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CEPAL

Review

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Notes and explanation of symbols

The following symbols are used in tables in the *Review*:

Three dots (...) indicate that data are not available or are not separately reported.

A dash (—) indicates that the amount is nil or negligible.

A blank space in a table means that the item in question is not applicable.

A minus sign (—) indicates a deficit or decrease, unless otherwise specified.

A point (.) is used to indicate decimals.

A slash (/) indicates a crop year or fiscal year, e.g., 1970/1971.

Use of a hyphen (-) between years, e.g., 1971-1973, indicates reference to the complete number of calendar years involved, including the beginning and end years.

References to "tons" mean metric tons, and to "dollars", United States dollars, unless otherwise stated.

Unless otherwise stated, references to annual rates of growth or variation signify compound annual rates.

Individual figures and percentages in tables not necessarily add up to corresponding totals, because of rounding.

Introduction

The articles presented in this issue of the *CEPAL Review* are in essence conceptual analyses of a body of material compiled and formulated in connection with the execution of the joint ECLA/UNESCO/UNDP project *Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe (Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean)*. Activities under this project were carried out between the years 1976 and 1981, and their object was to examine the characteristics of the expansion of education in relation to the region's economic, social, cultural and social participation dimensions. The project was of a regional character, with activities in individual countries, and was intended to meet demand on the part of the thirteen governments which, like the international organizations, considered that the highly significant expansion of education that had taken place in the region since 1950 had *de facto* altered the existing relations between education and the various aspects of economic and social development.

It was evident that previous knowledge on the subject was completely out of date in relation to an actual situation which in some cases had been marked by real changes, and in others revealed lacunae in educational coverage of which the implications were exceptionally serious both from the standpoint of forming the citizens of the twenty-first century, and for the immediate possibilities of social participation, incorporation in employment and assumption by the people of a responsible role in a democratic way of life. Especially disquieting was the fact that expansion and exclusion were to be found at the same time in one and the same country, with negative repercussions on social integration policies and on government intentions to establish equitable conditions for the entire population and incentives to social mobility for the various groups.

Such was the complex situation that gave rise to the activities of the project on development and education, the function of which was to conduct research on which policies could be founded. To this project the Economic Commission for Latin America contributed its knowledge of the development and the specificities of Latin America; UNESCO, its specialization in education; and the United Nations Development Programme, for its part, the necessary know-how in respect of technical assistance, as well as most of the financing.

The strategy for the execution of the project can be described in terms of certain main lines of action. The first consisted in making a number of studies some of which represented original research, while others drew upon statistical sources, basically censuses, or upon social literature, both at the regional and at the national level; these provided the necessary background information for the issue of global reports and the formulation of policy recommendations. Secondly, planning bodies and Ministries of Education were invited to join in the research work, as well as universities, social, anthropological and educational research centres, and private enterprise (the latter in case studies on the use of human resources in the economic system), this group of studies being carried out with the support of the Resident Representatives of UNDP. The object of the third line of action was to conduct, in every country where specific problems arose and government or academic backing was available, research which took the national situation as indicative of the problem in question in Latin America, without attempting to obtain a description of the forms it assumed in all countries, since this would have limited the area of study. It must be pointed out that in view of the vast number of relations existing between education and development, the field of investigation was necessarily many-sided, comprising the various levels of education and the different social contexts, in addition to particular problems. Thus, for example, research on cultural and linguistic heterogeneity gave rise to such publications as "Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú" (DEALC/10) and "Proceso pedagógico y heterogeneidad cultural en el Ecuador" (DEALC/22), while educational responses to structural changes in rural areas were considered in studies like "La educación rural en la zona cafetera colombiana" (DEALC/15) and "Educación y reforma agraria en Honduras" (published by the Ministry of Education and CONSUPLANE of Honduras). The capacity of the educational system to serve heterogeneous socio-cultural groups, in particular those of popular origin, was examined in

studies such as "La profesión del maestro y el desarrollo nacional en Colombia" (Fichas/16) and "Marginalidad urbana y educación formal. Planteo del problema y perspectivas de análisis" (Fichas/14), also based on original research carried out in Colombia. The university question was approached from various angles. The democratization process was analysed in a study on "El origen social de los estudiantes de la Universidad de Buenos Aires" (Fichas/9), and in another on the same subject in relation to Venezuela, undertaken in collaboration with the UNESCO Regional Centre for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (CRESALC). Interrelationships between university, social system and employment were reviewed in global studies such as "Notas acerca de la expansión universitaria del mercado de empleo y las prácticas académicas" (Fichas/5), and the specific question of technological innovation and the human resources required for higher education was discussed in "Aprendizaje, innovación tecnológica y recursos humanos universitarios. Consideraciones sobre el caso argentino" (DEALC/23), as well as in a similar study carried out by the Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas de Colombia. Another line of action under the project consisted in ensuring that access to specific data would be obtainable and that advantage could be taken of the progress of information in each country, to which end recourse was had to the collaboration of highly specialized consultants and academic institutions that prepared, in conjunction with governments or autonomously, research on certain problems or experiments in the sphere of education and development. The circuit formed by official or academic research and study institution was co-ordinated by means of seminars at which on-going studies on some of the specific project topics were presented. Among these seminars mention may be made of those on the following subjects: illiteracy and basic education of youth in Latin America ("Analfabetismo y escolarización básica de los jóvenes en América Latina", held in agreement with the Government of Ecuador, in Quito in 1979); changes in the educational system, conditions and prospects ("Cambio del Sistema Educativo, Condiciones y Perspectivas", Brasilia, 1980); rural society, education and schools ("Sociedad Rural, Educación y Escuela", organized in Caracas in 1980, concurrently with a Ministerial Meeting to investigate obstacles to the implementation of proposals on rural education existing in the region); and the current situation of universities in Latin America ("Situación actual de las universidades en América Latina", carried out with the collaboration of the Latin American Centre for Social Sciences (CLACSO) and the Universidad de los Andes, in Bogotá, in 1978).

In the final phase of the project, reports on the broad thematic areas were drafted on the basis of the set of background studies, globalizing the information they furnished on the region under three major heads: "Rural society, education and the school"; "Changes in education, its status and conditions"; and "Education and employment problems". To these three final reports was added another in the shape of a general synthesis of the findings on development and education in Latin America, which will shortly be published under the title of "Desarrollo y educación en América Latina. Síntesis general", and in which the whole body of knowledge acquired under the project is presented, together with strategies and policies for changing educational relations with a view to more efficient and more equitable development.

Since it was felt that changes in education called for the active participation of broad social groups, and for collective consciousness of the need for policies, textbooks were actively disseminated as a means of reaching faculties of education and of social sciences, planning centres and executive units in all the countries. These textbooks were 47 in number and were published in editions of about 70 000 copies. Concurrently, some special issues were brought out of reviews such as *Perspectivas*, *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología*, *Cuadernos de Pesquisa* (Fundação Carlos Chagas de São Paulo), *Educación Hoy* (Colombia) and *Revista del Centro de Estudios Educativos*. Among the books published, mention should be made of one issued by UNICEF in 1980, under the title of *Educación y Sociedad en América Latina y el Caribe*; another published by the Universidad Federal do Ceará in 1983, and entitled *Mudanças Educacionais na América Latina. Situações e Condições*; and one issued in 1983 by the Universidad Central de Venezuela, in collaboration with CLACSO, under the title of *Universidad, Clases Sociales y Poder*. This series will be supplemented in the coming months by a set of books that will be brought out under agreement with private publishing houses.

The object of the project was first to organize existing information on a complex and dynamic state of affairs and then to analyse the specific structure of the region's educational system as an obstacle on the one hand, and a stimulus on the other, to changes in Latin American society. With this end in view, a study was made of the following aspects: changes in the social structure, the quantitative evolution of education, the groups included in and excluded from enjoyment of its benefits and the implications of education for the creation of a new society or the reproduction of the present profile of concentration and inequity; the patterns of education as a cultural system in relation to a culturally and socially heterogeneous region; the bearing of education on human resources and employment; and, in general, its relation with the capacity to establish new development styles, both viable and desirable in terms of development and social democracy.

On the basis of these findings, the internal aspects of the educational system were investigated, in particular those relating to the quality of the knowledge imparted and the incorporation of scientific approaches as well as to trends towards splitting-up, stratification and segmentation of educational systems which, by definition, should aim at the equalization of formative influences and of cultural codes.

Special attention was devoted to the linkage between the educative process and the recent changes in social structures in Latin America. During the last three decades the structural changes that took place exceeded the whole of those recorded since the dawn of the colonial epoch. However, despite economic growth, income distribution patterns underwent no appreciable change, and while in the upper social strata there was a differentiation of groups and activities proper to capitalist development, in the lower strata still subsisted a social aggregate—the populace—which was relatively cut off from the benefits of economic and social progress, except where education was concerned, and whose demands and movements reflected the impact of urbanization and of a changing mental outlook. The project studies showed that youth was the age group most affected by these changes: in the first place, it was hardest hit by the problems of migration and the deterioration of social conditions in the rural environment; secondly, either it enrolled *en masse* in the educational system in order to obtain access to the new types of employment resulting from economic change and from modernization, or, if the educational situation was unpropitious in terms of supply, it suffered the adverse effects of lacking the 'educational passports' indispensable for gaining a place in the new labour markets.

The exclusiveness that had characterized education in the region in the past gave way to a process of rapid and unequal participation, as the studies showed. Up to 1950 the gross rate of primary school enrolment was below 50%, whereas in 1980 it stood at about 98%; these figures, in combination with those for population growth, imply that in the Hispanic countries the number of educands rose from 40 million to 65 million. Concurrently, in secondary education the modest 1950 recruitment of one million and a half educands had grown practically ten times larger by 1980, and enrolment in higher education increased twentyfold, jumping from 265 thousand students to over 5 million thirty years later, and converting the gross enrolment rate from a humble 2% to 16%; in other words, in 1950 there was one university student in every 50 young persons of 20 to 24 years of age; in 1980, the proportion was one in six.

Educational change manifestly resulted from the action of many forces, varying in their incidence from one country to another, and including government policies for national and social integration, the demand for skills created by new occupations and, essentially, the brisk social demand which incited governments to expand a supply whose capacity was over and over again exceeded.

Social demand, rather than planning regulated by development goals, seems to be the factor that accounted for the emergence of an educational structure out of keeping with the precedents set by what are today the developed countries. At the bottom of this structure are to be found exclusion phenomena measurable by percentages of juvenile illiteracy and of drop-out which involve approximately half the children of school age; and together with these can be noted an efflorescence of secondary and in particular higher education, where rates of participation are similar to those prevailing in developed countries.

In the course of the analysis, countries were classified by their development models, and it could be seen that the most positive situations are to be found in countries where the modernization of education began earliest; in countries characterized by rapid change, and in those where the development of education is polarized, serious incongruities are observable between the social sectors with incipient schooling or none at all and those that are highly educated. The disproportion existing between the two sectors foreshadows the risk that education may become a factor of reproduction and consolidation of segmentalized social systems.

Because of the diversity of education and development implications, from the very start of the project certain options were established with regard to priority areas of analysis. It was decided to devote attention simultaneously to the internal aspects of the educational system, its relation with the socio-cultural heterogeneity of the region and its polarizations in terms of stratification; the linkages between education and the nature of employment; the role of the universities in the training of high-level human resources capable of putting forward critical alternatives to the prevailing development style and forming technical and political élites selected on a meritocracy basis; and, lastly, the relations between education and development styles, both those existing in the region and those that may come into being, especially in response to the current crisis.

The present issue of the *CEPAL Review* assembles articles by collaborators in the project which present, at a more highly conceptualized level, the analyses carried out with reference to education as a mode of social participation, to the role played in the history of Latin America by educational development models, to the relations of education with social stratification and employment, to the educational situation of the groups most excluded from the expansion of the service—such as, in particular, residents in rural areas—and lastly to the integration of the whole subject of education from the standpoint of identification of new development styles.

Germán W. Rama
Chief, Social
Development
Division of ECLA

Publications relating to Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean

DEALC/No.	Title	Author
DEALC/1	Educación e industrialización en la Argentina (out of print).	J.C. Tedesco
DEALC/2	Educación y desarrollo en Costa Rica.	J.F. García
DEALC/3	Financiamiento de la Educación en América Latina. Una aplicación a la Argentina.	H. Gertel
DEALC/4	Expansión educacional y estratificación social en América Latina (1960-1970) (out of print).	C. Filgueira
DEALC/5	Modelos educativos en el desarrollo histórico de América Latina. New version.	G. Weinberg
DEALC/6	Educación, imágenes y estilos de desarrollo.	G.W. Rama
DEALC/7	Educación y desarrollo en el Paraguay. La enseñanza básica.	D.M. Rivarola
DEALC/8	Seminario Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe. Informe Final (out of print).	
DEALC/9	Industria y educación en El Salvador (out of print).	J.C. Tedesco
DEALC/10	Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú (out of print).	J. Matos Mar <i>et al.</i>
DEALC/11	Educación para el desarrollo rural en América Latina (out of print).	Abner Prada
DEALC/12	La escuela en áreas rurales modernas.	J.P. Núñez
DEALC/13	Bibliografía sobre educación y desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe (out of print).	A. Copetti Montiel
DEALC/14	Bibliografía. Universidad y desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe.	A. Copetti Montiel
DEALC/15	La educación rural en la zona cafetera colombiana (out of print).	R. Parra Sandoval
DEALC/16	Education and Development in the English-Speaking Caribbean. A Contemporary Survey.	L.D. Carrington
DEALC/17	La educación no-formal en la reforma peruana.	J. Rivero Herrera
DEALC/18	Heterogeneidad técnica, diferenciales de salario y educación.	R. Carciofi
DEALC/19	Disyuntivas de la educación media en América Latina.	R. Vera
DEALC/20	Educación y desarrollo en el Ecuador (1960-1978).	JUNAPLA
DEALC/21	Second Seminar on "Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe". Final report.	
DEALC/22	Proceso pedagógico y heterogeneidad cultural en el Ecuador.	S. Vecino, J.C. Tedesco, G.W. Rama
DEALC/23	Aprendizaje, innovación tecnológica y recursos humanos universitarios. Consideraciones sobre el caso argentino.	J. Vivas, R. Carciofi, C. Filgueira
DEALC/24	Alfabetismo y escolarización básica de los jóvenes en América Latina.	J.P. Terra
DEALC/26	Estructuras sociales rurales en América Latina.	E. Torres Rivas

Fichas No.	Title	Author
Fichas/1	La planificación educativa en América Latina. Una reflexión a partir de la opinión de los planificadores de la región (out of print).	N. Fernández Lamarra, I. Aguerrondo
Fichas/2	Inserción de los universitarios en la estructura ocupacional argentina (out of print).	
Fichas/3	Educación y democracia (out of print).	G.W. Rama
Fichas/4	El concepto de masificación. Su importancia y perspectivas para el análisis de la educación superior (out of print).	J. Rodríguez F.
Fichas/5	Notas acerca de la expansión universitaria, el mercado de empleo y las prácticas académicas (out of print).	G.W. Rama
Fichas/6	Bases sociales para la formación a distancia de los maestros colombianos (out of print).	R. Parra Sandoval
Fichas/7	Cultura popular y educación en Argentina (out of print).	M.T. Sirvent
Fichas/8	Social Values of Secondary Students and their Occupational Preferences in Guyana (out of print).	S.B. Khan and U.M. Paul
Fichas/9	El origen social de los estudiantes de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.	D. Klubitschko
Fichas/10	Acerca del debate sobre educación y empleo en América Latina (out of print).	R. Carciofi
Fichas/11	Education and Development in Latin America (1950-1975) (out of print).	J.C. Tedesco and G.W. Rama
Fichas/12	Styles of Development and Education: a Stocktaking of Myths, Prescriptions and Potentialities.	M. Wolfe
Fichas/13	Democratización y educación básica en la reforma educativa peruana (out of print).	R. Vargas Vega
Fichas/14	Marginalidad urbana y educación formal. Planteo del problema y perspectivas de análisis (out of print).	J.C. Tedesco and F. Parra
Fichas/15	Educación técnica y estructura social en América Latina (out of print).	D. Wiñar
Fichas/16	La profesión del maestro y el desarrollo nacional en Colombia.	R. Parra Sandoval
Fichas/17	La lectura en la escuela de América Latina.	B.P. de Braslavsky
Final Reports Nos.		
1	Sociedad rural, educación y escuela (Rural society, education and schools).	
2	El cambio educativo. Situación y condiciones (Changes in education. Status and conditions).	
3	La educación y los problemas del empleo (Education and employment problems).	
4	Desarrollo y educación en América Latina. Síntesis general (Development and education in Latin America. General synthesis).	

Education in Latin America. Exclusion or participation

*Germán W. Rama**

This study looks at education in Latin America from the angle of the counterpoint between social participation and elitist exclusiveness. It alludes first to the educational model proper to the colonial system and to its perpetuation as reflected in an exclusion from culture and knowledge which is described as a distinguishing feature of the situation in Latin America up to the middle of the present century. The author then goes on to deal with the existing contradictions between social practice and expositions of principle, analysing characteristics proper to the region in terms of educational supply and demand. In this connection he refers to the limitation of educational supply as a form of social control, and to the contradictions produced within educational systems by the divergence between the demands of the various social groups, inasmuch as they are given consideration on a plane more closely linked to educational policy than to the specifically technical aspects of education. Next he analyses the form taken by the development of education in the region during the last three decades, posing the question of the contradiction between the expectations focused on education and the real possibilities of upward social mobility that society affords. In addition, he singles out some features of the region's process of structural change in recent decades, examining the role of education as a social adjustment variable—in the field of socialization, training, upward mobility, etc.—and also as a social conflict variable, by reason of the incongruity between the expectations of participation pivoting on education and the exclusiveness prevalent in many societies. Lastly, on the basis of the interaction of three variables, he propounds four socio-educational models—exclusive, classist, segmentary and universalist—with the aim of encompassing the diversity of historical situations actually existing in the region.

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I

The options: exclusion and participation

A study of education as a social process inevitably involves referring to it as one of the significant dimensions of social participation. This concept can, in the last analysis, be reduced to a very elementary category: to the opposition between élites and masses, and therefore to democratization. That is, democratization understood as a process of organization of a society whose members are considered—from the human standpoint—as equal, with the right to intervene, to reap the benefit of the material and non-material goods created by society, to participate in their development and to decide upon the orientation of the social system through the political mechanisms, which presuppose that everyone is capable of explicitly enunciating a concept with regard to collective organization.

In a contrary sense, the various forms of élitism rest on equally simple notions. According to these, a section of society sees itself as a superior group, destined in consequence to be the society's ruling—and exclusive—minority. The remainder are disqualified in the light of ideological constructs formulated by that same minority, on different bases, depending upon the stage reached by the social structure. They may invoke a metasocial warrant for exclusion (like the justification of authority in the Divine Plan or in the ideological plan exalted to the category of dogma); they may be based on classifications ranking human beings by racial criteria, where the emergence of a few genetic traits out of their whole vast aggregate is used to establish an arbitrary division between the superior and the inferior; they may resort to the tautological argument that the acquisition of material possessions and of power is a manifestation of the innate superiority of the group in question (a view for which religious grounds have been provided by certain currents of Protestant thought; as Max Weber remarked in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the badge of God's elected was social success); or, lastly, they may find support in cultural differentiation, and mark the boundary line between minorities and masses with a *línea* which separates the barbarian from the civilized world,

thereby rendering the bulk of society ineligible for participation as being incapable of understanding complex social and technical processes.¹

To this justification criteria has been added the notion of historical destiny, the bearer of which is to be a minority as regards the attainments of a specific social order; whence springs the implicit idea that only a few are in a position to interpret the collective good and to justify the imposition of their views on others, even if it has to be done by coercive and violent means. The old inquisitorial criterion of power that determines and enforces the behaviour acceptable in the members of society has come to be a justification very frequently invoked, which invariably dissembles the privilege of a minority.

