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EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA */

*/ Statement delivered by Mr. Enrique V. Iglesias, Executive Secretary of CEPAL, at the Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers in charge of Economic Planning of the Latin American and Caribbean Member States, Mexico City, 5 December 1979.

1. Integrated development in the resolutions of CEPAL

This Conference is taking place at a time when Latin America is engaged in the process of drawing up the proposals it will contribute to the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, during which it is hoped that the measures leading to the establishment of a New International Economic Order will begin to be implemented.

It would therefore seem highly appropriate to recall the conception of development given shape by the member countries of the Economic Commission for Latin America in the partial appraisals of the International Development Strategy for the Decade which is coming to an end, which were drawn up in Quito (1973), Chaguaramas (1975), Guatemala (1977) and recently in La Paz. They state that

"Development should be conceived of as an integral process characterized by the achievement of economic and social targets which ensure the effective participation of the population in the development process and in its benefits. To this end it is essential to make far-reaching structural changes in this field as a prerequisite for the process of integral development which it is sought to achieve."1/

For this very reason they emphasized that

"economic growth is a necessary but not by itself a sufficient condition to ensure full social and human development. This requires the introduction of institutional reforms and appropriate policies within the framework of an integral and organic conception of the development process. The results of this economic growth must be more fairly distributed so that, in addition to ensuring the active participation of the different sectors of society, it will also be possible to create juster societies where human beings will find better possibilities for the fullest development of their potential"; for this reason "it will ... be necessary to introduce the reforms required to guarantee the access of the population to employment, education, health and other social, public and private services".2/

1/ See the La Paz Appraisal, CEPAL resolution 388 (XVIII).

2/ CEPAL resolution 386 (XVIII).

In the same La Paz Appraisal it was noted that

"most of the burden of the measures and strategies for economic recovery frequently falls on the poorest and most helpless strata of the population, ... in the form of ... a marked reduction in public spending on education, health and other social services for the people" (resolution 386 (XVIII) paragraph 15. (iii)). It was also noted that "this experience has given rise to some scepticism with regard to the traditional beliefs that economic growth would of itself bring with it the solution to the serious and widespread problems of poverty, uneven income distribution, and unemployment and underemployment, which have existed and continue to do so despite the considerable development of the forces of production" since "the fruits of economic growth have not been fairly distributed among the different population groups" and since "if present conditions continue, it can be foreseen with a high degree of certainty that the share of the poorer strata in the fruits of future growth will tend to remain at completely inadequate levels".^{3/}

In view of this situation, the La Paz Appraisal underlined that

"The operational resources and possibilities now available place many Latin American governments in a more favourable position than in the past for achieving integrated development in keeping with the proposals of the International Development Strategy. In order to implement these possibilities effectively, however, it will be necessary to go beyond the reiteration and accumulation of desirable objectives and the mere diagnosis and identification of the most telling problems in order to progress towards the formulation of policy strategies and the specific planning of how to implement them. All of this will require a considerable dose of innovation in terms of policy measures, and in particular a much stronger political commitment to the social and human objectives of development".^{4/}

It has been considered desirable to make use of these quotations, which are perhaps rather long, on the grounds that they provide an appropriate framework for the proceedings of this Conference, which gathers together Ministers of Education and Ministers of Economic Planning from the

^{3/} Ibid., paragraph 19.

^{4/} Ibid., paragraph 12.

UNESCO member States in Latin America and the Caribbean. Meetings of this kind do not take place as frequently as they should, and the results of this Conference will undoubtedly take shape in measures which will redound to the benefit of the people of Latin America.

2. Activities carried out by the Office of the
Executive Secretary of CEPAL

The Office of the Executive Secretary of CEPAL has a long-standing interest in the interrelationships between education and development. As early as in the middle of the last decade, when some were questioning whether the Region had sufficiently skilled human resources to carry out the tasks of development, the studies and experience built up so far were published in a book entitled Education, Human Resources and Development in Latin America. Subsequently, the trends prevailing in the region as regards the interrelationship between education and development were given special attention in all the reports on social development prepared for each of the appraisals on the implementation of the International Development Strategy.

