merits close attention is the "workman's hâtical" (congé enseignement). One might envision, for example, a situation in which young people might not be obliged to remain in school for 9 or 10 consecutive years, but might leave somewhat earlier, after obtaining some minimum vocational qualification, with the right to return at no cost whenever in the future they might choose to do so. They would be allowed to resume their education on a full or part-time basis at least until their credit of state-guaranteed free education had been exhausted.

If vocational programs were permitted to begin on the 6th-, 7th-, or 8th-grade level, and if workers were truly guaranteed paid time off from their jobs at some future date to continue their education, a flexible concept of compulsory education such as this would be possible without in any way posing a threat to the rights of the young to an education. Such a concept would, in fact, have the advantage of providing the student with a marketable skill while respecting his individual learning patterns; and would give him, in addition, a real option to decide when he was ready for more advanced general education or vocational training. It would be possible to structure and integrate the courses and training programs offered so that the student need never, at any time in his life, meet an academic or professional dead end. Such a program could conceivably have the further advantage of defusing potentially explosive secondary school situations by allowing students who are not interested in school an alternate route to professional formation and general education. In the interest of national literacy and the common good, various safeguards could be built into the system to guarantee that every citizen had completed a minimum amount of formal education by the age of 25 or 30. It is even possible that such an approach to compulsory education could produce a better and more broadly educated public than can our present system.

The practice of conge enseignement, which allows skilled workers time off from work to teach their specialty, is still another idea that might be examined with profit by American educators. One of the most serious problems of vocational and technological education during periods of full employment is the inability of many schools to match the high salaries that experienced and skilled technicians can command in industry. If the business-industrial community, the Federal Government, and local school authorities could share the salary expenses of "visiting technician-teachers," it is likely that all would benefit and the quality and relevance of instruction would increase. In fact, the general procedures for funding these new French initiatives might be of interest to American educational planners as they examine alternative sources for financing public education.

Finally, far more important than possible avenues of further research and experimentation that may develop, is the fundamental fact that the new French laws of July 1971 have officially recognised the equality of vocational and technological training with traditional university preparatory education and, in a prestige-conscious society, have granted it droit de cité.

Likewise, the commitment to continuing education has been formalised in
ways that will allow every citizen to continue his education well into his mature years. Thus, education that is truly oriented toward a career may be pursued on a regular basis throughout one's career.

An open-ended educational structure such as this seems to offer real possibilities of responding to the needs of a rapidly changing technological society. One might note, in conclusion, that it would also have been responsive to the comments of a young educator in the court of Louis XIV who in 1686 observed: "It seems to me that we should adapt our courses of study to the present state of our society and study those things which are of some use in the world; for we cannot change the needs of society to accommodate our courses of study".

FOOTNOTES

1 An abridgment of an article being published by the U.S. Office of Education under the same title.

2 Law No. 71-575, pertaining to the Organization of Continuing Professional Training within the Framework of Continuing Education; Law No. 71-576, Relating to Apprenticeship; Law No. 71-577, Concerning guidance in the Field of Technical training; and Law No. 71-578, on the Financial Sharing of Employers in Primary Technical and Professional Training. All these laws were passed on July 16, 1971, and published in the Journal Officiel de la République Française of July 17, 1971, pp. 7035-46.

3 Implementation of various aspects of these laws has already begun. See the décrets and arrêtés of July 26, 1971, Dec. 6, 1971, Apr. 12, 1972, and May 19, 1972. Further information concerning their implementation can be found in ministerial circulars of Oct. 11, 1971 and Mar. 10, 1972.

4 On July 6, 1972, President of the Republic Georges Pompidou made several changes in his Cabinet. As part of the governmental change, Olivier Guichard was named Minister of Equipment, Housing and Regional Development, and Tourism. He was succeeded as Minister of National Education by Joseph Fontanet. Pierre Messmer replaced Jacques Chaban-Delmas as Premier. Pierre Billecocq became Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of Cooperation.


6 Law No. 71-575, art. 1; and Law No. 71-577, art. 1.

7 The newly instituted Office National d'Information Sur les Enseignements et les Professions (ONISEP) is to help schools and interested individuals obtain appropriate information.

8 Law No. 71-577, July 16, 1971, art. 4-6.


A French Approach to Career Education

DIWEX Assistant Secretary for Education.

11 Law No. 71-577, July 16, 1971, art. 11.

12 Law No. 71-575, July 16, 1971, title III.

13 Ibid. art. 17.


15 Law No. 71-575, July 16, 1971, title III, art. 7, X.

16 Law No. 71-575, July 16, 1971, art. 2-3; and Law No. 71-577, July 16, 1971, art. 14-16.


20 Law No. 71-576, July 16, 1971, art.


22 Law No. 71-575, July 16, 1971, title III, art. 7.

23 Ibid. title IV.

24 The term "salaried worker" is not used here in distinction to "hourly rated employee" as it is sometimes used in American business and industry.


26 Law No. 71-575, July 16, 1971, title III, art. 8, V.

27 Ibid. title II.

28 Jacques Chaban-Delmas. op. cit. p. III.


30 Ibid. art. 15.

31 Some union contracts in the U.S. have provisions for further training not unlike the "workman's sabbatical." This is not as yet, however, a common practice.


SELECTED READINGS


International/Intercultural Education Reports


PREVOCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with a centralized school system. In 1950, the Riksdag (Parliament) approved the School Commission's proposals for school reform including the landmark 9-year comprehensive school. Since then, many educators have emigrated to Sweden for leadership in vocational planning, reform, and renewal. Of particular interest has been the manner in which Swedish education introduced an vocational and technical education dimension and have established the liaison with industrial and the of-school educational resources. It is possible that American educational planners may find the overview of the Swedish comprehensive and instructive.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL, UPPER SECTION

New Program Aims

The recent reorganization of the comprehensive school system is reflected in the 1969 edition of the Lyckesbok grundskolan (Syllabus for Comprehensive School). This new program of studies was introduced in the autumn of 1970 on a gradual basis and is now in use throughout the school system. A further development of the 1962 curriculum Lyckesbok grundskolan, it attempts to introduce improvements on the basis of experience gained since that time, to simplify the system's organization, and to close the gap between the school and society.

Curricular Changes

The new program has led to several interesting developments in prevocational and vocational orientation in the upper section (grades 7 to 9) of the comprehensive school. For instance, in addition to typing, metal and wood workshop studies, technical and artisan, business studies, and domestic science—important new subjects—technology and economics—have been added to the list of possible electives. Technology attempts to inform the student about products, proc...
International/Intercultural Education Reports

In the 1970s, the importance of technology for the development of society and the possible consequences of this development were discussed. Topics for discussion include the importance of technology for the development of society and the possible consequences of this development. The goal of the Economy course is to increase the students' understanding of basic monetary questions in school and society. It stresses consumer knowledge and includes facts concerning consumption, distribution, and production.

Another development is that all students, boys as well as girls, are required to take instruction in domestic science and child care. This decision was based on the assumptions that the school should have the same social expectations of both sexes, that men and women will have the same role in the future, that preparation for parenthood is as important for boys as for girls, and that girls should be as career-oriented as boys.

The syllabus provides also for "practical vocational orientation" (pvo) in grade 9. During this ninth year, each student must spend at least 2 weeks in an actual workshop or place of business. This work experience is preceded by at least three organized field trips during grade 8. By special arrangement, a student may be granted permission by the local school board to have his pvo period extended to a maximum of 36 days.

Because students are not considered as workers during this period, they receive no pay, their insurance is arranged by the school, certain tasks are prohibited according to rules for workers' protection, and they are not allowed to participate in work before 6 a.m. or after 7 p.m., nor in overtime work. They were allowed to work up to 41 hours and 15 minutes per week through December 31, 1972.

Clearly, the introduction (grades 7 to 9) of the comprehensive school may now be regarded as a primarily comprehensive or general. This is in keeping with the school Commission recommendation of 1965 that a free choice of occupation be postponed beyond grade 9. Introduction to home and child care as compulsory subjects for all students evolving sensitivities to these questions.

And the new, separate organization shows a desire to continue the "status thinking that would view the academic as superior to the vocational."

AFTER THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

In theory, a student is free to leave school after grade 9. However, a new handbook for upper comprehensive students, although it points out the possibilities of gaining both practical and theoretical knowledge by going directly from school to a job, states that about 90 percent of the students who leave school at grade 9 are expected to continue through grade 10 and higher in the public school system. In fact, one of the regional Boards of Education (Jämtlands Län, Region 5) indicated that in 1970-71 almost 10 percent of the 16-year-olds were accepted for the senior secondary school (gymnasieskola) as compared to 4 percent in 1960.

The Senior Secondary System

Included in the former senior secondary system (which followed the 9-year old comprehensive school) were (1) a 3-year academic school, the gymnasium; (2) a 1- to 4-year vocational school, and (3) a 2-year continuation school of vocational
character (Schetsen). On July 1, 1971, the vocational school and the continuation school ceased to exist as separate school forms, becoming included in the new gymnasieskola, "an extension of the comprehensive school."

The Gymnasieskola

Streams and "lines."—The gymnasieskola has three streams, each including 2-, 3-, and 4-year courses of vocational character. Since these three streams together will be composed of a total of 22 different "lines" (or tracks) with further specialized branches, the offerings will necessarily vary from school to school. In order to provide detailed information to the students, each region publishes a yearly handbook listing the offerings at each of its schools. Common to all "lines" is a basic general education, in which "orientation on working life" is included as a new subject.

The "lines" of the three streams in the new gymnasieskola are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stream</th>
<th>2-year</th>
<th>3-year</th>
<th>4-year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humanistic/Social Stream</td>
<td>Care</td>
<td>Humanistic</td>
<td>- - -</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>Social science</td>
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<td>Consumer and care</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanistic/Social Stream</td>
<td>Social</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Economic Stream

| Economic Stream | Distribution and office | - - - |
|                 | Economics | - - - |

Technical/Natural Sciences Stream

| Technical/Natural Sciences Stream | Agriculture | Natural sciences | Technical |
|                                  | Building and construction | - - - | - - - | - - - |

The "lines" usually have a common curriculum for all students during the first year, with some specialization subsequently branching out from the common courses. The following are examples of how the "lines" within a stream divide for specialization:

The 2-year "Care Line" (Humanistic/Social stream) is divided and the child-and-youth-care group starts specializing during the first year. During the second year, another division takes place, and some of the students go into child health care. The group studying general health care and geriatric care stays together during the first year but divides during the second year, and some of the students specialize in psychiatric care.

The 2-year "Distribution and Office Line" (Economics Stream) is held together during the entire first year. During the second year, the distribution group has 18 periods per week of practicum (work experience) requirements, mostly in retail enterprises, while the office group divides in two: One with typing, the other with bookkeeping as a major. Students in this group will spend their 18 periods per week of practicum in various clerical tasks.

The 2-year "Food Processing Line" (Technical Stream) splits off one group of future waiters/waitresses during the first year. The second year offers specializing for quantity cooking, restaurant work, bakery work, and meat processing.

The 2-year "Vehicle Line" (Technical Stream) again shows a common curriculum for the first year. Special groups during the second year train automobile mechanics, machine technicians, parts personnel, and airplane mechanics.
Student choice of vocational area.—Statistics on the number of boys and girls in the various vocational areas are rarely in the regions. However, questionnaire replies indicated that in Skaraborgs Län (Region R) 340 boys and 4,241 girls are taking textile crafts in grades 7, 8, and 9 during 1972-73; the corresponding numbers for wood and metal crafts are 5,160 boys and 1,034 girls. Generally, more girls than boys have "crossed the sex lines" in their vocational choice. Areas where sex has been indicated as having least impact on the choice have been identified as care areas (health, child, aged), teaching (where the distribution has long been rather even), commercial/clerical fields (Kristianstad Län, Region L), and care areas and restaurant work (Uppsala Län, Region C).

As a rule, p*yo placement has been arranged according to the students' wishes, although their preference for areas like child care centers, other care areas, retail, and clerical work, have occasionally caused difficulties because the labor market in these fields is saturated. Students' preferences have changed since 1963, when a representative from the Labor Board told participants in a practical teachers' training course in Gothenburg that the absolute majority of the girls p*yo placement as beauty operators while the boys wanted to work for bakeries. His cynical prophecy at that time that chaos would reign if all 8th and 9th graders (i.e., including the academic stream students) were "let loose" in working places has not proven true. Perhaps the postponement of p*yo from grade 8 to grade 9 has resulted in increased maturity among the students and a more realistic appraisal of their interests and talents.

The previously mentioned hand for students referred to the problem of sex role expectations in choosing vocational area.

Among the reasons you indicated in our charted view of the sex role expectations in the different areas, the students wrote:

1. You should have that men and women will share work in the home and with the children.
2. Consider that the technological development will need the female talent reserve which is not presently utilized as well as it could be.
3. Conversely, there is a need for the unused care-taking talents on the male side.

Therefore, do not adhere to what has been a stereotype may be regarded as "male" or "female" occupations and tasks. Your own interests and qualifications would determine your choice of future work, not the fact that you happen to be a boy or a girl.

Whether or not the official policy of total equality between the sexes will actually be carried over to the future labor market remains to be seen. There are no formal obstacles to students seeking practice in areas outside their traditional sex roles, and questionnaire responses have not indicated that employers react negatively to students who have chosen vocational areas traditionally dominated by the other sex. However, a realistic note was struck by Margareta Vestrom, Section Director of the National Board of Education, in a lecture to the Nordic Culture Commission:

Actually, one should not worry about the 50/50 ratio. With all formal and formal obstacles the reality have disappeared, so it still remains more frequent that girls choose the care sector because they actively look for such work due to their personal disposition, then it is entirely up to them.

I maintain that during a trial period it might be also reasonable (similar to the need for others was critical) to show that changes are possible and appropriate and to put pressure on responsible authorities to...
Pre-occupational and Vocational Orientation in the Swedish Public School System

outside the public school system

The regional brochures offer detailed information not only on course offerings in the public school system but also on other possibilities for general and vocational education and training. Certain teacher colleges, open to students who have completed grade 9, are listed: so are private schools and institutions that offer courses ranging from 20 hours to several years. Industries frequently offer theoretical training directly aimed at positions within the company. Some of these companies offer work-study programs with regular pay.

The following examples of industry-sponsored vocational training are taken from the brochure published by Region (Weskofordaområde i Stockholm):

Volve Industry: 1 year courses - shop mechanics

Saleboms Factory: 3 year courses - welders and tin workers.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Qualifications

For teachers of vocationally oriented subjects, qualifications are generally identical all over the country, although the availability of manpower at times causes slight regional variations.

The following samples of mandatory requirements list some of the qualifications required:

1. Industry (Region "C")
   7 years' occupational experience
   4 years' teaching experience for tenure-positions

2. Industry (Region "B")
   A number of years - the labor market

3. Industry (Region "A")
   1 year teacher training

4. Industry (Region "H")
   3 years' occupational experience - the field

   1 year teacher training

29
Responsibilities

The vocational teacher's responsibilities are not restricted to the classroom. He or she also has the function of liaison staff between school and industrial/commercial life. For instance, in some cases this means cooperating with the employment agencies to secure practice placements; in other cases, the teacher has to make these arrangements alone. Usually, attempts are made to place the students locally, but in some instances this is impossible. Whether students are placed locally or not, the teacher is to visit all of them regularly in their work situations and later in class follow up on their experiences.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

The 1962 Läroplan för grundskolan and the 1965 Läroplan för gymnasiet emphasize the importance of interaction between school and society in vocational education.

In its educational work, the school must therefore measure that it able to develop the students' skills in cooperation with society, to further their development into harmonious persons and capable, responsible members of society....

The Grade-8 Field Trip

As early as grade 8, field trips are planned cooperatively by the guidance counselor of the class and a representative for the company visited. The visit, which is prepared and followed up in school, can vary in duration from a sample of hours to a full day, and the students can come individually or as a group. In either case, they are allowed actively to contact productive work and possibly also try their hand at some practical tasks.

The Grade-9 Trip

In grade 9, the choice of practical vocational orientation is made by the student based on the field trips taken in grade 8. The government-operated employment agencies make arrangements for practice placement; should there be no local employment agency, these arrangements become the responsibility of the guidance counselor.

Usually, the prevo student is assigned to an experienced worker, his "advisor," in whose ordinary work he participates. In small companies, the owner/manager often takes on this function; in big companies, where groups of students are placed, the head of the personnel department (or some other executive
Prevocational and Vocational Orientation in the Swedish Public School System

in a similar position) generally gives the students an introductory orientation and then assigns them to their advisors. "To be an advisor is an honorary assignment from society and the labor market. It is important that the advisor make the student's visit with the company as rewarding as possible." 17

The National Board of Education publishes separate information brochures onไพโอ, directed to the companies (Information till företagen), to the advisors (Information till handledare), and to the parents (Information till föräldrar). In addition, the Board of Labor Safety has published its own information for advisors, and there are detailed study plans for training courses arranged for advisors-to-be.

Cooperation

A 48-page handbook, PRVO--in Cooperation, 18 stresses the importance of close relations between school and industrial/commercial life to the success ofไพโอ. The first edition of 5,000 copies was sold out within a couple of months, necessitating a second edition (slightly revised) of 15,000 copies.

Cooperation in planning forไพโอ periods is thus a very important area of interaction between school and society, one which also leads to further communications and a constant adaptation of school programs to society needs. One Regional Board of Education (Skaraborgs Län, Region R) reports:

The Regional Board of Education has its members not only representatives for school and other public institutions but also representatives for industry and trade. The Board has a Technical Council as well, a great advantage for cooperation with the society, and the Board also is supported by regional and local vocational councils....

Through discussions between school authorities and representatives for commercial and industrial life regarding the need of trained personnel, we have been able to arrange for specialized programs aimed at procuring workers in paper mills, flour mills, gold industry, as well as furniture and interior carpenters.

Another Board (Kristianstad Län, Region L) likewise reports the existence of cooperative agencies, and adds that the "companies are receiving the students in a positive way."20 Also in Jämtlands Län (Region Z), both employers and employees of cooperating industries are represented in the Vocational Council.

In summary, theไพโอ period appears to have had a positive reception by the community. This is reflected in the comments by the Regional Board of Education in Skaraborgs Län (Region R) on theไพโอ and the vocational orientation of the public school system.

Remarkably many, at least half of theไพโอ students, have entered into training or employment in occupations related to their placements.

The importance of vocational education for the individual and for society can hardly be overestimated. Presently, the vocational school system is so widely developed that all students may participate vocational training (now part of the gymnasium) can get it. The vocational orientation continues to be developed according to partly new principles; it needs and should be capable of even higher efficiency. 22

FOOTNOTES

1. Skolförstyrrelsens Informationsserie: Detta är grundskolan.
2. Ibid. p. 5.


8. Ibid. p. 47.

9. Ibid. p. 85.


12. Response to questionnaire regarding vocational education in public schools, sent by the author to all Regional Boards of Education.


14. Ibid.


19. Response to questionnaire regarding vocational education in public schools, sent by the author to all Regional Boards of Education.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

SELECTED READINGS


Skolöverstyrelsens Informationsserie:


EDUCATION FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT
IN THE U.S.S.R.

Seymour M. Rosen since 1960 has been the specialist in comparative education for the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe in the Institute of International Studies. He has made many official study trips to the U.S.S.R. twice accompanying U.S. Congressional delegations and once heading an Office of Education study team. Mr. Rosen is the author of several books on Soviet education, the latest of which is Education and Modernization in the U.S.S.R. (Addison-Wesley, 1971), and his articles and studies have appeared in Comparative Education Review, Phi Delta Kappan, Intellect (formerly School and Society) and numerous Government publications.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a centrally controlled state that issues binding national directives in education and training as well as other fields, and that views career development in terms of the priority needs of the national economy as determined by the Communist Party leadership.