In this case the quality with which domination is invested is that of *absolute truth*, denying society the use of reason and the condition of liberty, and so harking back to the struggle for the assertion of human ability to make a choice and to the idea of freedom *vis-à-vis* power, which John Stuart Mill epitomised when he said "that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because in the opinions of others, to do so would be wise, or even right".²

II

Exclusion: its history

In the history of Latin America the concepts of participation and exclusion find expression not only in an oppositional counterpoint, but in contradictory relations deriving from the lack of coherence and social articulation between the forms taken by social structures in the past and the role of the ideologies that were disseminated by political élites with the aim of creating, for the societies of the New World, qualitative bases different from those prevailing in Europe's *Ancien Régime*.

Latin America was one of the regions of the world where the colonial model of social organization remained in force longest, with an overlapping of conquered populations, African slaves and a dominant white minority. In the course of three centuries, this model, which

combined exclusion, exploitation and domination, established a set of referents for relations between minorities and masses which were retained beyond the formal termination of the power of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and have been projected into our own times. In some cases, the institutions on which the model was based —such as slavery, which lasted in Brazil until 1888— persisted long enough to establish seigneurial relations and an internalization of racial inferiority which still linger in the collective memory. In countries with a strong indigenous basis, the economic disintegration following upon the close of the cycle of production of precious metals embodied the domination patterns in a type of hacienda-indigenous community relation which, in countries like Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, survived until after the Second World War. In other countries, like Chile, the long-drawn-out warfare against the indigenes dragged on until

¹See François Jacob, *Le jeu des possibles. Essai sur la diversité du vivant*, Paris, Fayard, 1981; Juan Francisco Marsal, "La ideología de la derecha", in J.F. Marsal (compiler), *Argentina conflictiva*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Paidós, 1972; C. Wright Mills, *La imaginación sociológica*, translated by Florentino M. Torner, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961.

²John Stuart Mill, *On liberty*, any reprint, e.g., London, Oxford University Press, *The World's Classic series*, 1942, p. 15. (First published 1859.)

the end of the nineteenth century and established mechanisms of personalized dependence, if not of adscription to the land, for a mass of indigenous or mestizo population which is integrated in the relations of dependence and exclusion that in everyday speech are summed up in the term '*patrón de fundo*' ('the master').

In the structural model of colonial times, a key element in domination consisted in ensuring the exclusion of the descendants of the conquered races, of the slave population and of the barely differentiated human aggregate that can be described as 'the people', by invoking criteria relating to station in life and to culture which gave congruency to social and economic exclusion. In the first place, a complex juridical organization was constructed under which racial conditions were ranked as whites, negroes, indians, mestizos, mulattos, *cuarterones*, *quinterones*, *cholos* and countless other denominations with which an attempt was made to fit the mestization process into a framework of any kind. To each category corresponded a system of rights which, in relation to education and culture, had specific status. The statutes of the Universidad de San Jerónimo specified the non-admittance of negroes, mulattos and slaves of any sort, and in Mexico, negroes, mulattos and indians were excluded from the possibility of becoming teachers, as a precaution lest any of them should have acquired an education inconsistent with his place in the social order. Exclusion was also based on the need for political control over the broad masses of the socially inferior. Thus, in 1785 the "Royal Order of the Viceroy of Peru respecting the college of caciques (chiefs) and noble Indians of Lima" issued a warning that "the establishment of village schools may have very harmful consequences, and that Indians must be given instruction only in the Christian doctrine, since any other teaching is highly dangerous; considering that since the conquest there seems to have been no revolution on the part of these natives which was not stirred up by one with rather more education".³

³Quoted in Gregorio Weinberg, *Modelos educativos en el desarrollo histórico de América Latina*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/5, Rev.1, Buenos Aires, February 1981.

One of the most obvious manifestations of the segmentary character distinguishing the colonial model is the want of interest in getting the whole population to unite in speaking the same standard language. If nearly five centuries after the discovery of America it can be estimated that approximately one-tenth of the region's population still preserves a mother tongue other than the official language, one can imagine what the size of this sector of society must have been until such recent times as the early decades of the present century. This absence of linguistic integration was by no means the result of respect for the cultural identities of the conquered or enslaved groups, but reflected the lack of a unifying process in the production and circulation of economic and cultural goods, besides betraying a domination strategy which denied 'entitlement to speak' to vast social groups because they were excluded from the official language, which *ipso facto* was imposed on all inhabitants as the only one legitimate and compulsory for all official and market transactions. "Les locuteurs dépourvus de la compétence légitime se trouvent exclus en fait des univers sociaux où elle est exigée, ou condamnés au silence"..., which implies their exclusion from the nation, a "...groupe tout a fait abstrait et fondé sur le droit", in which "deviennent indispensables la langue standard, impersonnelle et anonyme comme les usages officiels qu'elle doit servir, et, du même coup, le travail de normalisation des produits des *habitus linguistiques*".⁴

Even in the countries where the influences of African and indigenous tongues were very limited (or eradicated at an early stage in consequence of evangelization), in the course of rural history—which was 'the' history of Latin America until far into the present century—a

⁴"Those who are without legitimate qualification to speak are in actual fact excluded from the social universes where it is required, or are condemned to silence", which implies their exclusion from the nation, "a group that is entirely abstract and founded upon law", in which "the standard language, impersonal and anonymous as the official uses which it has to serve, becomes indispensable, and so, by the same token, does the work of standardization of the products of linguistic habits." Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire*, Paris, Fayard, 1982, pp. 42 and 31.

popular language grew up which became established as a legitimate tongue owing to the limited communication between the rural world and the urban 'islands'. These forms of language had validity and relative power as long as the men who used them succeeded in exercising political and military capacity to confront the central and urban powers; they were subsumed into the category of vulgar colloquial language once urban and bourgeois power became dominant. Accordingly, attempts at nation-building on the basis of popular cultural patterns were systematically crushed in favour of the construction of a State which regarded itself as representing the material and cultural power groups. In the case of the River Plate, rural culture was given expression in poetic oral forms, and perhaps first made itself heard at the time of the struggle for independence through Bartolomé Hidalgo's *Cielitos*; in written form, it culminated in the epic by José Hernández, *Martín Fierro*, a nostalgic literary evocation of the cultural voice of the conquered group. Both writers belong to the line of educated poets who adopted the party and the language of the people, with one special characteristic: the reformulation of popular language—which many authors had attempted in an effort to satisfy the European taste for the exotic—was restored to the people from which it came, and was understood as their own, in the exceptional case of *Martín Fierro*.

Education was not an indispensable good for the execution of productive activities; in a rural world with little technology, occupational skills were acquired through direct apprenticeship, so that the most significant concern for education revolved around the universities.

These were taken to be primarily centres of theological and legal training; that is their function was to recruit the two intellectual groups which, through the spiritual order and the juridical order, generated the ideology and the organization necessary for the domination system. In contradistinction to what happened with Anglo-Saxon colonization, which, on establishing settlements, created first and foremost primary schools of a communal or religious type, in Latin America the universities were the most important institutions in the educational system.

In educational terms, all this was reflected in the fact that exclusion from culture and knowledge was one of Latin America's most distinguishing features up to about the mid-twentieth century. The few census data available (taking into consideration, moreover, that the deterioration is more serious than the figures show, because of incomplete enumeration of the scattered rural population) reveal that the illiteracy rate among the population aged 14 years or over was as much as 53% in Argentina in 1895; in the same year, it reached 68% in Chile, and in Cuba it was 43% for the population over 10 years of age. Lastly, in Brazil, in the second decade of the twentieth century, while in the district of Rio de Janeiro the rate was 41%, it rose to about 80% for the national population as a whole. In 1950, with the exception of Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba and Uruguay, the illiteracy rate of the populations over 15 years of age exceeded 30% in all the Latin American countries, 50% being recorded in Brazil and even higher percentages in Central America.⁵

⁵Cf. the data given in Gino Germani, *Estructura social de la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Raigal, 1955; Jorge Nagle, *Educação e sociedades na Primeira República*, Editorial Universidade de São Paulo, 1974; Germán W. Rama, "Educación media y estructura social en América Latina", in

Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, No. 3, Santiago, Chile, 1972; Juan Pablo Terra, *Alfabetismo y educación básica de los jóvenes en América Latina*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/24, Buenos Aires, 1980.

III

Participation: its ideology

From the time of the exploits of the Independence, the ideologists of the foundational process took as their negative referent the social and power structures in force under the colonial order and in the absolutist countries of Europe; the Enlightenment thinking of the eighteenth century and the social organization of the United States were the groundwork for the establishment of free republics and societies. Alongside the repudiation of Spanish colonial power the idea took root that a 'new world' was being created which would not be governed by either the aristocratic distinctions or those based on race and station in life that had characterized the colonial order.

In some society the call to liberty had unexpected effects in the shape of spontaneous participation by rural masses and races regarded as inferior, so that the nation-building period was characterized by an ambivalence which left its mark on subsequent history: on the one hand, some territories knew nothing of the challenges issued by popular mobilization to the heirs of colonial power; on the other, the process of constituting the State took up almost the whole of the nineteenth century and ended with the self-assertion of the urban bourgeoisies, whether those that owned the means of production which linked them with the external market, or those others that by virtue of control of the State, negotiated with foreign powers the concession of natural resources. In every case, however, enshrined in the Constitutions and in official expositions of policy was the theoretical principle that sovereignty was vested in the people; that power had its origin in suffrage, in some instances theoretically unrestricted and in others limited by censitary distinctions; that there were no differences but those of merit and virtue; and that education would be defined as the sacred responsibility of governments to educate the 'sovereign' for the full exercise of his rights.

This kind of statement —theoretical and masking the real state of affairs— was to be developed by the great reformers of the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in an endeavour to convert these abstract principles into concrete practice.

In Mexico, Benito Juárez, in a speech reflecting manifest leanings towards popular and nationalist power, was to assert that what prevented children's attendance at school was public poverty. "The man who has not enough to feed his family sees his children's education as a very far-off good, or as an obstacle to the winning of their daily bread. Instead of sending them to school, he makes use of them to look after the house or to hire out what little personal work capacity they have, as a means of slightly alleviating the crushing burden of poverty. If that man had some facilities; if his daily toil earned him some profit, he would take care to see that his children were educated and received solid instruction in any of the branches of human knowledge. The desire for learning and enlightenment is innate in the heart of man. Remove the obstacles that poverty and despotism place in his way, and he will seek knowledge by the light of nature, even if no direct protection is accorded him. All too well known are the causes that produce this poverty among us."⁶

At the other end of the continent, on the River Plate, the challenge issued was that of constituting a national society which would do away with rural-urban dualism, described by Sarmiento as "civilization and barbarism"; which would integrate European immigrants of peasant origin from the less developed parts of Europe, bearers of local cultural patterns manifested in the importance attached to their own dialects; and which, lastly, would simultaneously found the nation and the State,

⁶"Exposición al soberano congreso de Oaxaca al abrir sus sesiones" (Inaugural address to the sovereign congress of Oaxaca) (22 July 1848), in Benito Juárez, *Documentos, Discursos y Correspondencia, Selección y Notas de Jorge L. Tamayo*, Ministry of National Wealth, Mexico, 1971, vol. I, pp. 561-562, quoted in Gregorio Weinberg, *op. cit.*

establishing as a bridge between the two a political democracy which would make the State the mouthpiece of the nation.

The theoretical basis for the functioning of society drew its nourishment from positivism, which also contributed the application of scientific methodology in education, instead of dogmatism and verbalism; the forward strides in education made by the Swiss and the Germans, and, above all, the experience of the United States of America, constituted the paradigms. A propos of the United States, it was remarked that "by allying the school with democracy, the two major principles of modern society, they have been able to grow, in a hundred years of independent life, into the greatest, richest and happiest of modern nations".

Hence, in the view of the Uruguayan reformer José Pedro Varela, education establishes the basis of a republican democracy, so that it was regarded above all as the cornerstone of the organization of civic society. "The extension of the vote to all citizens entails, as an inevitable consequence, the diffusion of education to all: since without it man has not the awareness of what he is doing that is necessary for rational action. In a parody of what happened in France, we, the Spanish-speaking peoples of South America, have believe that the issue of a decree is enough to institute a republic, and that the *élan* of certain revolutionary movements, which change men without changing things, without bringing about genuine revolutions, suffices to alter institutions and pour the life of society into new moulds. The task is impossible: the dream a chimaera. To establish a republic, the first step is to form the republicans; to create a government of the people, the first step is to rouse up, summon to active life, the people themselves; to ensure that public opinion has sovereign authority, the first step is to form public opinion; and all the great necessities of democracy, all the requirements of a republic, have only one possible means of fulfilment: to educate, to educate, and still to educate."⁷

⁷José Pedro Varela, *Obras Pedagógicas, La educación del pueblo*, vol. I, Montevideo, Biblioteca Artigas, 1964, p. 71; this text is a reprint of the original edition published in 1874.

Proposals for the development of education were initially of limited scope. In most countries, the forms of domination described above did not create the requisite social space for their implementation; and popular education first began to spread in societies whose model of outward-directed economic expansion, on the basis of national control of the means of production, necessitated a new global social order. It was the large landowners of Uruguay themselves, producers for the export market, who were to support educational reform, because they saw in it the conditions for the pacification of the *gauchos en masse* and their transformation into wage-earning peons. But the process of diffusion of popular education was to be associated with the existence of manpower requirements that encouraged international immigration and were accompanied from the outset by the relative power of the wage-earning masses and the early development of urban centres for marketing and elementary industrial production, which were the springboard for significant processes of upward social mobility leading towards the formation of urban middle classes.

These middle classes, with the backing of proletarian sectors, were to play a part as members or supporters of the ruling alliance, receiving by way of reward, in the political market, the allocation of educational services which were favourable to the urban sectors and, within these, essentially to themselves; as will presently be seen, however, the services concerned came to constitute a universalist educational system, destined to confer a right upon the groups which, lacking capital and tradition, were to build around culture and education the groundwork of a meritocracy.

A similar process took place in Costa Rican society, as from the end of the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the formation of a middle class of independent farmers on the basis of population settlements (transplanted not subjugated) for coffee-growing, which calls for family work. These rural middle classes took part, in association with financial and marketing groups, in a power alliance through which the constitution of a nation qualitatively different from Central American conditions was achieved by means of a system of social participation which

found expression in the homogeneity of popular education —not particularly necessary, in

instrumental terms, for agriculture— and in a system of democratic participation.⁸

IV

The foundational ideology and the European situation

The foundational ideology to which reference has been made, and the nature of the process of change initiated in Latin American societies around 1950, inspired the peoples of the region to try to put into real effect the theoretical principles enunciated with regard to the functioning of societies.

As societies —and within them their different social groups— approached the threshold of participation and integration in the national community, demand for education flared up. Only in a few cases does the great metamorphosis of education witnessed by the region during the last three or four decades stem from a power decision which, in combination with a sustained long-term policy, has imposed the extension of educational coverage at the various levels of education. Far from it: a review of plans and their quantitative projections shows that in almost every instance they have been left behind by events, in a process instrumented more by the linkage of the population with the bureaucracy than through the formulation of coherent political programmes with ideological backing.

For the purpose of interpreting the nature of demands and movements in favour of education, a digression on the way it evolved in European societies may be of use. As has been

analysed in another study,⁹ in Europe the spread of literacy began with the Reformation, which introduced the culturally revolutionary concept that communication between mankind and God is effected through the written word. Consequently, the diffusion of literacy was at first associated with the expansion of Protestantism, and was then propagated to the more developed areas, so that in the course of the cycle of social struggles inaugurated by the French Revolution, the more modern section of societies was qualified to receive written messages, inasmuch as it had already become literate. The establishment of national educational systems at the end of the nineteenth century signified the culmination, not the start of the pursuit of literacy. All the political groups supported the existence of schools because cultural exclusion was of little use for keeping the broad masses out of political affairs, and the object now was to integrate them in accordance with a socializing message. Consequently, discussion was not focused on whether to educate or not to educate, but on the content of teaching, and the contestants in the debate were the conservative-religious, republican-lay and socialist-lay currents of thought. For the proletarian masses, education was a battle-flag; through it they could gain the right to vote from which they were excluded by illiteracy, could

⁸See Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina*, Mexico City, Editorial Siglo XXI, 1969; Lucio Geller, "El crecimiento industrial argentino hasta 1914 y la teoría del bien primario exportable", in *El Trimestre Económico*, Mexico City, October-December 1970, in which it is shown that industrial wages were higher in Buenos Aires than in England; Germán W. Rama, "Dependencias y segmentación en el Uruguay del siglo XIX", in *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología*, No. 44, Asunción, January-April 1979; "Desarrollo comparativo de Uruguay y Nueva Zelanda durante el siglo XIX", in John Fogarty,

Ezequiel Gallo and Héctor Diéguez (compilers), *Argentina y Australia*, Buenos Aires, Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1979; Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Educación y sociedad en la Argentina (1880-1900)*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Panneditte, 1970; José Fernando García, *Educación y desarrollo en Costa Rica*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/2, Rev.1, Buenos Aires, 1978.

⁹Germán W. Rama, Introduction to UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, *Educación y sociedad en América Latina y el Caribe*, Santiago, Chile, UNICEF, 1980.

keep their children out of work and could acquire knowledge with which to build up a proletarian culture or fit themselves to dispute the power of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, it was precisely in the countries with the most rigid class structure, such as England, where the struggles for education were most closely associated with the proletarian movement. The primary school once consolidated and widespread, secondary and higher education were jealously defended by respectable academic barriers, established by the very people who regarded themselves as destined for a higher culture, while at the same time the idea was instilled into the inferior groups that only the outstandingly excellent, in individual terms, could be 'sponsored' by the educational system itself for the pursuit of higher studies and the attainment of social promotion. This model, prevalent throughout Europe during the first half of the present century, had a very high degree of legitimacy

and was accepted as a social order resulting from the stratification of culture. Accordingly, when the expansion of post-primary education began in the 1850s, it was effected on the basis of a clear-cut academic and bureaucratic design which assigned to each social group an education congruent with its social background and intellectual development, classifying the latter according to linguistic abilities and capacity for abstract discourse, or the skills proper to manual and technical work. As a result, there were no educational explosions but gradual openings-up correlated with increasing urbanization, the development of science and technology, occupational differentiation and controlled social mobility. Up to a point, the social groups of lower social rank received more benefits in terms of consumption and participation than in terms of culture and education, nor did they press for the latter by attempting to override the canons of academic selection.¹⁰

V

The foundational ideology and the Latin American process

In Latin America the process is different, and the following aspects of it can be singled out:

a) In the past the option—in terms of domination—was between educating or not educating; the latter criterion was predominant, i.e., concern for social control took precedence over an orientation favourable to national integration. In view of this attitude on the part of the State, the churches and middle-level organizations can hardly be found to have fulfilled the same role in Latin America as in Europe and in the Anglo-Saxon countries with respect to the development of primary education. The societal characteristics previously described account for the very limited development of these middle-level organizations, and for the fact that little was done by the municipal authorities, which could have combined their work of local administration and regulation with the development of the primary school. The result was that

in the mid-twentieth century except in the countries that had made an early start on the process of modernizing education (Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica and, to a lesser extent, Chile and Cuba), the primary school remained the prerogative of the upper and middle urban strata; for the urban proletarian and popular sectors the supply was limited, and for the population living in rural areas, which was then half the total population, it was virtually nil.