In the light of the studies referred to and at the request of thirteen governments from the region, it was considered desirable to combine the efforts of UNESCO, the United Nations Development Programme and CEPAL in a joint project, now in its second phase, entitled "Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean". The principal aim of the project is to analyse the complex system of relations between development and education, which have qualitatively changed in recent times as a result of the vast expansion of education and the new circumstances which the dynamic of development has generated in Latin America. Some of the studies under the Project are being carried out in direct co-operation with governments and academic institutions in the countries of the region, so that their recommendations point to the solution of the concrete problems facing the societies, which are by no means common to all of them. Within such a huge subject area some priority aspects, or major research and policy areas, have been selected. These are: the role of education in rural society; the relations between employment and education; the role of the university in economic and social development; the capacity of the educational systems to cope with demand for change and promote social

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change; the form adopted by the relations between development and education in various styles of development characteristic of different countries of the region, on the basis of the analysis of which it is possible to deduce alternatives for the solution of the problems facing other countries in similar situations. This research is already being used as a basis for formulating policies; next year, the comprehensive diagnoses of the regional and subregional situations in each of the areas mentioned will begin to be presented to meetings especially convened for the purpose. In 1981 a final report will be presented with various sets of alternative solutions to the problems inherent in the role of education in development and in the effects their interrelationships are having on the prediction of the society of the future.

3. Education's many contributions to society

No one now questions that education should be regarded in terms of the many contributions it makes to the various fields of social activity and not as a mere mechanism for producing skilled human resources in response to the demands of economic growth. Education is, first and foremost, one of the fundamental human rights, since it is essential to enable man to achieve maximum human advancement - which is, in the final analysis, the development of his intellectual and spiritual capacities. Education is, in addition, the system of socialization and transmission of the norms and values of a society, by means of which individuals incorporate in their behaviour understanding of their mutual rights and obligations.

In view of the cultural inequality generated by any system of stratification, education is one of the mechanisms which can contribute to establishing equality of social opportunity in each new generation. Education also contributes to political training and the recruitment of élites. Society is not only made up of agents of production; these are additionally, and fundamentally, social agents who are defined, as Aristoteles pointed out, by their political interaction. The building of democracy is a continuing task, and has to do, in the first place, with the information provided by education on the social structure and its values, together with an appropriate capacity for promoting and maintaining an evaluation and critique of the social system itself. The formation of élites /is a

is a subject which should be a collective concern. The new generations should have appropriate channels to enable them to express themselves and to participate in society - this is the best way of integrating the society and avoiding a certain type of conflict between generations which has arisen recently in the region. Furthermore, these channels of expression and participation permit the moulding, through knowledge and action, of the various sub-élites which in future will replace the present élite. Plurality in the formation of élites is not only implicit in the concept of democracy, but is a necessary and sufficient condition for social vitality.

The development of activities designed to give concrete form to the contributions referred to does not depend only on the educational system, and in general the system is influenced by the reproduction of the social system as a whole. The aim of equality of opportunity in education, for example, does not depend solely on the educational system, since it is determined by the immediate interests of the groups which have greater relative power in the society, and even by the natural selfishness of the family spirit, which endeavours first and foremost to protect the future social status of descendants. In addition, the academic freedom necessary for development of scientific knowledge frequently conflicts with the views of some groups, which consider that this freedom tends to jeopardize their political objectives. Meanwhile, the allocation of resources to guarantee basic schooling for the whole population calls for a reallocation of government resources which alters their social distribution and affects the interests of groups which seek to use such resources for other educational levels, to maintain a certain style of consumption or for arms. Other examples can be given, but what is important is to stress that the general orientation of the educational system is correlated with the general orientation of the style of development adopted in constructing a type of society.

This does not mean that there is no freedom of action in education: human society cannot be compared with a biological organism whose equilibrium is adjusted and governed by a nerve centre which controls all the organs and all the functions. Society is, by definition, a system in unstable equilibrium, in which contradictions and conflicts form part of its very existence. If this is valid in general terms for all the dimensions of the /social system,

social system, it has even greater validity as far as education is concerned, for education is the point of intersection of contradictory aspirations and demands on the part of the major social subsystems and the different groups which make up society. Thus part of educational development can be explained only in terms of the values which are granted priority and which derive from the social demands formulated by different groups and sectors which neither correspond with, nor are limited to, the demands of the economic system. Consequently, the young people of Latin America today have received a better education than would have been required by the apparatus of production on the basis of strictly economic considerations.

Nevertheless, emphasis on the independence of the educational system in generating certain changes may lead to the risk of producing an approach centred on the educational system itself, which attributes to the system the role of the major engine of social change, though all the empirical evidence available has proved this to be incorrect.