In June 1972, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), together with the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, issued two decrees that represented a significant step in the Soviet attempt to solve the ever-presenting problem of "preparing students for life" and of educating Soviet youth for careers in a modern industrial society. They affirmed that the goal of universal secondary education was to be accomplished by 1975 and asserted the need to link study in school with the demands of modern industry.

This article is concerned with the "polytechnical education" policies and program directions in the U.S.S.R. and with the practical experiences and major revisions of the past 15 years that have led up to the 1972 decrees.

THE JUNE 1972 DECREES

In April 1971, the 24th CPSU Congress issued the "Directives for the Five-Year National Economy for 1971-1975," on which the June 1972 decrees were based. The Congress directives instructed the national education sector as follows:

To carry out the further comprehensive development of public education and socialist culture. To improve the instructional and upbringing process. To improve the quality of the training of pedagogical cadres and raise the level of their qualifications. To step up work on the vocational guidance of pupils, taking into account the young people's inclinations and the national economy's requirements for skilled cadres.

To develop higher and specialized secondary education in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress, to raise the quality of the training of future specialists and to improve their ideological and political upbringing. During the five-year period, to train approximately 9,000,000 specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education, paying special attention to the training of specialists in new fields of science and
education for career development in the u.s.s.r.

To increase the training of skilled workers in the vocational technical educational institutions, especially in rural localities, so that young people, as a rule, will obtain a specialty before beginning a job. During the five-year period, to train at least 3,000,000 skilled workers for all branches of the national economy in the vocational-technical educational institutions. To carry out at higher rates the training of cadres for agriculture, construction, light industry, the food industry and enterprises providing everyday services to the population. By 1/55, to bring the number of students enrolled in vocational-technical training who at the same time receive a complete academic secondary education to 600,000 to 900,000.\(^1\)

The decree in turn called for preparing students in both the academic and vocational education systems who could be both academically and technologically knowledgeable. Pseudo, in describing the general education decree, stated:

...It is expedient to enlist pupils, particularly the older ones, for organized labor participation in the national economy, the cleaning of cities and villages and the planting of gardens and nature protection during vacations.\(^2\)

The vocational education decree called for vocational and technical schools to "produce comprehensively developed, technically educated young people."\(^3\)

THE POLYTECHNICAL EDUCATION REFORM: 1958-59

The full-scale attempt at what the Soviets refer to as "polytechnical education" is well known and has been reported in a number of publications.\(^4\) Polytechnical education may be defined as education that provides not only general academic instruction, predominantly in regular elementary-secondary schools, but also (1) teaches the relationship of various theoretical subjects to their practical application in industry, (2) teaches the fundamentals of industrial processes and the underlying principles of groups of vocational skills, and (3) provides practical training in general work skills and in a specific job skill.

Soviet author N. N. Skatkin writes, in the volume edited by Shapovalenkov,

Polytechnical education gives the pupil a knowledge of the main branches of production and the scientific principles on which these depend, and acquaints him with handling common tools and instruments of labour. This training helps to develop creative technical abilities and to instill a love and respect for physical labour and work. By providing a wide general theoretical background, polytechnical education gives the student an opportunity to choose freely his future trade, to master a variety of the jobs to be done in this trade and to play an active part in production.
Following a few years of experimentation in selected schools by the Russian SPSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Communist Party leadership and laws of the Soviet Government in 1950-59 initiated the "polytechnical education" reform, the first major education reform of the entire Soviet school system since the early 1930's. Among the major components of the reform were the following:

1. Extension of compulsory general education from seven grades to eight grades, with a polytechnical and labor practice component in every grade of school.

2. Extension of full elementary-secondary education from 10 years to 11 years, with one-third of the last 3 years in secondary education devoted to production (industrial/agricultural) theory and practice.

3. Transformation of the general education school into the "general education labor-polytechnical schools with production training."

4. Interruption of higher education admissions for 2 years for the vast majority of secondary school applicants while they worked in industry and agriculture.

Under the reform program, a student completing secondary school received a regular academic education with school diploma and also a grounding in polytechnical principles with a certificate of qualification in a specific work specialty.

Five years of experience in attempting to implement this national education reform "to connect school with life" revealed major weaknesses. Despite the theory, students were getting narrow specialization or vocational training, instead of training in the fundamentals of production. Training opportunities for the pupils of any one school were often limited to a very small range of skills. At the same time, academic studies were being neglected, and the rate of dropouts from regular day schools was increasing.

While many factory programs were good or satisfactory, in many programs students were given menial tasks to perform during their production training, or simply told to watch "over the shoulder" of workers. Industrial managers were much more concerned with meeting their annual factory production quotas than using valuable plant staff and time to train the young for the broader and longer range goals of the national economy. In addition, facilities were inadequate for students both at factories and in school workshops. Teachers were inadequately trained for production training or they applied polytechnical principles poorly in the schools, and factory personnel lacked pedagogical skills.

The great majority of students who were trained in a specific job skill along with their general education were not getting jobs using that skill after they finished secondary school. Thus there was substantial academic and career training wastage.

This combination of polytechnical education and labor training proved too heavy a load for the school system to carry, both because of the vastness of the national system that was implementing (or attempting to implement) it and also because it involved too substantial a portion of the already academically burdened curriculum. In the 1964-65 school year, a retrenchment began, to retain the polytechnical principles but to make the practices more effective.
TREND SINCE MID-1960's

Following two decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers in the summer of 1964, the extension of compulsory education from 7 to 8 years was retained, but complete elementary-secondary education was returned to 10 years and the total time allotted to practical training and courses in the theory and practice of (industrial/agricultural) production was considerably reduced. In the late 1960's only schools that had access to factories with good facilities continued "production practice" and issued certificates of qualification in a work specialty, along with the regular academic diploma. Emphasis was on shop work in the school rather than in the plant.

A reformulation of regulations allowed a much higher percentage of the students going on to higher education to do so without the 2-year work interruption after graduation from secondary school. The main problem remained, however--how to "link education with life," or how to achieve education for career development in a growing industrial society whose complex needs required both a sound general education and a capacity to grasp the concepts of technology and science.

The directions the decisionmakers have chosen in the late 1960's and early 1970's include modernizing the academic elementary-secondary curriculum primarily in the teaching of sciences and mathematics, and, as evidenced in the June 1972 decrees, aiming at more effective use of the range of institutional options for achieving comprehensive and career-oriented education.

Diversity of Study Options

The Soviet Union has developed a diversity of study options for the pupil completing 8 years of compulsory education. He can continue with upper secondary general or technical education or go on to short-term vocational school--either daytime, nighttime or by correspondence. The asserted goal of universal compulsory full elementary-secondary education by the end of the ninth 5-year plan (1975) and the need for increasingly better educated skilled workers and technicians have increased the pressure to put an academic component sufficient for a regular secondary diploma in the vocational schools, just as in the early 1960's the focus was on putting a polytechnical/vocational component in the schools of general education.

It is interesting to note that with the approach of universal secondary education, students whose preference or circumstance direct them to obtain a specific job skill in vocational schools are increasingly being given the opportunity to complete their academic secondary education while remaining in the vocational school. The object in a sense is to bring the general education school (i.e., program) to the vocationally oriented students (in the vocational school) rather than vice-versa. Soviet educational strategy for the 1970's is to accomplish universal secondary education partially by increasing enrollments in technical schools and academically strengthened vocational schools, schools which vocationally oriented youth are more likely to complete. This is the primary significance of the June
1972 decree on vocational and technical training.

Students who complete general secondary education (10-year school graduates) have the option of either trying for admission to 4 to 6 years of higher education (in a specific professional specialty), or going, for a briefer period than do the 8-year school graduates, to a secondary technical school (technicum) to obtain a junior technical qualification for work in industry, agriculture, health, education (to become a kindergarten teacher), or service fields. Either higher or technical education, as in the case of vocational, can be accomplished in regular full-time day programs, in the very extensive correspondence-extension course program, or in evening or alternative work-shift programs.

Schools of both technical and higher education require entrance examinations for admission. Admission is to a specific specialty, one of several hundred coded (in 4 digits) identically with comparable jobs in the national economy. Upon graduation, students are assigned to regular jobs, with some options from which to select.

One of the more interesting innovations in recent years is the system of withholding the student's graduation diploma until he has worked at his assigned job for 1 year. This can lead to problems, as indicated by one Soviet source, which leaves the questions raised unanswered:

Job assigning is over. The graduating student receives his certificate of completion of the college course. This and his job assignment paper take the place of a diploma. The diploma itself he gets a year later when he presents a statement from his supervisors that he can handle the job for which he was trained.
Education for Career Development in the U.S.S.R.

A great importance is attached to the application of knowledge in the work, public and private life. The way from theory to production and to the application of knowledge in life is followed in the educational process for nearly all subjects.

The curriculum for physics, for example, provides for studying the elementary nuclear processes and the acquaintance with the principles of operation of the atomic power station. Along with the theory the pupils will study the most widely spread corresponding mechanisms, thermal engines, as well as the questions of production, transmission and utilization of electric power; they also become acquainted with the means of communication, electrical and radio technique. The curriculum for chemistry provides for the acquaintance of the pupils with the most important branches and general scientific principles of the chemical production as well as with the main trends of chemicalization of agriculture while studying the theory of feeding plants, for example, they become acquainted with the fundamentals of agrochemistry. The share of the laboratory and practical work increases, more films are shown, children go on more excursions connected with production.

The system of labour education of pupils established at the school of the Soviet Union serves the same purpose. The most essential elements of this system are as follows: labour education as an educational subject, out of the school and extracurricular technical and agricultural experimental work of children, facultative (elective) studies of technical and agricultural character, generally useful and productive labour of pupils, special work on vocational training. Labour education is an important part of polytechnical education; its major tasks are to provide pupils with the knowledge and habits of a general technical character, give them an adequate labour training, develop a creative attitude to labour and prepare pupils for a conscientious choice of a future profession.

In 1967-68 the new curricula for labour training were introduced. There are two hours a week for labour lessons at the schools of general education in accordance with the curricula from the 1st to the 10th class. At these lessons the pupils of primary school learn how to work with cardboard, tin-plate, wire and plasticine. Beginning from the 4th class and up to the 8th class labour training for the boys and girls differs: during this period boys become acquainted with the manual and mechanical treatment of wood, metal and plastics, whereas girls learn sewing and cooking. Both the boys and girls master some elements of machine and electrical technique.

At the rural schools the pupils also study the fundamentals of agricultural work in the 9th - 10th classes. Labour training is conducted as practical stages of metals, electricity, fabric treatment, agrochemistry, vegetable-growing, etc. The purpose of such practical work is to give pupils certain theoretical knowledge as well as to provide them with practical skill in this or that branch of production. At some schools labour training of the pupils of senior classes expanded on account of facultative studies and has the character of production training with the result that quite a few pupils finishing school receive primary professional training in this or that specialty (driver, tractor operator, locksmith, etc.)

In July 1972 (Pravda, July 30, 1972), the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Measures for Further Improving Higher Education in the Country," calling for modernization and improvement in the quality of the curriculum and teaching methods of all specialties, but particularly those concerned with science and technology. To help in this task, two new kinds of councils were established: (1) a Council for Higher Education under the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education, with officials from various Government ministries, science organizations, and student groups; and (2) Councils of Rectors (Presidents) of Higher Education Institutions, in major higher education centers.
The true today, in so "unalterable, the process is often used with high growth."

The critical factor here was in the opportunities to gain admission in the school, often unqualified, and often of the highest levels. Such a situation was common outside the school building, where many students were often not even considered for admission.
of recent years, special emphasis is placed on identifying the gifted for selection and training through mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and the olympiads. In music, there have been a long tradition of some instruction and training in music, but some instruction the level of development of the early years. The ideologically are well-equipped to some instruction. The staff. The staff into undergraduate studies, scientific.

For the Dilemma

Other end of the dilemma is that the one-room school centrally located boarding facilities and the dormitories of the type of student areas has led to the "preparation" of a school year. The students who cannot pass the entrance examination are somewhat scored or "Workers' sons and early discharge to increase workers and pensioners. Some of the students are also referred to other education.
Education Reports

"candidate-students," who take the first year of studies along with regular freshmen, and, if successful, replace those regular students who drop out during or after the first year of studies.

In general, the less academically prepared students who wish to pursue higher or secondary technical education do so through the correspondence-extension system while working full time (with paid leave for examinations). Usually, a year such correspondence student comes to the university or specialized institute for a series of consultations and examinations. Those students who live near the correspondence institute or department may attend regular evening consultations during the school year. Others may have to rely for advice on guidance personnel at "consultation points" which may be located somewhere in the area of their residence or work.

In 1970, about 4 percent of those admitted to higher education schools and 25 percent of those admitted to secondary technical schools were enrolled in these correspondence-extension courses. Correspondence education is nationally recognized. In addition to separate correspondence schools, most regular Soviet higher education institutions have correspondence faculties, or departments, and are administered by the union-republic Ministries of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education or some other appropriate Government ministry. Completion of studies by correspondence can lead to upgrading and promotion of workers in the plants in which they are currently employed or to an improved job status elsewhere.

A recent major reappraisal of the correspondence schools and departments, which has grown at a great rate in the 1950's and 1960's and
had developed very substantial enrollments at the secondary technical and higher education levels, resulted in leveling off enrollments in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The argument used in early years that correspondence courses were much cheaper to the state than full-time education proved fallacious in more sophisticated cost analyses that took into account their drop-out rates and the consequent loss of the partial training investment and skills to the economy. Correspondence students were also found to be relatively weak in their mastery of the theoretical aspects of the specialties in which they were being trained.

Call for Increased Vocational Guidance

One of the knottiest problems of education for career development and one with which the Soviets have shown increasing concern in recent years is vocational or career guidance, or as the Soviets call it, "professional orientation." Note that the education sector was instructed "to step up work on the vocational guidance of pupils" in the 5-year plan directives of the CPSU Congress, quoted above.

Soviet sources have pointed to many avenues for guidance: (1) The family (the work level of the father is a most influential factor in educational and vocational choice); (2) the school (through the screening process of examinations and quotas, polytechnical or vocational instruction by teachers, clubs for studying local positions and forms, and visiting lectures by working professionals in various fields); (3) the factory or farm (through site visits or "voluntary" work by youth organizations in free time or summers); (4) Y.M.C.A.-like "pioneer palaces," "technical circles," and "stations of young technicians and young naturalists" (in which youth can develop extracurricular skills and are encouraged in the merits of "socialist labor"), and (5) the communications media (radio and television, the press, and published career guidebooks).

What is lacking in the vocational guidance picture, however, is coordination and focus for the individual student. An author in the Soviet Lithuanian press writes:

The new school year has begun. . . . Before the youth (entering secondary school) is a very important stage in their lives. And, to a large extent, the firmness with which a student can establish his goal and achieve it in the most expeditious way depends on school and on training and educational work. An important place here is occupied by the work for professional orientation of the students.

However, if we talk in terms of a broader scope, we must admit that the effectiveness of this work is still not very great. Practice shows that the choice of a profession for graduating students is frequently made either spontaneously or under the influence of incidental factors: the wishes of parents or elders, a romantic idea about one or another profession, and so forth. . . . In the schools the professional orientation still has no system or direction.

Usually nearly 80 percent of the secondary school graduates (in Kaunas) hope to enter an institution of higher learning and nearly 55 percent of them become students. The remaining 25 percent do not know for a long time which path to take in life. And, as a rule, they get into some incidental job. It doesn't satisfy them; they look again and find some place else to work. At the same time, there are many enterprises which are literally suffocating because of a lack of specialists. Even though it is possible to find interesting professions and high wages, the youth are not going there. And it is only because they cannot envision what goes into those professions. This again bears witness to the fact that it is necessary to seriously and purposefully encourage people to go into the working professions. We must strengthen the professional orientation of
the students, considering not only the learnings and desires of the youth, but also the demands of the national economy for personnel...

Also, some teachers have still not recognized the importance of professional orientation and have not mastered the methods of this work. The training of teachers for carrying out professional orientation is also quite imperfect. One or another lecture on these problems, of course, cannot change the essence of the matter. Work on professional orientation in many schools is sporadic and does not take into consideration what kinds of specialists are needed by the national economy, what the students want to become, and what they can be.

Professional orientation of students is a very important matter which is now an objective social necessity. And these problems must be resolved not only by a pedagogical plan, but also in their psychological, medical, sociological, and economic aspects. Toward these ends, we must join together the forces of all organizations and departments which are called upon to direct the processes of development of the society.

Articles in the Soviet press from other parts of the country also cite poor coordination of vocational guidance, the low level of career orientation of students, and "insufficient understanding by parents and pupils of the value of a general secondary education for today's highly qualified workers." 11

Perhaps an indicator for the future is an article in the authoritative journal of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences which calls for organizing a nationwide vocational guidance service that would coordinate the efforts of the schools, industry, the communications media, and presumably local centers of job orientation or "councils of professional orientation of youth" which have already been established in some areas. 12

CONCLUSION

It is suggested that there may be elements of interest for U.S. career education specialists in the recent educational developments in the U.S.S.R. (Obviously, the American education experience is of continuing interest to the Soviets.) For those educators developing "school-based" models, the Soviet "polytechnical" concepts and trials and errors in implementation may be instructive. Those developing "employer-based" models may find of some interest the technical schools, including some through higher education, located within or attached to Soviet industrial plants. The developed Soviet correspondence education program and its developing educational television and programmed instruction could perhaps stimulate an exchange of ideas for those concerned with "home-community" models of career education.

Although awareness of critical differences in political, economic, and social contexts must always be maintained, the Soviet Union (like other large, more-or-less developed countries with massive education systems) may be viewed as a vast education laboratory in its attempts to launch various national education programs. In career development, the Soviet experience may be as instructive in its failures as in its successes, in its efforts to solve the problem of providing the trained manpower needed by a modern society.
Education for Career Development in the U.S.S.R.


5 M.N. Skatkin in: S.G. Shapovalenko, ed. op. cit. p. 18.

6 A complete first cycle of 2 years, like that in the American junior college, does not exist in Soviet higher education. During the author's visit to the recently founded Institute of the U.S.A. in Moscow in January 1972, the Institute' specialist on U.S. higher education expressed interest in the U.S. junior college concept and stated that the (generally) 5-year Soviet higher education system "could benefit by such a filter." It will be interesting to see in the 1970's if the focus on career development and meeting the needs of the developing economy will bring about changes in Soviet higher education in the direction of the junior college.


SELECTED READINGS


THE IMPLICATION OF CAREER EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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I am very pleased on behalf of my government to have an opportunity to address this distinguished group of educators, government officials, businessmen, and other leaders gathered here in Tokyo for the Third International Conference on Adult Education convened by UNESCO. Much has happened in the United States in the 12 years since the last such conference in terms of our perspectives on adult education, and I want to discuss today the new concept of Career Education and its implications for the future of adult education in the United States.

Although there are more than 20,000 possible careers in America, diverse enough to encompass everyone's interests and abilities, each year more than 2.5 million of our young people graduate from high school or drop out of college or high school with no planned career and few, if any, marketable skills. It costs us $28 billion a year to "educate" them for potential failure.

Despite our concerned efforts in recent years to make education more relevant for all the students in our schools, our record is still then not very encouraging in terms of human resources or financial investment. Consider for example that:

- There is increasing separation between students and the world of work. They feel they are not needed by our technological society since fewer and fewer workers are needed to produce more and more consumption goods.

- About one-third of all American students pass through high school via what we call the "general curriculum," a type of education which leaves its graduates neither trained with a salable skill nor qualified to pursue higher education.

- There is, in many of our schools, an undesirable counter-productive separation of the vocational education, general education, and academic curriculums, with the result that those in the vocational curriculum are often viewed as low-status

Education for Career Development
individuals, while those in the academic curriculum emerge with little contact, preparation toward, or qualification for the world of work.