¹⁰François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Lire et écrire. L'alphabétisation des français de Calvin à Jules Ferry*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1977; Carlos Cipolla, *Educación y desarrollo en Occidente*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1970; François Bourricaud, *Le bricolage idéologique. Essai sur les intellectuels et les passions démocratiques*, Paris, P.U.F., 1980; Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1974; Antoine Prost, *L'Ecole et la famille dans une société en mutation*, in Vol. IV, *De l'enseignement et de l'Education en France, Histoire générale*, Paris, Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1981.

b) The cycle of change in Latin American societies subsequent to the Second World War was accompanied by major developments in the shape of urbanization, the emergence in some cases and in others the intensification of industrial production, and the differentiation of worker groups as well as of various sectors of the middle strata, while in the meantime great political changes were taking place, ranging from the various forms of populism, through different types of reformist movements, to national and popular revolutions; and alongside all this, a demand for education sprang up which simultaneously affected every level, primary, secondary and higher education alike.

The development of the educational system stemmed from a body of demands which, as they had their origin in different social groups with different degrees of participation, pursued not only diverse but even contradictory objectives. In the 1950s and 1960s demands were fundamentally urban, and paramount among them were those originating in the capital cities, while in the 1970s, in addition, sections of the rural population, either on account of the penetration of capitalist patterns in the rural environment, or through communication with urban areas, or as the effect of a predisposition to migration —accompanied by 'anticipatory' socialization, particularly marked in the case of women— began to demand schools and, in some instances, integral educational cycles comprising part of the domain of secondary education.

The middle and lower middle urban groups were quick to call for an extension of secondary education which, in the 1950s, occurred essentially in the countries that had already made considerable progress in respect of education; these were joined by other countries, such as Venezuela and Panama, which rapidly expanded the educational supply. Elsewhere, very notable rates of increase were observable, but starting from extremely low levels of secondary education coverage. By the 1970s, only in six countries were gross rates of secondary school enrolment lower than 15%, and in more than half the Latin American countries they exceeded 30%, while in some they were as high as over 50% of the theoretically educable population.

In countries where primary education was less developed, demand for it was sustained by the intermediate groups; in the remaining countries, on the other hand, as from the 1950s, this demand spread to the urban popular sectors. The inertia of the rural population in this respect and the greater possibilities of controlling their potential demand explain why not until 1980 were gross enrolment rates of more than 90% attained in most of the Latin American countries.

Concurrently, the social groups which were in a better position to realize the importance of education and to catch the ear of power secured the diffusion of higher education at whirlwind speed. The results was that the gross enrolment rate at this level shot up from a modest 1.9% in 1950 to 16.7% in 1980, or, in other words, whereas there had formerly been two university students in every 100 young people aged 20 to 24 years, by 1980 the ratio became 1 to 6.

As no integrated primary education system had existed prior to this process, and as its expansion was, above all, the result of demands which stemmed from groups with unequal social power, a strange educational system has been created in the region at whose upper extreme gross rates of university enrolment are comparable in some countries to those current in Europe at the same date, while in others they correspond to those recorded by the European countries in 1970; as for the more backward Latin American countries, their situation is similar to that observed in Europe in 1960. In contrast, at the bottom of the educational system, the average figure for Latin America, to determine which completion of a six-year school cycle is used as an indicator, is a mere 50% of the school-age population, and is comparable only to the position in the European countries during the first two decades of the century. In other words, the levels of education or school enrolment at the earliest stage (first to third grade) call to mind the Third World, whereas the coverage of higher education evokes the image of the existing situation in the First World.

The only exceptions to this disparate structure are the countries which embarked upon the development of primary education in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. The inequality is most striking in those others, which, during the last two decades, have attempted to

achieve a great leap forward in education within the framework of social structures highly polarized in terms of social stratification, if not segmentation, the latter being determined by the superimposition of racial, regional or rural-urban barriers.¹¹

c) The expansion of education was eminently a political process. The population urged its demands for a highly appreciated good, but it lacked an image of the complexity of the learning process, and formed a conception of education as something almost magical, implicit in which was an eagerness to get to school as if mere access to it were sufficient to bring about a personal metamorphosis.

The power group, for its part, in expanding the supply, aspired to meet these demands and to gain legitimacy. It is very important to stress that whatever the type of power and the way in which it enforced its domination of society, the social demand for education was never rejected outright.

As will be seen later, the relation between supply and demand is one of the issues in this social struggle for participation in a society where at least on the plane of official declarations, the population cannot be denied the right to education, even at those levels which most developed societies consider élitist, whether for academic or for social reasons, or for a mixture of both.

This attitude was doubtless influenced by other development requirements and specific conceptions of the role of education in social change, among which the following may be noted:

i) The necessity of training human resources in societies undergoing a whirlwind process of change, which meant that in the course of a few years voluminous manpower contingents were required for an expanding industry, and later for the modern tertiary activities;

ii) The need to establish new socialization patterns when the traditional rural patterns were already useless *vis-à-vis* the big urban concentrations;

iii) Requirements of skilled personnel for complex activities; to meet these requirements at the highest level, a very broad base was screened for talent. Generally speaking, such conceptions were linked to expectations regarding the contribution of human capital to the attainment of greater efficiency in production and social organization. Some of these ideas were put forward by ECLA itself, and frequently appear in the so-called 'book plans' of governments in the region, on which social policy as a whole is based. It must be noted, however, that similar results could have been achieved by recourse to other ways of designing the educational system, and that the influence of this body of ideas was very uneven in Latin America, a fact which did not prevent the forms assumed by educational expansion from depending more upon social conditions than upon theoretical and ideological projects. The influence of international organizations and of the paradigm constituted by the developed countries was mainly exercised through expository analyses which aimed at *ex post* rationalization of the social process, or introduced as an element of irrationality specific paradigms of educational reform applied on similar lines in countries with different social and educational structures, and with diametrically opposed requirements in respect of culture and training of human resources.¹²

d) Both social demands and State policies assume that education is one of the ways of distributing social goods, but neither the one nor the other have taken it into consideration that education constitutes a social subsystem responsible for the creation and transmission of knowledge. This explains why both the expansion and the restriction of education have been effected without regard to the quality of the knowledge distributed, or to the effects that the

¹¹UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, *Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina. Síntesis General*, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Informes Finales 4*, Vol. 2, part IV, "Descripción de las principales tendencias del sistema educativo entre 1950 y 1980"; part V, "Caracterización de la estructura del sistema educativo latinoamericano"; Vol. 3, part VII, "El desarrollo de la educación media"; part VIII, "El desarrollo de la educación superior", Buenos Aires, 1981.

¹²ECLA, *Education, human resources and development in Latin America*, New York, United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.II.P.7, 1968; Rodrigo Vera, *Disyuntivas de la educación media en América Latina*, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC 19, Buenos Aires, 1979.

policies in question may have on the generation or on the disarticulation of scientific knowledge. What is more, many educational policies formulate objectives clearly incompatible with the real availability of human resources in the least degree qualified to attain them. Because education is at the very heart of social conflict and distribution, its specifically technical aspects have been overborne by this dimension. Theoretically, a modern educational system is structured around the value and hierarchy of knowledge, and it is in transmitting this knowledge that its functional specialization consists. This implies that the groups forming the educational system have, as the referent for their activity, the generation of knowledge plus technical and effective ways of transmitting it so as to promote the socialization of the new generations in the culture prevalent in the society of the time, as well as the attainment of personal development, understood as the internalization of values and the acquisition of the ability to learn. Under an educational system grounded on these values, policies for social broadening of enrolment will be regarded as an opportunity to generalize knowledge throughout society, but their implementation will be deemed possible on condition that the educational system itself really does continue to embody a scientific and cultural content; and, conversely, policies which militate against the specific objectives of education will be repudiated. Setting up such a system presupposes a process of differentiation of education from political systems and social class systems. The priorities of these latter would be acceptable only in so far as they were compatible with the knowledge objectives stated above.

The weak academic tradition of the teaching body, in view of its recent and defective pedagogical formation, prevented it from fulfilling a technical role: a warning, this, as to the time required for a cultural change, and the risks implied in radically altering the educational system without first evaluating the system that already exists. In addition, educational expansion ensured for those already educated the most dynamic of the accessible employment markets, and the power groups also found in that expansion ways of meeting the demands of the

middle-income sectors and making sure of certain clienteles.

The technical sector's weak participation in educational reforms was not offset by the intervention of other sectors of society. In the first place, in most countries the scientific community was but little developed, and those who took part in debates on education did so in the capacity of political intellectuals; secondly, in most countries the technical and entrepreneurial sectors, public or private, required of the more skilled manpower relatively little in respect of scientific knowledge, and, in general, did not trouble about the qualifications of school learners, because the abundance of educated personnel allowed them to raise the level of formal requisites for work contracts. Entrepreneurs in most countries had more concern for the ideological background than for the scientific and technical training of the future labour force.

The most obvious consequence of all this was the ease with which the political authorities introduced changes in education in Latin America. Some countries witnessed reforms which abolished secondary education, and even the idea of such a thing; whereas in others, while university enrolment increased fifteenfold in little over ten years, authorization for opening universities was virtually unlimited, with the result that the number of faculties and universities exceeded a thousand. In every case, the axes of the reforms were social, not academic. In some, the main objective was to ensure free access to schooling and the continuity of studies, whatever the academic level, as a means of demonstrating the openness of the social system; in others, the goal was to direct the pressure for education into terminal channels or forms of training that would lead to the employment market and would have no direct repercussion on higher education; in this latter the most controversial questions were the system of access or the generation of courses for intermediate careers—in other words, problems of social engineering, not of education.¹³

¹³Germán W. Rama, "Les changements en éducation en Amérique Latine", in Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée, *L'évaluation des changements en éducation*, Sèvres, No. 28, October 1982.

VI

Contradictions between discourse and practice

For the purpose of seeking to understand what form was taken by the development of education in the region during recent decades, special emphasis must be placed on two points. First, the transition from a historical situation of exclusion of the broad masses from education to one of intensive expansion of educational opportunities in which there was contradiction in kind between the vigorous demand and the supply that accompanied it: a process to which may be applied, in general terms, the words of José Medina Echavarría, according to whom "progress as an illusion has become progress as a fatality".¹⁴ Official declarations, which in the early years of the region's social and educational transition expounded the hopes pinned on the effects of educational expansion on development and society, nowadays tend to describe it as a problem of resources, of overeducation in relation to manpower requirements, of incongruity between social realities and inordinate aspirations to upward mobility through education. The second aspect to be stressed is the magnitude of the demands for education, the reason why they are so strongly felt throughout the social body, and why expectations respecting education are inconsistent with the social position of the homes from which they spring.

There can be no doubt that demands for education link up with the structural changes that have taken place in Latin American societies in recent years. As will shortly be discussed, education became the indispensable 'passport' enabling the new generations to take their place in urban life and in the increasing number of industrial occupations or modern services that necessitate education, if not as a specific requirement for the performance of the activities involved, certainly as a cultural requisite for integration into complex organizations.

But neither does this explanation cover the

whole problem, for it does not tell us the why and wherefore either of demand for education for cultural purposes, or the sizeable 'investment' that families place in education with ever-diminishing returns, nor, lastly, does it explain how aspirations to the attainment of higher studies are cherished in homes that barely reach subsistence levels.

It is difficult to base the quest for other explanations on empirical research —among other reasons, because Latin American social sciences have taken this situation for granted— since it is seldom grounded on research and more often, it depends on personal dialogue with members of such diverse categories as peasants, urban settlers or Ministers, or else on testimonies from educators or literary sources.¹⁵

What is certain is that education has expanded more intensively than any other social good, and its development is inconsistent with the opportunities afforded by the social order in respect of access to income and participation in power.

In urban popular groups, educational aspirations are infinite; in contrast, the level of satisfaction with regard to occupation, income, housing and even health betrays the recognition of a ceiling which generally speaking corresponds with the self-identification of these groups in the social system and with the perception of the possible and the impossible where access to goods is concerned given the prevailing order. And conversely, in these modest households, with their precarious housing and work conditions, the parents, themselves illiterate or with only the earliest grades of primary education, dream of their

¹⁴José Medina Echavarría, *Filosofía, educación y desarrollo*, Part One: *La reflexión crítica*; chapter 1, "El desarrollo y su filosofía", Mexico City, Editorial Siglo XXI, 1967, p. 71.

¹⁵Stella Vecino et al., *Proceso pedagógico y heterogeneidad cultural en el Ecuador*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/22, Buenos Aires, 1979; José Matos Mar et al., *Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/10, Buenos Aires, 1978; Julián Ripa, *Recuerdos de un maestro patagónico*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Marymar, 1980.

children's gaining university degrees. The aspiration is apparently untenable, in view of the fact that such homes have no cultural capital or educational instruments, such as books, and that they will need the economic effort, from an early age, of the very children whom, on the other hand, they destine to so culturally lofty a future. This discrepancy has customarily been interpreted as a manifestation of the existing maladjustment between social condition and aspirations, but it might also be reinterpreted to the effect that these educational aspirations reflect the contradiction between discourse and practice in the exercise of power in Latin America.

In the terrain of declarations, it has been asserted that upward social mobility is desirable and possible for all social groups, that culture is the most valuable good offered by society, that possession of it is what confers entitlement to collective esteem, and, lastly, that integration in the nation must be the main objective of individual and group behaviour, because the nation is the collective entity that gives meaning to individual identity; and this collective identity overrides any other consideration of social differentiation and stratification.

In the disquisitions in which the originality of the New World societies is asserted, equality is represented as the norm, and the status of individuals depends upon their merits and virtues. This concept, notwithstanding the evidence of stern reality to the contrary, was repeatedly alleged as the foundation for the legitimacy of the political system and was assimilated by society, which believed and still does believe it valid; consequently, education was regarded as the means of converting discourse into reality. The same argument accounts in turn for the fact that meager social attainments are imputed to individual responsibility; it often happens that in surveys the persons interviewed attribute their lack of social success to their low level of education—for want of supply, or by their own fault in not taking advantage of the supply that existed—which undoubtedly establishes the bases for social conformity with the patterns of social distribution.¹⁶ As the converse of this

self-blame must be viewed the demand for educational services to enable their children to bring the foundational political discourse to life; this seems ratified by the value which the social system has set on educational capital, and which is measureable by the notable income differences between the educated and the uneducated, and the assignment of prestigious social positions to those whose levels of education are high. In the past, when exclusion from education was predominant in Latin America, the élite made education their exclusive prerogative and legitimized their power through academic degrees; this was 'internalized' to such a degree that in some Latin America societies persons in an inferior social position, when speaking to someone they assume to be their social superior, address him as 'Doctor', 'Licenciado', etc.

The hierarchy of the cultural dimension must also be taken into consideration. In European societies, culture was associated with the condition of a superior social group and established an inter-group distinction which was transmitted by family channels; one manifestation of this was the importance attached to differences in the pattern or style and art of consumption, as evidence of the social background of individuals.¹⁷ In Latin America, the long-drawn-out cycle of conflicts over the constitution of the State and the succession of political and economic changes, with the consequent partial or total renewal of the upper groups, prevented the establishment of a higher culture handed down through family channels. On the contrary, culture was a creation of the educational system, and therefore theoretically accessible to all. Education was the means of acquiring a new personal dimension, which in terms of prestige equalled or exceeded the accumulation of goods.

What is more, in Latin America recognition is only just beginning to be accorded to the relation which has been established in the developed

¹⁶Germán W. Rama, *Grupos sociales y educación secundaria*, Montevideo, Editorial Arca, 1964; Juan Carlos Tedesco

and Rodrigo Parra, *Marginalidad urbana y educación formal. Planteo del problema y perspectivas de análisis*. UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, **Fichas/15**, Buenos Aires, 1980.

¹⁷Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1979.

countries between culture and school culture—with pejorative implications for the latter—or between autonomous cultural groups and the educational institutions of which they are independent, and their relation to which is reinterpretable in Weberian terms of prophetism and priesthood. It very often happens that some countries, with university enrolments of tens or even hundreds of thousands of students, are lacking in periodicals, cenacles and 'sophisticated' forms of cultural consumption in the field of the cinema, theatre and art in general. Another patent phenomenon is the political regression which has taken place in some societies, and which is characterized by rigid ideological control of universities and the consequent disappearance of their former channels of self-expression; this has caused what has been termed the 'cultural blackout', partly explicable by the want of an autonomous cultural ambit, independent of educational institutions.¹⁸

The superimposition of culture and institutionalized education, and still more the recognition that the latter generates the former, has influenced the fact that demands for culture, whether pursuing it as an objective in itself or merely status-seeking, have concentrated on the educational system and have been invested with a prestige that has spread even to relatively low social groups, which have come to consider culture as a good theoretically accessible to all.

Lastly, consideration should be given to another dimension: that of national integration. In societies originating in international immigration, as well as in those deriving from a fusion of arbitrarily aggregated multiracial inflows with relations of personalized dependence (i.e., the majority), nation-building aspirations are frustrated over and over again by the exclusivist preactivities of the groups in power. In oligarchic régimes, the people were disqualified for intervention in the *res publica* by their ignorance, and this was perpetuated by the absence of educational supply; subsequently, the restrictive pronouncements of political bureaucracies or technocratic groups asserted that the problems

were too complex for any but a few to be capable of adopting decisions. That is, in both cases, the lack of education was put forward as the formal reason for exclusion in a national and, therefore, participative society. Education is linked with citizenship, and in some Latin American societies illiteracy was, until the last decade, a cause of exclusion from the right to vote. Nevertheless, over and above the legal restrictions on citizenship, education was envisaged as the road *par excellence* to participation in political—that is, in the national—society.¹⁹

In the light of this aspect of the question, processes of social change through revolutionary political movements can be connected with mass demands for popular education, accompanied by the expenditure of great efforts in terms of resources, time and willingness of adults in the popular sectors to assume the invariably complex and difficult position of educands. The earliest manifestation of these achievements in Latin America was undoubtedly the popular education process under the Mexican Revolution, the reception accorded to the cultural missions of the 1920s and the Radical attempt to set afoot the so-called 'socialist education' in the 1930s. Later on, the Bolivian nationalist revolution of the 1950s gave rise to a remarkable peasant organization for the diffusion of education; and in more recent years the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions have exhibited—on an international scale—a surprising phenomenon: the first concern of the new authorities was to organize a mass mobilization of society in order to incorporate into education those formerly excluded from it, who made unprecedented efforts to learn, with a view to acquiring a good of no value whatever from the standpoint of its economic profitability.²⁰

¹⁹Germán W. Rama, "Estrutura e movimentos sociais no desenvolvimento da educação popular", in G.W. Rama (coordinator), *Mudanças educacionais na América Latina. Situações e condições*, Fortaleza, Editorial Universidade Federal do Ceará, 1983; Germán W. Rama, *Transición estructural y educación: la situación de la juventud*, paper presented at a seminar held by the CLACSO Education Committee, São Paulo, 20-23 June 1983.

²⁰Sylvain Lourie and Germán W. Rama, *Elaboración de lineamientos para una nueva educación*, Report to the Minister of Education of the Republic of Nicaragua, Managua, mimeographed text, August 1980; Josefina Zoraida Vásquez, "Tres

¹⁸Gregorio Weinberg, "El apagón cultural", in *El descontento y la promesa*, Buenos Aires, Editorial de Belgrano, 1982.