However, if the question is considered within the proper context, it may be said that education can be used to generate a series of changes, and that some can only be initiated in it. Under this heading may be included some aspects with important quantitative consequences, such as the creation of public awareness of the existence of children and young people who are excluded from education. The voice of these groups cannot be heard; they need spokesmen - a role which might be played by educationalists. Qualitative aspects of the greatest importance also exist, ranging from the quality of the knowledge imparted, through the planning of the educational system to cover that crucial age of biological and intellectual development which has erroneously come to be known as pre-school, to the design of cultural and pedagogical tools which are suited to the low levels of cultural development of the rural and urban marginal groups.

Under this approach it is necessary to resume the analysis of the interrelations between education and development, considering some fundamental aspects which have arisen in the region in recent years, and the central challenges they pose.

4. Summary of economic growth and educational development
in the region in the present decade

Very briefly, economic growth in the region has passed through three phases in the present decade. Between 1970 and 1973, the region as a whole reached an annual cumulative growth rate of 7.4%, as a result of national policies, vigorous external demand, the improvement of the terms of trade and the availability of external financing. In 1974 the policies prevailing in the previous phase remained in force, but the international circumstances showed a weakening of external demand, a deterioration in the terms of trade and a rise in the prices of petroleum, so that those countries of the region which are not exporters or self-sufficient in petroleum incurred deficits on the current account of the balance of payments which were dealt with using external financing and the foreign exchange reserves. Starting in 1975, external circumstances worsened and the annual cumulative growth in the product was only 3%, more or less the same as population growth.

As a result of these processes, Latin America's place in the world economy has changed, especially as regards the following basic aspects: (a) the structure of exports has changed, with an increase in the share of industrial goods; (b) there has been an increase in external borrowing, which has become short-term in nature of private origin; (c) the transnational corporations have continued to play an important role, to such a point that in 1975 investment in Latin America by the OECD countries amounted to about US\$ 40,000 million, and the sales of the transnational corporations reached some US\$ 80,000 million, almost double the value of Latin American exports for that year. All this shows that, when external circumstances are favourable, the region is capable of making a domestic accumulation and savings effort, and that the economic growth of the Latin American countries is to an appreciable extent dependent on progress in the world economy and, in particular, the industrialized countries. Recently, countries in different circumstances have adopted policies designed to open up their national economies, with completely unpredictable consequences for the domestic economic and social structure. At all events, the regional economic process is continuing to demonstrate a limited capacity to generate jobs and distribute the benefits
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of growth fairly, and this will be aggravated by the increase in the economically active population, in view of the demographic processes at present under way.

In the La Paz Appraisal it was observed that:

"The present situation of education in Latin America may be described as one of expansion in quantitative terms, while at the same time it shows contradictory tendencies and serious disequilibria in its patterns of growth and the social impact it produces. It may be noted that the vigorous growth of the education system as a whole has tended to be concentrated at the secondary and higher levels, while the growth rate of primary education, which was 3.9% between 1970 and 1975, is scarcely higher than population growth. The average schooling of the labour force in the countries of the region was around four years in 1970, thus revealing a situation of generalized semi-illiteracy and illiteracy. The illiteracy rates amount to between 5 and 40% of the labour force."

5. The challenges ahead: trends and prospects

If one endeavours to go beyond the parallelism between economic growth and growth in education, and link together the two dimensions of social reality, it is clear that in the near future the countries of the region will, to a greater or lesser extent and depending on specific national circumstances, face a series of challenges which will require the greatest possible decisiveness, application and creative imagination and which must be considered here, if only briefly.

(a) Education and the demographic process

Growth in population is showing a downward trend, but remains the highest in the world, with an annual cumulative rate of growth of 2.7%. The age structure of the population is predominantly young, and 42% of the total population were under 15 in 1970. An increase in density has been recorded, but in most of the countries the average density was no higher than 30 per square kilometre, with a high concentration in a small number of areas and low density in the remainder of the territory. Urbanization has been intensive, and the process of metropolitanization has become further accentuated; it is estimated that by 1980 the urban population will

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make up more than 64% of the total population. The rural population has recorded much slower growth, so that if specific policies are not adopted the characteristic dispersion of the rural population in the region will very slowly be modified. The population of working age has risen increasingly fast, and special mention should be made of the fact that a large proportion of the population which will exist in the year 2000 has already been born.