Because of the widely held view that a degree is the only kind of socially acceptable occupational preparation in our society, many high school students choose academic preparation. However, many of these students do not go on to college and more begin than complete it. In addition, the numbers who do complete college are increasingly out of proportion to the occupational opportunities in our society. In fact, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor predicts that in the foreseeable future, nearly 80 percent of the work to be done will not require a bachelor's degree preparation. This is not to imply that a college education has no value other than that of preparing a student to procure employment. We fully recognize the fact that the educated adult mind is essential to our citizen-guided government concept. However, we do believe that there has been a misguided assumption in our society that you need a college education in order to get a job.

Our present system often results in hasty career decisionmaking and fails to offer individuals the option of changing directions during their years of preparation or of obtaining new training and shifting occupations later in life. Our current system neither provides students with adequate career guidance and counseling while in school nor adequate opportunities for counseling, retraining, and reentry once they have left the system. Our economy, which is based upon technological change at a time when the rate of change itself is ever increasing, thus freezes out a large number of adults who do not have an adequate level of education.

Other industrially advanced nations faced with similar problems of economic growth have solved them in a variety of ways. In the United States our response is Career Education. We think it is an absolute necessity for a healthy, expanding post-industrial society. Let me explain what we mean by the term.

Career Education is a revolutionary approach to American education based on the idea that all educational experiences, curriculum, instruction, and counseling should be geared to preparing each individual for a life of economic independence, personal fulfillment, and an appreciation for the dignity of work. Its main purpose is to prepare all students for successful and rewarding lives by improving their basis for occupational choice, by facilitating their acquisitions of occupational skills, by enhancing their educational achievements, by making education more meaningful and relevant to their aspirations, and by increasing the real choices they have among the many different occupations and training avenues open to them. While it is anticipated that Career Education would increase the opportunities available to the disadvantaged, it is not explicitly designed to involve any particular group or segment in society. It is directed at changing the whole educational system to benefit the entire population.

Career Education recognizes the critical decision points when students must be prepared and equipped to decide whether to pursue a job or further education or some combination of both work and formal study.
It is a lifelong systematic way of acquainting students with the world of work in their elementary and junior high school years and preparing them in high school and in college to enter into and advance in a career field of their own choosing. For adults it is a way to re-enter formal as well as informal programs of education at any time to upgrade their skills in their established career field or to enter a new career field. It is similar to vocational education, but there is a fundamental distinction. For while vocational education is targeted at producing specific job skills at the high school level and up to but not including the baccalaureate level, Career Education embraces all occupations and professions and can include individuals of all ages whether in or out of school.

Career Education, as the United States envisions it, has five levels which are not distinct and often are overlapping. Each level has appropriate academic as well as vocational education. The first is the level of career awareness from kindergarten through the 6th grade. The second is occupational information and career exploration ranging from grades 7 through 9. The third is specialized job training and placement extending from the 10th through the 12th year of schooling. The fourth is specific occupational preparation at the postsecondary level. And the fifth and most important level is adult and continuing education. It is concerned with the continued personal development and enrichment of the adult citizen as a decisionmaker at a time when he faces the challenges of family life, community problem solving, expanded leisure time due to the trend toward a shorter work week and increased mechanization, and the estimated eight to 12 career changes he will have to make during his working lifetime. It is the most important level from a time-line viewpoint since an adult has approximately two-thirds more time to learn than his younger counterpart who has generally completed his formal educational preparation during the first third of his life span.

The U. S. Office of Education has grouped all of the various possible careers into families of "clusters" of occupations as follows:

- Agribusiness
- Business and Office
- Health
- Public Service
- Environment
- Communications and Media
- Hospital and Recreation
- Fine Arts and Humanities
- Manufacturing
- Marketing and Distribution
- Marine Science
- Personal Services
- Construction
- Transportation
- Consumer and Homemaking Education

We are developing four research models to help schools, colleges, employers, and others visualize and begin to work out their own approaches as they adapt the concept of Career Education to the particular needs of their States, cities, and communities.

The first of these models is the School-Based Model. In the early grades Career Education means that the vital academic program is expanded to make children aware of the many fields of endeavor open to them in coming years.
Teachers are trained to relate a science lesson, say, to a career in X-ray technology or oceanography. Curriculum specialists organize course work in social studies to include future job possibilities as an historian, geographer, cartographer, artist, printer. Guidance counselors -- in the elementary as well as secondary schools -- build field trips to factories, shipyards, and salesrooms into career orientation.

In junior high school, Career Education encourages students to explore in some depth two, three, or more broad career clusters. For example, a student's outside interest in an American government course could be keyed to his interest in public service or communications. His field trips might concentrate on visits to his State legislature and to newspapers and radio and TV stations. Students interested in construction could actually take and analyze soil samples and string electric cables.

By senior high school, each student should have made a tentative career selection and begun appropriate training. In the health field, students who want to be paramedics might work part-time in a nearby hospital, along with students who plan to be doctors and pharmacists. All would take the same academic program. Each would leave high school with a skill that has market value immediately or that can be applied to advanced education for a professional degree.

In the 1971-72 school year, the Office of Education funded pilot projects in six school districts that were already well along in developing the Career Education concept: Mesa, Ariz.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Jefferson City, Colo.; Atlanta, Ga.; Pontiac, Mich.; and Hackensack, N. J. In these six projects, the year was devoted largely to planning, teacher training, and curriculum development. About 85,000 students will become fully involved next fall. In addition, 100 mini-model projects -- at least one in each State -- are serving 700,000 students under small grants authorized by the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968.

The second of these models is the Employer-Based Model. This is a total education program for a cross-section of youngsters aged 13 to 18 who find their school offerings unchallenging and want to try a different approach to learning. Operated by a consortium of public and private employers, this model program will use employer know-how and, where appropriate, employer facilities. It will provide both academic and job-related preparation. Students will graduate from the employer-fun program with credentials at least equal to those offered by their high school, or they will return to their high school with full credit for work completed.

Projects serving about 100 students each will get under way this fall in Portland, Ore.; Charleston, W. Va.; Philadelphia, Pa.; the San Francisco Bay area in California; and perhaps one or two other sites.

The third of these models is the Home-Community Model. Designed to enhance the employability of out-of-school adults, this approach will use TV and radio programs to encourage people to use the career preparation services available in their own communities. Project staff will provide counseling, guidance, and some instructional services. The staff will also assess community effectiveness in providing career training and recommend new
services as needed.
The Rand Corporation has analyzed four successful TV programs for compatibility with a Career Education series keyed to the Home-Community Model. Under a $300,000 contract, the Educational Development Center in Newton, Mass., is studying the potential population of participants, developing an evaluation plan, and drafting concepts in ways in which media and community efforts could most effectively mesh.

And the fourth of these models is the Rural-Residential Model. For disadvantaged families living in remote rural areas with few career opportunities, this model provides the opportunity to move temporarily to a training center where every member of the family can learn new skills for employment, homemaking, or further study.

The first group of families is now training at a pilot center on part of an Air Force base near Glasgow, Mont. By fall some 200 families should be in residence. The program is operated under a $4 million grant from the Office of Education by the Mountain-Plains Education and Economic Development Program, Inc. The center serves residents of Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

In addition to research and development support for the four Career Education models, the Office of Education held 16 regional workshops this spring to bring industry, labor, civic, and ethnic representation into the growing dialogue about what Career Education is or should be. More than 1,200 spokesmen for some 30 national organizations, ranging from the AFL-CIO to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, met with Federal, State, and local school people to map strategies for similar workshops in their states, communities, and organizations.

The Office of Education also sponsored conferences of top educators to develop inservice and preservice training programs for teachers. For example, education deans of 75 major American colleges and universities met this spring to explore ways of building Career Education into their undergraduate preparation of teachers. The deans in turn nominated senior professionals from their schools of education to attend a subsequent workshop.

The Office of Education also supports curriculum development in the 15 career clusters. We have already developed and tested in 25 schools over a 3-year period the junior high curriculums for the construction and manufacturing clusters. We have invested $2 million in this development effort.

An in-house task force coordinates Office of Education planning and management of Career Education initiatives.


President Nixon has made Career Education a White House priority, giving it special emphasis in his 1972 State of the Union Message to Congress. He said:

Career Education is another area of major emphasis, an emphasis which grows out of my belief that our schools should be doing more to build self-reliance and self-sufficiency, to prepare students for a productive and fulfilling life. Too often, this has not been happening. Too many of our students, from all income groups, have been "turning off" or "tuning out" their educational experiences.

49
And—why do they drop out of school or proceed on to college? Too many young people find themselves unmotivated and ill-equipped for a rewarding social role. Many other Americans, who have already entered the world of work, find that they are dissatisfied with their jobs but feel that it is too late to change directions, that they are "locked in."

One reason for this situation is the inflexibility of our educational system, including the fact that it so rigidly separates academic and vocational curricula. Too often vocational education is foolishly stigmatized as being less desirable than academic preparation. And too often the academic curriculum offers very little preparation for viable careers. Most students are unable to combine the most valuable features of both vocational and academic education; once they have chosen one curriculum, it is difficult to move to the other.

The present approach serves the best interests of neither our students nor our society. The unhappy result is high numbers of able people who are unemployed, underemployed, or unhappily employed on the one hand while many challenging jobs go begging on the other.

We need a new approach, and I believe the best new approach is to strengthen Career Education.

Career Education provides people of all ages with broader exposure to and better preparation for the world of work. It not only helps the young, but also provides adults with an opportunity to adapt their skills to changing needs, changing technology, and their own changing interests. It would not prematurely force an individual into a specific area of work, but would expand his ability to choose wisely from a wider range of options. Neither would it result in slighting of academic preparation, which would remain a central part of the educational blend.

Career Education is not a single specific program. It is more usefully thought of as a goal—and one that we can pursue through the many methods. What we need today is a nationwide search for such methods—a search which involves every area of education and every level of government. To help spark this venture, I will propose an intensified Federal effort to develop model programs which apply and test the best ideas in this field.

There is no more disconcerting waste than the waste of human potential. And there is no better investment than an investment in human fulfillment. Career Education can help make education and training more meaningful for the student, more rewarding for the teachers, more available to the adult, more relevant for the disadvantaged, and more productive for our country. 2

Members of the U. S. Council of Chief State School Officers representing each of the States and Territories have pledged a major effort to gain legislative and public endorsement in their individual States. Several States legislatures have already approved substantial sums to design and implement Career Education programs in school districts.

Large city school systems turning to Career Education as their basic design include those of Dallas, Tex. and San Diego, Calif.

Many professional educational associations have devoted conferences and field investigation to a better articulation of the concept, problems, and potential of Career Education.

Career Education is clearly, then, an idea whose time has come and its implications for the future of adult education in the United States are many and obvious. It is essential that this concept encompass the entire educational system and all its participants because there can be no adult education program developed which is completely separate from education for young children, adolescents, and college-age students. The provision of any new system for education that is geared to the needs of individuals who have completed their typical formal education must constitute the devel-
The Implication of Career Education for the Future of Adult Education in the United States

Development of a basic factor which redesigns and redetermines the fundamental form of the entire education system from preschool through college.

America, as I am sure you are aware, has long been a credentialed society and adult education has traditionally been active in preparing adults to enter it. Basic skills courses, high school programs, and job skill classes have helped provide adults with the skills to get and keep jobs and to live happy and productive lives. Remedial and retraining programs have thus shaped our approach to adult education in the past. But the Career Education reform movement, presently underway in the U. S. Office of Education, seeks to establish a new relationship between education and work. It encompasses not just preparation for low skill work or for the limited number of top professional posts but education for all types of work. It recognizes that the only true form of unemployment insurance in a technological society is a program of education and training which provides people with the skills needed in that society. Career Education has special implications for adult education in a competency-based credentialing society.

As I indicated previously, Career Education beyond the high school includes any preparation required by an individual so he can enter employment at any remunerable task; improve his knowledge or skills as they relate to his job; or prepare for a new one at whatever stage in his working career (or careers) such education might be beneficial to him. Thus described, Career Education has no new elements in it from a decade or even a century ago. What is significant and new about it now is the context and the relationship of comparable for the work in our present society and that of tomorrow compared to past practice and the nature of the world of work half a century or two decades ago. The need for retraining and upgrading adults within Career Education has been brought about by the phenomenal growth in the service industry which has been observed by economists in the past several years in the United States. This shift toward a service-oriented economy is one of the most important considerations affecting the nature, type, and period of training and education for the young as well as the adults in our society. To be specific, Dr. Herbert Striner in a study done for the Upjohn Institute for Employment Research found that in America...

...in 1947 the goods-producing industries employed 26.4 million people. At that time the service-producing industries employed 25.4 million people. By 1967, a radical shift in these proportions had taken place: in the goods-producing industries employment stood at 27.8 million while in the service-producing industries employment had skyrocketed to 46 million. It is projected that by 1980 goods production will employ 30 million people, while service production will employ close to 60 million people....

This phenomenon represents more than a shift of interest to persons concerned with the composition of the labor force. It represents a tremendous potential for employee mobility as well as a need for constant training to provide for the skills necessary in our ever-changing, service-oriented economy. With continuing displacement of labor in the manufacturing industries at the low end of the skill level, we will have to provide persons remaining in the manufacturing industries with the means of acquiring continuous upgrading of their skills. The nature of jobs, al-
though perhaps more repetitious, will probably require much more in the way of abilities to handle complicated printout electronic mechanisms, indicator mechanisms, and complex monitoring systems. In the service industries, such fields as government (local, State, and Federal), wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, transportation, public utilities, health, automotive repair, and air conditioning will require employees whose initial backgrounds and training are fairly extensive and technical, and who can participate in continuous upgrading and training in depth, made necessary by constant changes in the nature of the services.

Manufacturing industries, more often than service industries, have been related to specific geographical sites. As a result, employees of this type of industry did not have the usual motivation to think of geographic mobility. Instead, their life-styles in terms of buying homes and sinking roots into a local community reflected the fact that the jobs they were doing were ones which would keep them in a specific area throughout their working lifetime. This is not so in the case of the service-producing industries. The trained secretary, the insurance salesman, the bank clerk, the medical technician, the mechanic—all possess a greater degree of physical mobility than do persons typically employed in the manufacturing or goods-producing sector. Hence, these individuals will be freer to move with their families to acquire jobs which are more attractive than the ones they currently have, even though those jobs may be in the same particular type of industry.

Therefore, as many leading educators have pointed out, it will be necessary to provide continuously the adult education which is necessary to upgrade individuals and improve their ability to market their skills in any part of the country. We believe Career Education will fill this need because wherever there are surplus workers of a particular type, they will be able to move fairly easily to other areas where there are shortages of individuals with their skills.

The accumulated results of applied science and technology to all facets of our country's means of production have thus radically changed the world of work during the last half of the 20th century to require a more demanding educational preparation in which the necessary specialization must in large measure be learned by adults after high school. Machines have taken the place of the unskilled worker in our mines, forests, factories, and on our farms and are rapidly displacing the unskilled in offices, transportation systems, and in most other major fields of employment. Most of the work could be learned by a person working beside an experienced worker and observing and learning those elements of the work which comprised most of his employment activities on the job. He needed only to bring to the job a limited amount of basic educational preparation. In recent years, however, the United States has aspired to a level of general literacy that would have all people able to read and to write and to exercise a functional literacy with regard to arithmetic, social understandings, and the tools that basic education provides as a basis for learning to live and earn a living in society. To achieve this goal now, it is necessary to provide a broad educational base for subsequent specialization required for employment.

With the unskilled worker largely
displaced, the United States is faced with an educational problem never before confronted to the same degree by any other society. Our social heritage and mores have been built on the concept that most of our population must work to support themselves and satisfactorily fulfill their lives.

There is no alternative to providing a better education for our people because the technological society in which we now live will become more complicated rather than less. Technology will not disappear. It is here to stay. We must prepare our people for it. The necessary preparation is an educational problem which we believe can be solved by Career Education. The U.S. Office of Education's emphasis on Career Education and the adoption of this emphasis by State and local education agencies then is primarily based on the rapid growth of technology and its concomitant effect on the lives of the American people.

Almost all professionals, most technicians and similar supportive specialists, and many skilled workers will continue into institutions beyond the high school before they enter the work for which their career preparation equips them. Almost all of these workers will, at various times in their adult lives, return to institutions beyond the high school for formal upgrading, updating, or additional preparation for their careers or to qualify for new careers in order to cope with changes in technology that affect their choice of occupations.

Under Career Education, persons who seek a career in one of the recognized professional fields may follow a traditional baccalaureate program or other more flexible competency-based programs designed to prepare them for their particular profession. They may be doctors, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, managers of businesses, artists, and those people who traditionally require a baccalaureate degree plus additional education of the formal kind usually found in colleges, universities, or specialized professional learning centers.

Generally speaking these people need the broadest base of underlying organized and theoretical knowledge plus their specialized knowledge and skill preparation, whatever their field. Usually the entry level for their own chosen professional career requires graduation with a baccalaureate degree and often further study.

The major Career Education emphasis then must be to provide educational opportunity and encouragement to more adults. We in the United States recognize that an investment in adult education increases our nation's human capital without which we cannot remain a viable partner for world betterment. Other nations such as Denmark, France, and West Germany, to name a few, have dealt with the problems of economic growth in an advanced industrialized society by reconceptualizing the role of adult education. We are following suit by the institution of Career Education because we have come to realize that our economy whose expansion depends heavily upon new products, new technologies, and new distributions of incomes must also have a labor force constantly being refitted, retrained, and re-educated to meet these needs.

Career Education will specifically help adults upgrade their skills and knowledge on their present jobs, learn new skills and knowledge to advance their careers, retrain for
new jobs when their present jobs have been eliminated by organizational or technical changes and provide salable skills to those who have never before been in the work force. It will also provide specialized educational services for: Women who have already raised families or who must supplement family income or provide all of it; older workers at all levels displaced by younger, better prepared workers; retired military or other persons who want to enter a new field of employment; and scientists, managers, and other professional leaders who have been displaced by such national technological goal changes as from aerospace to oceanographic study or environmental improvement. We recognize that training and education are essential for an appropriate job-role in our modern society. But beyond that, re-entry into the educational system is equally essential in our new world of work. Not only do the new jobs call for skills resulting from training and education, but the nature of our jobs is such that even high-skill jobs phase out or are changed, so that new skills must be acquired by many already skilled people if they are to remain employable throughout life. And this is increasingly important since people now live longer than formerly and are healthier for a greater part of their lives. The responsibility for providing a means to start where the previous educational preparation left off and to equip them to do work by which they can support themselves with dignity and self-respect is our responsibility. Institutions of many kinds can make a contribution to the salable skill-development component of Career Education, such as junior and community colleges, technical institutes, area vocational schools, divisions of 4-year colleges, both private and public, and proprietary business and technical schools.

More programs to serve these able, motivated, but under-prepared adults are also needed. We now know how to organize such programs; and we as educational leaders cannot fully meet our obligations without providing these necessary services to all who need them.

As indicated earlier, several Western European countries have already responded to the need for developing an educational system that continues throughout the life of the individual to provide him with the skills necessary for his own personal gratification as well as the skills which are necessary to the economy. These countries have analyzed the changing matrix of job skills that have accompanied the technological dangers in their economies, and have recognized the increasing sense of personal frustration for adults who have not been equipped to participate as the economy and the society change. We in the United States now see adult education as the crucial factor within Career Education for transforming the whole American education system.

The transformation will be permanent in nature and provide a system of continuous guidance whereby the individual's personal aspirations and avocational and vocational objective needs may be reconciled; whereby the individual will be encouraged to develop creative faculties, spontaneous reactions, and critical outlooks, all of which are of immense importance in a highly organized society in which science and technology predominate; and whereby the individual will utilize the principle of self-education under the active guidance of teachers by means of the wide-
spread use of up-to-date educational and communications techniques and group dynamics. As part of this transformation, Career Education will focus on the adult as a citizen in our participatory democracy—that is, one who governs himself and seeks to shape the society and environment in which he lives. It will also focus on the adult as a family member and as a parent because recent research indicates that when the whole family is involved in learning activities the children stand to gain very directly. Their attitude is changed to one of curiosity which results in lifelong habits of knowledge seeking which can be transmitted through generations. Consequently, adult Career Education is as much concerned with preparing the next generation for responsible and fulfilling adulthood as it is with preparing those individuals who are presently adults to meet their immediate occupational and citizenship goals.