In this way, too, a linkage can be found between socially shared demands for education and democratization processes, such as that recorded in Venezuela (among other countries) barely 25 years ago: the will of the élites to construct a democratic system, and therefore to establish education as a prerequisite for citizenship, met with a generalized predisposition in society, which promoted a rapid institutionalization of education; and this, *inter alia*, entailed mass recruitment of educators from the whole of Latin America, necessary for the satisfaction of the aforesaid demand.

Lastly, reference should be made to the tie between nation and education in the case of the so-called small countries. When national identity began to take definite shape in these, some

apprehension arose, as a counterpart, in view of the intrinsic weakness implicit in the relatively small size of the societies concerned. Existence as a nation is not merely something to be taken for granted, but a permanent challenge, which involves, in the first place, economic viability, and, secondly, a strengthening of cultural integration, in pursuit of a hyperintegration which will afford protection against adverse conditions. It is not by chance that some of the smaller nations of the area, such as Costa Rica and Uruguay, are the countries in which the educational vocation and its achievements are most noteworthy; nor that Paraguay, for instance, with its harrowing historical experience of vulnerability, should also be, at its level, a country where popular demand for education is ardent in the extreme.²¹

VII

Education and structural change in Latin America

Throughout the period beginning around 1950 demands for educational supply and its expansion can be seen to be closely related with the structural changes undergone from that date onwards by Latin American societies.

During that space of time a new society came into being; but in contrast with the accepted tenets of classic sociological theory, it did not stem from an initially integrated structure. In Latin America, on the contrary, the process started from a society which has been described as dual, in an endeavour to explain the coexistence, at the same time and in the same space, of different social stages, the ordering of which was, no doubt, a good deal more diversified than the notion of dualism sought to express.

On the basis of the empirical data available, the following can be noted as the main features of this transition: an explosive rate of population growth (and, in consequence, larger numbers of

young people); a great increase in the proportion of urban population; an economically active population whose growth tended to diminish in the agricultural sector, but to increase in the industrial and above all in the modern tertiary sectors; in agriculture, the liquidation of what is known as the socio-economic model of the *hacienda*, with the ensuing displacement and impoverishment of the rural workers; and, lastly, significant rates of economic growth which did not help to increase social equality, but at all events, by raising the minimum level of income, permitted limited but real effects in the shape of a 'trickle-down' of income to the lowest social groups.

The basic changes described above brought about a whole set of modifications in the social structure which may be defined as a process of change through structural mobility. Obviously,

intentos de cambio social a través de la educación", in Germán W. Rama (coordinator), *Mudanças educacionais na América Latina*, op. cit.

²¹Carlos Real de Azúa, "Small nations and the 'constrictive' style of development", in *CEPAL Review*, No. 4, Santiago, Chile, second half of 1977; Domingo M. Rivarola, *Educación y desarrollo en el Paraguay*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/7, Rev. 1, Buenos Aires, 1978.

the intensity and modalities of this change varied from one country to another, but its effects on social stratification can be summarized, in broad outline, as follows:

a) An increase in the size of the working class, and differentiation between the sectors linked to the industries with more advanced technology and the rest (combined, in some countries, with a significant decrease in industrial employment);

b) Accelerated expansion of non-manual occupations and more and more differentiation between middle-class sectors. In this connection mention should be made of the gaps between, on the one hand, university-educated technicians integrated with the State and with the more dynamic economic sectors, and bearers of a rationale opposed to the inefficiencies and contradictions of the system, and on the other hand, such categories as those of small shopkeepers and artisans, threatened by structural change, and easily seduced by an ideological discourse at variance with the capitalist modernization of societies. It should also be pointed out that educational and generational gaps—the educated and the younger groups were dominant in the emerging sector—came to play a more important part than income levels in the definition of identities, because these tend to be founded on ideological bases, on citizenship. Within these middle classes some groups assumed a key role; among them the technobureaucrats, in whose ideology criteria linked with private enterprise were predominant. Equally susceptible of definition by its educational situation was the group concerned with health and educational activities, the volume of which in some countries was already beginning to equal or exceed that of the agricultural EAP. This group suffered notable losses of income, although not always of status, because the latter was enhanced by virtue of the role assigned to such activities by the 'critical intellectuals', whose development was bound up with lack of power and of possibilities of using their knowledge in the exercise of their occupations;

c) In relation to the entrepreneurial groups, a point that must be borne in mind is the transformation or disappearance of the rural oligarchy and the shaping of a modern entre-

preneurial sector, as well as the close linkage between the financial and industrial sectors, and between these and the State and transnational corporations, while, down below, the lines drawn by structural heterogeneity continued to separate the peasantry and the urban marginal sectors from the groups that were clearly integrated with capitalist development.

The present study is not the place to embark upon an analysis of the changes recorded in social structure and stratification, already carefully examined in a number of texts.²² What is important, on the other hand, is to underline, for the purposes of educational analysis, the concept of societies in process of change. During the period not only did the groups themselves change, but also their position in the system; it was society itself that was moving towards a future model not yet clearly defined. In the course of this process the pre-existing modern section of society was too small to absorb the mass of newcomers and transmit to it patterns of socialization and assimilation (the urbanization problem is a clear case in point). In more dynamic societies, analyses of intra-generational mobility indicate rapid shifts from agricultural to non-agricultural and from manual to non-manual occupations, and, in the aggregate, a succession of replacements which tended, in

²²At an ECLA Seminar on Recent Changes in Social Structures and Stratification in Latin America. Comparative Analysis of Countries and Regional Prospects in the 1980s (Santiago, Chile, 12-15 September 1983), a set of papers containing abundant information was presented, among which mention may be made of the following: Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Dependencia y Democracia* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.14); Julio Cotler, *La construcción nacional de los países andinos* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.16); Francisco Delich, *Clase obrera, crisis industrial y recomposición social* (Argentina) (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.13); Claudio de Moura Castro, *Novas estruturas sociais e novas formas de organização no Brasil contemporâneo* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.12); John Durston and Guillermo Rosenbluth, *Procesos de cambio en la estructura socio-ocupacional panameña 1960-1980* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.10); Vilmar Faria, *Desenvolvimento, urbanização e mudanças na estrutura do emprego: a experiência brasileira dos últimos trinta anos* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.6); Carlos Filgueira, *Estructura y cambio social: tendencias recientes en Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.8); Rubén Katzman, *Notas sobre las transformaciones sectoriales del empleo en América Latina* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.3); Javier Martínez, *Tendencias de cambio en la estratificación social chilena 1970-1980* (E/CEPAL/SEM.10/R.4).

the first place, to weaken group identities, and secondly to accentuate expectations of social mobility.

These expectations have been sustained not by equalization processes—limited in their scope—but by structural changes, alongside mechanisms of integration into modern society which have proved extremely contradictory. In some dimensions, such as education and culture, the popular sectors were able to believe that they were succeeding in participating in power and making their influence felt when they obtained educational services. Concurrently, integration into the political community was an experience full of frustrations; in some cases it did not occur at all, while in others participation was symbolic, or was real but was followed by drastic exclusions. Lastly, where income was concerned a sort of 'external proletariat' grew up, formed by *minifundistas* and urban subproletarian groups, whose marginality became more marked as the average income of the population increased and new consumption patterns spread, while the groups integrated in the system met with ambivalent phases of achievements and setbacks in respect of participation in the fruits of economic growth.

The constitution of a new national and societal model was coincident with the crisis of the power of the oligarchy, and with the generalization of an economic organization which represented capitalism on the upgrade and an accelerated accumulation process (in some cases, accumulation which despoiled the popular sectors). It seems important to emphasize that this generalization of capitalist patterns came about in the absence of a ruling group capable of developing a power system and a legitimizing ideology consistent with the economic accumulation which this form of capitalism demands. With the exception of a single country, in Latin America there has been no instance of continuity, during a period of significant length, of dominant social groups that have exercised power without being subject to violent impugnments, or without needing contradictory alliances in order to keep the power in their hands. What is more, it is precisely during these three decades of diffusion and imposition of the capitalist economic model that the most intensive social movements have been recorded,

the most vital revolutionary processes, and the deepest internal social cleavages, together with attempts to create new modes of social organization not based on capitalism, or at least not on the pure forms of capitalist concentration which were exactly what its implantation in the region implied. The very fact of the State's resorting to violence as a form of social control indicates the enormous difficulties the authorities have had in convincing society of the acceptability of the economic and social model, while at the same time it points to the immense mobilization capacity of social forces, which, for diverse motives and on a different scale, oppose the social and political, if not the cultural, corollaries deriving from the capitalist accumulation model.²³

In this changing society, education became an adjustment variable and an arena for the various social group's conflicting interests and ideologies with regard to the ideas of participation and exclusion.

As an adjustment variable education may be said to have performed the following functions:

a) It contributed the cultural elements necessary for effecting this rapid transition and for bringing about changes in occupational social positions;

b) It made the socialization of the new generations possible when the traditional mechanisms lost their efficacy and families in the lower population strata could hardly perform this task, given the gap between the educational levels of parents and children, and the fact that the life experience of one generation was no longer valid in relation to that of the next;

c) It afforded basic training of a generic cultural type, which was linked not so much with knowledge as with the capacity for adaptation to changing situations, which proved very important in a process of social transformation whose final destiny was and still is indiscernible, and which in many countries has undergone

²³Enzo Faletto and Germán W. Rama, *Algunas reflexiones sobre los procesos de cambio social en América Latina*, paper presented at the above-mentioned Seminar on Recent Changes in Social Structures and Stratification in Latin America.

profound modifications stemming from capricious propositions which, in the name of ideologies, attempted or successfully managed to bring about radical changes in social structures;

d) In the case of women, when the first two levels of education were generalized for both sexes alike, and feminine participation in higher education was also extended (although in a slightly lower proportion), the democratization of sexual relations became possible;

e) It established the minimal educational background required for youth to be incorporated in the expansion of the tertiary sector employment market. In Latin America, this sector contributed about 60% of the new jobs created between 1950 and 1980; even if personal services, whose educational requirements are more modest, are eliminated from the category, it still doubles the contribution of manufacturing to the employment supply.²⁴ (Official policies tenaciously strove to orient the new generations towards terminal technical training for their future entrance into industry; with still greater tenacity society repudiated this orientation and, in the light of better knowledge of market trends, called for general secondary education, which came to account for about 70% of enrolment at that level);

f) The articulation of educational expansion with the change in social structures seemed to provide real grounds for expectations of upward social mobility. Thus the social system gained legitimacy, because with the expansion of education the collective aspirations to mobility, access to culture and integration into national society appeared to take on reality; while the linkage between structural change and educational opportunities gave an apparently genuine ring to the values declared by the power system. The dynamism shown made more impression on the various social groups than did the goals attained; although certain groups received only a few school grades of an education whose low quality they were not in a position to assess, on observing the access of

other contiguous groups to higher educational levels they believed that reaching these themselves would be only a matter of time. All felt themselves to be on the same conveyor belt which, albeit a little later but without doubt infallibly, would carry them to the higher educational levels after which they hankered; if they never reached them, the blame was not to be laid on the social system but on themselves;

g) In view of the very great significance of education in Latin American society, its conversion into an accessible value made it possible to defer the questioning of the social system as expressed through its concentration of income and power. Many studies—in this same issue of the *CEPAL Review* that of Carlos Filgueira—have drawn attention to the greater elasticity of education, and how it became a field for social bargaining, while rigidity with respect to other variables remained unaltered. This contradiction was not total, since education became a system of upward social mobility within the framework of structural change, and even in the more unfavourable cases an indispensable 'passport' to competition in the employment market which afforded status and income. Nevertheless, it established bases for social consensus, mitigating the conflictive tendencies that were bound to arise in a process of structural transition which was accompanied by marked income concentration, and during which repressive forms of power all too frequently made their appearance. Like consumption, education became a social recompense which tempered the strong tendencies towards conflict existing during this period. The adult generation appeared more inclined to accept the injustice and irrationality of the system because education seemed to promise their children's participation later on.

Education can be a social adjustment variable if other social variables, for their part, make educational conquests meaningful. The first of these variables is the dynamism of structural change, whose maintenance implies the existence of a sizeable rural population in a position to enter urban life, as well as a steady increase in industrial occupations in the sector with advanced technology, and, in greater measure, the development of the modern tertiary occupations associated with the

²⁴UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *La educación y los problemas del empleo, Informes Finales*, No. 3, Buenos Aires, 1981.

improvement of the population's living conditions, i.e., with income distribution through social channels. The second is a rate of economic growth sufficiently high to sustain the simultaneous betterment of all groups and an upward movement both in the occupational scale and in the scale of consumption. The third is an improvement in income distribution—which may or may not be consistent with the preceding variable—such that the mass diffusion of education is accompanied by equally mass access to forms of consumption correlative with the level of aspirations generated by culture itself. The generation that was the first to succeed in overleaping the barriers, once so significant, between manual and non-manual activities may feel content with this symbolic change; for the next generation, on the other hand, this will no longer be a conquest and their aspirations will be centred on the improvement of living conditions. The fourth variable is the population's ability to make use as citizens of the education received. If the educational system effectively creates capacities for reasoning and analysis, these capacities are not circumscribed to the occupational sphere, but are applied to the observations of society and promote the aspiration to participate in order to steer society towards images of future organization which are regarded as viable and to be desired.

The foregoing remarks open up two new dimensions of the analysis. The first relates to those social groups which were excluded from education, or those which received it in a form so incipient as to be barely equivalent to literacy teaching, and even those others which did not succeed in completing a six-year primary education (categories which in all amount to almost 50% of the school-age population). Their relative position in the social stratification system seriously deteriorates on account of the gap between their education and that received by the—now massive—sectors with advanced educational levels, and their expectations of incorporation into society may turn into deep-seated frustration, in view of their few completed years of study. Without breaking new ground in the analysis of a dual society, it must be pointed out that, as noted by Fernando H. Cardoso, the society engendered by the associate-dependent type of development

contradictorily synthesizes characteristic effects of 'mass societies' with aspects of the type society formerly called 'dual', marked on the one hand by the poverty and relative non-differentiation of the masses, formed by the 'subaltern classes', and on the other hand by the more integrated and more pronouncedly classist structure of the incorporated sectors.²⁵ While education has tended to reproduce this pattern, it has done so on a smaller scale, and the educational lines of demarcation not only do not coincide with the rest but represent a dynamic factor of access for subordinate social groups. An outstanding case in point is the situation of the marginal sectors in big cities, which are much better supplied with educational services than the rural population, whatever its social level. Perhaps this same ambivalence might be regarded as the cause of the very recent demands for educational services on the part of subproletarian and rural groups hitherto totally or partially excluded from education.

The second dimension relates to the way in which an adjustment variable can turn into a conflict variable. Given the great expectations pinned on education and the use made of it as a means of legitimizing the social system, when educational results do not come up to expectations social frustrations are generated which may become an important basis for movements in opposition to the *statu quo*. Particularly sensitive in this respect are the middle-income social sectors, which, taking the former oligarchy as their referent, continue to hope that advanced education will be synonymous with high income levels. But beyond this problem the generic question arises of the congruency between educational attainments and the use that can be made of them. In those societies where structural change has been very slow and, in contrast, educational expansion considerable, this incongruity has served as a basis for political 'contestation'. As Schumpeter has pointed out, when there is no room in the social structure for the technical cadres the identity of the technician slides into that of the intellectual, by which is meant that of

²⁵Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Dependencia y democracia*, *op. cit.*

an intellectual critical of the system. At that stage expectations of individual mobility come to an end, and awareness grows up that a change in the social system is the only road to individual self-fulfilment, which can therefore be achieved solely through collective change.

In these circumstances the contradiction between the declarations formulated and the values professed by the power groups becomes obvious, all the more so when the latter have not been capable of generating an ideology to justify the capitalist development process carried out. Moreover, they have resorted—in association

with sectors originating in the one-time oligarchy or with religious or military groups that are the bearers of obsolescent conceptions—to old-style ideologies, contradictorily fusing the modernizing element in capitalist development with the archaic content of an anti-nation language, a language of anti-rationalism and of repudiation of the differentiation of social groups and of social change, which are the motive forces behind the dynamism of the cycle of permanent innovation that the functioning of capitalism requires.

VIII

Demand for education, State action and degree of differentiation of educational systems: analysis model

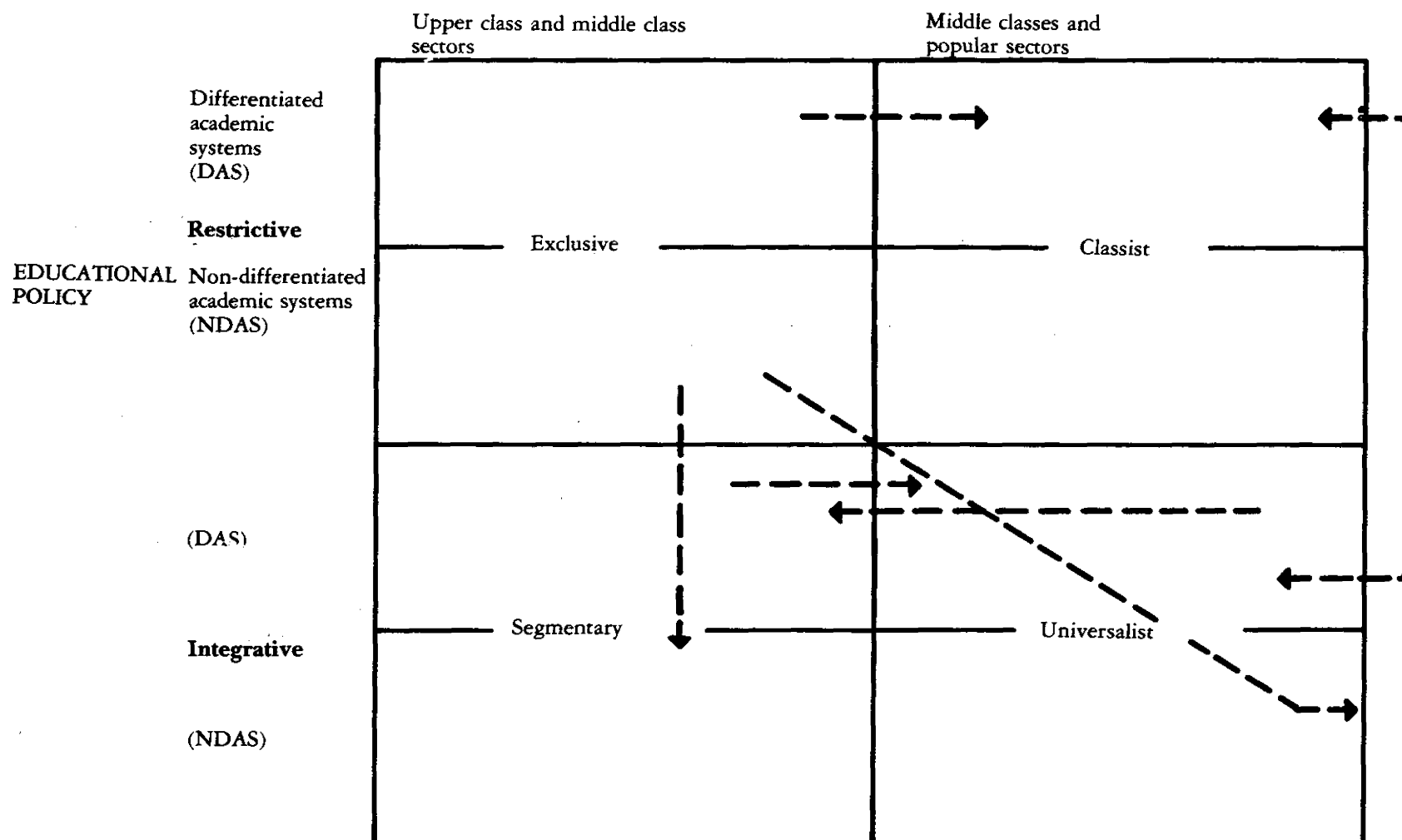
The foregoing analysis has brought out the way in which the development of Latin American society has been patterned by: a counterpoint between exclusion and participation; the role played in the legitimation of social systems by official expositions of principle and a political theory which, far from formally denying participation has made it the apparent prop of the social organization; the contradictory character of social preaching and social practice; the roots of demand for education in Latin America, and the mode of articulation between educational expansion and structural change since the Second World War; and, lastly, the part played by education as a variable of adjustment—and by now, in some cases, of dissension—in this process of structural change. The idea of adjustment, however, arose as an *a posteriori* observation of what the social process was like, telling us nothing of the reasons and the social forces that intervened in educational expansion; hitherto this expansion has been taken for granted, and all that has been said is that it resulted from economic demand, and in some cases from national integration projects which emerged in response to the need to build the

nation and integrate societies when the models of colonial origin, based on exclusion, were leading to social disintegration.