These demographic trends will affect the education system in various ways. One can foresee a rise in demand for education and training, which will produce quantitative and qualitative pressure on the various levels of the educational system for the introduction of new dimensions, targets and structural arrangements in education. Urbanization will have two-sided effects: on the one hand, one may expect an increase in demand for goods and services of all kinds, in pressure on the urban physical and social infrastructure, in the consequent modification of social stratification both in rural and in urban areas, and in the problems of integrating migrants in urban society; on the other hand, life in towns will not fail to have effects on the modernization of attitudes among the migrants, by putting them in contact with new ways of thinking, with the mass forms of social communication, with a large amount of information and frequent interpersonal relations which, as a form of incidental education, will modify their perception of space and time.

One should also remember that one of the effects of living in towns and achieving a certain degree of education is to reduce the fertility rate.

Up to the present, the urban sectors in most of the countries of the region have been successful in pressing for educational and training resources of all kinds to be allocated in a manner favourable to them, as a result of which rural migrants continue to be attracted to the towns. As the dispersion of the rural population has continued or increased, the unit cost of educating them has risen, while solutions in the field of pedagogy, curricula or school organization which would make it possible to avoid growing discrimination against them have not yet been found.

(b) Education and rural development

In this context, the indicators concerning the educational circumstances of the rural population continue to show a clearly unfavourable position, despite the progress made. The proportion of illiterates is very high, and the numbers of children who have dropped out or who are substantially older than their classmates show that the success rate in primary schools is below satisfactory levels. The persistence of situations of this type makes it necessary to rethink seriously the approaches which have so far been used to consider the educational problem in rural areas.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that circumstances in the region differ widely.

One of the sources of variety which previously occurred mostly in the industrial sector has also spread to agriculture, where growing disparities in output may be observed.

However, differences in the rural areas do not arise only from differences in output. Linked to them are other sources, including, undoubtedly, those derived from the different prevailing cultural contexts. In this regard, while in some countries the status of the rural population is related to the fact that they belong to a different culture, in others cultural homogeneity is very high.

In the case of the so-called traditional situations, one may generally observe the persistence of the latifundio-minifundio complex; deterioration in soil quality; the decline of levels of output and the use of obsolete techniques; the absence of an appropriate structure for finance, marketing and transport; demographic pressure on land; the preponderance of family plots with the resulting use of the labour of women and children; depressed levels of income; and the absence of social services.

These problems become acute in the case of countries which gave birth to advanced pre-columbian cultures and whose populations, converted into natives, are subjected to various degrees of physical, linguistic and social isolation.

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In the case of situations linked with agricultural modernization (accumulation, increasing technological complexity, growing dependence on urban and international systems for marketing and finance), one may generally observe the existence of processes whereby productive land and investment and operational capital become concentrated, the technological level and the skills required from the labour force are raised, and the social structure is modified, since for its functioning use is made of a smaller number of professional and technical staff, a few permanent wage earners and a growing number of temporary wage earners recruited from among the independent peasants who encounter difficulties in obtaining the necessary monetary incomes, from among the children of the latter who have no access to land, and from among those who, because of the concentration process, can no longer continue under the various former legal arrangements (as medieros, aparceros, colonos, inquilinos, and so on).

Although some countries have already succeeded in overcoming the most serious problems involved in providing educational services for the rural population, others have only recently begun to make systematic efforts in this direction.

However, it is clear from the analysis of the various situations which may be encountered in Latin American agriculture that efforts to overcome educational deficiencies can only be justified on the basis of the demands from the people and the objectives of the State in the field of integration, rather than the requirements of the system of production.

In this regard, it is important to reiterate that in the case of Latin America the basic educational demands of the rural population can only be met by the State, and that the policies drawn up for this purpose should be accompanied by structural transformations which change the general conditions of life and work in the countryside. Nevertheless, the crucial factor is that the State should make the enormous effort of political will involved in reallocating resources and facing up to the predictable conflicts, tensions and pressure from other social groups which will inevitably be affected by the implementation of a programme on this scale.

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In the sphere of educational policies, this challenge has a specific dimension. It is safe to say that on a number of occasions the political will of the State has been frustrated by the inadequate implementation of its strictly educational objectives. Many of the efforts currently being made in rural education are proving clearly unproductive. The results of recent research show that a substantial proportion of the illiterate have spent between one and three years at school, and that the use made of the learning process undergone by country children is so inadequate that they reach the higher grades with only very elementary familiarity with the skills of reading and writing.