Since the last international conference, then, adult education has taken on several new aspects. Statistics show that adults in the United States are looking more and more to adult education as a means for the individual to solve immediate problems and that there is increasing acceptance of the idea that learning throughout life is an ongoing process. Rapid social and economic changes have created societal pressures that have presented adult education its greatest challenge—equipping people to give intelligent and orderly direction to this change.

Today, when more than 70 million American adults still face life without a high school education and countless others need new competencies to obtain jobs and upgrade job skills, the need for lifelong career education is urgent.

Adult needs for career-oriented education are presently met by a variety of agencies and groups, both public and private—adult educators, vocational educators, manpower educators, and vocational rehabilitation educators—all of which have an interest in the adult learner. There is a need, however, to coordinate these groups' efforts through Career Education to reduce program duplication and improve adult learning opportunities.

Our adults, most of whom are mature and talented but are perhaps handicapped by academic, socio-economic, or other circumstances, represent an invaluable pool of human resources that must be developed if our society is to remain spiritually and economically healthy and remain a resource for international development. We believe that Career Education is the key to this development.

FOOTNOTES

1 A talk and background paper prepared for the Third International Conference on Adult Education convened by UNESCO in Tokyo from July 25 to Aug. 7, 1972.


INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

THE INTERCULTURAL IMPERATIVE

JOHN A. CARPENTER, Intercultural Education Specialist in the Institute of International Studies, is currently on leave from the University of Southern California where he is Professor of Social Foundations and Director of the Center for International Education. After studying and teaching in the United States, Canada, and Europe, he completed his doctorate in education and philosophy at the University of Southern California. Past experience includes initiation and direction of graduate studies programs in Europe and Asia, teacher and curriculum development projects in Ghana, Germany, Taiwan, and India; and intercultural personnel development laboratories in local American and overseas dependent schools districts. In addition, he has directed an AID higher education project in East Africa, international participant training programs, and American Studies institutes for international teachers. He has also worked with educational planners in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

All decisionmakers in education try to avoid vagueness—as waste; and confusion—as crippling. The economy of programs requires withdrawal from the unnecessary and the unproductive. To some, "international understanding" and "ethnic heritage" seem pedagogically remote or politically inspired. To others, they appear separate, often unfulfilled and unfunded hopes. Whatever is called international education struggles for definition, for priority, and for broad constituency—or settles into the form of foreign area and comparative studies, and an array of international projects scattered across the country. The traditional international favorite of government and campus, foreign languages, is caught in self-doubt as requirements and enrollments erode first at university, then at secondary levels. At a time when the Ethnic Studies Heritage Act is signed into law, diminishing participation in ethnic studies becomes national news, yet ethnicity is demonstrably more powerful.

Within this confusing context there is hard, convincing evidence that our people need an intercultural dimension in American education. We need to consider an essential—not an enriching but an essential—objective: The creation of an intercultural dimension in education.

At most, one can submit here only a few brief samples of evidence. Torney, Hess, Kelman, and others have documented the need for intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes to achieve effective economic and political decision-making. Smith, Bohannan, and Simpson have demonstrated that analytic second culture experiences are required to stabilize personal security and openness, and interpersonal trust.
and empathy with people of different domestic and foreign cultures. Etzioni has observed that intercultural relations are inevitable, in view of the interdependence of human social units, and in light of the world situation pressing all social units into more intimate contact.  

There is now probing of cultural pluralism. Our people live in a culturally pluralistic society in which diverse cultures exert increasing influence at local, national, and international levels. How do we prepare to live in this society? How do we benefit by cultural pluralism? In the main our schools have excluded a culturally pluralistic approach on the assumption that it was unnecessary and divisive. The most characteristic trait of American society--cultural diversity--has resulted in social antagonism and educational loss rather than cultural advancement. In Greeley's words, "the hope of unity through homogenization betrayed a profound misunderstanding of the human condition."  

But it is slowly becoming evident that uniformity no longer defines unity. Integration no longer means identity and required assimilation into a dominant culture. The schools and society, as Glazer and Moynihan assert, are called to go "beyond the melting pot"--on the one hand, to outgrow the insecure, mono-ethnic approach; on the other hand, to avoid tribalism.  

Cultures, whatever their traditions, are continuing, evolving, adaptive realities. As patterns of behavior learned in conformity with some group standard, they are not static objects of adulation or tools of political control. The process is one of freedom to choose whatever legitimate values and ways of living are self-fulfilling. In our schools, cultural democracy can be realized. Cultural pluralism, both domestic and international, may, with proper planning, become a systematic source of human development and national unity.

Just what is this intercultural dimension in education? The term "intercultural" is defined generically to include both international and domestic ethnic experiences, since some of the objectives of the international experience, such as crosscultural communication skills and personal openness, are identical with those of the domestic intercultural experience, especially in general education, in K-14 education.

The term "dimension" suggests that this is not merely the addition of elective courses or specialized programs in international studies for a small number of students on our campuses. It is especially not graduate international studies simplified and offered as undergraduate courses, and, in some cases, as area study courses in high school. The intercultural dimension should permeate the regular curriculum common to the larger student population both in the variety of specialization programs and in general education. Specialization, the selective knowledge and skills needed to achieve particular academic and/or professional expertise, is to be distinguished from general education, the formal process by which our people are prepared to live effectively in this society. This distinction is telling. Not all competencies required to be a specialist--for example, to be a China scholar--are needed by the general population. The objectives of general education are not identical with, nor minor versions of, the achievements of specialists.

Most of the attention under the original Federal programs in inter-
national studies was focused on specialized research and training at advanced levels for a relatively small percentage of those engaged in higher education. And, yet, the objectives of the international/intercultural experience are essential to all of us in a culturally pluralistic society, in a culturally pluralistic world. Recently, especially since the establishment of the Institute of International Studies, "the Office of Education concern has steadily broadened to include increasing attention to the international dimensions of general education at the elementary, secondary, and undergraduate college levels." 4

The primary task is not to proliferate additional elective courses and specialized programs while the regular curriculum remains provincial and monocultural, a source of significant ethnocentrism in the products of our schools. The need is to create an intercultural dimension; that is, to draw data and experiences from domestic and foreign cultures into our regular courses, into our regular programs.

There is a requirement for specialists in international studies such as international economics and international political science, but there is also a need in every economist and every political scientist for intercultural competencies, personal and professional. There is need for educational leaders in higher education who are willing to commit themselves not only to specialist programs but also to the designing of an intercultural dimension in undergraduate general education. There is a major role for specialists in international education, but there is urgent need for teachers and curriculum specialists who can work in multicultural classrooms. It is essential to have teachers and curriculum specialists who can work in classrooms to prepare all students to live in a culturally pluralistic world. In fact, the intercultural experience, if we look at the total educational spectrum, of the highest priority in the early grades. If it begins later, evidence indicates that it may be, at best, remedial. As Bruner claims, "If such things are new to a 20-year-old, there is not only a new view to learn, but an established view to unlearn." 5

A scattering of projects, international and domestic ethnic, will not achieve this major objective. To create an intercultural dimension in American education, it will be necessary to mobilize institutions and individuals. For all who attempt such mobilization, the following suggestions may be helpful.

First, it is suggested that there be little tolerance of the valid but vague nonoperational purposes and turgid evaluation that now plague international programs. "Intercultural understanding," "globalizing education," and even "to know more about Asia"—such diffused reaching for generalities prevents both adequate planning and appraisal.

Nor should one tolerate the proliferation of projects which do not contribute to the creation of a substantial intercultural dimension in curriculums. Just what will the people enrolled in these programs gain personally, academically, and professionally? How will they and their teachers know what has been achieved? Several problems impede adequate appraisal. There is need for systematic evidence in regard to methods, selection of content, and results of such programs. Perhaps even more difficult, as Taba indicates, is the lack of clarity about the nature of cross-cultural learning.... For example... programs often assume that knowledge about a country automatically creates a favorable
attitude toward that country, or new information about international organization produces international-mindedness. 6

And one should refuse to tolerate strictly cognitive efforts that overlook the potential of analytic experience, rather insisting upon evidence-based experiential components—actual and simulated experience in foreign and domestic cultures. The effect of experience on attitudinal and value shifts, and attitude on cognitive input and validity, are growing concerns. There is evidence that indicates that a person sees, hears, and learns largely what he wants, what his values and attitudes permit him to gain. According to Sherif:

Since attitudes...are formed as an individual accepts the norms of his group, it is entirely reasonable to suppose that such attitudes can be altered only by his acceptance of membership and a functioning role in a new group. And this is exactly the case, as several studies have shown. The problem then becomes one of creating group situations which will carry over into daily life.... Only by creating new loyalties with strong emotional appeal in the day-to-day activities of the individual, as well as in the group situation itself, can the old attitudes be altered.7

A second recommendation for planning urges a focus on undergraduate general education. In a required sociology or ecology course, data or exemplifications concerning racial questions and pollution control might be drawn responsively from English and Japanese societies. This provides a broader, more effective data base, a more scientific and universal understanding of concepts and processes included in the courses. Some colleges may find foreign students and exchange scholars or foreign curriculum specialists of assistance to the faculty in such efforts. Curriculum and faculty development may be needed. The Institute of International Studies, at the urging of Robert Leestma, last year began providing support for the "strengthening of the international dimension of undergraduate general education and teacher education." 8

A third initiative might be centered upon the international studies programs in our colleges. Are the objectives, plans, and evaluation strategies based upon evidence? Will the graduates find career opportunities significantly related to the studies they pursued? Are the program resources available not only to that small number enrolling in international studies, but are these resources also supportive of the need for intercultural experience among the general student population?

A fourth target is teacher development, both inservice and preservice, a bias of my own, a bias that should be shared not only by the professional schools but by the academic departments. In just about every State more than 50 percent of the coursework pursued by a teacher on the way to a credential is not taken in a college of education. Cooperative activity should be encouraged by which strong academic and professional commitments might support systematically the development of this vein of the teacher education program.

Teacher education can essentially benefit by intercultural competencies in art and music, in language arts, and social studies. For example, the nationwide evolution of the conceptual approach in social studies has produced social studies programs in which concepts and processes from the social sciences are organized into a K-12 conceptual framework. Exemplifications from domestic and foreign cultures are particularly effective in teaching these concepts.

Thus, to initiate the study of the concept of political decision-
making in the fifth grade, it is effective to draw exemplifications from the United States and foreign cultures, e.g., employing an American and a Japanese illustration of political decisionmaking. To teach the concept of role, family roles, in the first grade, the California teacher might call upon Mexican-American and Anglo-suburban family settings. To restrict the selection of data and contexts, as has been our habit, to the Anglo-suburban man in the United States poses great difficulty for children from different cultural experience and is a potential cause of ethnocentrism in all of our children. The use of settings from different cultures, domestic and international, as particular exemplifications of such concepts, is essential for the valid study of total man and provides students an opportunity to accept, on the one hand, the unity of oneness of man as demonstrated by universal needs, by universal forces influencing human behavior. On the other hand, students come to know and accept without threat the differentiated cultural expressions of these needs. Cultural groups will "see each other as valued variants of a common humanity," each in search of how best to fulfill human needs.9 Unity in variety, which Aristotle defined as beauty.

Professor Fred Gearing claims that one of the most socially significant results of anthropological studies to date is

...the discovered fact that all men are, in empirical truth, MAN. When one has seen through the cultural code of an alien people, one has seen himself in them and has thereby seen in these two together a tangible glimpse of the species. This experience transforms one's vision of the human world. Phrasings of 'Us' and 'Them' cannot simply be made to go away. But the blinding invidiousness which is built into such phrasings should be made to go away and the learned capacity to see MAN does just that. The task of introducing men to MAN is primarily in the schools and colleges.10

A fifth suggestion is to examine the objectives and organization of our colleges. It is now feasible for some to join with foreign universities to organize open, self-sustaining international studies and experience programs in a variety of fields. Transportation costs are always brought up as an obstacle, and yet you see large numbers of college students traveling around the world on their own. Teachers who also travel by the thousands might gain professionally as well as socially if colleges were to provide seminars preparing them for individual and group involvement in second cultures.

A sixth suggestion is to be found in the community. What cultural resources--what analytic second culture experiences--are feasible in our own communities? How are we utilizing those resources? And finally, but without less significance, it is said that every successful rainmaker is caught in the rain. Will we, ourselves, as individuals, seek the professional and personal advantages of a second culture experience? Will we join together to change neglect and conflict of cultures into cultural democracy, a national maturity resulting in an international celebration of cultures? Between peoples, greater communication and cooperation; between individuals, thoughtful concern and caring.

In the words of Maxim Gorky:

There will come a time, I know, when people will take delight in one another, when each will be a star to the other, and when each will listen to his fellow as to music. The free men will walk upon the earth, men great in their freedom. They will walk with open hearts, and the heart of each will be free of envy and worry and distrust and greed; and,
therefore, all mankind will be without malice and there will be nothing to divorce the heart from reason. Then life will be one great service to man. His figure will be raised to lofty heights; for free men, all heights are attainable. Then we shall live in truth and in freedom and in beauty, and those will be accounted the best who will the more widely embrace the world with their hearts, and whose love of it will be the profoundest. Those will be the best who will be the freest; for in them is the greatest beauty. Then life will be great and the people will be great who live that life.

FOOTNOTES


7. Sherif. op. cit. p. 123.


SELECTED READINGS


AN INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION IN UNDERGRADUATE TEACHER EDUCATION

GEORGE R. CHEN
Director, International Teacher Education and Assistant Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Massachusetts, School of Education. Having received his Ph.D. in Comparative Education from the University of Michigan, he taught and did research in Kenya from 1964 to 1966. Dr. Chen's publications include "One Textbook Against the World" in Education Leadership, April 1971; "The University, the Teacher and Ethnocentrism" in Journal of Teacher Education, summer 1970; and "The World and the Elementary Classroom" in Social Studies, October 1972.

Graduates in education at the University of Massachusetts. (Others focus on areas such as "urban education" or the "integrated day.") During their first 2 years all education students participate in a course that introduces them to the range of special programs in education available at the university. Then at the end of the sophomore year, students confer with the faculty responsible for the programs of particular interest to them, and with faculty agreement select one in which to concentrate. During their final 2 years, those education students who have entered the Center for International Education program will participate in the various activities described in this article as well as take the regular courses required in their major field. In 1972-73, 50 undergraduates are enrolled in the Center's program.

The International Education program has three broad objectives:

1. To determine methods of introducing an international dimension into all subject areas of U.S. education.

2. To provide prospective teachers with an opportunity to explore through study and experience a culture different from their own.

3. To develop in these teachers modes of thinking and instructing that reflect a high degree of cross-cultural sensitivity.

The first step toward teaching U.S. students about other cultures and ways of life is to develop programs that will give our future teachers a broad international perspective. One attempt to develop such an undergraduate program has been made during the past 2 years at the University of Massachusetts in its Center for International Education.

The Center operates one of 20 special programs offered undergraduates in education at the University of Massachusetts. (Others focus on areas such as "urban education" or the "integrated day.") During their first 2 years all education students participate in a course that introduces them to the range of special programs in education available at the university. Then at the end of the sophomore year, students confer with the faculty responsible for the programs of particular interest to them, and with faculty agreement select one in which to concentrate. During their final 2 years, those education students who have entered the Center for International Education program will participate in the various activities described in this article as well as take the regular courses required in their major field. In 1972-73, 50 undergraduates are enrolled in the Center's program.

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2. To provide prospective teachers with an opportunity to explore through study and experience a culture different from their own.

3. To develop in these teachers modes of thinking and instructing that reflect a high degree of cross-cultural sensitivity.

The first step toward teaching U.S. students about other cultures and ways of life is to develop programs that will give our future teachers a broad international perspective. One attempt to develop such an undergraduate program has been made during the past 2 years at the University of Massachusetts in its Center for International Education.

The Center operates one of 20 special programs offered undergraduates in education at the University of Massachusetts. (Others focus on areas such as "urban education" or the "integrated day.") During their first 2 years all education students participate in a course that introduces them to the range of special programs in education available at the university. Then at the end of the sophomore year, students confer with the faculty responsible for the programs of particular interest to them, and with faculty agreement select one in which to concentrate. During their final 2 years, those education students who have entered the Center for International Education program will participate in the various activities described in this article as well as take the regular courses required in their major field. In 1972-73, 50 undergraduates are enrolled in the Center's program.

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An International Dimension in Undergraduate Teacher Education

THEMES FOR STUDY

To develop a strategy for implementing such a program, discussions were held with individuals from different parts of the world to determine what they thought prospective U.S. teachers should know about the world community. Foreign students on campus proved to be an especially valuable source of ideas, for not only were they interested in having Americans know more about their own culture, but also they themselves had been involved in an intensive crosscultural experience and so were aware of its problems and benefits.

In these discussions some common themes appeared. Although they were neither new nor inclusive, it was felt that a start could be made by allowing prospective teachers to investigate these themes and that, in doing so, they would at least begin to gain a crosscultural perspective and an attitude of world-mindedness. The themes upon which Center students have therefore been concentrating are the following:

1. The variation of people and ideas within any one culture.

2. Cultural patterns and habits distinguishing one group from another.

3. Value orientations of diverse peoples.

4. Social changes throughout the world.

The Variation of People and Ideas Within Any One Culture

The first theme was selected because it was felt that one of the most common misconceptions among U.S. students is the belief that all people from a given cultural area are similar. Exploring this theme helps students to become aware of the divergence of thought patterns, life-styles, and the like within a particular cultural group.

Cultural Patterns and Habits Distinguishing One Group from Another

This theme gives students the opportunity systematically to observe the differences between groups and the causes underlying them. The objective is to enable prospective teachers to develop the habit of asking themselves why people are as they are, and, importantly, to understand that it is not necessary to establish cultural conformity as a precondition to a cooperative working or learning environment.

Value Orientations of Diverse Peoples

When students compare and contrast another culture analytically with their own, they begin to recognize that preconceptions play an important role in shaping values, both in other cultures and in their own. They start to understand that values are more often relative than absolute and become more understanding of and tolerant towards values other than their own. Exposure to values across cultural lines points not only to differences, but also to similarities among all peoples such as the search for beauty, the desire for happiness, and the feelings of warmth toward family and friends.

Social Changes Throughout the World

Students may observe both social change and cultural conflicts more clearly in a distinctly crosscul-
tural setting. Increased contact between cultures has led in the less developed nations to increased technology and other innovations which in turn have led not only to economic amelioration but also to social change within those nations. This situation, wherein cultures with different customs, institutions, and values confront each other, is often one of conflict. Prospective teachers, by examining these conflict situations in other areas of the world, learn how to distinguish their causes and to cope more ably with the reality of the prevailing cultural forces operating in their local community.

Classroom teachers often will be teaching students who have been uprooted from their cultural heritage through social change. This theme of social change throughout the world helps them develop the sensitivity to perceive the impact social change has had on such students and makes them aware of the danger of forcing their will and values upon them. Teachers' ability to respect other cultures and understand the situation of students from other cultures may be more important to the growth of their students than the actual knowledge they transmit.

METHODS OF STUDY

Four methods were chosen to provide experiences that would enable prospective teachers to explore the four themes. These methods, each applicable to more than one theme, are still viewed as experimental and are continuously being redefined and evaluated. They are (1) case studies of conflict situations and critical incidents, (2) individualized study contracts, (3) short-term crosscultural experiences, and (4) in-depth crosscultural experiences.

Case Studies of Conflict Situations and Critical Incidents

The case study approach presents a problem situation that often involves a conflict of values, attitudes, or feelings. Both "open-ended" and "closed" case studies have been used. The former, describing an unresolved situation, provides ample opportunity for students to diagnose the situation and prescribe alternative solutions or responses. The latter, describing a resolved situation, allows students to analyze and discuss the actions taken by the individual or individuals involved.