The time has now come to analyse how the different social strata were articulated in their generic demands for participation and specific demands for education; what action was taken by the State on its diverse fronts (as the State of social classes, as the State promoter of change and of national integration); and lastly what role was filled in this process by the educational systems, since these are theoretically subsystems specializing in the production and diffusion of knowledge, and therefore subject to professional values and norms which do not necessarily coincide either with the social groups' objectives of power or participation or with the objectives of exclusion or integration pursued by the State.

For the purposes of the analysis, recourse is had to an interpretation model which is presented below as a figure, constructed on the basis of the interaction of the following variables: dominant articulation in the type of educational demand, educational policy followed by the State and degree of differentiation of educational systems. This last affects the description of the

Figure
DOMINANT ARTICULATION IN THE TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL DEMAND



type of education, but does not determine it. Hence the analysis presents four socio-educational models which seek to encompass, in very general terms, the variety of specific historical situations to be found in the region.²⁶

We have called these four models exclusive, classist, segmentary and universalist. The exclusive educational model is that resulting from the combination of a restrictive State policy with a demand for education in which the upper classes and an associated fraction of the middle classes predominate. If these sectors are dominant in civic society, and in particular in the establishment of educational demand, and are confronted with a State which is trying to implement a policy of social and national integration, the outcome will be a segmentary educational model. The classist educational model emerges when middle classes and popular classes join forces in demanding education as a form of social participation, while the State, which represents the dominant groups, not only restricts the supply of education but attempts to adjust it in quantity and quality to the level of participation and of aspiration to social mobility which it deems appropriate for each social class. Lastly, the universalist educational model comes into being when the middle classes and the popular sectors form in one way or another a power alliance whose objectives include, precisely, an educational policy geared to social and national integration; moreover, in its extreme instances, this policy may propose to offset, at least in part, the unequal distribution of goods—material and non-material—in which social classes originate, and to make education into a meritocratic selection system.

In each of the compartments of the figure a subdivision into two categories has been introduced: in the first appear the differentiated educational systems that have taken a specific shape in which academic and scientific objectives are paramount; those in the second, given their dependence on the power system and on the social classes, have not succeeded in constituting a differentiated subsystem.

In the development of education, the middle classes are the protagonists of a determinant role; as such, they are indissolubly linked to education and to the progressively differentiated sectors of activity which are demanding this education as a prerequisite. But the form taken by the demand for education on the part of the middle classes, and in particular the type of educational system to which they aspire, has different orientations according to whether the class system in which they are inserted is one where the other significant social actor is the organized proletariat, or, on the contrary, is a non-differentiated mass of rural and urban subproletarian population. In the first case social alliances, tacit or explicit, are built up with the main objective of introducing changes in the social system, in opposition to the group which holds the reins of power; here, options as to a national project are politically expressed in populist or social-democrat forms, accompanied in every case by social modernization objectives. In the specifically educational field, they lean towards the constitution of universalist systems, at least as far as conditions of access and social selection are concerned; this interest seldom extends, however, to matters connected with the content and teaching techniques necessary to establish educational universalism in culturally heterogeneous societies.

In the second case, the middle classes see the working class and the popular sector in general as groups whose upward mobility necessarily implies that they themselves move downwards. This perception is reaffirmed when the social relations constructed in the past are of a type based on appointed stations in life, with racial components; when the spaces for insertion of the middle class are limited by a low degree of structural dynamics; and when the power of oligarchic tradition has kept alive ascriptive criteria in social selection, accompanied, for the members of lower groups, by small quotas of 'sponsored' mobility.

In the first case, upward mobility processes starting from the popular classes, where the emergent middle classes had their origin, could have established a degree of communication between social classes which decisively influenced acceptance of the other as a legitimate competitor in an educational system. Countries

²⁶For a first version of this interpretation, see Germán W. Rama, "Articulation sociale et différenciation éducative", in *Revue Amériqne Latine*, No. 14, Paris, April-June 1983.

where modernization began early show differences of timing in the formation of classes, and when the historical memory of the aforesaid connection seemed to be breaking up, the rise of the technical operatives sectors and the relative downward movements of non-manual workers with repetitive activities once again established inter-class liaisons of a different kind. In countries where the transition was effected rapidly, intra-and inter-generational dynamics was so intensive that in the same families proletarian and bureaucratic insertions existed side by side.

In contrast, in those societies whose historical characteristic was the exclusion of the broad masses from education and the radical socio-cultural discontinuity between them and the summit groups, the middle classes attached themselves to the upper class as a means of defending the small spaces at their disposal, and tended to build up educational systems with the same peculiar features of social selectivity and adscription that had characterized the traditional oligarchies. And this may be still more marked in societies whose middle classes had their origin not so much in processes of social upward mobility as in the biological reproduction of the group itself, when its reproduction so far exceeds the expansion of the structure that its members have to live permanently threatened by the spectre of social demotion.

The action of the State, as a major agent of the educational process, does not always necessarily reflect the interests of the upper social groups. The present article does not seem to be the place for an analysis of the relations between the State and civic society, or for consideration of the role of the State as a privileged actor during periods of change, whereas the social classes would play this part during spells of stability. By way of illustration of what has recently happened, suffice it to mention that in some cases the State has been 'privatized' by certain power groups, while in others the groups into whose hands power has circumstantially fallen have proposed deliberately to destroy the bases of the power of the traditional oligarchy in order to create the conditions for a national society capable of superseding the dualisms and heterogeneity inherited from the colonial past. While these are extreme cases, situations are also to be found

in which the State has acquired a relative autonomy in relation to groups holding economic power, through national control of natural resources, the income from which has enabled it to act as an agent of economic development and a promoter of a modern class system, as well as of a democratic political system grounded on a notable expansion of educational supply. In other instances, the State may reflect an articulation or alliance of social groups, the parties to it being middle-class or popular groups which can obtain power and participation provided that a democratic system is in force, and that processes of upward social mobility are based on the generalization of an educational system of relatively homogeneous quality. Lastly, as education is associated with national integration, when the latter is fragile and moreover necessary for the survival of the collectivity, the State may pursue educational policies which, by giving priority to national identity, necessarily generate contradictions with the class system.

The specificity of the education system is easier to achieve when the State has a conception of development which includes scientific knowledge, and when it interprets democracy as a system in which the citizen has had to have an education that will enable him to choose between values and strategies. The economic system, for its part, will have a decisive influence on the ranking of knowledge in the educational system when its development requires, at all levels, human resources trained in scientific rationality. When external demands are weak, the specificity of the function of the education system can be established only if educators have been differentiated and formed into a group whose professional definition is superior to its bureaucratic non-differentiation. This is a complex process, in which references to the international scientific community intervene, and which is based on the existence of intellectual groups who assume responsibility for the development of national culture. A complementary part is played by ideological commitments with national development goals which include the will to see to it that the society acquires an international position or that the people's cultural conditions are improved. But without technical self-identification these

commitments determine a type of discourse, not of pedagogical action. And conversely, professional identity-consciousness may govern educational action directed towards the formation of summit groups, while in relationship educands of popular origin, social gaps may give support to bureaucratic behaviour patterns based on the alleged 'uselessness' of educating the masses.

In any of these cases, values can only be established as from the time when units concerned with the creation of knowledge are developed in the education system itself, i.e., when a scientific system evolves, in relation to which the different roles of the members of the education system are defined. In other words, the primary teacher's referent becomes the university researcher who is creating knowledge in the scientific or cultural areas or in educational sciences; and the objective of the educator's task will be to ensure that educands acquire, in accordance with the stage of formation that they have reached in the school cycle, the knowledge indispensable for understanding higher scientific studies at subsequent stages in their education. In conjunction with these values is developed the professionalization of the role; this implies that even the rural educator in the remotest of areas thinks of himself as different from a public official, and that his image of himself is formed in accordance with the image held of him by the whole group of professionals engaged in the creation and transmission of knowledge. Consequently, for educators their personal sense of achievement will depend upon their technical performance and on the extent to which this approximates to the theoretical models; so that success and skill in transmitting knowledge and teaching educands to think will become a key dimension of their own personal self-esteem.

An educational system with these characteristics is what we have termed a differentiated academic system, which may be constituted for the whole of the education system or only for its upper sectors. In the former case it will be linked with the universalization of the education system; in the second, with the said system's restrictive character, so that only that part of the educational system which is concerned with the socialization of the upper groups can become this type

of differentiated academic system of education with scientific bases.

In the exclusive educational model, education is expanded in accordance with the dominant demands of the upper and middle classes, while education for the popular sectors manifestly lags behind, as is evidenced by the high percentages of illiteracy and lack of basic education among youth, as well as by the deterioration of educational service conditions in the respective country's most underdeveloped areas; and this situation coexists with a high-quality closed circuit at the university level. This latter receives the biggest financial allocations, while primary education, which in some cases depends upon the financial capacity of the municipal units, reflects in the quality of the knowledge imparted the stratified income and socio-cultural levels of the population in the different areas. The rural population and the marginal population of the least developed areas are regarded as a manpower reserve, which for the moment has no chance of being offered occupation, and whose education might not only affect labour costs but also promote social mobilization processes which in due course could even undermine the stability of this exclusionist model.

In predominantly rural countries, where national integration is incipient and the middle classes and popular sectors are lacking in organization, the system adds to its characteristic of exclusiveness that of non-differentiation from the academic standpoint.

The segmentary model is observable in those countries where State educational policy sets up integration objectives and is confronted with a society whose dominant groups are still the upper and upper middle classes. These reject integration policy and try to reconstruct the educational system in accordance with the lines of segmentation characteristic of the society. Owing to the State's weak implementation capacity, combined with the chronic shortage of material and human resources, educational expansion at the lower levels becomes mainly symbolic, while the upper groups further the creation of a higher-quality academic circuit, entry to which is normally obtained through pre-school or primary establishments of a private and selective nature. The availability of State resources for

private universities is guaranteed, however, or the non-fee-paying character of those official establishments whose entrance examinations ensure the exclusive admittance of youth from the upper sectors. Both in this model and in the classist model, the discontinuity between the units forming the university system is remarkable; while some impart knowledge and aptitudes necessary for filling higher positions, others reflect the different levels of the social market and receive students who, because of their social background and origin, can only assimilate a travesty of knowledge, and are thus destined for low-status positions incongruous with a university degree.

In the classist model strong pressure is exerted by the varied range of middle-class and popular sectors to gain access to education and continue it; the State, on its part, withstands this pressure by invoking all sorts of expedients. The first of these is the allocation of education by social groups, which is exemplified in the persistence of an education supply for the rural population that fails to offer the complete primary cycle, as well as in the notable differences of equipment among schools according to their social context; this establishes an informal scale by way of which the best educators try to obtain posts in the best-equipped schools with the most favourable socio-cultural environment. The second expedient is to create a bottleneck in the official supply of non-fee-paying general secondary education when social pressure proves impossible to contain, a system parallel to secondary education is set up, which is slanted towards technico-manual activities, and whose graduates have only limited access to higher education. Lastly, the university system represents a rigidly classist structure of prior curriculum and fees; this permits the organization of closed circuits whose level of academic activity creates a stratified linkage between social background and position on entry into the employment market.

In the three models discussed, academic differentiation processes, when they occur at all, do so only in the upper circuit. Educational centres at the tertiary level are so completely cut off from the preceding educational levels that there is no spill-over of scientific knowledge and the highest forms of culture from the centres of ex-

cellence to the system in its entirety. Moreover, training centres for primary and secondary school teachers tend to be set up outside the university system, and when they are integrated with it operate in watertight compartments, i.e., without communication with those units where research is conducted and higher knowledge disseminated. Noteworthy in this connection is the situation of a country which deliberately, with the aim of restructuring class relations, promoted a switch-over from a universalist education system to another of the classist type, including among the measures taken the separation of teacher training centres from the university proper; while, in addition, it divorced secondary education from technical education at the secondary level, derogating the latter to a mere training function; and furthermore, it atomized a universalist primary education system, which was making for cultural homogenization and was entrusted to the responsibility of the national State, turning it into a municipal system which, by virtue of the disparate spatial location of social classes, could not do other than reflect them.

The universalist model presupposes a high degree of socio-cultural homogeneity of the population, on which the model itself exerts a cumulative and decisive influence. It implies not only consistency between policies and demands, but a great deal of social communication between the various classes, which in turn calls for a relatively progressive income distribution pattern. In this instance the middle classes play an essential role: the mere fact of having imposed the model indicates that they have succeeded in including the remaining classes in their social promotion patterns, i.e., in a meritocracy. As the middle classes lack the economic power and social rank of the traditional group, they make knowledge the prop and stay of the system of power and social organization which they aspire to construct in relation to the upper social class, and for the smooth operation of the model it is important that the educational tribunal should be accepted as the tribunal of social selection and that promotion criteria on adscriptive bases should not be applied; as regards the lower classes, the model offers channels of social mobility regulated to a great extent by the

correspondence between family culture and school culture, which is precisely very high in the middle classes, so that the openness of the system is not indiscriminate. All groups are induced to compete in a market system where benefits and rewards are allocated by a tribunal relatively independent of power and classes, i.e., the educators' tribunal. Competition is imperfect because educational attainment is statistically associated with socio-cultural background; but among possible worlds this is the best, since it takes into account the diversity of the distribution of intelligence, which does not depend upon social classes.

A system with these characteristics entails a number of requisites, among which the following may be mentioned: a marked predominance of the public sector, which monitors the private sector so as to standardize norms for programmes, selection of teachers, etc.; the non-fee-paying character of the entire educational system; strict academic requirements, applied by well-trained and socially-respected teaching personnel, capable of irrefragable action in the formation and selection system; a measure of homogeneity in educational equipment and in the quality of teachers, which can be secured by means of an academic-bureaucratic system of training for the teaching profession; a high degree of integration among the various academic levels with regard to scientific creation and diffusion criteria, and, lastly, the presence of cultural groups independent of the system, in a position to stimulate with their expressions of opinion an educational system whose differentiation calls for autonomy in relation to the State and neutrality with respect to classes and ideologies²⁷.

The scheme of analysis presented here, in so far as it considers education as a result of the interaction of values and social forces, has a dynamic character appropriate to the analysis of

Latin American society as a society in course of processing, whose structures are not yet crystallized. This implies that countries can pass from one category to another without their displacements necessarily making for the implantation of the universalist model. By virtue of the region's political and social contradictions, power constellations occur which try to introduce new patterns of social organization with or without the support of the dominant articulations of the social classes: an attempt involving changes in the national education, which in cases of political and social regression are brought about in a framework of severe social coercion.

The scheme of analysis adopted has also made it possible to identify education as one of the social arenas in which conflicts and aspirations as to alternative development styles are fought out. The interplay of exclusion and participation has given rise, in the special circumstances of Latin America's structural transition, to an enormous expansion of education, with undeniable effects not only on human resources but also on the capacity of the various social groups to participate in national society. Education has been a field for social conflict and bargaining, and the form assumed by the systems has depended not only upon their point of departure, but also on the strength of the social protagonists and on the role of societal organization projects. Education contains in embryo a principle of social homogenization and meritocratic selection, provided that it is itself effectively homogeneous, of scientific quality and capable of developing personalities with independent criteria. In this sense education would seem to constitute, if it is compared with prevailing social conditions, a revolutionary force. If to all this is added the fact that its expansion, especially at the secondary and higher levels, has exceeded the increase in hierarchic posts afforded by the organization of society, it is easily understandable that group conflicts over power (which means over cultural power as well) have been transferred to the education sector, perverting the democratic effect of more extensive coverage with the stratification of the educational system itself in closed circuits of unequal quality, where the newcomers to education are given, in some cases, only the merest semblance of knowledge.

²⁷The empirical bases of the analysis presented in the course of section VII are to be found in the body of studies relating to the Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. Some of these are particularly informative, especially the series of *Final Reports* comprising 1. *Sociedad rural, educación y escuela*; 2. *El cambio educativo. Situación y condiciones*. 3. *La educación y los problemas del empleo*. 4. *Desarrollo y educación en América Latina. Síntesis general*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, Buenos Aires, 1980.

A historical perspective of Latin American education

*Gregorio Weinberg**

The first part of this study aims to justify on the one hand the validity and interest of the historical dimension and, on the other, the use of categories of analysis such as development 'models' or 'styles'.

The period of time covered —two centuries— reveals that both the prevailing conditions and the educational ideas in Latin America display very different features and characteristics depending on the countries and circumstances in question, and many of them still persist to this very day, converted into traditions or continuing to carry weight through institutional or legal inertia.

Indeed, the proper understanding of these processes only seems possible if they are referred to the implicitly accepted development 'models' or 'styles' and the ideologies behind them. Certain significant characteristics —some of them lasting— could be inferred from their analysis. Thus, it may be noted that many proposals could not be carried out at the time because of the absence of agents which espoused them, that is to say, because of the lack of social forces willing to support them until they overcame the obstacles standing in the way of their realization. Prestigious transplanted 'models' —sometimes of proven efficiency in other regions— failed because they had not been adequately rethought nor faced up to the new realities and because the asynchronous aspects involved had not been noted in time, all of which helped on many occasions to hinder or prevent the proposed processes of change.

Thus, everything seems to indicate that overcoming many of the present maladjustments, contradictions or shortcomings of the educational system or of the relations between this system and society calls for the undertaking of studies in order to prepare models which are satisfactory from the technical point of view and viable in practice.

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Introduction

One of the varied facets of the concept of 'dependence', and perhaps one of the least studied, is that concerning the persistence of past ideas; in this respect, it does not seem overbold to assert that many of the present educational systems —although it is quite true that they have been modernized many times— still retain rigidities in line with the timeworn ideas with which they are imbued. Thus, and without for the moment going more deeply into the matter, it may be said that this 'dependence' can be seen in the maintenance of ideas such as those which confuse primary or elementary population with popular education, which continue to view the secondary school as a state leading more or less preponderantly to the university, and which continue to see the latter as virtually the only expression of the tertiary level. The extent to which these preconceptions (which many would call prejudices) are maintained represents a problem of enormous importance which calls, among many other things, for an analysis of the original formation of these ideas and the achievements inspired by them, which are now in a process of veritable crystallization. Here, however, rather than seeking to deal with these shortcomings, it is important to bring out the significance of the historical perspective, since this, among other contributions, highlights the validity of many problems: that is to say, its interest goes beyond the academic field in promoting understanding of one of the mainstreams of contemporary reality.