Although the poor success rate of educational action in the rural areas is linked with a number of factors on which schools cannot have a direct impact (poor nutrition, child labour, and so on), there are others which concern them specifically. The main factors appear to be the teaching staff and the type of curricular design prevailing in the schools. With regard to the teaching staff, it is fairly well known that performing this work in the countryside imposes a number of requirements which the usual training does not help to meet even in a minimally satisfactory way. The rural teacher must simultaneously teach various grades, made up of children with different linguistic and cultural codes, in communities where the school is usually the only social institution with a genuine existence, and is therefore the object of demands of very different kinds which are not necessarily related to the task of teaching and learning. In these circumstances the teacher has, on the one hand, manifest deficiencies in training, since the curricula are usually uniform and generally based on the requirements of the urban centres. However, on the other hand, the organization of the schools itself prevents the teachers from meeting some of these requirements, since the gap between the formal requirements set out in the applicable regulations and the real requirements of the working environment usually nullifies much of the voluntary effort of the teachers.

As far as the curriculum of the rural schools is concerned, despite the clear progress made by the educational sciences in clarifying the variable which must be borne in mind in curricular design, actual circumstances in rural schools continue to show that the arrangements applied do not differ significantly from those applied in the towns. In this regard it is necessary

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to draw a distinction between the aspects related to the content of the instruction and those which have to do with the rural situation as a whole. Among the former, obvious importance attaches to the problem of the teaching of Spanish in areas where the indigenous population predominates. This task is of such importance that the curricula of the school should include it as a stage which precedes other learning processes. Among the latter, on the other hand, stands the different levels of importance enjoyed by the school as an institution in the countryside and in the towns. While in the towns the school is a historically recognized specialized institution, with functions clearly differentiated from the remaining social functions fulfilled on an institutional basis in other areas and by other agents, in the countryside the school fulfils a wide range of functions, and access to it is a genuine social novelty. In this regard, the rural school must accept that children will enter it without any kind of preparation - either social or individual - for performing the role of pupil. In addition, the school usually represents the only environment where children from the rural areas of the region can share activities which are regarded as specific to children. These factors, among others, must necessarily affect not only the actual functioning of school activity but its formal expressions, and must be borne in mind in efforts designed to close the gap between pedagogical practice and the formal and administrative requirements within the framework of which it takes place.

Concerning these issues, the most serious challenge facing the educational systems of the region is to find the correct pedagogical responses to ensure that the political will of the States and the efforts of the population lead to concrete results. These responses cannot be uniform. The variety of rural circumstances is too wide to think of solutions of general applicability. However, this same variety supplies the basic point of departure for the search for these responses: they cannot be found without the participation of the people involved. Present demands for rural education must constitute a basis to enable the communities themselves to specify the content of the type of education they seek. The interaction between these demands and the proposals derived from national interests can shape the solutions which, in this regard, should be found rapidly.

/(c) Education

(c) Education and the labour market

The labour market is one of the crucial institutional mechanisms of society, where the demand for labour from the various units composing the production system meets the labour supply whose maintenance and reproduction in the social organization prevailing in the region is a responsibility which each family unit must confront with the means at its disposal.

Generally speaking, employment presents the following characteristics in the region: 27% of the labour force is underemployed; changes are identified in its sectoral composition, with a relative decline in occupation in the primary sector and growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors; changes in the dependency relations of the labour force, with an increasing tendency for workers to be wage-earning employees; growth of non-manual occupational categories. In addition, the following trends are recorded: a steady increase in schooling of all occupational strata; a diminishing gap between the educational levels of the higher-level manual occupations and the lower-level non-manual occupations; similarity between the educational levels of the higher- and lower-level non-manual occupational strata; expansion of so-called "spurious employment", that is, the growth of the public and private bureaucracies whose contribution to the development process and towards satisfying the population's basic needs is somewhat debatable. In the manufacturing sector, in particular, the same occupation is performed by persons with the most varied educational levels. Competition to obtain employment is more intense, and more schooling is required in order to have access to it.

This is basically a result of the independence of the educational systems with respect to the production sectors observed in nearly all the countries of the region. In other words, it is a historical fact that it is difficult for formal educational systems to develop within the framework of purely economic objectives. The expansion of the production systems of the countries of the region, and especially of the more industrialized countries, shows rates of growth and structural characteristics with respect to the combination of population factors which make it impossible to gear the expansion and characteristics of the population's educational opportunities to the growth of the production apparatus.