Conflict situations focus on the thought and actions of diverse people and raise issues about the way problems are approached in different cultural areas. Their purpose is to draw students' attention to those human traits that influence the way different people view present-day problems so that they will begin to realize that all people (including themselves) look at problems through an ethnocentric lens formed by habits and attitudes.

For example, an "open-ended" case study might present the problem of industrial waste in Japan or the conflicts and incongruities of tradition and modernity on the African continent as they affect the daily life of an African student. A "closed" case study might center on the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Some situations are fictitious, while others are drawn from current books, periodicals, and newspapers. They are usually presented to the students in written form, but films and video tapes have also been used.

Critical incidents are brief descriptions of a particular problem in a particular cultural setting. They
may present a fictional situation concerning which students are asked to make an individual value judgment or to arrive at a consensus with their peers; or they may be an actual crosscultural experience a student has reported in a written account.

In preparing such reports, a student is instructed not only to describe the incident but also to indicate personal reactions to it. Instructors and students then discuss these incidents in group sessions where a student may reflect on the experience and benefit from the reactions and insights of peers and instructors.

**Individualized Study Contracts**

Individualized study contracts provide a student with the opportunity to structure a crosscultural learning experience. The instructor assists the student in selecting a topic, organizing the objectives, and determining the activities necessary to meet them, thereby helping him to develop problem-solving techniques that can be applied in crosscultural situations.

Depending on the contract, the student moves out of the classroom for a portion of the semester or for the entire semester. He uses library and community resources, benefits from the range of expertise on campus, or becomes involved in service-oriented community projects. The individualized study contract is often used in connection with the activities that students undertake during the short-term and in-depth crosscultural experiences described hereafter. In addition, study contracts have also been used to help students prepare for and evaluate these experiences.

**Short-Term Crosscultural Experiences**

Few teacher education programs provide opportunities for their students to sample the cultural diversity found in our society. While methods instructors have been anxious to place their students in schools either to observe or practice instructional techniques, instructors in educational foundations courses have made little effort to provide their students with first-hand exposure to the multicultural forces operating in our society.

One method of providing this exposure is the short-term field experience, an activity specifically structured to enable students to explore directly the relationship between school and society. As part of the program discussed here students have participated in activities ranging from attendance at community meetings of organizations such as the P.T.A., American Legion, and League of Women Voters to visits to storefront schools and community centers in minority areas. In addition, some students have spent weekends in rural New England villages, communes, and convents.

During these activities students have the opportunity to gather information about a different culture or subculture through direct observation and interviews. The knowledge they gain, the insights they acquire, and the reactions they have--both those recorded at the time and developed in retrospect--are later discussed and analyzed with their instructors and peers. It is felt that experiences of this kind help students both to understand the need for modifying their behavior in order to communicate effectively in diverse cultural situations and, importantly, to recognize the nature of the particular cultural or subcultural perspectives.
International/Intercultural Education Reports

that they themselves possess. By developing such insights first-hand, these prospective teachers may become more sensitive to the wide range of values and attitudes found in the multicultural classrooms they will encounter as they carry out their professional responsibilities.

In-Depth Crosscultural Experiences

At one time in the history of western education the wandering scholar-teacher played a widely accepted role. Today, however, there is little opportunity for prospective teachers to satisfy all their degree and certification requirements and still have time for at least one semester of experience and study in a foreign country. Perhaps the solution to this problem lies in a teacher education program that includes a crosscultural dimension as an integral step in the learning sequence. Conceivably, an in-depth crosscultural experience can be the link between theory and practice in educational foundations courses by providing students with the opportunity to expose themselves to divergent values and to test their skills in real life situations.

As a consequence each student in this program is encouraged to participate in a semester-long activity in a foreign country. Some students have done practice teaching in England, Ecuador, and the Netherlands. Others have enrolled in local institutions or undertaken individualized study programs in France, Germany, Israel, Liberia, and Northern Ireland. Currently, attempts are underway to offer students an opportunity to arrange similar activities in Japan. The cost for this part of the program, borne by the students themselves, often amounts to no more than that required for a semester on campus.

In preparation for their overseas experience, students work closely with their instructors, previous participants and, when possible, students from the foreign country to which they will be going. Upon their return they present a written or oral report to their instructors and classmates and engage in various types of evaluation sessions.

COURSEWORK

There are three formal courses offered as part of this program. A foundations course introduces the students to the different philosophies of international education. These are examined both through classroom work and outside projects. A second course entitled "Pre-Practicum in International Education" is designed to expose the students to broad issues in American education and the role of international education in the public schools. Finally, a course in "Curriculum Development in International Studies" affords the students an opportunity to work with the Center staff and curriculum specialists in their respective major fields to determine how they might introduce international studies into subjects they will be teaching after graduation. Prospective secondary school teachers, with majors in social studies, art, music, and literature, review the existing curricula and recent developments in the teaching of these subjects; and elementary education majors concentrate similarly on the curriculum at this level. As part of the coursework, or through subsequent individualized study contracts, students can attempt to develop appropriate new curriculum materials or adapt existing ones to their particular subject fields. On occasion, opportunities also exist for them to test out their efforts during practice teaching experiences.
CONCLUSION

The activities here described represent some of the methods used by the Center of International Education to provide students with a crosscultural dimension in their undergraduate teacher education program. While these efforts are still considered developmental and research is needed to determine the full extent of their impact, it is the opinion of the Center’s staff that the program participants have in fact gained a better understanding of the effect of culture on their own perceptions and, in addition, have begun to develop the skills and attitudes needed for effective and personally profitable crosscultural interaction.

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Griffin, Willis and R. Spence. Cooperative International Education.


A CULTURAL APPROACH TO THE 
TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Throughout the history of foreign language teaching in America there have been recurrent claims that one of the chief outcomes of foreign language instruction was "a better understanding of the foreign culture." However, there is reason to believe that, in practice, the teaching of culture in the average foreign language classroom has been something less than ideal.

Some teachers have assumed that the mere learning of the sounds and language patterns of a second language constituted a significant cultural experience in and of itself. For such people, the fact that the student is learning to manipulate new sounds, new grammatical patterns, and new word order arrangements is adequate evidence that the student has broken through the barriers of monolingualism and monoculturalism which are characteristic of the mind-set of many Americans.

There are others who contend that this type of learning is not enough; that it is, indeed, possible to develop a rather high degree of proficiency in manipulating the elements of a second language without ever penetrating into the "soul" of that language. That is, many American students may merely be using a second system of oral and written symbols to express Anglo-American "realities." Examples would be the student of Spanish who has learned the Spanish word familia but who has in his mind the small social unit of the American suburbs, consisting, perhaps, of father, mother, or three children. Another example would be the student of German who equates the word Gymnasium with the American term "high school." Even if the student's information is expanded to the point where he thinks of the Gymnasium as a "college prep high school," which issues a "diploma" called the Abitur, he is still far from understanding the role, function, and significance of this particular educational institution within the framework of life in Germany.
Thus, from the standpoint of vocabulary alone, the foreign language teacher faces an enormous problem with respect to the teaching of culture. It is clearly not possible to teach all the nuances of meaning and all the emotional overtones which come as second nature to the native speaker of a language. Yet if foreign language learning is to be anything more than a troublesome secret code used to express what the student already knows, then the student must come away from the experience of foreign language learning with the firm conviction that foreign sounds express a different version of reality than do the English "equivalents." He must further come to realize that few real equivalents exist across cultures. He must be constantly alert to the fact that the semantic range of words from one culture to another is vastly different. In some cases the differences in cultural function of seemingly simple objects is so enormous as to defy all efforts at translation. For example, there is an Ashanti word which is translated as "stool." In the Ashanti way of life, however, a stool has great significance for every individual. What the North American would consider a simple piece of furniture is to the Ashanti a mark of social standing, a vehicle for recording the important events of his life, and after his death, a public record of his mortal existence. Stools of a given tribe are stored in a central location where professional "stool readers" can have access to them for recounting events of the past. This example helps to dramatize the enormous degree of miseducation which can result when a teacher of foreign languages attempts to convey meaning by merely matching English words or sentences with the alleged crosscultural equivalent.

A further aspect of vocabulary lies in those areas where no equivalent forms exist. For example, in Spanish there is no word comparable to the English word for "pet." On the other hand, Spanish is much more concerned with differentiating the parts of an animal body from that of the human body. Thus, for example, while English differentiates between the animal paw and the human hand, Spanish goes further to differentiate in its vocabulary between an animal neck and the human neck, an animal leg and the human leg, etc. Does all of this have anything to do with the fact that an animal cemetery in Mexico City is as inconceivable to a Mexican as a bullfight would be to a baseball fan in Chicago?

Thus far, the illustrations have been based largely on vocabulary items. Of course, language is much more than a collection of lexical items. For example, there are phonological, morphological, and syntactical patterns in many languages which reflect a structuring of reality markedly different from that of English. This version of reality is imposed upon the child in any culture as an automatic part of his inculturation into the patterns of his native environment. And the language relates to those patterns. If he remains monolingual (or if he learns other languages while keeping his ethnocentric biases intact), he tends to accept that language and the version of reality which it symbolizes as the norm. All other languages are seen as queer ways of expressing his own "correct" version of reality. Thus, unlike the speaker of English, the native speak-
er of Spanish is not the agent in forgetting such things as theatre tickets or in missing a train. Instead, Spanish idiom shifts the blame to the object. In effect, Spanish expresses the idea that "the tickets forgot themselves on me," or "the train took off and left me." Also, while a North American clock or wristwatch "runs," the Spanish timepiece merely "walks" (with the verb andar). Navajo language lacks agent power in situations where European languages have it. Thus, most European languages would say that "grandfather is dying" while in Navajo it would be necessary to say that something like "death is now occurring in grandfather." In German the syntactical patterns "the dog bit the man" and "the man bit the dog" can both be used to express the same essential idea. The accusative ending on the definite article will indicate—in either word order sequence—whether it was the man or the dog who was bitten. The lack of case endings in English mandates the syntactic pattern in which the direct object follows the verb.

The foregoing examples were given to illustrate both the complexities and potentialities of using language as a vehicle for teaching culture. It is also important to cite the dangers inherent in this approach. From the standpoint of a language teacher, one danger is that instruction might be reduced to little more than a long series of "fascinating" anecdotes about the "peculiarities" of the target culture, thereby reinforcing negative stereotypes about the foreign culture and confirming the student's suspicions that "those people are really pretty funny and they do everything backwards." Also, there is the danger that the teacher and the students may overgeneralize from limited data. To refer back to our former examples, students might tend to assume that the Spanish language with its "walking clocks" and separate vocabulary items for animal parts is evidence of lackadaisical behavior and of cruelty to animals among speakers of Spanish. I have personally heard persons use similar linguistic evidence to explain that "Germans are more precise" and that "Indians are closer to nature."

In this regard, scholars are highly skeptical at attempts to draw specific relationships between language and culture. As Edward Sapir expressed it:

> If it can be shown that culture has an innate form, a series of contours quite apart from subject matter of any description whatsoever, we have a something in culture that may serve as a term of comparison with and possibly a means of relating it to language. But until such purely formal patterns of culture are discovered and laid bare, we shall do well to hold the drifts of language and of culture to be noncomparable and unrelatable processes. From this it follows that all attempts to connect particular types of linguistic morphology with certain correlated stages of cultural development are vain. Rightly understood, such correlations are rubbish.

The point here is not to discourage students and teachers from exploring the intricacies of language as a manifestation of culture, but to caution them against drawing spurious conclusions. This does not prevent the learner from examining samples of patterned behavior, linguistic or otherwise, and presenting evidence in a descriptive manner. Nor does it prevent him from making crosscultural comparisons of language and cultural patterns. In fact, it is precisely in this area that the foreign language teacher could profit greatly from the experience and practice of the social scientist.
In my opinion, the foreign language community has done very little in the way of helping students to look objectively at language as patterned cultural behavior. I have even seen a Spanish textbook which informs the student that "Spanish do, it backwards." This was in reference to the Spanish placement of object pronouns before the conjugated verb. From the standpoint of teaching crosscultural understanding, this is clearly an abomination, for it tells the student that the syntax of English is correct and that any departures from that pattern are strange and deviant. And, if the student is taught to be biased about syntax, the implication is almost inevitable that other patterns of behavior that differ from his own are also deviant and strange. How much better it would have been to present the two patterns as being of equal validity. Perhaps it would even be well to encourage the student to make his own value judgments about the relative superiority of one pattern over the other (leaving the outcome open-ended with no final "one right answer" ever being supplied by an authority figure).

In certain situations an American will say, "Him (I) avoid like the plague!" That syntactic pattern, which places the object pronoun before the verb, is rare in English. However, it is standard in Spanish as is the pattern which would be literally translated "To her it (I) gave." Is it any less sensible to know who the receiver of the action is prior to knowing what the action itself is? Does it fail in any way to communicate?

Might not the teaching of foreign languages be greatly enhanced if we were to develop a series of crosscultural concepts relating to language so that the student's knowledge of language could be developed around a relatively manageable number of insights rather than being based upon acquisition of one set of patterns after another? The exploration of this and similar questions by a consortium of social studies and foreign language specialists might prove useful to all concerned.

One of the outcomes of such a crossdisciplinary interchange might be to provide a new structure for teaching foreign languages in America, the focus of which would be more heavily on cultivating attitudes and developing value systems that relate to a pluralistic world. As Michael Bakalis has expressed it:

"...Our efforts in the realm of human understanding will be futile if we are unable to instill in students an empathy for the differences in people, not only in the United States, but in other cultures as well. It is extremely important that we understand the reasons for human behavior that is different from our own even though we do not choose to adopt that behavior. As we strive to appreciate the differences in people, we must also perceive the ways they are similar."

An approach which has bicultural understanding as a basic purpose need not preclude the learning of language as a communicative skill. On the contrary, such an approach could add relevance and purpose to language learning which—as dropping enrollments show—may presently be on shaky ground. However, a cultural approach would cast serious doubts upon much of the present practice in foreign language teaching that tends to orient instruction at the secondary school level to the needs of a relatively small number of literary specialists in higher education. In combination with various factors (including the students' socioeconomic background), this elitist focus of the foreign language program has tended to exclude a majority of American
students from the study of a second language. However, if it is true, as many have claimed, that foreign languages have an essential contribution to make to life in multi-ethnic America, then foreign language study of the right sort must be available to everyone. As Robert Mead has expressed it:

I believe that foreign languages are for all students, from FLIS through graduate school, and that all students should have an opportunity to study them to the limit of their ability. I believe that a liberal education consists in helping the student to gain some understanding of each of the great fields of human knowledge and of their interrelations, and I believe that all students should strive toward this goal. Since foreign language study is a key to the understanding of another way of life as well as the best means of ending one's own cultural parochialism, and since better intercultural understanding is, in my opinion, a vital ingredient of a liberal education in today's unquiet world, it follows that language study is an essential part of such a liberal education, and one which should not be denied to any student.

These are, indeed, fine words. But over the past half century we have heard many such statements about the potential contributions of foreign language study to international understanding and to developing empathy for other peoples. A former Commissioner of Education has stated:

This argument, that wider cultural exposure will help our international relations, stresses both national purposes and international unity. Perhaps the most important reason for bicultural programs, however, is not international but domestic—our relations with each other here at home. The entire history of discrimination is based on the prejudice that because someone else is different he is somehow worse. If we could teach all our children—ren black, white, brown, yellow and all the American shades in between—that diversity is not to be feared or suspected, but enjoyed and valued, we would be well on the way toward achieving the equality we have always proclaimed as a national characteristic.

The question might well be raised as to whether foreign language study does in reality have anything to contribute to such noble ends. Is it not possible to do the job just as well in the regular social studies program? After all, there are more than 3,000 identified world languages. Clearly, it is futile to attempt to teach on a broad scale even a small sampling from much of the major language families. On the other hand, it may be shortsighted of Americans (and it may even appear chauvinistic to other nations) to continue teaching international education solely by means of a monolingual social studies program. Just as the social studies specialist may be able to provide a conceptual dimension which is now lacking in many foreign language programs, perhaps the foreign language specialist can add a dimension that is almost totally neglected in the usual social studies program.

The well-designed foreign language program does have something to offer. It can provide the American student with a direct experience in the language of another culture. The lack of this element in the social studies curriculum may be a serious form of student deprivation. Sapir has suggested that language is

the most significant and colossal work that the human spirit has evolved—nothing short of a finished form of expression for all communicable experience. Language is the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous work of unconscious generations.
A Cultural Approach to the Teaching of Foreign Languages

If this is true, surely some significant contact with a second language is an important educational experience for all young people. The question today is how to make that experience relevant and accessible to all American students. At present, the trend is in the other direction: students are, in increasing numbers, tending to avoid the study of language. Perhaps it is time now to begin refining and implementing some of the models which already exist for a cultural approach to foreign language instruction. These emerging models do not omit literature and language acquisition. However, in contrast to traditional practice among foreign language curriculum makers, the new models tend to treat these aspects of culture as important threads in the fabric of the target culture rather than as the chief goal and culminating experience of the instructional program. The appended reading list provides a list of suggested sources for the reader who wishes to have access to some of the new ideas and suggested approaches for a cultural approach to foreign language instruction.

FOOTNOTES


5Sapir. op. cit. p. 222.

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Carroll, John B., ed. Language, Thought and Reality: Selected
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AACTE'S COMMISSION ON MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

RICHARD L. JAMES has been Associate Director of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education since 1968. He serves as staff officer for the AACTE Commission on Multicultural Education, a seven-member panel concerned with teacher education problems affecting racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. Dr. James received his Ed.D. in Music Education from the University of Maryland. Since 1961, he has taught instrumental and vocal music and has also been Music Department Chairman for several Maryland schools. Dr. James is the author of "Multicultural Education - An Educational Priority," AACTE Bulletin, Nov. 1971; and the editor and compiler of Multicultural Programs in Teacher Education.

In May 1970 the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), in an action designed to strengthen its commitment to the principle of equal educational opportunity for all citizens, established a Commission on Multicultural Education. The Association charged the Commission to provide leadership to AACTE and its 859 member colleges and universities in efforts to make teacher education programs more responsive to the educational needs of a culturally pluralistic society. To meet this charge, it recommended that the Commission's aims include the following:

1. To stimulate and motivate AACTE and its member institutions to make multicultural education a major concern in teacher preparation, and to provide information concerning multicultural education.

2. To increase participation of predominantly black member institutions and substantive involvement of individual educators from minority ethnic groups in the work of AACTE.

3. To encourage member institutions to include in their teacher education programs components aimed at producing an understanding of the multicultural nature of American life and the strength that comes from diversity.

4. To facilitate the establishment and functioning of cooperative institutional programs designed to promote intercultural understanding.

From its first meeting, the Commission felt an obligation to clarify the principal ideas and concepts of multicultural education. While it proceeded with efforts concerning the four aims previously mentioned, substantial attention was devoted to developing a statement that would clarify the nature of multicultural education and indicate its implications for teacher preparation.

At its October 1972 meeting, AACTE's Board of Directors adopted the statement prepared by the Commis-
Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences, or that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth, through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives.

Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts.

Cultural pluralism rejects both assimilation and separatism as ultimate goals. The positive elements of a culturally pluralistic society will be realized only if there is a healthy interaction among the diverse groups which comprise the nation's citizenry. Such interaction enables all to share in the richness of America's multicultural heritage. Such interaction provides a means for coping with intercultural tensions that are natural and cannot be avoided in a growing, dynamic society. To accept cultural pluralism is to recognize that no group lives in a vacuum—that each group exists as part of an interrelated whole.

Educational institutions play a major role in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of the nation's youth. These institutions bear the heavy task of preparing each generation to assume the rights and responsibilities of adult life. In helping the transition to a society that values cultural pluralism, educational institutions must provide leadership for the development of individual commitment to a social system where individual worth and dignity are fundamental tenets.