In recent years, the concept of education itself has been notably enriched by the addition of new dimensions to its study. Leaving aside the strictly quantitative aspects, it seems most interesting here to examine the outstanding role that must be assigned to several different concepts: development, planning, and, more recently, the concept of development 'models' or 'styles'. On the one hand, this enables us to rethink both the significance and the scope of the educational process, while on the other it makes it possible to establish new relations, determine projections, and analyse immediate and longer-term consequences. This broadening of its ambit provides us with new conceptual instruments for the deeper study of all the implications involved, while at the same time it encourages the possible renovation of teaching and training

activities, which have also been somewhat neglected.¹

The concepts of the development 'model' or 'style' which will be used as a framework for seeking greater understanding of some significant moments in the Latin American process have already given rise to a copious literature,² enriched more recently by a study by Marshall Wolfe (printed in this issue of *CEPAL Review*), which speaks of 'models' when planners use these to order their proposals, and 'myths' when the latter are widely disseminated in order to create an active consensus in favour of particular directions of change and particular sacrifices. This pair of concepts — 'models' and 'myths' — undoubtedly greatly enriches the understanding of this historical process of education.

Although the ideas of the development 'model' or 'style' referred to do favour, as we have already said, the understanding of the processes and also, of course, that of the contradictions inherent in them, this in no way justifies overlooking the particular features of their application. Thus, in dealing with a universe as broad as that of education, it is impossible to leave aside the asynchronism or dephasing between the different levels of ideas, legislation and actual educational conditions which constitutes a factor of distortions usually left out of the reckoning. Thus, when rethought in the light of certain 'models', we see more clearly the contradictions existing on *one and the same level*, and these are further aggravated when the analysis moves to the study of the relation *between* the different levels. Maintaining that the ideas do not fit in with the institutions, with the needs or

with the aspirations seems to have become a commonplace which does not call for further comment. But no less significant, perhaps, is the case of educational ideas placed at the service of 'models' which, for various reasons, did not achieve complete success or were failures in practice; the fact is that the ideas involved nearly always, but not invariably, anticipate the requirements raised by actual conditions, which put forward objectives that are difficult to achieve and sometimes prove impossible to realize because of the lack of 'agents' for making them a reality. As logic would seem to indicate, however, and as history confirms, in other circumstances ideas often lag behind the requirements that may be raised by a 'development model', above all when the adoption of the latter leads to faster change. It is also by no means infrequent that the debates in Latin America are really nothing but a transposition of those carried out in the developed countries, whose assumptions are taken for granted, so that questions which are perhaps of profounder importance are skimmed over or completely ignored. Examples of such questions are the problems raised by the existence of a substantial non-integrated indigenous population or the persistence of indigenous languages side by side with Spanish (or, to a much lesser degree, Portuguese), or, in other parts of the region, problems of land ownership or political rights in areas of immigration.

There are, of course, particular concepts of education, especially those underlying the formulation of medium or long-term proposals or policies (and frequently shared or even taken over by public opinion, or at least by a significant sector of it). As aspirations, they thus anticipate reality (as in the case of the idea of universal primary education), and sometimes this consensus, at least apparently, has succeeded in inspiring legislation which almost always remains unfulfilled up to the present in many Latin American countries; what happened was that both the ideas and the legislation generated a climate which was capable of promoting a sort of *confidence* (it seems preferable to use this word here rather than others which have perhaps more equivocal connotations such as 'faith' or 'mystique', although it may be agreed that all of them can serve as nourishment for the idea of the

¹Some of the ideas set forth here are developed in much greater detail in our study *Modelos educativos en el desarrollo histórico de América Latina*, prepared as part of the UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (DEALC/5/Rev.1), Buenos Aires, February 1981.

²See Aníbal Pinto, "Styles of development in Latin America", pp. 99-130; Marshall Wolfe, "Approaches to development: who is approaching what?", pp. 131-172, and Jorge Graciarena, "Power and development styles. Some heterodox positions", pp. 173-194, in *CEPAL Review*, No. 1, first half of 1976. For a historian's point of view, see Fernand Braudel, *Écrits sur l'histoire*, Paris, Flammarion, 1969, especially, pp. 64-72.

'myth': a concept which implies a considerable rationalization of the foregoing) in the importance of education as an effective factor of socialization, mobility, integration of the country and training for the occupations which the development model adopted called upon the various social groups to carry out. We must acknowledge, however, that all this generated a favourable attitude and inspired initiatives, while at the same time giving rise to a receptive if not positively creative disposition with regard to educational innovations. There are other circumstances, where the terms of this situation may have been reversed, especially when educational policies capable of formulating proposals instead go onto the defensive; when this happens, traditional positions are strengthened to the detriment of innovative attitudes, and bureaucratic criteria are consolidated at the expense of new ideas and of receptivity to new developments. In short, when ideas enter a blind alley—for it is no accident that the crisis of educational systems coincides with the crisis of the 'development models'—then instead of being propagated, ideas begin to shrink, and it seems appropriate in some cases to say that they lag behind the existing legislation and, of course, the obstinate realities. It is the 'style'—we must insist—which prevents us from committing anachronisms such as attributing to the spirit of certain past educational systems such purposes as increasing social mobility or reducing wage inequalities (criteria which only began to take shape a very few decades ago, and which even then stemmed from the so-called central countries), although it is true that they may have had underlying them a hypothetical equalitarian purpose which is perceptible above all in some places where slavery had previously been abolished, even if only formally.

In short, even at the risk of coming perilously close to a tautological assertion, it may be said that it is the 'model' which gives significance to the educational process, and it is as a function of it that the results should be appraised: in other words—but still taking a very similar approach—in order to understand the significance and objectives of a particular process it is necessary to have a proper understanding of the 'model' which serves as a starting point and the limitations which it imposes. Otherwise,

there is a danger of warping its significance, as in the case of measuring the achievements of an elitist university system simply by the increase in enrolments.

Without pretending in any way that there is any automatic correspondence between the 'style' or 'model' adopted and the educational system in force in each case, a summary historical review of the Latin American process offers some interesting conclusions which give grounds for reflecting on many of its dimensions and conditioning factors. Sometimes, too, it is even possible to draw inferences which can in one way or another legitimate criteria or proposals today.

Studies on education and development in Latin America—although they were not given this name, of course—go back considerably further in time than might at first sight be supposed, and in quite a few cases they even go back earlier than those carried out in some central countries. This apparent paradox is easily explained if we note that they almost always represent responses to the queries which thinkers in the New World were obliged to make regarding the requisites which should be fulfilled in order to attain the prestigious 'models' reputed, proposed or accepted by them as satisfactory goals or objectives.

Many elements therefore permit us to re-examine recent experiences or historical processes whose achievements or failures are all the more eloquent if referred to the context given by the concepts of the 'model' or 'style'. This means, then, that they have a high degree of doctrinal and instrumental interest because as well as giving a more precise idea of what each era understands by education, what values it assigns to it and what results it expects from the theoretical postulations and human and economic investments made, they also make it possible to prepare descriptions and diagnoses of new planes of the phenomenon of education, or at least factors which had previously gone unnoticed. Thus, for example, if they are set forth properly this will also help towards a better knowledge of the 'resistance to change' or 'force of inertia' observed both in the system and in the mentality of educators, or even more so, on the part of society in general. In short, these and other reasons which could be adduced fully justify, at least in our opinion, the use of these

analytical categories in order better to understand the questions which we are dealing with here.

It should also be recalled that here in Latin America the political factor undoubtedly had more significant weight than in other regions, because here the consolidation of the State was an essential prerequisite, whereas it was of relatively little importance in those countries which were at that time exercising a strong ideological influence, such as England, France and the United States, where this question had already been settled some time before, although not without conflicts. Exploring the role of education in Latin American history is not only important but also very revealing in many senses, and its importance therefore greatly exceeds that of the history of its specific institutions or achievements, since it must be seen in the light of a number of dimensions. These include the significance which it had as a generator of society and also the role which it played in structuring the forms of democracy which led—often with many ups and downs—from the nation to the State. It is only after the beginning of the decolonization process, generally speaking after the Second World War, that these problems reappear in the African and Asian countries which were then in the process of emancipation,

although in these cases the moment of independence is so close to that of economic development as to become completely merged with it, or at least with the attempts to assert their cultural identity and the efforts on behalf of the 'economic take-off'. It may be recalled, in contrast, that in Latin America the moment of emancipation was almost always separated by a number of decades from the time of accelerated development, with everything that that implies.

Also of interest, however, are the restrictions or limitations which are to be observed in the area of education, together with such features as its predominantly urban or masculine pattern, its asymmetrical or asynchronic growth, its lag, etc., since all these are data whose significance goes beyond that of mere theoretical considerations, because more often than not they help us to go to the root of questions which are still valid or to appraise trends as eloquent as those observed by Germán W. Rama, who identifies a contrapuntal relationship between policies of exclusion and participation. And it should be noted that this latter pair of concepts can acquire such wholeness as to make it capable of becoming an axis around which a large part of the educational process can be made to revolve.

I

The Enlightenment

Without going back too far in time, and limiting ourselves only to a few moments in the process of the historical development of Latin America (especially those moments which still maintain their validity) and to some of the background details of this development, let us see what significance the Enlightenment had as a prior phase to independence.

A characteristic feature of the 'model' of the Enlightenment is its modernizing spirit: secularization of life in general, with its natural consequences for society and administration; diversification of production, and cultural and educational updating, even though the concern

was limited above all to the purpose of training a ruling class. The Spanish, French and Italian influences took root in the New World after some delay, and this has apparently been a lasting feature, as it is to be observed in practically all the processes of ideological influence right up to the present day. This asynchronism is a constant element in the relation between the peripheral countries and the central or developed countries, and it manifests itself on such dissimilar levels as the receipt of patterns, values, fashions, technologies, aesthetic and intellectual flows, etc. Overcoming this lag is a practical and theoretical problem of enormous importance,

and it cannot be solved by adjusting ourselves to the pace of the developed countries, but rather by finding our own rhythm.

Throughout the colonial period, Spain imposed an educational policy which was functionally correct for the metropolis, as befitted the model of an imperial power, but was of adverse characteristics if viewed in the light of future American needs.

The prevailing authoritarian traditionalism explains some of the principles then in force ("no learning without tears", "children are tainted with original sin", etc.) which modern thinking and, later on, the Enlightenment, were to have so much trouble in uprooting. Generally speaking, it can be said that the educational and cultural guidelines were given from the Peninsula: it may be noted in this connection that the Laws of the Indies do not make any mention of elementary education, paying attention only to the other levels. Moreover, the varieties resulting from the different criteria with which these laws were applied do not seem very significant.

In Spain, the spirit of renewal always saw education as an instrument considered to be appropriate for effectively overcoming the shortcomings observed both in the field of economic activity and in that of social relations. The Enlightenment—a current of thinking in which education was a key factor—helped to undermine the rigid traditionalism and the deep-rooted principle of authority and, ultimately, to incorporate new concepts and activities in place of the previous ones. It may be noted that manual labour continued to be legally viewed as degrading and servile in Spain and its colonies up to 1783. In short, the followers of the Enlightenment were convinced of the need and the possibility for progress, understood as an impulse which would lead to the dissemination and permanent establishment of such ideals as happiness and freedom, without of course ignoring that of usefulness. And it was here that education played an outstanding role.

As modern ideas spread, the dysfunctionality of those which the metropolis sought to impose became more obvious, and this situation confirmed the backwardness of the system of education and its faulty adjustment to the needs

being posed by new times and more recent requirements. The critical spirit acted as a dissolving factor, and the new generations of creole settlers gradually took it over. To all this must also be added the serious consequences accompanying the expulsion of the Company of Jesus. On the one hand, this event was the result of the very dynamics of the process of secularisation of the State and the natural tendency towards the homogenization of its political, administrative and judicial structures, in which this religious group exercised particular influence. On the other hand, however, the disappearance of the Jesuits also meant the disappearance of a group which had been a champion of the established order and had had a great effect on extensive and very important sectors of the ruling class. The Jesuits occupied a predominant place in the educational system, and when they were expelled their substitution led to a considerable decline in the levels of quality reached and the methods applied, while the objectives pursued also became vaguer. Furthermore, the forced exile of hundreds of priests—many of whom were members of creole families with deep roots in their native land—helped to increase the number of critics and even of enemies of the colonial régime. From another point of view, it could be said that the expulsion of this religious order constitutes an early example of the 'brain drain' for political reasons, which we have seen repeated unfortunately in successive centuries. Furthermore, as was soon to be seen, the Crown did not have the professional staff needed to take over the work of an order which had such long-standing experience and whose primary purposes included precisely the formation of a ruling class among whose set of values faithfulness to the régime played a decisive role.

Many examples could be given to show the unsatisfactory conditions in which primary education operated. Eloquent testimony of this is to be found in the writings of the Archbishop of Guatemala, Pedro Cortés y Larraz, or the statements made by Simón Rodríguez and published over several decades.

The universities languished during the eighteenth century because of the fact that traditional ideas predominated in them, so that education was gradually losing its significance

and becoming alienated from the conceptual instruments which would permit it to understand reality. For this reason, the new needs raised by the 'model' which was in the process of adoption had partly to be satisfied by the development of other ideas and techniques, but now outside the cloisters of religious groups, thus bringing forward by many decades the profound changes in the universities. The new scientific, economic and cultural ideas were to find a more favourable climate in less rigid institutions, that is to say, institutions more open to innovation and to new concerns, where there was less weight of routine and inertia. In the last few decades of this period it was also possible to observe in the region a phenomenon with generally similar characteristics: namely, the growing role of societies which in some way sought to fill the vacuum left in certain circumstances by the establishments of higher education when these fell out of phase with their times, or, in other words, when, because of excessive routine or professionalization, they came to neglect 'novelties' or failed to offer responses to the problems and needs arising from progress.

In America, it was the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País* and the Consulates which were the centres from which these ideas were disseminated, or rather from which the 'models', which were rather theoretical to begin with, gradually came closer and closer to reality, so that in many cases they ceased to be more or less rational constructions full of good intentions and humanitarian spirit and became instead medium and long-term proposals. These initiatives, and also their achievements, took place between the years 1790-1810. Although all comparisons are risky and there are notable differences, quite apart from the two centuries which separate them, we have often felt that it would be both useful and illustrative to consider the similarities which may exist between the intellectual climate and proposals generated by those local-scale institutions and those of present regional-type organizations such as ECLA.

Thus, Ildefonso Leal, the historian of Venezuelan education, says that "from the *Real Consulado* instructions were given on how to construct roads, harbours and canals, and prizes were offered for those who prepared the best technical papers on the cultivation of tobacco,

cotton, indigo, sugar cane and cocoa in which clear details and instructions were given in a full and circumstantial manner on the factors and combinations involved in the cultivation, processing, manufacture, consumption and trade of these valuable products, together with everything needed to organize an hacienda.³ Thousands of leagues away, in Buenos Aires, Manuel Belgrano, Secretary of the Consulate, was at the same time putting forward a series of initiatives aimed at "improving the situation of the country and increasing the wealth and happiness of its inhabitants". Hence his all-embracing interest in such matters as roads, ports, lighthouses, agronomic studies, trade schools, agriculture, navigation, the dissemination of booklets translated into Spanish with instructions on new and better methods of working the land, fertilizers, fences, forestry, crop rotation, etc. He also called for "free schools where the poor labourers can send their children without having to pay anything at all for their education".

The few changes registered in institutions of higher education and the incorporation of new courses of study (especially law and medicine), which increased at the expense of theology and other outmoded subjects—thus, recreative physics grew at the expense of philosophical physics—, as well as the unanswered appeals for the construction of new educational establishments, indicate that the renovation took place along other lines.

On many other planes it was possible to observe the changes in attitudes and actions resulting from the new 'style' adopted, which infused and coloured numerous activities or initiatives such as the creation of educational establishments inspired by another spirit—above all of a practical nature—and which were also enriched by a different social extraction. A new ideology now prevailed which had at its disposal a number of developing instruments, one of which was exceptionally important: the dissemination of books, whose

³*Documentos para la historia de la educación en Venezuela*, preliminary study and compilation by Ildefonso Leal, Caracas, Library of the National Historical Academy, 1968, p. XXXII.

equivalent is to be found today perhaps in the mass media (above all television and radio), which pose a tremendous challenge to the present educational system. Just as, at that time, it was necessary to redefine the situation in the light of this outstanding new factor—the book—which was already within the reach of a public extending far beyond that of the ‘intellectuals’, similarly, the mass media are now occupying the

field of information which was until recently the monopoly of formal education.

The next phase in history was to be that of the predominance of this ideology of the Enlightenment already referred to, now seeking actors with sufficient force and capacity to lead the approaching process of change; these new actors were to be the inspirers and leaders of independence.

II

Emancipation

During the process of emancipation and the years which followed it, most of the countries suffered profound population upheavals caused by the migration of large numbers of persons as a result of the war, a marked impoverishment due to the reduction in productive activities and the waste of resources involved in the conflict, and instability and uncertainty deriving from the vicissitudes of this struggle. Although the Bourbon tradition, which gave growing importance to the State in educational matters, continued, there was nevertheless undoubtedly an aggravation of the precarious state of the finances, together with administrative disorganization.

In the new ruling class which was being formed, the predominance of the ideas of the Enlightenment continued, and this model was enriched with some very significant innovations, especially the addition of a new political attitude expressed above all by the replacement of the ideal of the ‘loyal subject’ with that of the ‘active citizen’. Although the attitude of this new ruling class may at times seem ingenuous to us, it was nevertheless in keeping with the new principles incorporated. Thus, the participation of the people as a whole in educational activities was stimulated; editions were brought out of works such as Mariano Moreno’s version of Rousseau’s *Social Contract* or pamphlets on the rights and duties of citizens, which, although open to question from the educational point of view, nevertheless displayed and advanced political

spirit, all this being done with the idea of training the new generations; efforts were made to banish corporal punishment from the schools; concern with the education of women or Indians was encouraged, etc. In all this, there was a new style now based on the ideas of equality, freedom and justice as understood by the various groups, which covered a broad spectrum from the so-called Jacobins to the Moderates; the subject of education and culture was the order of the day. This marked the beginning of the forging of a ‘myth’ (in the sense given to this term by Marshall Wolfe) which, with brief eclipses, lasted for almost two centuries and whose exhaustion is a significant feature of recent years, when not only the importance of schools but even the usefulness of literacy are being brought into question.

The incorporation of political dimensions, with their mobilizing effects, converted the new ‘model’ into a qualitatively different fact because of the breadth of its proposals and the profound effects it sought.

With regard to the prohibition of the use in schools of corporal punishment, which had previously been so widespread and generally accepted as a disciplinary method, it is interesting to note that this fits in with a number of measures inspired by similar purposes and is in keeping with the ‘style’ which was then being adopted in such matters as the abolition of the Inquisition and of personal service by the Indians, all of which were along the same lines.

The shortage of human and economic resources was one of the biggest obstacles encountered by the new ruling groups in promoting their project; the details to hand on the level of qualifications of the teachers and the resources of the schools are quite depressing. To some extent, this explains the enthusiastic reception given by the authorities or influential sectors of society of various countries from one end of the continent to the other to the so-called monitorial system of mutual education or, more frequently, the Lancastrian school, whose rapid and intensive spread in both the Old and New

Worlds confirms that it met a deeply felt need. Nor can it be considered mere chance that such leaders as Artigas, Rivadavia, O'Higgins, San Martín and Bolívar, all of whom were concerned to overcome these shortcomings, showed a markedly favourable attitude to this.

Thus, the initial democratic model was to be confronted with a stern challenge, anarchy, and this called forth a reaction favouring the construction and consolidation of the State, which was to resort, among other factors, to the monopoly of force.