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In this respect considerable thought is required concerning the relations between education and employment in order to adapt them to the real situation in each country, so as to avoid generalizations which frequently, though not intentionally, appear to question the soundness of the positive evolution of the schooling of the economically active population which has taken place in the region.

Actually, apart from the structural changes which should be introduced in order to step up the creation of employment in the various sectors of production, the positive evolution of the economically active population's schooling and, therefore, the gradually higher educational requirements laid down by employers constitute an additional challenge in the educational field. This involves action to raise the level of schooling of those who fail to meet the minimum requirements of the labour market and are consequently excluded from it.

In short, in observing the efforts made by the various countries of the region to define the qualitative and quantitative objectives of the educational systems (that is, those connected with manpower supply) in terms of the objectives of the production sectors, it is seen that the growth of the former cannot be conditioned in terms of the latter, in view of the structural characteristics inherent in each and the different nature of their objectives. This is considered to be a vitally important fact because its immediate consequence is a thorough review of the goals and objectives of formal education systems and the appropriate means and mechanisms for attaining them.

Higher education is the level that has increased its coverage in the most spectacular manner. Without going into a precise statistical balance, suffice it to say that between 1970 and 1975 higher education grew at a cumulative annual rate of 16.3%. This growth, however, has not meant a substantial change in the social origin of the students, nor in the composition of enrolment by careers, which continued to be channelled mainly towards the humanistic courses at the expense of the scientific and technical disciplines. This is largely explained by the increasing enrolment of women who, far from being attracted by the scientific or technical careers, tend to enrol in those which reproduce the role socially assigned to women. In spite of these limitations, however, the expansion of higher education is appreciably

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affecting the functions it should perform vis-à-vis the social development of the countries of the region. At this stage of the process it is clear that the quantitative growth of the university was the result not of a policy designed to take into account the university alone, but of a dynamic force in which both the demands of the production apparatus and the social requirements of certain power structures and the ideologies and values of the various social strata are all interacting factors.

Broadly speaking, higher education has adopted two types of responses to this dynamic force. First, an effort has been made to adapt the university situation to the demands of economic growth and fiscal possibilities. Policies of this kind have encountered limits deriving both from the unpredictable growth of the production apparatus and its demands, and from social and political pressures. Secondly, an attempt was made to bring the university situation into line with social and political demands, thus confronting the limits deriving from the creation of jobs by the production apparatus and the shortage of fiscal resources. The countries of the region have swayed between one type of response and the other, according to their particular situation.

The fact is that in this interplay of contradictory demands and responses the university has gradually lost sight of the question as to what is or should be its contribution to the social development of the region. In this respect, at least two dimensions of the problem may be distinguished. First, the university is expected to respond to the group of requirements involved in the scientific and technical development of the economic and social system. The empirical evidence available would seem to indicate that the process of technological maturity occurring in the region could not have taken place without the existence of relatively well-developed university systems, particularly as regards engineering and science. Of course, this situation is neither homogeneous nor generalized in the whole region, but it is found both in those countries whose university system anticipated the production sectors' requirements, and in those in which the system of university education developed later and basically endeavoured to meet the immediate demands originating in production units. This sphere of productive and educational activity is permanently subjected to new requirements, however. The very nature of scientific and technological change and the varying demand for human resources

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on the part of production units make any planning exercise designed to determine the quantity of human resources which should be produced by universities in order to attain optimum levels of professional employment practically impossible. In this respect, empirical evidence tends to show that one way of solving the possible maladjustments between the supply of and demand for university-trained human resources is based on the achievement of sound basic scientific training which will permit the necessary flexibility to adapt to the changing conditions imposed by the development of knowledge and the production apparatus.

Another dimension of the university's contribution to development derives from the manner in which university education is expanding in the region. The risk and, therefore, the greater challenge which are beginning to be noted in the growth of enrolment stem from the need to adopt institutional and pedagogic forms which will ensure the optimum quality of education without, however, restricting access or internally stratifying the system so that at one and the same level differentiated types of education are offered.