Colleges and universities engaged in the preparation of teachers have a central role in the positive development of our culturally pluralistic society. If cultural pluralism is to become an integral part of the educational process, teachers and personnel must be prepared in an environment where the commitment to multicultural education is evident. Evidence of this commitment includes such factors as a faculty and staff of multietnic and multiracial character, a student body that is representative of the culturally diverse nature of the community being served, and a culturally pluralistic curriculum that accurately represents the diverse multicultural nature of American society.
MARYVANN FISHER is an honors degree graduate of Trinity College, Washington, D.C., whose major was world history and American studies. She is currently working in the Office of the Intercultural Education Specialist, Institute of International Studies.

LINCOLN-FILENE INTERGROUP RELATIONS CURRICULUM

The Intergroup Relations Curriculum is designed to orient the elementary school child into a pluralistic society. It is the product of more than 6 years of research, development, teacher education, and evaluation by the Lincoln-Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, Boston.

The cardinal feature of the Intergroup Relations Curriculum is its methodology, which incorporates inductive learning through active pupil participation in role playing, discovery, inquiry, gaming, and similar classroom activities. This inductive methodology is based on awareness that classroom participation helps a child to learn better, to learn more, and probably to become a more effective participant in the broader community. It is also based on the belief that it is not enough to increase a child's intellectual knowledge of similarities and differences in the American civic culture; he must also experience behavioral orientation and change, which can only come from the feelings induced by the teaching-learning process.

The Intergroup Relations Curriculum has the following specific objectives that focus on helping a child become an effective citizen in the American society:

- To advance a child's positive self-concept.

- To help a child reduce both stereotypic and prejudicial thinking and also overt discrimination with respect to all groups of human beings.

- To assist a child toward realizing that there are many differences among people even within groups.

- To give a child a realistic understanding of the past and the present, including the many contributions to America's development by people from a wide variety of groups and nations.

- To encourage a child to participate actively in the teaching-learning process in the school.

- To suggest ways in which all individuals may contribute toward closing the gap between the realities and the ideals of the democratic civic culture.

It is hoped that the Intergroup Relations Curriculum and its objectives will contribute to the development of democratic human relations in our society through the educational process. For further information contact Major Morris, Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, Medford, Mass.
MOBILE COUNTY INTERCULTURAL PROGRAM

In 1970, the County School Board in Mobile, Ala., directed that a crosscultural educational program be established in the schools throughout the county. Because the Board believed that educators are probably in the best position to aid students in gaining knowledge, developing attitudes, and attaining skills necessary for rational and creative living in an interdependent world, it requested that the Office of International and Special Projects, College of Education, University of Alabama, work with the Superintendent's Office in Mobile to develop a comprehensive crosscultural education program. The goals developed included: (1) promoting crosscultural understanding and cooperation on a national and international level and (2) harmonizing cultural differences among the racial and ethnic groups within the Mobile area.

Projected for 5 years, the program has now completed its first active year. During that time many concrete steps were initiated. A citizens' advisory board representing the cultural groups within the Mobile area was established. A survey of elementary and secondary teachers was conducted to find those capable of a special contribution to the program, on the basis of previous training and/or experience. A continuing assessment of curriculum was started to discern the type and quality of the crosscultural material being used at all grade levels. Teachers were encouraged to participate in a special summer program in Mexico that afforded familiarization with present political and cultural trends. And finally a plan was being designed for an inservice training program for social studies coordinators that will be tested early in 1973 and later offered to appropriate teachers throughout the county school system.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS IN OHIO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Miami University's Department of Educational Administration, under a grant from the Kettering Foundation, surveyed international education programs in the 534 accredited secondary schools in Ohio during the fall of 1971. Conducted through the chairmen of social studies departments, the survey achieved an 80 percent return. International education was considered to include any school-sponsored activities or courses that bring students into contact with people and cultures other than their own.

The survey showed that Ohio high schools do generally offer international education in some form. The great majority of schools' respondents stated that the international component of their present programs is provided within existing courses such as foreign language and world history courses. Less than half the schools offer separate courses such as international relations or an area study. One-quarter reported that over 75 percent of their student body participated in well-defined international education programs that do include such separate courses. At the other end of the scale, one-fifth of the schools responded that under 25 percent of their students take any courses with international content.

Few Ohio secondary teachers have traveled overseas. Of the 422 schools responding, 329 indicated that less than 25 percent of their staff have been overseas. Of those who had, most visited Europe, with Canada and Latin America next in popularity.
Very few have been to Africa, Asia, Australia, or New Zealand.

Study abroad was named by 28 percent of the respondents as part of the background of those staff members who are teaching in international education programs. Work experience abroad was very limited, with only 12 percent indicating any general experience by their staff.

Despite agreement by 87 percent of the respondents that more internationally oriented materials and activities are offered today than 5 years ago, more than half thought that Ohio high schools are not giving students an adequate knowledge of international affairs. When questioned about what prevented their schools from having the international education programs they thought advisable, 70 percent of the respondents named lack of money as the major factor. The next most frequent response (44 percent) was lack of suitable materials. When asked about ways to strengthen and expand existing programs, respondents put first on the list emphasizing teaching about non-Western cultures.

With the nature of the responses in mind, the survey offers the following general recommendations for improving the State-wide picture:

1. Strengthen and support programs which prepare Ohio teachers.
2. Support efforts to train urgently needed teachers in non-Western areas.
3. Set up workshops, summer institutes, seminars for college and university professors who prepare secondary and elementary school teachers.
4. Establish at an Ohio university a center to support the development of a quality international education curriculum in Ohio schools and provide consultants to schools; curriculum materials (especially for non-Western areas), as well as inservice workshops for teaching staff, are needed.
5. Encourage state universities to provide leadership in expanding and making available in-service international education programs for teachers.
6. Change Ohio's state world studies requirements for high school evaluation to include a required course with predominately international content.
7. Promote international education through use of the popular press, through professional education organizations and journals, and by gaining support of the superintendents' offices.
8. Convene a statewide international education meeting for social studies teachers in Ohio to introduce them to new ideas and materials, and to generate statewide enthusiasm for international education.

The pamphlet in which these recommendations appear is entitled Building World Sensitivity--Fact or Fiction? It may be obtained from Dr. James R. Showker, Department of Educational Administration, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.

COUNCIL FOR INTERCULTURAL STUDIES AND PROGRAMS

The National Council of Associations for International Studies (NCAIS), formed in 1967, was recently reorganized as the Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs (CISP). The new Council plans to expand the work of NCAIS in encouraging study of critical world problems, particularly at the undergraduate level.

Whereas NCAIS consisted of associations and regional centers, CISP will extend this membership to include individual colleges and universities concerned with strengthen-
International/Intercultural Education Reports

...ing international and foreign area studies on their own campuses by working cooperatively with other institutions. It also plans, while continuing and expanding its past activities, to embark on new programs that will seek to anticipate major world problems and their consequences for American higher education. Faculty seminars and workshops will be held to broaden the background of college teachers on world areas and international issues. Related activities will be planned to develop teaching and study materials in such fields as population, Asian philosophies and religions, and comparative urban studies. Consultative services will be provided to higher education consortia and individual institutions that are developing new programs in intercultural studies. Opportunities will also be provided for students to share their intercultural experiences.

Organizations and institutions interested in becoming associated with the Council may write to the Membership Committee, care of Prof. George T. Little, Vermont Council of World Affairs, Trinity College, Burlington, Vt. 05401. Further information may be obtained from Ward Morehouse, President, Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs, 60 E. 42d St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

INTERNATIONALIZING SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION

The Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities has set up a committee to study ways to internationalize Swedish higher education more fully. The committee's appointment is to be seen in the context of the debate on educational policy in Sweden, during which internationalization has been cited as one of the important objectives of education--elementary, secondary, and post-secondary. The committee has been directed to produce a coordinated picture of the various aspects of internationalization at the higher education level and to organize its study under three main topics:

- Specific training in preparation for international or other foreign posts (e.g., in the Swedish Development Aid Program, international organization, or Swedish business).

- Study of conditions in other countries and of international problems in preparation for specific kinds of jobs in Sweden, such as positions in teaching, journalism, or public administration and private enterprise that involve foreign contacts.

- International orientation that would attempt to increase understanding of issues and problems in other countries, and to impart a greater sense of international responsibility. Swedish officials believe this will become increasingly important in the 1970's and 1980's.

The committee has begun to prepare concrete proposals and is interested in comparing its efforts to those of other countries. Correspondence may be addressed to Internationalization Committee, Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (OKA), Box 16 334, S-103 26 Stockholm 16, Sweden.
PAKISTAN'S NEW EDUCATION POLICY: 1972-1980

HAKIM I. KHAN has been the Institute of International Studies' specialist in comparative education for the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia since 1966. A native of India, he attended Lucknow University and became a member of the staff in the Departments of Psychology and Education in 1947-48. He then came to the United States on a Government of India scholarship to study applied psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University, where he received his M.A. and did postgraduate work for 2 years. Mr. Khan worked with USIA as an information specialist broadcasting cultural and educational programs in Urdu to Pakistan and India until 1966.

On March 29, 1972, the Government of Pakistan issued The Education Policy 1972-1980, a statement outlining its overall educational objectives and general guidelines for reform and development. The policy, prepared in response to a directive given 3 months earlier by President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, was produced under the leadership of Minister of Education Abdul Hafiz Pirzada. It includes contributions from a wide variety of concerned groups ranging from university officials and Provincial educational authorities to teachers and students leaders.

In general terms, The Education Policy aims to construct an educational process geared not only to preserve and promote "the basic ideology of Pakistan," but also to foster social and cultural harmony compatible with this ideology. It emphasizes developing the total personality of the individual and producing citizens who will both be able to comprehend the social and technical changes taking place in their society and also be prepared to assume leadership roles.

More specifically, The Education Policy aims to:

- Eradicate illiteracy through universalizing elementary education and massively expanding adult education programs.
- Equalize access to education by providing special facilities to women, the underprivileged, and the mentally and physically handicapped, particularly in backward areas.
- Make curriculums more responsive to the country's economic and social needs.
- Integrate general and technical education through comprehensive programs that will allow students to transfer from one course of specialization to another.
International/Intercultural Education Reports

- Enhance the welfare, dignity, and sense of responsibility of both teachers and students by ensuring their active participation, as well as that of the community at large, in educational matters, and by providing academic freedom to educational institutions within the framework of national objectives.

It is the purpose of this article to report on some of the more significant elements of this recent policy statement and the way in which these elements affect educational administration and elementary, secondary and intermediate, higher, and adult and continuing education.

ADMINISTRATION

Current System

Educational administration of all levels is basically a responsibility of the individual Provinces with the Central Government providing leadership, guidance, coordination, and financial assistance. The Central Ministry of Education is headed by a Minister of Education appointed by the President. The former is assisted by a Secretary and, since 1972, by eight Deputy Secretaries who are specialists in the particular areas for which they are responsible.

Each of the four Provinces--Punjab, Sind, Frontier, and Baluchistan--has a Division of Education, headed by a Minister appointed by the President. The Minister in turn is supported by a Director of Public Instruction and several other directors. At the lowest bureaucratic level, district inspectors handle the day-to-day operations of the school system.

Theoretically, at least, educational planning has been conducted by the Central Government in consultation with the appropriate Provincial authorities. The most prominent Central agency that assists in this process is the Advisory Board of Education, which includes both Central and Provincial educational officials, directors of public institutions, vice chancellors of the universities, leading educators and academics, and members of the Provincial Assemblies. Also involved to some degree in planning are the Council of Technical Education, the Inter-University Board, and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In addition, a small group of educators was assigned to the National Planning Commission to prepare the educational components of the previous National Development Plans.

Despite this longstanding commitment to the principle of decentralization in educational policymaking, planning, and administration, the Central Government had assumed a great deal of power and control in the past decade. Perhaps, recognizing that education plays a key role in national development, the Government assumed more direct control and responsibility so as to ensure efficient, coordinated planning. Whatever the explanation, during the sixties the Central Government established, financed, and operated several institutions of higher learning (e.g., the University of Islamabad) and several model secondary schools in the Islamabad metropolitan area.

Policy Guidelines

Although administrative machinery has existed to involve regional levels in the formulation and implementation of educational policy, those individuals responsible for The Education Policy apparently felt that it was necessary to streamline educational administration and to involve more people at the Provincial and district levels in educational planning and administration. To this end, the new
Pakistan's New Education Policy: 1972-1980

Policy states that "Education Councils" will be set up at the National, Provincial, district, and institutional levels. Members of these councils will be drawn from "elected representatives of National and Provincial Assemblies and Local Bodies, citizens of various shades of opinion from different walks of life [who are] interested in education, and representatives of teachers, students, and relevant government departments and other agencies." The Education Councils will not only formulate and implement educational policy, but will also (1) evaluate educational progress in their respective spheres, (2) initiate and support research in education, and (3) harness and mobilize the latest educational techniques and resources to improve education.

Another major feature of the Central Government's new policy--spelled out in detail in Martial Law Regulation No. 118, dated March 29, 1972--is the nationalization of private institutions at all levels. Apparently this regulation is aimed primarily at profitmaking institutions, because The Education Policy states that private institutions will be exempt from any or all of the regulations if they can satisfy Government authorities that they are "run on a genuinely benevolent, philanthropic, and non-commercial basis."

On September 1, 1972, all private "colleges"--institutions with classes at the intermediate (grades 11 and 12), undergraduate, or postgraduate level--were affected by this regulation. Private schools at the lower levels will be converted in stages, the first of which took place in October 1972. The regulation calls for nationalizing all schools within 2 years.

During this nationalization process, owners of private schools and colleges will not be compensated in any form, nor will they be allowed to close, sell, or transfer their institutions to any other individual or group. The regulations further prohibit releasing or hiring any teachers or other personnel. Finally, teachers in these institutions will have their salaries and service conditions raised to a level equal to that of their counterparts in Government-run schools.

Nationalized institutions located in the Islamabad Capital District will be financed and administered by the Central Government; and those in the Provinces, by the relevant Provincial Governments.

Elementary Education

The Current System

In Pakistan, the educational system has three distinct stages: elementary, secondary and intermediate, and higher. Pre-elementar schools exist only in large cities like Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, and Peshawar.

Elementary education spans 8 years, including 5 years in primary school (grades 1-5) and 3 in middle school (grades 6-8). Students passing the final examination at the end of grade 8 are channeled either into college preparatory or into vocational/technical programs, largely on the basis of their scores.

In 1972, the approximate number and percent of primary and middle school-age children enrolled in grades 1 to 5 and grades 6 to 8, respectively, were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>4,600,000</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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85
International/Intercultural Education Reports

### Middle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dropout rate at the elementary level has been estimated as high as 70 percent.

The current curriculum of the primary grades includes the following subjects:

- Language:
  - Urdu, Sindhi, or Pushto
- Mathematics
- General science
- Social studies
- Religious education
- Physical education
- Practical arts

In the middle grades (6-8), one of the following subjects may be added:

- Arabic
- Fine arts
- Home economics
- Persian
- Pushto
- Sindhi

### Policy Guidelines

**Free and universal education.**—The Education Policy declares that education is to be free and universal through grade 10; but, because of limited economic resources, this policy is to be implemented in two phases. The first phase began on October 1, 1972, when education became free from grades 1 to 8 for all boys and girls in both private and Government schools. The second phase is to begin on October 1, 1974, when free education is to be extended through grade 10 in all schools. The Government will provide monetary support to the private schools that are permitted to continue operations to compensate for loss of the fees that they will no longer be able to charge because of the nationalization program.

The issue of making education compulsory was left open for further discussion and debate by the Provincial Assemblies, because of its "far-reaching implications in the socio-economic structure as constituted today."

**Enrollment.**—It is estimated that, under the new plan, primary school enrollment by 1980 will have increased by about 5 million. The Government plans to build 38,000 additional classrooms to accommodate these pupils, and Government policy requires that the new schools be functional in design and low in cost. The present plan, outlined in the new policy, indicates that for each pupil primary school should be within walking distance. Further, it is estimated that primary education under this two-phase plan will become universal for boys by 1979 and for girls by 1984. The approximate number and percent of primary school-age children expected to be enrolled in 1980 are estimated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>9,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>5,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>3,800,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrollment increases in middle schools are expected to reflect the extension of universal free education through grade 8 that began in October 1972. The anticipated increase at this level is 2,300,000 by 1980. The approximate number and percent of middle school children expected to be enrolled in 1980 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>9,600,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>5,800,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>3,800,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>3,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


The dropout problem.--The most crucial factor in the high elementary dropout rate may be the existing examination system, in which a single annual school examination provides the sole basis for determining whether or not a student will be promoted. The new policy urges that an essentially automatic promotion plan be adopted through grade 9. In place of the annual exam in these grades, evaluations will now be made several times during the school year and cumulative records will be kept. These records will be used to help place the student in a program suited to his or her particular needs and capabilities.

A second major factor influencing the dropout rate--more difficult to come to grips with--is the attitude about education that prevails among urban working-class and rural parents. The Education Policy suggests that the Government initiate a mass plan to persuade parents of the value of formal schooling; and in fact has asked Provincial Assemblies to develop systems of incentives and awards in their respective areas that will encourage parents in lower socio-economic groups to keep their children in school.

Curriculum.--The new policy suggests curricular changes at the elementary level that will equip children with salable skills:

The system of elementary education will so designed that the knowledge and skills imparted, attitudes implanted, and the learning methods employed will ensure that those not proceeding to secondary education can be usefully absorbed into the economy of the local community. For those leaving school after class VIII, special courses of training in the skills of their vocational interest will be provided in the school workshops.

The policy also makes the study of Islamiyat compulsory for students up to grade 10.

Secondary and Intermediate Education

The Current System

In Pakistan, what is generally termed "secondary education" is divided into two stages, secondary (grades 9 and 10) and intermediate (grades 11 and 12). The medium of instruction is normally Urdu, although, as in elementary schools, regional languages are used in certain sections of the country where ties to the local language are particularly strong.

Enrollment statistics for the 1972-73 school year reveal that secondary and intermediate education is still highly selective, serving only 8 percent of the eligible age group. Moreover, among those studying at this level, from 60 to 70 percent are following the preuniversity arts curriculum whereas only 5 percent are enrolled in technical or vocational programs.

Students who continue their education beyond the 8th grade are channeled into one of two streams, largely on the basis of their scores on the grade 8 final examination. Those who receive the highest grades and who intend to continue to intermediate and higher education enter a program of general studies. The rest enroll in vocational or occupational programs, usually offered in separate schools.

In the secondary-level general studies program, which is designed almost exclusively to prepare stu-
students for eventual university study, all students take a required core curriculum and three elective subjects each year. The required courses are Urdu, English, mathematics, general science, Islamic studies and physical education. The electives may be selected from any one of the following subject areas:

1. Agriculture,
2. Commerce,
3. Home economics,
4. Humanities,
5. Industrial arts,

At the end of grade 10, students are confronted with a final examination which leads to the Matriculation Certificate. These exams are external, being set and administered by the Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Educatio. of the various Provincial Ministries of Education. Again, on the sole basis of the score attained on this examination, students are selected for places in either the liberal arts, sciences, or commercial sections of intermediate "colleges." Those who are not entering one of these programs but who wish to continue their education may enroll either in a technical course or a teacher-training institute.

Vocational schools at the secondary level emphasize training in a wide range of crafts and trades in 1- or 2-year programs that are designed to prepare individuals for employment either as trained factory workers, clerks, or apprentices in a particular trade. Students who successfully complete the 2-year program leading to a diploma in a particular area may seek admission to technical schools at the intermediate level. Grade 8 graduates may also enter a 1-year teacher education program offered in normal schools. (For a fuller discussion of teacher education programs, see the section on Teacher Education.)