III

Liberals and conservatives

From one end of Latin America to the other, the decades following the independence movements were marked by the vicissitudes of the armed struggles to consolidate emancipation or, in other cases, by the ravages of civil war.

The period between the Independence era and the linking of the Latin American economy to world markets is characterized by the priority given to the creation of the State, among whose minimum conditions, as already noted, was the monopoly of force (through the establishment of national armies, that is to say, by taking the armed forces away from the influence of local leaders) and an administrative structure, even if only of an elementary type: a process which was to be accompanied by the exclusion of the masses of the people from political decisions—phenomena which explain to some extent the low priority given to education.

Soon, however, signs of a redefinition of forces began to be observed. Thus, the traditional conservative-minded groups (previously linked to the State, its administration and its bureaucracy, but above all connected with an economy and society based on the hacienda and plantation) tried to recover their positions. Opposing them were the liberals with their programmes of renovation. It would be risky to generalize about the out-and-out predominance

of some of these groups over the others, whose features were sometimes quite similar. Furthermore, for various reasons the liberal and conservative currents in the New World had a content and characteristics different from those which they possessed in Europe.

Both sides—liberals and conservatives—claimed to have the capacity and the secret needed to restore order, which is what this was all about fundamentally. It should be noted that in some cases the opposition between them was much less frontal than appearances might indicate. Their antagonism is obvious, of course, when it is a question of their opposition as regards the Church or secularization, but it is not so obvious when dealing with other problems, such as those of the still-predominant rural population or the indigenous masses subject to an intensive process of deculturation. The differences in their attitudes *vis-à-vis* the State, however, were important. The liberals constituted the negative element in the development of the process of consolidation of the State, since they almost always rejected the role traditionally attributed to it, and in some cases some radicalized groups disapproved of it altogether.

This attitude is difficult to explain when we recall that there were no groups which were in a position to carry out those activities which the

liberals considered were not the responsibility of the State, such as participating in economic development; these theoretical limits imposed on the function of the State brought with them serious consequences in various fields: thus, there were serious problems over the recognition in the educational field of the compulsory nature of education, which was sometimes felt by them to contradict the much-proclaimed principle of freedom of education. Furthermore, they made their criticism of the State from a European point of view which was inadequate to take in the Latin American political and institutional reality at a very different stage of its process of consolidation, while they also considered it as something left over from colonial times. Of course there was no bourgeoisie like that associated with advanced capitalism, as in Europe. For their part, the conservatives called for order and favoured its consolidation, which to some extent explains why in some cases they came to be protectionist or considered it essential to keep up regular established armies; because of the role assigned to the Church in educational matters, however, they denied the State any function in this field or else reduced its function to the minimum.

It should also be added, however, that although the Latin American population was predominantly rural, none of these groups did very much for education in rural areas, which after all seems logical enough if we take into account the predominantly urban nature of the liberals on the one hand and the manifest lack of interest of the conservatives in raising the cultural level of the peasantry, which consisted for the most part of peons and great indigenous masses not always integrated into the monetary economy. It was this vacuum in the educational policy of both currents which favoured the delay in incorporating these rural sectors into a more modern economy and society and, of course, in achieving their political participation, and this exclusion, as is well known, still persists in large sections of Latin America.

Without pretending to characterize them by using a simplistic formula, it could be said that, as far as this particular moment was concerned, the liberals—because of the interests they expressed and their ideological affiliation—aimed to be both renovators and secularizers,

that is to say, they adopted a position which brought them into confrontation with the political and economic power still retained by the Church, whose influence in the educational field they sought to reduce. The conservatives, in contrast, held that the Church was an important factor for maintaining or restoring order. Rather than formulating generic profiles, however, it seems more appropriate to see how these currents fitted into actual conditions and sought to modify them as a function of their project or model. The complexity of the process and the diversity of the features acquired by it in each country make it difficult to characterize in global terms, as the solutions proposed for the purpose of training the ruling élites for the new society were very diverse. Thus, in Mexico the liberals rejected the possibility of training these élites in the university, which was considered by them to be an institution with colonial overtones, whereas in Buenos Aires they managed to work out a proposal which, although short-lived, was nonetheless significant.

Andrés Bello occupies an exceptional place in this process. Located as he was astride the different periods into which this study has been divided—since he can be placed with very few reservations among the men behind the political emancipation and without any reservation at all among the fathers of intellectual emancipation—his active teaching corresponds to the stage referred to here as that of 'liberals and conservatives' and he is in the final analysis the precursor of popular education. The modernizing conservative spirit of Bello—who could by no means be legitimately assimilated to an immobile or traditionalist concept—undoubtedly owes a great deal to the impression made on him by the English experience in contrast with the events on the continent. During his prolonged stay in Great Britain he witnessed a gigantic effort of institutional reorganization to meet the decisive transformations of the economy and society deriving from the agricultural and industrial revolutions: a process which also underlined the importance of science and technology in building the future; at the same time, his interest was aroused by the role played by Great Britain in the new and still unstable balance of international relations, since this situation was by

no means foreign to the development of events in the New World.

Always concerned about the fate of America, which was torn apart and impoverished by the prolonged civil wars which threatened its very existence, he saw in that singular style a possible formula for enabling the new States to channel the overflowing energy available by placing it at the service of their own interests. For this reason, Bello considered that

rather than toppling the shaken order, it should be restored as soon as possible, using education, legislation and trade as suitable instruments for achieving this.

The educational ideas of Bello are spread over numerous works (the most fundamental of which is the speech given in 1843 on the occasion of the establishment of the University of Chile), and above all through a vast range of activities which it is impossible even to summarize here.

IV

Toward popular education

In the whole of Latin America, and above all as from the years following the eras of the 'Reform' in Mexico and the 'Organization' in Argentina, efforts to incorporate a growing number of persons into what was then generously termed 'civilization' were intensified. Except in a few cases such as Chile, which achieved early institutional stability, none of the previous attempts had gained the hoped-for results, due *inter alia* to the precarious nature of their economies and the weak degree of integration into the central economies as a result of civil wars, administrative disorganization and shortage of financial resources, and also to the difficulties deriving from a geography which was frequently difficult, and a predominantly rural population (including areas where there was an overwhelming indigenous majority). In order to integrate the countries, it seemed that a prior requisite was to overcome isolation, poverty, linguistic fragmentation: in short, to provide them with modern and stable institutions and legislation. All this, in the view of some of the most outstanding men of that generation, called for long-term educational policies involving significant investments in order to train teachers, build schools, equip lecture theatres, etc. It appeared that the consolidation of the national States could not be achieved without first of all at least putting under way the efforts to achieve these objectives.

In addition to the experience accumulated by the previous generation, marked by successive failures in the materialization of the educational policy, the growing needs thus identified were also accompanied by lucid diagnoses on part of the new leaders who were emerging: in this respect, there were several whose ideas are still surprisingly topical. Thus, a special place must be given among the precursors to the Mexican Benito Juárez, who showed as far back as 1884 that he had a penetrating insight into the educational situation of that country; an insight which he continued to enrich with the years and the course of his political activities.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the champion of popular education, for his part, carried out his work at the other end of the continent and also displayed features which are worthy of note, albeit briefly.

The educational ideas put forward by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in his efforts to gain their acceptance in his country were indissolubly linked with a conception which integrated them into a policy of immigration and colonization promoting the transition from an Argentina based mainly on stock-raising to another based on agriculture in a broader sense, involving not only changes in the production structure, but also changes in the system of ownership with a view to the formation of an agricultural middle class. One of the essential

elements in the implementation of this project, as just noted, was education, which was considered at that time, and at the primary level, as being capable of training men who could be producers and at the same time participants in this process of change. Education thus had just as much a political function as an economic and social function. It is quite obvious that that proposal ran ahead of the existing situation and was aimed at the creation of a new society with fundamentally different components and involving the presence of a plurality of participating social groups. His dominant concern with the primary level was correct at that time, since elementary (or basic or primary) education and popular education could be considered as more or less equivalent in those days. Of course, the actual progress in the promotion of literacy was slower than foreseen, because when the workers on the land did not achieve ownership of that land and they were also prevented from enjoying their political rights and effectively exercising suffrage, the educational factor did not manage to play within this plan the role of a change-promoting variable which was foreseen for it in Sarmiento's initial model, but became instead a modernizing variable. At all events, however, these educational ideas began to play a fundamental role with the adoption of Law No. 1420, which was inspired by them and which was to have intensive nationalizing effects on immigration and to help to integrate the country.

This policy permitted the early coverage of a very substantial part of the school-age population: that is to say, the purpose of universalizing primary education was largely fulfilled. Thus, the centre of gravity of the system was kept in elementary education, while on the other hand secondary education was viewed only as a stepping-stone to the university, with the latter, in turn, being viewed as the means of training the ruling class and professionals required by development.

The work of the Uruguayan José Pedro Varela, probably marked the culmination of this current of thought and action whose main concern was popular education, considered as an instrument for transforming Latin American society. The ideology of José Pedro Varela, who was a disciple of Sarmiento in many respects and, like him, was an admirer of what has been called

the United States 'model' of development, was imbued with a spiritualistic rationalism which gradually changed into out-and-out positivism, the influence of which was henceforth to be decisive for the whole cultural and educational life of the country.

In order not to continue too long with all the references that could be made to the works of Varela, it is perhaps sufficient to mention some of his educational ideas connected with other dimensions of national activity: "Education is the only service entrusted to the public administration which does not use up the capital invested in it but incorporates it in a new form, turning it into new capital represented by the individuals to whom education is given". In an exercise in rigorously logical reasoning he holds that "a double effort is needed, then, to do away with the fundamental causes of our political crisis; on the one hand, we must do away with the ignorance of the landed gentry and the lower strata of society; on the other, we must seek to do away with the error which is fostered in the University and which draws after it the enlightened classes who intervene directly in public life".⁴ Translated into modern terms, Varela's position constitutes a denunciation of the alliance of the rural leaders with the educated classes of the cities in the common objective of excluding the people and barring all possibilities of change; in short, he was convinced that the Republic could only be built up through democracy.

The date of José Pedro Varela's death seems like a symbol, since it coincides with the end of one era and the beginning of another; the new era was to be characterized by the urge for progress and all the contradictions that involved, and it was to be tinged ideologically by positivism, which was soon to undermine the liberal principles with which he was linked. The phrase which was repeated with slight variations from one end of the continent to the other—"education is the locomotive of progress"—links

⁴José Pedro Varela, *La educación del pueblo*, Montevideo, 1874, and *La legislación escolar*, Montevideo, 1876; both republished under the generic title of *Obras pedagógicas*, Montevideo, Biblioteca Artigas, 1964 (Colección Clásicos Uruguayos). The quotations are from *La legislación escolar*, pp. 90, 111 and 114.

together three concepts very dear to the leaders of the last two decades of the century: education, locomotive (i.e., railways), and progress.

In short, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and José Pedro Varela advocated a type of social order which would make it possible to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness (especially of the rural population, which continued to be the overwhelming and underprivileged majority) and political instability; to this end, they were supporters of an order based on education and participation, which meant something very different from the kind of order that the supporters of positivism would later seek to impose. As these visionaries lacked the social forces which were essential in order to back up their programme of change, their ideas remained to some extent floating in a vacuum, but at all events their plans were to gain significance and begin to be realized when they were espoused by the new urban groups, and especially when the middle classes arose.

Just as liberalism ceased to believe in the universities of colonial origin because they were considered to be institutions identified with traditional values and hence likely to perpetuate the prevailing patterns, likewise, at the time under discussion, when great educational reforms were projected, these were not 'elitist' and were anti-university. This is understandable if we recall that the university, which was to continue being of a minority nature, if not frankly oligarchical (because of the social background of the students, the courses studied in it and the professional and cultural function assigned to its graduates), could hardly understand and much less express the interests and aspirations of the new groups, whose development 'model' was by no means based on higher education but called rather for broad mass culture with both a political and a utilitarian function.

V

The positivist stage

Because of the industrial revolution, which was producing manufactures in growing amounts and needed abundant raw materials and food, the habits of life and consumption in the Old World were changing. All this was to bring with it unsuspected consequences for the Latin American countries, which were to continue incorporating themselves to the extent of their export capacity in the international market as both producers and consumers, but would not therefore necessarily become industrialized, as was so lightly taken for granted, since international relations were to take a different course and were to consolidate inequality and backwardness.

The initial surge in the exports of the developing countries meant the accumulation of surpluses which were not always invested in line with economic or productive criteria (indeed, at that time there were neither the social classes nor

the stimuli needed to do this) but were very often frittered away on luxury consumption. At least to some extent and for some sectors, progress seemed to be synonymous with a high level of comfort and higher consumption of increasingly sophisticated goods. From another angle, progress was also to mean a profound change in the spatial distribution of production and employment—new activities were to be set up in areas which the new means of transport now made accessible, or existing activities were to be expanded—and this alteration of the laboriously achieved existing balance also simultaneously modified the relative weight of the different branches of production. Furthermore, the organized State was to favour links with foreign capital and give easier access to the market to such investors. These situations were to create new forms of relations between developed and non-developed countries. In order to meet the

needs which the times made essential, America, it was claimed, needed political order and economic freedom, which, once achieved, would give progress as if by magic. Positivism believed that it had the key to all this. Peace was a necessity; consequently, the solution was clear: it was necessary to do away with the chronic confrontations between conservatives and liberals and to finish with revolutions. All these elements, it was claimed, made it desirable to accept a philosophy of order capable of leading our countries to progress along the path of tranquility. Positivism seemed in many respects the heaven-sent answer to these desires and requirements, and its ideas spread and achieved decisive influence in all parts, although rarely with such completeness and overwhelming effect as in Mexico, where the group of its followers, who called themselves 'the scientists', were to occupy some of the key posts in the government.

The educational proposals of positivism may be summed up by mentioning its attempts to rationalize society through the introduction of scientific methods, and its efforts to create a consensus in favour of the proposed 'model', that is to say, a model based on the view that economic growth would lead to collective happiness.

Gabino Barreda, one of the leading exponents of change in education during the first stage of positivism, who was concerned because he felt that freedom was turning into anarchy, wrote: "Liberty is commonly represented as the freedom to do or desire anything without being subject to any governing law or force; if such a kind of liberty could exist, however, it would be as immoral as it would be absurd, because it would make impossible all discipline and consequently all order. Far from being incompatible with order, liberty in all phenomena, both organic and inorganic,

consists of full submission to the laws which determine those phenomena".⁵

The modern concept of property which the régime of Porfirio Díaz sought to impose naturally led it to a policy which helped to accelerate the dissolution of the indigenous communities, since under the pretext of enabling to become owners of their land they were actually stripped of such land as still remained in their hands. Furthermore, that régime was marked by a disqualification of the people, in some cases because of their language and in others because of their social status, which was expressed in its lack of interest in incorporating them in society, while at the same time it was concerned with forming élites by following denationalizing patterns such as the encouragement of foreign languages, especially English. This problem of the teaching of languages, viewed as a political factor, assumes exceptional importance in the case of the Porfirio Díaz 'model', where, as we can see, it fitted in very well with the other dimensions of the process. Elementary education continued to be overwhelmingly urban, while rural education was neglected if not practically abandoned; as a result, an illiteracy rate of 54% was registered in 1900, declining to 50% ten years later.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was to open up other prospects, both in tackling the problem of land ownership and that of rural schooling or the teaching of languages; these and many other political, social, economic and cultural problems were to acquire a different sense in the light of a new 'model'. The limits set for this article do not allow us to go more deeply into this matter, however.

⁵Quoted in Abelardo Villegas, *La filosofía en la historia política de México*, Mexico City, Ed. Pormaca, 1966, pp. 127 et seq.

VI

The rise of the middle classes

As from the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the present century, structural changes were observed in Argentina which were linked with the export of agricultural commodities, the development of city-ports, and the formation of a middle class resulting from this process of social differentiation. This was the reason for the marked predominance of the urban phenomenon and the pressure of the first middle classes, which demanded participation and espoused the 'discourse' of the reformers of the previous generation, who had proposed popular education as a partial aspect of such participation. The picture just described acquired deeper significance in the countries which were first to link themselves to the external markets.

Almost all modern students of Argentine history are agreed that there was a series of stages in its evolution which must be differentiated in order not to make its fuller understanding more difficult. Thus, Gino Germani,⁶ for example, defines two phases within what he calls the "representative democracy with limited participation": the first of these phases was the "national organization (1853-1880)", while "conservative-liberal governments (the oligarchy: 1880-1916)" was the other. Dividing up the country's history into these periods helps to clarify the different attitudes of two generations separated from each other by many distinctive notes, since the so-called generation of 1880 took to extremes many of the inconsistencies and limitations of the previous phase. In order to illustrate these differences, take for example the role given to the State by the first group in the development of the country, in contrast with the manner in which the others favoured private enterprise. The decisive consolidation of the model of outward-oriented growth corresponds to the last two decades of the past century.

⁶Gino Germani, *Política y sociedad en una época de transición*, Buenos Aires, Ed. Paidós, 1962.

The fundamental idea put forward by Juan Carlos Tedesco,⁷ "is that the ruling groups gave education a political function and not an economic function, and as the economic changes which took place in this period did not involve the need to resort to the local training of human resources, the structure of the educational system changed only in those aspects which could be of political interest, and as a function of that same political interest. The particular feature of the Argentine case is that the forces which acted in the political confrontation took the same view—when each of them was in power—that education should be kept apart from productive orientations". For this reason, continues Tedesco, the educational process was at that time an effort to achieve better adjustment to this 'model', whose main features could be described briefly by saying that it sought dissemination and patterns for achieving consensus, while also being aimed at training a ruling and administrative class.

In short, the ruling classes worked out a development 'model' which the educational system was made to serve: this is why the model was so coherent once it was consolidated and why successful results were obtained. It is a fact that with the passage of time the system fundamentally favoured the middle classes which were not linked with primary or secondary production but which benefitted from the growing development of the tertiary sectors (bureaucracy, services, professionals, etc.). The middle classes were in any case not in a position to propose an alternative 'model', and they implicitly shared that based on outward-directed growth, which gave them a feeling of security and, perhaps even more important, of progress, this latter word being, as we have already seen, of enormous prestige and gradually becoming a mobilizing and masking myth. All these factors go some way

⁷Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Educación y sociedad en la Argentina (1880-1900)*, Buenos Aires, Ed. Panedille, 1970.

towards explaining what seems to us today to be the ingenuous optimism of that time. As the traditional ruling groups had to face up to the crisis, however, their attitude became increasingly rigid and they began to see the middle class as potential rivals. The middle class, for its part, was becoming increasingly aware of its position and possibilities and at the same time becoming more consciously democratic. As education was considered as a channel for rising and gaining prestige, however, the middle class, too, tried to take advantage of and increase all the possibilities which the system provided to it for reaching the university, which was the stronghold of the traditional groups. This process, whose intimate correspondence with the rising popular movements must be taken into account in order to understand it better, reached its full expression at the level of tertiary education with the university reform of Córdoba (1918), and this event spread, to different extents and at different rates, through almost the whole of Latin America. The principal proposals of this reform called for autonomy of the universities, the participation of professors and students in the running of these institutions, faculty freedom, periodic competitions to appoint the teaching staff (as well as a system known as 'free instruction' which permitted the functioning of parallel courses), the expansion of income, updating of teaching methods, university extension, etc. All this involved a profound redefinition of the role of the university, since it assigned it a function which went beyond that of training professionals and promoting scientific research, maintaining instead that it must also contribute to the effective democratization of society.⁸ This marks the entry onto the scene of the new sectors which demanded the democratization of political life through suffrage and called for greater participation in education and cultural activities,

but, it must be stressed, still continued to support the model of outward-directed growth.