(d) Education and social stratification

The different aspects thus far considered are condensed in the structure of social stratification in the countries of the region. Dividing lines have been noted in the values of different indicators, pointing to the existence of well-defined social barriers: rural or urban residence; educational opportunities; the structure of employment and of wages and salaries; levels of consumption and standards of living; real participation in orienting the economy, society and the State. All this has resulted in an increasing gap between the broad base and the narrow peak of the stratification pyramids. The prevailing style of development from which all those trends derive in the region, far from leading to the integration of State and nation, would seem to be tending towards their segmentation. The rate of growth of the middle-income strata is more rapid than the rate at which the economy has grown and been transformed, and has been based on their higher level of education, greater powers of social organization and political pressure, and the paradigmatic force of their consumer and behavioural patterns, rather than on an innovative and powerful participation in economic production. In the upper middle strata, conformist and adaptive attitudes may be detected, with a high degree of

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immobilism as regards ideas and inertia with respect to social change. This segment, which has contrived to enter the consumer society, forms a solid social and political block which favours the continuity of the status quo and is prepared to accept only such reforms as are not a threat to the positions they have attained, which in their turn are unthinkable without the introduction of changes in income distribution and access to the various types of goods, services and social opportunities. In the middle and lower sectors of the middle-income strata, some groups have not been rapidly and favourably incorporated in the system, and an increasing number of persons graduating from the secondary and higher levels of the educational system fail to find employment compatible with their training and expectations. These structurally contradictory groups with high social and economic expectations, which are partially unemployed or under-employed and are dissatisfied if not frankly frustrated, may be capable of generating attitudes that will exclude them from the system unless it finds some way of incorporating them or changes its character. The meritocracy based on educational credentialism is beginning to encounter objective limitations deriving from the development style itself, and is tending to inculcate disconformism or apathy among young people, who cannot visualize their future destiny, not only in economic production but also in terms of social creativity.

The broad rural and urban base of the stratification pyramid faces problems of a different type deriving from its low income levels, limited access to goods, services and opportunities, and little or no social participation. The population concerned is not alien to the attraction exercised by the life style of the middle and upper strata, which is being strengthened in a context of growing social visibility, the increased spread of social communication media and the persistence of the image of living in an open society. Under these conditions, they perceive that higher educational levels are essential if they are to be able to participate in the life of society, which finds expression in the expectations of educational achievements for their children and in the demands they make in that respect. Furthermore, their educational status itself makes it difficult for them to make a proper evaluation of their existing situation and future prospects. These will undoubtedly depend on their possibility of finding some way of expressing /their own

their own needs, which, in its turn, will be associated with the raising of their educational levels and their capacity and possibilities of organizing themselves to formulate their demands on a systematic basis. One of the great challenges faced by the region's educational systems is to find adequate strategies and methods in order to raise effectively and within a short period the educational levels of the poor rural and urban masses living in widely heterogeneous situations.

From the point of view of the structure of social stratification, the co-existence in most countries of the region of a concentrating and consumist national development style and a development of the educational system characterized by very high rates of expansion for the secondary and higher levels compared with those for the basic level presents challenges whose various possibilities of solution are already beginning to emerge. It is quite clear that if the style of national development and the style of development of the educational system are maintained, it may be foreseen that the already pronounced gaps between the social strata will widen and an increasingly segmented State-Nation will take shape. Within a context of restricting public expenditure, this may result in options which may cause those social strata which have access only to the basic level to be increasingly bypassed as regards their actual possibilities of social and economic participation and almost finally excluded from attaining the necessary and even higher minimum thresholds for their full incorporation in society. With respect to those sectors which have access to the secondary and higher levels, it may lead to two types of policies: either a generalized restriction of access to the secondary and higher educational system, which would be mortgaging the countries' intellectual future, or a differentiated access according to the career and type of establishment, which means that the State itself would be encouraging the segmentation of society. Different kinds of answers may be found to this challenge, but it must be borne in mind that the answer adopted will be shaping the economic, political and social future of the whole society. The countries of the region, and in particular the educational system, must become capable of meeting on a priority basis the demand for basic education from the poor rural and urban sectors so that they may rise above the minimum thresholds necessary for

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integration in the economic, social and political life of society; of satisfying the middle-income sectors' demand for secondary education, without detriment to the above-mentioned priority; of meeting the demand for higher education from all those intellectually able to formulate such a demand.

(e) Educational planning

It should be noted that educational planning expanded vigorously in the past decade, as shown by the establishment of specific offices in nearly all the countries of the region, the provision of specialized personnel training and the carrying out of many technical research, diagnostic and programming activities, materializing in the emergence of the first educational reform plans.