At the intermediate level, schools for general studies are termed "intermediate colleges." Here a student takes 2 compulsory courses--Urdu and English--and selects 3 additional courses each year from those offered in the particular section in which he is enrolled. The following courses are available:

**Liberal Arts**
- Civic
- Economics
- General history
- Islamic history
- Logic
- Mathematics

**Sciences**
- Biology
- Chemistry
- Mathematics
- Physics
- Psychology
- Statistics

**Commerce**
- Accounting
- Banking
- Bookkeeping
- Business methods
- Commercial geography
- Shorthand and typing

Technical education at the intermediate level is provided in "polytechnics." The programs offered in these institutions, normally 3 years in duration, are designed to prepare individuals for the midlevel manpower positions needed for national development. The program includes a basic core of science, mathematics, and language studies as well as courses in specialized fields such as drafting, design, electronics, and metallurgy. Part-time programs in a variety of specializations are also available for workers with industrial experience. Graduates of the polytechnics are awarded a Diploma of Associate Engineers and are eligible to compete for admission to one of the universities or engineering colleges.
Pakistan's New Education Policy: 1972-1980

Policy Guidelines

The Education Policy addresses many of the major shortcomings currently found in education at the secondary and intermediate stages. It outlines reforms intended to (1) increase overall enrollments and, at the same time, reduce the heavy concentration of students in the liberal arts sections of the intermediate colleges; (2) integrate general and technical/occupational studies at both the secondary and intermediate stages; and (3) provide students in all programs with a more comprehensive and diversified education. The policy framers also make it clear that the existing evaluation system, with its sole reliance on yearly external examinations, will have to be revised.

Enrollments.--The new policy's directive extending free education through grade 10 for all students and through grade 12 for the academically gifted will bring about an immediate increase in enrollments in both the secondary schools and the intermediate colleges. By 1980 it is expected that enrollments will have more than doubled at these stages and that an overall enrollment ratio of at least 15 percent will have been achieved.

The Education Policy is explicit in its call for a "massive shift from enrollments in arts toward enrollments in science and technical subjects; from an aimless general education to a more purposeful agro-technical education." It is hoped that by 1980 the enrollment breakdown by stream will be technical as follows: Technical/occupational--33 percent; sciences--30 percent; and liberal arts--27 percent. To achieve this balance, new facilities for science and technical/occupation courses will be constructed on a major scale and enrollments in the liberal arts section will be carefully controlled.

Integration of streams.--In the view of the framers of the new policy, technical and vocational education at the secondary and intermediate stages has failed to produce efficient industrial workers. The programs generally have been unable either to develop the specialized skills required for such employment or to provide students with the general education they need to function effectively and responsibly in Pakistan's rapidly changing society. Therefore the new plan is to expand technical education and move toward progressive integration of general and technical studies. Explaining this recommendation, the policy states:

...In the past the general tendency has been to establish separate institutions for technical education. These institutions have not always produced efficient industrial workers. The education given in them also lacked the necessary cultural content and, in practice, they catered for the rejects of the general stream and a certain stigma was attached to their programmes. The new programme will provide for progressive integration of general and technical education.

Equal recognition is shown in the new policy of certain shortcomings in the general studies programs. Most serious is the fact that many students who terminate their studies at either the secondary or intermediate stage have great difficulty securing meaningful employment.

In an attempt to improve both programs, The Education Policy calls for developing a program that will attract greater numbers of more capable students to technical and vocational studies and will provide students in general studies with more marketable skills. The new program will integrate technical/occupational and general studies so that all students will receive a more comprehensive and diversified
education. Graduates will then have the broad background necessary to enter a wider variety of specialized studies at various higher education institutions. Moreover, those who seek immediate employment will possess a broader range of marketable skills. While the new policy does not set out a detailed plan for establishing such a program, it does mention several specific reforms:

- Technical and occupational courses (such as teacher education, distributive education, electronics, and agriculture) will be added to the general stream at both the secondary and intermediate stages.

- An integrated science course (including mathematics and biological and physical sciences) will be offered to all students in all streams.

- Matriculation Certificates in industrial arts and agriculture and Intermediate Certificates in industrial arts, agriculture, and home economics will be awarded.

**Evaluation.**--Although the annual examinations through grade 9 have been eliminated, the decisive examinations now given at the end of grades 10 and 12 will be continued at least for the present. The new policy indicates, however, that a different evaluation system eventually must be developed. More recent discussions indicate a greater role for classroom teachers in the evaluation process. One specific suggestion being considered is that the final exams be continued, but that they be used to determine only 60 percent of the students' grades and that teachers' evaluations be used for the remaining 40 percent. 6

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**TEACHER EDUCATION**

**Current System**

There are at present 12 teacher-training colleges and a total of 55 normal schools and teacher-training institutes. Most of these schools are not coeducational.

Teachers for the elementary grades (1-8) are trained in 1-year programs at either normal schools or teacher-training institutes. These programs include introductory courses in pedagogy--e.g., educational psychology, learning theory, and teaching methods--as well as a 4-month period of practice teaching.

Normal schools accept holders of the Matriculation Certificate received at the end of grade 10. Students who successfully complete the program at these schools are awarded a Junior Vernacular Certificate and are eligible for teaching positions in the primary schools (grades 1-5).

At the next level are the teacher-training institutes. Students who pass the grade 12 final examination leading to an Intermediate Certificate are eligible for admission. Institute graduates receive the Senior Vernacular Certificate, which qualifies them for teaching positions in the middle schools (grades 6-8).

Teacher-training colleges require a bachelor's degree for admission. The college program leads to a Licentiate Teacher's Certificate, which enables its holders to teach in the secondary schools (grades 9 and 10).

Teachers completing any of these programs may take further study leading to higher credentials through a system of external examinations offered by many of the universities.

Finally, to qualify to teach in the intermediate colleges, a full university degree (received after 4 years of schooling beyond the Inter-
Pakistan's New Education Policy: 1972-1980

mediate Certificate) is required. No additional training is necessary for teaching courses related to a field of specialization.

Higher degrees in education are offered at the Institute of Education at Lahore and in several universities. The minimum requirement for entrance is a bachelor's degree. Three degrees are available: A B.Ed., requiring 1 year of study; a M.Ed., requiring 2 years; a Ph.D., requiring 3 years of independent study and research after the master's. Study at these levels emphasizes educational theory and philosophy and is heavily research-oriented. There are no practice teaching components in any of the programs.

Policy Guidelines

A continuing issue concerning education in Pakistan is the acute shortage of adequately trained teachers. It is estimated by the framers of the new policy that implementation of the reforms they have suggested will require an additional 2,350,000 elementary and secondary school teachers and 3,000,000 adult and continuing education instructors during the next 8 years. The existing teacher education system has the capacity to produce only 1,040,000 during this period. In order to meet the expected demand, The Education Policy proposed the following actions:

- Teacher education be introduced as a subject of study at the secondary, intermediate, and bachelor's levels. Students who pass this subject on their Matriculation Certificate, Intermediate Certificate, or bachelor's degree examinations will be eligible to teach in primary, middle, and secondary schools respectively without any further training.

It is anticipated that in the next 8 years an additional 75,000 teachers will be added to the system through this arrangement.

- The Government establish a National Literacy Corps, drawing personnel from both locally available unemployed persons (such as retired civil servants and exservicemen) and university and college students who are members of the National Service Corps. It is expected that another 75,000 teachers will be added to the system through this program.

- An effort be made to recruit more women into the teaching profession, especially at the primary school level. It is hoped that the presence of more women teachers at this level will make Muslim parents less reluctant to send their daughters to school. In order to prepare women for such positions, some of the existing normal schools and teacher-training institutes will be converted from men's schools to women's. In addition, basic academic and training qualifications for women will, when necessary, be relaxed to insure that more women can enter the system.

- Specific actions be taken to improve the prestige and financial status of teachers. Among the most important are (1) establishing a liberal sabbatical leave policy that will provide full pay for teachers willing to undertake further training within the country, (2) constructing rent-free houses for teachers, and (3) adjusting salaries to raise the pay scale of teachers to the level of their counterparts in other Government services.
HIGHER EDUCATION

The Current System

There are currently eight universities in Pakistan—six offering study in a broad range of fields and two offering specialized studies. The former include the University of Baluchistan in Quetta, the University of Islamabad in Rawalpindi, the University of Karachi in Karachi, the University of the Panjab in Lahore, the University of Peshawar in Peshawar, and the University of Sind in Hyderabad. The specialized institutions are the Agricultural University in Lyallpur and the University of Engineering and Technology in Lahore. The oldest, the University of the Panjab, was founded in 1862.

In addition, there are 280 colleges that have 2- and 4-year programs leading to the bachelor's and master's degrees respectively. Each of these institutions is affiliated with a university which exercises supervisory control over it. These supervising universities set curricular and personnel standards, administer all examinations, and award all degrees and diplomas for their affiliates.

The nominal head of a university is the chancellor, who is the Governor of a Province. The chief administrator, however, is the vice chancellor, who is appointed by the chancellor in all universities except the University of Islamabad (where he is appointed by the Central Government). The vice chancellor presides over the University Senate, composed of the representatives from both the faculty and the various professions, and chairs the smaller Executive Council or Syndicate. The Senate meets several times a year to discuss major policy matters such as the budget, while the Executive Council determines tuition, appoints faculty, sets and administers examinations, and handles the day-to-day administrative chores.

The Central Government provides the major portion of funding for higher education, and, in recent years, has been heavily involved in internal university affairs. On numerous occasions this involvement has been viewed by students and faculty as a threat to university autonomy and some friction between the Central Government and these groups has resulted.

At present, the Pakistan system of higher education enrolls only 2 percent of the appropriate age group (18-21), a figure substantially lower than that found for most other countries in the region. Moreover, as in the secondary and intermediate stages, most students in higher education institutions are enrolled in programs in the arts (in the universities—80 percent; in the affiliated colleges—60 percent).

To enter a university or one of its affiliated colleges, a student must possess an Intermediate Certificate. Only students who receive First, Second, or high Third Class grades on the grade 12 final examination leading to this certificate are likely to be admitted. Admission to the professional colleges and university faculties (such as those of medicine and engineering) is more selective, as many require applicants to sit for competitive entrance examinations.

The universities and colleges offer programs leading to bachelor's and master's degrees in the arts and science fields. Generally, the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees require 2 years of course work, and the M.A. and M.Sc., an additional 2 years. To earn a Ph.D., a student must complete approximately 3 years of research
Pakistan's New Education Policy: 1972-1980

and independent study in a specific field beyond the master's degree.

Technical education at the university level is offered in the two specialized institutions previously mentioned and in a number of technical and agricultural colleges. Similar degrees are offered in these programs.

Policy Guidelines

The Education Policy includes a number of specific recommendations aimed at increasing the effectiveness of higher education and, at the same time, extending opportunities for higher study to a broader segment of the population. It also announces several important reforms designed to strengthen and expand higher technical studies and establishes a national body to coordinate university reform and development.

Quantitative expansion.--The new policy calls for providing 100,000 additional places in higher education institutions by 1980 in order to increase the enrollment ratio at this level to 3 percent. The specific steps proposed to achieve this goal include the following:

- New universities be established in regions of the country where currently none exists. Initial sites will be Multan in the Panjab, Saidu Sharif in the Northwest Frontier, and Sukkur in Sind.

- A number of existing colleges be converted into full-fledged universities beginning with Jamia Islamia, in Bahawalpur.

- The University of Islamabad add undergraduate (bachelor's degree) facilities.

- Specialized colleges and the Agricultural University at Lyallpur expand their programs to include courses in other subject fields.

Qualitative improvements.--To produce the high level manpower required for national development and to foster greater national cohesion, certain qualitative improvements will be introduced.

The new policy directs itself first to eliminating imbalance in university enrollments between the fields of arts and of science. Restrictions will be placed on enrollments in faculties in the arts so that the annual increase will not exceed 5 percent. On the other hand, faculties in the sciences will be allowed to increase their annual enrollments at a rate of 10 percent each year. In addition, programs in commerce and home economics will accept 100 and 50 more students per year respectively. In the affiliated colleges, enrollments in technology and science will be expanded so that, by 1980, 40 percent of the student body will be studying in technical fields and 30 percent in the sciences. To provide the necessary facilities for these programs, science curriculums will be developed in all colleges where none currently exists and all technical and occupation courses will be upgraded to bachelor's degree status.

To make teaching and research positions in the universities more attractive, two special programs will be initiated. "National Professorships" will be instituted so that the most highly qualified scholars and scientists can continue their work as teachers and researchers at a salary level that compares favorably with the highest administrative posts. Hopefully, this will reverse the previous tendency for such scholars and teachers to seek administrative positions in order to improve their income. Moreover, "National Research Fellowships" will
be awarded to encourage outstanding scholars and scientists to continue their study and research efforts. Universities and other institutions of higher education will be granted special funds so that they, in turn, will be able to provide such individuals with the facilities they need for their work.

Another major initiative outlined in *The Education Policy* is establishment of the University Grants Commission. The Commission's major functions will be to coordinate the programs and expansion of the university system and thus eliminate duplication and wastage; and to channel Central Government funds to the various institutions. Among its initial tasks will be to determine, in consultation with the staffs of the various universities, the subjects of specialization for the "Centers of Excellence" to be established in the universities (see discussion following). More generally, it will serve as a buffer between the Central Government and the university administration, thus preserving institutional autonomy.

For the same objective, the new policy directs repeal of the University Ordinances, which have served as the basis of much of the Central Government's involvement in the internal affairs of the universities. These Ordinances will be replaced by "enlightened and progressive legislation that will democratize the working of the universities and ensure full participation by the representatives of teachers, students and parents in their affairs."

A number of other actions are announced that are designed to further qualitative improvements:

- "Centers of Excellence" are to be created in various universities to develop a high level of specialization in certain scientific, technical, and agricultural fields. These Centers, whose cost will be borne by the Central Government, will be open on the basis of merit to gifted students from all parts of the country.

- "Area Study Centers" and "Pakistan Study Centers" will be established in many of the institutions. The former will concentrate on advanced study and research on contemporary societies, particularly those of special national interest to Pakistan. The latter will focus on the languages and literature of the different regions of the country.

- Undergraduate programs in all institutions will include courses designed to enable individuals from one region to understand the language and literature, social structure and customs, attitudes and motivations of people in other parts of the country.

- A National Institute of Pakistani Studies will be established at Islamabad University "for research and post-graduate studies of the language, literature and culture of the people of Pakistan."

**ADULT EDUCATION**

**Current System**

Adult education programs in Pakistan have addressed for the most part the problem of illiteracy. While many of these efforts have been substantial, they have often lacked a stable organizational base and, therefore, have been unable to generate the sustained programs needed to have an effective impact on the target populations.

The most significant of these attempts was initiated in the fifties as part of the Central Government's
Village Agricultural and Industrial Program. Under its auspices, a number of literacy schools were constructed in rural areas. They were staffed with specially trained teachers who utilized material prepared with UNESCO assistance specifically for adult illiterates. In addition, literacy programs have been conducted in local mosques and in traditional Islamic schools.

Although enrollment in such literacy programs grew considerably in the sixties, the overall illiteracy rate in Pakistan increased from 86 to 90 percent since independence in 1947.

Policy Guidelines

The Education Policy outlines a new program more extensive in scope than any past efforts. As before, the major thrust of this effort will be directed toward the rural population, particularly rural women. These centers will be staffed by teachers specially trained in intensive, short courses and by members of the National Literacy Corps (see the section on Teacher Education). By 1980, it is expected that 276,000 literacy centers will have been established in schools, factories, union council halls, and various community centers throughout the country, and that training will have been provided to more than 11 million illiterates.

A second major adult education effort announced in the policy is a continuing education program designed to introduce individuals to the new technology and skills needed in their careers. Initially, priority will be given to programs for factory workers, farmers, unemployed youth, and rural women. Among these the largest number of centers will be established for women "seeking to become better housewives by equipping themselves with the arts of reading the Holy Quran and with skills such as sewing, knitting, embroidery, child care, nutrition, poultry keeping, etc."

The new policy indicates that the Central Government expects both the literacy and continuing education programs to be supported to some extent by local volunteers and by private agencies. To encourage such cooperation, moreover, the Central Government will undertake a nationwide "motivational campaign" utilizing the mass media.

Finally, continuing education opportunities will be offered on a part-time basis in a People's Open University. This institution initially will offer a program to enable individuals to gain elementary school teachers' credentials through a combination of correspondence courses, tutorials, seminars, workshops, and television and radio programming.

OTHER REFORMS

Several additional important reforms outlined in The Education Policy can be only briefly mentioned here. First, extensive efforts will be made to enhance the general welfare of students. The most important of these include awarding a great number of merit scholarships; granting interest-free loans to needy students, especially those enrolled in professional institutions; establishing book banks in universities and colleges where texts can be borrowed free for stipulated periods; providing low-cost transportation facilities and free medical checkups; and improving and expanding special education programs for the handicapped.
Second, a National Service Corps will be created which all Intermediate Certificate holders between the ages 17 and 23 will be encouraged to join for a period of 1 year. In addition to military training, the volunteers will have an opportunity to work in social action programs. Incentives will include a monthly honorarium, a uniform allowance, and preference for admission to institutions of higher education and for selection for jobs in both the public and private sectors.

CONCLUSION

The Education Policy is an ambitious document, and may be viewed as indicative of the aspirations of the Government of Pakistan for dramatic improvement in education opportunities in Pakistan. The degree to which specific reforms can be implemented is a subject for further observation and analysis. However, President Zulfigar Ali Bhutto recently pointed out in a press conference that during his administration he has been most pleased with the implementation of the new policy. An impressive beginning has at least been made.

FOOTNOTES

1 Unless indicated otherwise in a footnote, all quotations and statistics in this article may be found in: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education. The Education Policy 1972-1980. 1972.

2 The full text of this regulation may be found in The Education Policy 1972-1980. pp. 43-45.

3 A recent article points out that "out of every 100 students that enter Class I [grade 1] only 38 reach Class V." Anthony Lobo. "Teach More, Spend Less," Pakistan Education Review. 1972. p. 80. While this data apparently represents the situation in the mid-sixties, there is concern among many Pakistan educators that in more recent years the dropout rate has been even higher.

4 In a report published in the Urdu daily, Jang, Nov. 12, 1972, it was announced that the Provincial Assembly of Sind had passed a resolution allowing both Urdu and Sindi to be used in the schools at this level.

5 Many of the intermediate colleges and special comprehensive schools now wholly or substantially funded by the Central Government will be designated schools for the gifted and talented. Students will be selected on the basis of merit for these schools and will not be required to pay any fees. The eventual aim of the Government is to establish at least one such residential school in each district.

6 Personal communications with Pakistan educational officials.

7 For a brief discussion of the National Service Corps, see the section on "Other Reforms."

8 At present less than 30 percent of elementary teachers are women.

SELECTED READINGS


Ministry of Education. *Curriculum for Primary Schools in Pakistan.* 1960.


When I returned in the beginning of May from my second trip to the United States, France was experiencing a kind of revolution in its school life. Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, had just decided that the weekly holiday for French school children would henceforth be on Wednesday and not, as tradition had had it, on Thursday.

This somewhat minor happening helped me to understand the essential difference between the American and French systems of education. The American system is liberal and decentralized and is founded on the principle of local autonomy; ours is authoritarian and super-centralized to enable it to respond to the fundamental principle of the equality of all French citizens, a principle which has become dogmatized and reinforced by many years of administrative practice.

In America—and I am convinced of this because I saw examples of it myself—so minor a problem would have been resolved within an hour by the administrative councils of the individual schools or local school boards. And very likely they would have taken the initiative for such a change in the first place. In France, this would not be the case. In a country where public education has for many years been more highly developed than private education (more than 10 million pupils are enrolled in public education and only 2 million in private), such a decision would of necessity take on a binding and national character.