Methodologically, educational planning was influenced by economic planning, and therefore attention was centred on physical indicators and the establishment of quantitative objectives and goals for each level of education, while its linkage with global planning took the form, in many areas, of centring action on forecasting human resources requirements at the higher and technical level. Generally speaking, the qualitative difference between the educational and production processes was not taken into account. In the latter, on the one hand, the role of technology ensures an acceptable level of quality in the instrumentation of projects and, on the other hand, the market acts as a regulating force, accepting or rejecting goods and services, so that the indicators of quantitative results have some validity. In education, the indicators of results in terms of population covered by the service, graduation, etc., shed little light on the quality of knowledge. What matters above all, however, is the actual conception of the educational system, since this must be the basis for measuring the social achievements of education. In other words, the central aspects of educational planning are: the societal project which is implicit and the conditions through which the academic and pedagogic environments are created for the development of intelligence and knowledge.

In those countries where planning stemmed from projects involving economic and social change, education found its objectives in those projects, and therefore acquired real political and technical importance. Even in those /cases, however

cases, however, the weakness of the cultural project, which was not developed as a specific objective of educational planning, has been fairly marked.

Just as economic planning established physical production, value added and the balance of payments as indicators, educational planning calls for the preparation of appropriate indicators which will evaluate the role of the language used in pedagogic communication with marginal social groups, the scientific knowledge acquired, the development of the powers of observation, the students' desire to read, etc. Only on the basis of an evaluation of this type of qualitative basis can a new conception of educational planning be generated which will make the cultural project the central point of the programming of short-, medium- and long-term action.

6. Innovation and challenges

The group of problems analysed above presupposes a challenge whose confrontation requires the completion of a succession of stages with graduated goals according to the stage of educational development reached by each country of the region.

What appears to be most urgent is to attack the roots of the deep-seated inequalities which today split the national societies. This entails, in the first place, considering the social groups which are outside the educational system. It is quite unjustifiable that among the young population aged 15 to 24 years of age, covered by a 1970 census of Latin America, illiteracy should still affect an average of one out of every six young people, and that in some countries the rates should be even higher, when the economic means exist to remedy this serious situation. It is an equally serious fact that illiteracy should be considered as a current objective rather than as a lesser goal of a larger-scale objective which, in view of the situation of social and technological modernization of Latin America, should be a primary cycle of education. It is a source of some concern that educational training should start at 6 or 7 years of age, and that it is precisely the higher-income groups which obtain pre-school education for their children, when scientific information shows that this is a crucial stage for the development of the intellect and is of greater importance in the case of children from families suffering material and cultural poverty.

/Primary school

Primary school continues to be the major stage of common training for the whole population, and the development of the region's human resources will continue to depend on its development and adaptation to the various social and cultural contexts in the full sense of the term.

Education at the secondary level, which has shown a positive numerical expansion, undoubtedly calls for a reconsideration of the cultural and scientific level of the knowledge it imparts, among which it should include an introduction to the knowledge of problems of the present-day economic and social structure. The developed countries use up-to-date scientific education texts and manuals containing the first principles of economic structures, which are very necessary for a conscious participation in social life. It is impossible not to be concerned about the level of the texts and manuals in use in the Latin American countries.

The university constitutes a specific aspect of the concerns of the Economic Commission for Latin America. In the present stage of the region's development, one of the keys to overcoming the contradictions involved in an intermediate stage of development is the availability of highly skilled persons to innovate in all fields. Admittedly it is necessary to incorporate the most advanced scientific knowledge, but it is also true that it must be integrated in a line of thinking which is compatible with our situation. The university's function is also, and primarily, to suggest alternative models of social, political and economic organization and to provide support for apparent utopias, which may not prove to be such in the future if the necessary conditions are created for them to be evaluated and discussed.

The various challenges require innovative imagination in a great many respects. Spectacular advances have been made in non-formal education methods, education by correspondence and other forms of education, but an additional effort is necessary in the way of reconsidering the role which can still be played by books, the utilization of social communication media, horizontal technical co-operation among the countries of the region themselves, and the creation of many focal points of pedagogic innovation.

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Hence, the emphasis which the governments of the region placed in the La Paz Appraisal on the fact that integrated development and the complete transformation of our societies "will require a considerable dose of innovation in terms of policy measures, and in particular a much stronger political commitment to the social and human objectives of development" is perfectly valid.

A review of the development of Latin America in the last three decades shows a positive balance, reflecting very considerable achievements and changes. The inherent characteristic of a dynamic situation is, however, that new challenges to confront problems deriving from the development process itself emerge in every stage and, therefore, change and innovation must be continuing processes.