To change the Thursday holiday, not only had it been necessary to have long consultations with parents and teachers but also to have a full debate on the subject by the Council of Ministers in the presence of the President of the Republic. This is illustrative of the rigidity of our educational system and of the difficulties which impede its evolution. It is a result, very likely, of the weight of cultural tradition in Europe and especially in France.

Quite possibly, Americans will react with surprise at the suggestion that the French school children need a day of rest in the middle of the week. They should be told that this
is made necessary by the fact that the students' academic programs are overloaded—from 29 to 40 hours per week plus homework, and this excessive load is not relieved by such indispensable activities as sports and recreation. The French school child, intellectually the most "occupied" in the world, has as much work in school as his parents do at the office or factory. As a young American who was attending school in Paris once said to me, "The cycle is a prison!"

It was Montaigne who said, "It is preferable to have a well-formed head than a well-filled one" (Mieux vaut une tête bien faite que bien pleine), and in this, his native land, our heads are brimming over! From the 16th century on, we have been content simply to repeat this wise maxim without ever putting it into effect, while most of our European neighbors and Anglo-Saxon friends have been doing just the opposite. No one is a prophet in his own land.

The case of the Thursday holiday represents also the "psychological blocks" which slow down the pace of our educational system's evolution. Every effort that is made to loosen the system somewhat, to give a certain autonomy to individual schools, comes up against this obstacle. Frenchmen do not like to change their ways, and the new and the unknown are a source of anxiety and fear. And above all, in their mind educational autonomy would result in the abandonment of certain principles to which they are deeply committed: The guarantee of equality of instruction that all of our public institutions can now offer since they must all reflect the standards of a national model, and the prestige and value that nationally recognized diplomas give throughout the country. A considerable amount of time will have to pass before people's attitudes change.

I am aware of the fact, and it is freely admitted, that in the United States, too, there are comparable blockages and the same uneasiness face to face with what is new. But the big difference is that this does not stop the process of change. When a modification of some kind is planned (be it related to curriculum, methodological experimentation, or some more general aspect of school life), it is discussed and a decision is quickly made. Innovation is not delayed by the specter of having the whole scholastic system placed in question should the desired goals not be attained. The excitement, the richness, and the variety of American educational experimentation bear eloquent witness to this fact.

There is another significant difference. Decisions are made on a level where those most directly affected can be involved—as the Thursday holiday decision was not. Local autonomy allows parents and teachers to work effectively together toward a common educational goal. Here, everything comes "from on high" and is applied administratively to the local situation for better or for worse. Only private schools, which are less restricted in their initiatives, have the reasonable possibility of organizing themselves into true "educational communities". And even they must follow the state curriculums since their pupils must take state-controlled examinations to obtain official national diplomas.

The psychological blocks surface again and quite seriously in the area of technical education. As heir to a long tradition of deep humanistic culture, French education was intended for an elite. Despite the de facto democratization of the schools that has been in progress since the 19th
international/intercultural education reports

century, French education has not been able to rid itself completely of this orientation. The "classical" and "modern" tracks of the upper secondary school are still designed for the children of middle class or wealthy families, while the technical education absorbs large numbers of the children from more modest levels of society.

It is not without significance that technical and academic education are still physically separated. In France, there are very few schools that are truly "polyvalent" and provide, as in America, both general and vocational education. And there has been very little experience with the elective system, which is in general usage on the other side of the Atlantic.

These two kinds of education are also kept quite distinct on the higher education level. While in the United States higher technical education is offered at the university in specialized institutes or colleges after several years of general education, in France it is offered in the Grandes Écoles, which are highly selective, typically French institutions outside the university system. In the scientific fields, the university trains only professors and researchers and has set up only a limited number of engineering institutes.

On the middle levels of education, one must admit that our system still represents a certain form of "education by social class." Pierre Billecocq, former Secretary of State for Education, expressed the situation rather accurately when he said, "In the mind of most Frenchmen, technical education is for other people's children." Unfortunately, the efforts he has made to promote technical education, represented especially by the Orientation Laws* which he had passed in 1971 to reform and renew technical education, have not yet borne fruit. Families have not yet understood the advantages of consciously choosing this kind of education even though it offers greater job opportunities than traditional education, whose "royal ways" lead often to vocational dead ends, despite their intrinsic value.

France—and its citizens—must create a new technological humanism. How it responds to this challenge will determine, in the final analysis, whether or not its education will survive.

*Ed.—See Raymond E. Wanner's "A French Approach to Career Education," in the section "Education for Career Development."
ORGANIZATION FOR REHABILITATION THROUGH TRAINING (ORT): A WORLDWIDE PROGRAM

TIMOTHY KING is Chief of the Facilitative Services Section in the Institute of International Studies. One function of this section is to plan itineraries for visiting educators from all parts of the world. Mr. King became interested in ORT when programming visitors from the World ORT Union, and last summer visited their headquarters in Geneva.

He received his B.A. in Spanish from the University of the Americas in Mexico. Fluent in Spanish and French, he has taken numerous graduate courses in the field of languages and linguistics.

In the spring of 1970, the American ORT Federation asked the U.S. Office of Education to make arrangements for the visit of a team of ORT officials from Israel interested in the latest developments in vocational and technical education. OE's Institute of International Studies, which plans such visits for many foreign educators, observed that this group caused more initial puzzlement than most. U.S. educators who received the group frequently asked, "What is ORT?" Such a reaction seems surprising and argues for broader dissemination of information about ORT, because ORT is not only one of the largest vocational training organizations in the world, but has been operating long enough to have recently celebrated its 90th anniversary.

It all began in Russia in 1880, when a Jewish industrialist petitioned Czar Alexander II for permission to create a fund to aid those Jews who were unable to qualify for skilled employment. A circular letter, sent out to thousands of communities throughout the country, brought in innumerable small donations, resulting in the establishment of a fund to promote handicrafts, industry, and agriculture among the Jews. A charter of organizations was eventually granted to the founders, who used the funds to establish schools, courses for apprentices, and traveling workshops. The name they gave this foundation, translated into English many years later, became "Organization for Rehabilitation through Training," or ORT.

During World War I, when hundreds of thousands of Jews were uprooted and lost their means of livelihood, ORT began to offer assistance to the displaced and the oppressed in the program of "relief through work" that was to play a central part in its activities for several decades. Refugees who already possessed skills were placed in workshops, while others were enrolled in crash training programs. Special instructors and teachers were prepared, and professional staff accompanied the evacuees on the road and helped them to resettle in new lands.

The movement continued to spread, and a meeting of representatives from eight countries, held in Berlin in 1921, led to the establishment of the World ORT Union, consisting of 54 affiliates in Eastern Europe, nine in Western Europe, and one in the United States. With support coming from
concerned individuals and organizations in many countries, ORT undertook a greatly expanded program of vocational training, serving about 500,000 people between the two World Wars.

In 1933 ORT's first programs were established in Germany. Doctors, lawyers, civil servants, and businessmen no longer permitted to engage in their professions were trained in occupations that either were essential to the German economy and thus might allow them to remain in Germany, or could help to begin a new life when they emigrated. During the next decade, classes and workshops were set up in France, Canada, the United States, Switzerland, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, and even China. Many who were unable to flee survived the purges because of their participation in ORT's activities.

When the war in Europe ended in 1945, veteran ORT workers were among the first to enter areas that had been under Nazi domination, cooperating with the United National Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) and other agencies. By the end of 1947, they had established a network of courses in all of the displaced persons camps of Europe, with over 22,000 people enrolled in 50 programs. Because immigration opportunities in many countries were limited to persons possessing skills that could contribute to development, the ORT diploma, recognized by all governments, became known as a "passport to freedom."

In 1949, the largest ORT program was located in Germany; today it is in Israel. The network of secondary schools and technical institutes established in that country has been a major factor in its rapid industrial and technical development. Many programs begun by ORT primarily to train displaced persons and refugees have been replaced by permanent ORT school systems in many parts of the world. While the original emphasis was on adults and older persons, the backbone of the program is now the 3- and 4-year specialized secondary vocational schools with related courses in the sciences, humanities, and cultural subjects. Postsecondary technical institutes and community colleges are also being added. And these institutions are keeping up with the times by introducing audiovisual aids including programmed instruction, television, and computers.

This change over the years in the philosophy of ORT programs towards broader and more advanced training was ably expressed at the 90th Anniversary Congress of ORT in Geneva in 1970, by the President of the World ORT Union, Dr. William Haber:

The ORT idea was conceived in an age that has vanished. It took root in the soil of necessity and spread and grew as it found strength and men and women who understood its mission....

... And when we in ORT speak of education, we mean much more than vocational and technical training. We seek not to forget that man is more, much more, than an element of manpower. We seek to provide the rich culture which is the by-product of any good education, even when its central focus is vocational and technical....

We have eliminated the image of ORT as schools for the poor, who have no other place to go. The new technology and the opportunities that are linked to it are science-based, demanding a broad, comprehensive fund of knowledge....

Nowhere is the implementation of ORT's new philosophy more apparent than in Israel. In 1969 an agreement was signed with the Hebrew University to set up an ORT Engineering School on the Jerusalem campus that would turn out both engineers and techni-
Cians. At the same time, four additional postsecondary centers were established in other parts of the country. Also during the same year, in Buenos Aires an ORT Computer Science Center was inaugurated--the first in ORT and the first of its kind in Latin America.

To produce the kinds of teachers needed to carry out these programs around the world, the Central ORT Institute was established in 1949 at Anieres, Switzerland. The first experimental class of 62 young men from 12 countries was graduated that same year, all its members became key instructors and administrators in ORT programs. Today, after a preparatory year at the Institute, a future teacher technician may be assigned to the Geneva Institute for Higher Technical Studies, from which he would graduate with a Swiss diploma.

Successful in establishing schools and in training teachers and technicians, ORT has entered the area of technical assistance. The Anieres Institute has set up training programs for persons from countries including Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Ivory Coast, and Uruguay. A strong emphasis is placed on teachers developing their own teaching materials and audiovisual aids from inexpensive sources. Under contract with the Agency for International Development, the Institute has been the headquarters for briefing staff members assigned to U.S. Government projects in West Africa and has offered training courses for the Peace Corps.

ORT educators have not only assisted agencies from other countries, but have also sought exchange of ideas with them concerning career training. For instance, in November 1971, the American ORT Federation asked OE's Institute of International Studies to plan an itinerary for a group of ORT educators and administrators from Switzerland, France, and Iran. They concentrated on programs oriented towards career training, including the career education model in Hackensack, N.J. A statement from the team's final report on the trip contains some interesting observations on the contemporary scene:

" Everywhere...the team came to understand the true meaning of the expression to arm a young man for life. In the same way that a battleship is armed to win through the most turbulent encounters, these young people are truly 'armed', with the end that they will be able to overcome all the difficulties they may meet in professional life. When it is remembered that within the span of a man's life he has to re-orientate himself at least three times, the importance of career education, a concept which, happily, is spreading more and more throughout the U.S.A., can be measured. Europe has been slower in accepting it. But this same mobility is a positive factor in social and economic progress.

ORT has had experience with career development in every major area, beginning with training for agriculture and the most basic trades and moving on through skills training for light and heavy industry to preparing technicians and engineers.

One particularly notable aspect of ORT programs is their adaptability. ORT has continuously adjusted its educational programs to the needs both of the participants and of the societies in which it has operated, even during the most sudden and extreme changes brought about by war and disaster. ORT administrators have conducted detailed surveys of local economic and manpower needs before setting up training programs. Available local materials have been utilized to the fullest extent possible to avoid the high cost of imported machinery and equipment."
Also of significance is the cultural content of ORT programs. While imparting the necessary career skills and providing a good general educational background, ORT has managed to integrate groups of differing cultural backgrounds into the economic and social life of many countries without diluting the cultural heritage of these groups. Many of its students have come from conditions of great poverty in urban ghettos or isolated rural areas, and the ORT schools have been like a new world to them. Others have come from different language backgrounds, and they needed to be taught the cultural and social language of the country of which they were to be a part.

Thus, over the years ORT has developed considerable expertise in preparing people to communicate and work effectively in a new cultural environment. The exchange of ideas between American educators and those working with ORT programs might well be reciprocal. From ORT's long experience there is much to be learned that is pertinent to developing a career dimension in education in this country and around the world.

FOOTNOTES


SELECTED READINGS


ORT Israel. Tel Aviv: [c. 1969].


Women's American ORT. The Highest Step: The Story of Women's American ORT. New York: n.d. •
MARY PROCTOR has been a program specialist in the International Organizations Branch of the Institute of International Studies since 1970. She received her B.A. in international relations from the University of California at Berkeley, and took 2 years of graduate study in journalism at American University. Her professional positions in the international relations field include: Staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, writer for WRUL radio in New York, information officer with UNESCO, and international liaison specialist with the Maritime Administration.

NOTE: Invitations to conferences, meetings, seminars, and workshops convened by such intergovernmental organizations as OECD, OAS, and those in the UN usually are extended to participating Government representatives and other selected officials or experts. Information about such events may be obtained from the organizations' headquarters.

THE TOKYO CONFERENCE ON ADULT EDUCATION

Ways in which adult education can contribute to economic, social, and cultural development in today's world were the primary topics at the Third International Conference on Adult Education this summer in Tokyo. The Conference, hosted jointly by the Government of Japan and the Japanese National Commission of UNESCO, was the third in a series of UNESCO conferences on adult education that began in 1949 at Elsinore and convened again in 1960 at Montreal.

Over 300 conferees participated, representing individual nations, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations. The conference reviewed 53 national reports on adult education, examined trends in adult education during the last decade, and anticipated the prospects for adult education as a factor to improving the quality of life in both developing and developed countries. The conference aimed at identifying suitable ways of developing, within the framework of overall educational systems, adult education that would prepare people to meet changing situations throughout their lives. In-depth working sessions covered planning, administration, and financing of adult education; use of communication media; cooperative programs; and mobilization and training of personnel.

In response to its experience at the Conference, the U.S. delegation suggested that the United States undertake extensive follow-up activities in reviewing the programs of other nations and in effecting intellectual cooperation and information exchanges with other countries. Delegates also suggested that UNESCO give priority attention to adult education, sponsor conferences at more frequent intervals, and supplement conferences with regional meetings in which information, plans, and research can be shared.

The Conference report is available from the United Nations Publications Sales Section (UNIPUB), Box 433, New York, N.Y. 10017. The United States' report to the Confer-
MEETINGS ON RECURRENT EDUCATION

Recurrent education is the theme of an international meeting to be held from March 18 to 23, 1973, at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Convened under the joint sponsorship of the Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) and the National Institute of Education (NIE), the conference will be attended by educators from university, industry, and government sectors of Canada, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia.

The meeting will focus on the personal and economic aspects of recurrent education—tentatively defined for purposes of this meeting as a modular system of education that provides the facilities and services required for a wider choice in timing of education for workers and that is aimed at reducing unemployment and bringing about greater economic stabilization.

Six sessions will explore recurrent education characteristics and implications for the present education system, educational objectives and income policy, enlarging the choices by supply changes, equity through recurrent education, and educational leave and sources of funding.

Both CERI and the Education Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have been examining, comparing, and making recommendations for programs of recurrent education in member countries. Recurrent education was on the agendas of the fifth session of CERI's Governing Board (in Paris, November 27 to 28, 1972) and of the seventh session of the Education Committee (in Paris, December 7 to 8, 1972).

Further information concerning the Georgetown University meeting may be obtained by writing to: Dr. Selma J. Mushkin, Director, Public Services Laboratory, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007. Information concerning the OECD session is available from: OECD, Chateau de la Muette, 2, rue André Pascal, F75, Paris 16e, France.

CONFERENCEON FUTURE STRUCTURES OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

From June 26 to 29, 1973, the Conference on Future Structures of Post-Secondary Education will be convened by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) at its headquarters in Paris. This conference will bring together the results of past and ongoing work done both by OECD's Education Committee and its Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI). Agenda topics include accessibility to studies and employment, the organization of studies in mass higher education, and the planning and financing of mass higher education.

Further information may be obtained by writing to: OECD, Chateau de la Muette, 2, rue Andréé Pascal, F75, Paris 16e, France.
THE CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION ABSTRACTING SERVICE

The Co-operative Educational Abstracting Service (CEAS) of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) in Geneva provides substantial, concise, and highly selective summaries of documents concerned with either educational policy, administration, and legislation, or with education research. These summaries are intended primarily to serve the member states of UNESCO and have been of particular interest to educational documentation and research center.

UNESCO launched CEAS as a pilot project in 1968 to disseminate educational information. The project was transferred to the IBE early in 1970 and placed on a regular basis the following year. Over 250 abstracts have been issued on policy documents representing selections by more than 60 contributing countries. Criteria for selecting documents for abstracting are professional authority, relevance to CEAS topics, originality, regional or international scope, recency, and availability. A cumulative index to abstracts issued since 1968 is maintained.

As a parallel activity, the IBE Secretariat has prepared a set of country education profiles as part of the CEAS. The first set of 70 profiles has been issued. The entire series of profiles is planned to cover all member states in a 2-year period, after which the information will again be brought up to date.

The collected profiles will constitute a concise guide to national education systems throughout the world, helping to form a background against which development trends and innovations in education may be viewed. Taken individually, the profiles will provide points of reference from which to study the CEAS national policy documents relating to any particular country. The three components of each country education profile are a descriptive text, essential statistics, and organizational diagrams. The text contains the following elements: General principles; system of administration, including structure, organization, and planning; curriculums for the main cycles of general education; and teacher training content and requirements, including inservice training.

A design is in the early stages to extend CEAS into specialized areas of education linked to the UNESCO program. The first such area will be adult education. The 1972 International Conference on Adult Education (held this past summer in Tokyo) affirmed the need and probable support for such a service. This specialized service in adult education is planned to be developed by an institution or nongovernmental body, although integrated into CEAS (for language, presentation, format, and possibly production and distribution).

Further information may be obtained from: International Bureau of Education, Palais Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland.

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY FOR EDUCATIONAL LIAISON

The International Directory for Educational Liaison has recently been published by the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education. It contains current information on more than 225 organizations dealing with education in the developing world, universi-
ties in the developing countries, and embassies and consulates in the United States and their visa requirements.

The Directory is divided into four sections. The International section contains descriptions of organizations with a multiregional focus including donor agencies, foundations, and other non-profit organizations. For each organization, information is included on funding, activities in the field of education, and publications. A headquarters address to which further inquiries may be directed is listed. Geographical sections on Africa, Asia, and Latin America/Caribbean include descriptions of national and regional organizations as well as major research institutes. Universities located in each geographical region are listed by country and information is furnished on administrative personnel, location, departments or faculties of instruction, and associated research institutes. Each geographical section also lists embassies and consulates with their addresses, telephone numbers, and ambassadors' names, as well as entry requirements for U.S. nationals for each country. A general index and an index of acronyms have been compiled for the convenience of the reader.

The Overseas Liaison Committee is a working committee of the American Council on Education whose 21 members are selected from administrative, research, and teaching positions in U.S. colleges and universities for their specialized knowledge of subjects related to OLC programs and for their willingness to devote time to their design and execution. The Secretariat is maintained in Washington, D.C. The OLC concentrates on program activities concerned with improving communication and linkages between higher education in the United States and developing countries; cooperating with overseas universities and associations of universities in sponsoring discussions on critical issues on higher education and development; undertaking special studies in collaboration with scholars in developing countries; and providing specialized information on higher education in developing countries to the American academic community and donor agencies.


IBE'S COMPARATIVE EDUCATION NEWSLETTER

The Newsletter of the International Bureau of Education's Liaison Office for Comparative Education, two issues of which have appeared to date (No. 1, December 1971 and No. 2, April 1972), has been continued as the Newsletter of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies. Vol. 1, No. 1 of this new publication is dated November 1972. The editor, Mrs. Anne Eizamori, is assisted by the secretaries of the member societies, who also serve as an Editorial Advisory Board. Mail should be addressed to the Secretariat of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, Palais Wilson, CH - 1211 Geneva 14, Switzerland.
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Reference Materials on International Education

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