From the ideological point of view, the influence of positivism in Argentina was very profound; it is well known through an extensive bibliography⁹ which does full justice in most cases to the heterogeneity and the interlinking of its different schools and tendencies. After the positivism of the precursors Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Juan Bautista Alberdi and others (or protopositivism as it is sometimes called), this current of thinking, as Francisco Romero¹⁰ reminds us, "subsequently bogged down in a self-indulgent and opportunistic pragmatism from which some of the worst features of our collective life originated". It was this which led to a conformist attitude in the face of the successes of the modernization being carried out under the slogan of "Peace and Administration", overlooking the serious contradictions which could be seen to be growing up. Another current of thought, which formed what was called the "Paraná School", however, had an enormous and beneficial influence, especially on the development of teachers' training schools, which were soon converted into centres of renewal. Among the leading figures in this were such men as Pedro Scalabrini, the first advocate of Comte in Argentina; J. Alfredo Ferreira, perhaps the best-known and most illustrious representative of Comtian positivism, and a number of other figures who expressed greater concern for education proper than for the way it fitted in with the 'model' in general. A third line of thought was Spencerism, which left lasting traces in extensive university circles.

In reality, the greatest interest that the study of Argentine positivism could offer would be the detailed and sensitive tracing of its various lines of influence until they merged with new currents which, while sometimes enriching it, in other cases led it into blind alley, and also the study of its imprint on the development of different disciplines (history, psychology,

⁸The fundamental work in the extensive literature on this subject continues to be *La reforma universitaria (1918-1940)*, compiled and annotated by Gabriel del Mazo, La Plata (Argentina), Edición del Centro de Estudiantes de Ingeniería, 1941, 3 vols. There are many republished versions of parts of the valuable documentation assembled in this work, as well as many recompilations and anthologies.

⁹Including Ricaurte Soler, *El positivismo argentino*, Panama City, Imprenta Nacional, 1959.

¹⁰Francisco Romero, "Indicaciones sobre la marcha del pensamiento filosófico en la Argentina", in *Sobre la filosofía en América*, Buenos Aires, Ed. Raigal, 1952, p. 24.

philosophy, educational science, etc.) or on the spirit of highly significant institutions such as the University of La Plata.

Emphasis has been placed on this chapter on the development of Argentine positivism and, in particular, on the reform of the university, because of their projection through time and also because of the validity which their postulations continue to have; it is for this reason, and because of the limitations of space which must necessarily be respected, that we have left out the consideration of other eras of great significance, such as the frequently bold changes rightly linked in Mexico with the name of José Vasconcelos, who inspired the process with renewed concepts of a markedly anti-positivist type from the ideological point of view (it may be recalled that positivism was the official philosophy of the 'model' adopted by the Porfirio Díaz régime) and with a great opening in its educational and cultural policy, as for example in the case of his work

on behalf of rural sectors, especially indigenous inhabitants, campaigns against illiteracy, and activities in the field of non-systematic education. Somewhat later, in Peru —although this thinker's contribution was limited to the field of ideas— we may recall the fertile work of José Carlos Mariátegui, who formulated a notably original proposal for 'national education', challenging the pragmatic currents of opinion (of United States affiliation) and the European-style 'humanist' currents to propose —and continue to perfect and update— a recovery of the pre-hispanic tradition which, in his opinion, continued to be an essential element of any alternative 'model' suitable to the requirements of his country at that time. Nor, of course, must we overlook the contribution made by the Bolivian Franz Tamayo in his *Pedagogía nacional*. However, as we said, a detailed critical analysis of all these currents is beyond the scope of this article.

VII

Some final considerations

Throughout the nineteenth century and the beginning of the present century, both educational ideas and the actual situation in Latin America offer features and characteristics which differ greatly according to the countries and circumstances under consideration; many of them still persist in our own day, converted into traditions or dragging on as institutional or legal inertia: this is why it is of interest to study them.

Now, the proper understanding of these processes only seems to acquire significance if they are referred to the implicitly accepted 'models' or 'styles' of development and to the ideologies which permeated them. From their analysis, we could infer certain significant characteristics, some of them lasting. Thus, many proposals could not be carried out at the time because of the lack of agents which supported them, that is to say, because they lacked the social forces that would support them

until they overcame the obstacles standing in the way of their realization. Prestigious transplanted 'models' —possibly of proven effectiveness in other regions— failed because they were not suitably rethought nor confronted with the new conditions or because the asynchronous factors present were not seen in time, all of which often helped to hinder or retard the planned processes of change.

On repeated occasions, when dealing with a predominantly rural population, the most generous proposals negated themselves when in practice they converted the urban sectors into effective recipients of the improvements planned, so that education helped to make the contradictions more marked instead of reducing them or overcoming them, thus putting off still longer the homogenization of the social structure.

The rigidities of the systems meant that at

various times the innovations were introduced or propagated almost exclusively outside those systems, and in the face of the limitations or doctrinal difficulties or re-thinking them within a different 'model', they were simply negated.

Thus, everything seems to indicate that overcoming many of the present maladjustments, contradictions and shortcomings of the

educational system or of the relations between that system and society calls for the undertaking of studies to permit the formulation of models which are both satisfactory in theory and viable in practice: the challenge which was already vigorously stated by Simón Rodríguez a good deal more than a century ago when he wrote: "either we invent or we merely drift..."

To educate or not to educate: Is that the question?

Carlos H. Filgueira*

The central purpose of the present article is to examine what role has been played by formal education systems in the processes of change in Latin American countries during recent decades.

To clarify his position, the author begins by discarding those theses on the significance of formal education in the social process which derive from the current viewpoints of Marxism and of structural-functionalism. In his opinion, the educational system is neither completely autonomous nor completely dependent upon its social matrix; like other social institutions, it enjoys a certain 'relative autonomy'. The form taken by its structure and changes stems from the fact that education is a social good which may serve as a means of attaining power and privilege, and as such is subject to social conflict and serves as a criterion, *inter alia*, for the structuration and modification of the social classes.

With this thesis as his starting-point, he proceeds to the heart of the matter, i.e., the way in which education has contributed to social mobility, particularly in Latin America; to that end, he examines internal trends in educational stratification, the social bases of educational recruitment and the practical efficacy of formal education in relation to mobility. This analysis leads him to the conclusion that education is at present passing through a critical phase, since it has ceased to be a medium for the absorption of pressures and demands on the part of the social groups and has become a source of fresh conflicts. This must be ascribed to the presence of two contradictory trends: on the one hand, the enormous expansion of the educational system, and, on the other, the very limited absorption of the new contingents by the economic system, with the ensuing detriment to structural mobility. Owing to these opposing trends, the social conflict regarding access to education will probably be exacerbated as relative over-education increases and the value of educational achievements declines.

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Introduction

The rapporteur responsible for summarizing the conclusions of the Meeting of the Expert Working Group on Social Aspects of Economic Development, held in Mexico in 1963, admirably condensed its atmosphere in the maxim: "When in doubt, educate".¹

At the same time, the 1963 *Report on the World Social Situation* speaks equally conclusively of the importance attaching to education as an instrument of economic and social development for the developing countries:

"Implicitly or explicitly, during the decade there seems to have been greater and greater emphasis throughout the world on the conception of education as a basic tool of organized society in forming the type of citizen and worker it will require in the near future. Growing concern with the needs of a technological society for educated manpower, the drive for high levels of living, political preoccupations with the creation of cohesive national States, and awareness both of the tightening interrelationship between peoples and the acceleration of social change have all been factors leading to active involvement in education by higher and higher levels of government".²

These two introductory references pretty faithfully echo the keynote of economic and social thinking on the educational question during the 1950s and 1960s. Great expectations and a sort of all-round optimism identified education as the instrument *par excellence* for ensuring the welfare of societies. This conception, applied to the developing countries, meant that all efforts to expand and perfect the formal education systems would contribute towards a quicker and easier transition to more advanced stages of development. In principle, nothing seemed unallied with education; from social integration to the cohesion of nation-States, or from the training of human resources and citizens to the improvement of levels of living.

¹Taken from A. Troop (1965).

²1963 *Report on the World Social Situation*, United Nations publication, Sales No.: 63.IV.4, New York, 1964.

In the framework of this conception, it was likewise believed that education might become an efficacious tool for neutralizing social inequalities, emphasis thus being placed on its redistributive role. This postulate, which will be the central theme of the present article, was also viewed first with fervent optimism and later with profound scepticism. Today, however, the idea that formal education systems could become agencies for the redistribution of social opportunities is, like many of its fellows, in a state of crisis.

At the time, of course, there were very sound reasons for that exaggerated optimism; some, as stated in the *Report on the World Social Situation*, must be ascribed to what was 'happening in the world', while others, specific to the region, related to the particular situation of Latin America at the moment and to that of some of its countries regarded as models.

In the first category must be placed the powerful influence brought to bear on this educational ideology by two lines of thought: firstly, English educational sociology, and secondly, the development of one of the most important conceptual constructs, i.e., structural-functionalism, in the United States. Appreciable, too, on the side of economic and political currents of thought, were the influences exerted by the 'manpower approach' theory, which gained ground as a result of the work of Harbison and Myers (1964), and by the studies on 'civic culture' based on the ideas formulated by Almond.

The contribution of the English school had several virtues, outstanding among which is the revaluation of education from the standpoint of the normative, of the 'must be' or of the teleological types of approach. In particular, the famous Halsey and Floud *Report*, by codifying and organizing the vast body of research conducted in the United States and Western Europe on comparative education, history of education and educational psychology, served as the springboard for a new impetus to educational sociology. As it was an essentially empirical analysis of the behaviour of the educational system and of the actors therein, it permitted the 'discovery' of a new dimension of the educational question, relating to the

potential of education as an instrument of planning.

Functionalism, developed on the basis of the early studies by Malinowski and Redcliffe-Brown, was then to attribute to education, in the classic formulations of Parsons and Merton and also in the work of the social modernization theorists, a strategic role as a 'functional' element closely linked to the integration of society through socialization and social mobility. Here indeed, in contradistinction to the English school, it was easy to identify a strong theoretical emphasis. On the one hand, disciplines such as social psychology and cultural anthropology made it possible to carry out educational studies relating to the socialization processes; while on the other, studies on stratification and social mobility, outstanding among which were those of Davis, Moore and, particularly, Barber and Lipset, cleared the way for approaches centered on the 'permeability of the social structure' and the role incumbent upon education in the 'opening-up' of social systems. In its day, the controversy on the different degrees of rigidity of the social systems of the United States in comparison with those of Western Europe broached some of the main questions linking education with integration and political stability and conflict.

As regards the economic sphere and its relations with education, there was no difficulty whatever in accommodating the functionalist paradigm to the idea of the 'manpower approach'. Harbison and Myers' book also indicated, from the economic standpoint, the need for correspondence between the economic and the educational order, establishing as a functional requisite of growth—or of development—the capacity of the educational system to contribute specific skills to the dynamics of the production system. From the country-by-country records of a high correlation between economic growth and educational levels, the conclusion was drawn that the availability of educated and skilled human resources is an indispensable condition for economic growth.

The other contributory causes of over-optimism must be attributed to the special situation of Latin America in the period following the Second World War and, in a very high

degree, to the influence exerted by the 'models' of the more advanced societies in the region. The phase of import substitution, or of 'inward-directed development', through which Latin America was then passing, was, of course, a particular regional juncture of enormous importance inasmuch as it unleashed social and economic changes of great magnitude.

In this connection, it was not only the effects of industrialization itself that were important; more significant still, perhaps, were the consequences deriving from rapid urbanization, from population shifts and from the increase in social differentiation; all these processes fostered, during the 1950s and the early 1960s, new prospects of 'take-off' in the region. Unquestionably, it was a period of great expectations regarding the viability of a new 'development model', which it was assumed might prosper and thereby narrow the gap between Latin America and the more developed countries. But those great expectations were also coloured by a regional outlook which envisaged in some countries of the area a progress that was precocious or 'premature' in relation to their possibilities.

Some societies—few in reality—reproduced at the regional level the same patterns as were to be found in the developed countries, with their confluence and combination of high income levels, more equitable distribution of wealth, high levels of education, social homogeneity, predominance of the middle classes and, in some cases, a significant degree of political stability. Once again, the concomitant variation of these features was interpreted as a cause-effect relation, and education was understood as a condition or prerequisite for economic, social and political 'modernization'.

Needless to say, perhaps, the course followed by Latin America during the last two decades has barely confirmed even in part the great expectations then generated. Neither have the great changes occurring in the economic sphere made it possible to do away with social inequalities, nor has education played the role which theoretically, in accordance with the assumptions referred to above, it ought to have fulfilled in order to remove the rigidities and obstacles standing in the way of a more equitable redistribution.

Although the sphere of education, considered as a whole, has been one of those in which most dynamism has been shown, both in comparison with the experience of other parts of the world, and in relation to other institutional sectors of society, if the behaviour of education during recent decades is analysed in greater depth, it can be seen that: a) the expansion of education has not succeeded in significantly raising the most deficient levels, i.e., those of large population groups in a state of total or functional illiteracy; b) educational inequality within the system itself has not been substantially reduced; c) there has been an appreciable trend towards expansion of the higher and secondary levels, which have grown at the expense of basic primary education; and d) education has shown little capacity to alter on its own account the prevailing inequalities and the distribution of social opportunities.

This last point is indubitably a controversial issue, and it is argued, as an alternative interpretation, that education is an instrument of social equalization and mobility, by virtue of the scant incidence of social background factors on status attainment.

Here the underlying fallacy stems from confusion between the causes contributing to social change; achievements were attributed to formal education systems which in reality ought to be ascribed to more comprehensive social processes. The structural mobility induced by the great changes that the Latin American countries are undergoing, and the fact that globally the entire structure is moving upwards, notably increase the opportunities for individual mobility. Education in particular thus finds a context favourable to its dynamism in a twofold sense: its expansion and diversification are facilitated, and so is its integration with processes of upward mobility.

In dynamic structural contexts there are unquestionably more opportunities for the most disadvantaged groups to climb to higher educational levels and thence to positions of privilege. Education can thus grow at a rapid pace, faster even than other social activities, and in turn can find in the structure of production channels for absorption of the educated.

There is no question, however, of education's having a specific character that can

guarantee this mobility; in practice, only in the narrow sense of a consumer good *per se* can it be said to fulfil a mobility function.

But if, as we have seen, an 'easy' stage can be recognized in the integration of educational processes with social change, attention must also be drawn to another phase in which difficulties begin to loom larger and may even become insuperable.

What happens to education systems that were expanding rapidly, when structural dynamism comes to a halt and the cycle of 'great changes' begins to run down?

Upon the termination of the processes of economic change, of expansion of the urban and middle-income sectors, and on the conclusion or attenuation of the effect of inter-strata differences in natural growth—all factors that contribute to the attainment of high rates of

vertical upward mobility—, what alternative resources has the system for keeping the social arteries open and preventing their sclerosis? Can education play a dynamic role when structural mobility is broken off?

These questions are all too significant for a forward-looking analysis of education in Latin America. In principle, it would appear that although in most of the region substantial structural changes are in full swing, other societies where the cycle betrays signs of exhaustion can illustrate the limitations of the distributive role attributed to education. Paradoxically, those that were considered 'model' countries—Argentina and Uruguay, for example—afford the clearest evidence that education has increasingly become a generator of new problems instead of an instrument of integration.

I

Education and social inequalities

The challenges which the development of contemporary society itself has been issuing to formal education systems seem progressively more and more complex and contradictory. Their origin must be sought in the very characteristics that have been accentuated in industrialized societies, which, while based on structural conditions of social inequality, lay emphasis on meritocratic ideology, on a production and productivity ethic, and whose productive requirements are to a high degree specific know-how/intensive.

It is common knowledge that the fulfilment of productive roles has become increasingly dependent upon skills acquired in the course of a more or less lengthy passage through the formal education system. Without discussing the necessary or 'artificial' character of formal studies as a requisite for adult performance, the undeniable fact is that in practice formal education has to an ever greater extent turned into the anteroom where future opportunities of access to positions in the structure of production are settled; and furthermore, above all, future opportunities of access to economic welfare, to power and privi-

lege. For youth in disadvantageous economic or social conditions, the formal education system appears as one of the few ways—if not the only one—of overleaping the barriers of social origin through the acquisition of knowledge—or certificates—which will later be tradeable assets in the labour market or in the social sphere.

In this sense, such systems can do much to further social mobility and redistribution of opportunities, while at the same time they may become efficient mechanisms of equalization and social justice in accordance with meritocratic equality criteria.

These were undoubtedly some of the principles upheld by liberal educational ideology, perfectly compatible with the economic postulates of efficiency and productivity, and with the requirements of modern technology.

Nevertheless, it must also be noted that the role of distributor and equalizer by merit is quickly brought up against its limits by two facts. *First*, and obviously, the structural conditions of social inequality are originally answerable to

other causes outside the educational sphere: the transmission of privilege from generation to generation, adscription as a pattern of reproduction of inequalities, which are reflected in the realm of ownership and political control; *secondly*, the dynamics of formal education systems is in one way or another prisoner to their own social matrix.

How can a subsystem such as that of education, which is a constituent part of the general matrix, elude the more general structural constraints? In the view of some, it cannot. The paradigm evolved by 'critical' currents of thought and by *Marxism* has repeatedly indicated that the only possible function for formal education systems is to reproduce and reinforce the established order.

The reason for this —as is maintained in versions that stress ideological aspects— is that formal education systems perform the function of coining a set of values which strengthen the dominant hegemonic structures; or else, according to other Marxist interpretations, that capitalism needs a trained, motivated and well-disciplined labour force as a requisite for its own continuity. For the upholders of this view, formal education never 'liberates' individuals from their social background but prepares them precisely for taking up their appropriate position in the stratified system (Bowles, 1972).

In contrast, other currents of thought maintain that education has every chance of evading structural constraints. In support of this is adduced the essentially mobile, non-adscriptive and technologically-slanted nature of industrial societies. The 'acquisitive' code of values by which they are characterized, as a necessary requisite for the efficient operation of contemporary societies, would seem to point to education as the mechanism *par excellence* capable at once of meeting the demands of the structure of production and counteracting trends towards social inequality and injustice.

From the same functionalist standpoint, in the Davis and Moore version (1966), the problem of equality is posed in different terms: inequality is a requisite of the system and a guarantee of basic individual motivation. Thus education may become a criterion of inequality, although here the inequality in question is —or should be— meritocratic.

In either case, however, the conception is still the same: the role incumbent on education in the transformation of the stratified system and in the opening-up of opportunities for social mobility is a social requisite indispensable for the efficient operation of the economy and of society.

Some coincidences between viewpoints as opposite as those of functionalism and Marxism are evident, and can hardly be unexpected, considering that the approach which sees education as a 'socializing agency' really has its origins in the Marxist propositions themselves. Nor is there any difference in the functional image of education posited from the two angles. The paradigms implicit in the two currents of thought, however, lead to diametrically opposed conclusions: in the Marxist view, a functional requirement for the continuity, stability and integration of the capitalist system is an ideological apparatus —education— capable of ensuring the perpetuation and legitimization of inequalities; from the functionalist standpoint, change, mobility and competition for educational positions constitute the guarantee of its stability and integration. More important still, for the Marxists, formal education systems are not a neutral agency, but are resources used by the ruling classes to reproduce the capitalist order, whereas the functionalist sees formal education systems as agencies of a relatively autonomous and neutral character.

This latter conception is of even more radical importance in the theory of human capital. Education is incorporated into economic theory as a specific type of investment, since "once the concept that investment in education has certain analogies with the capital accumulation process is implanted, education is subject *de facto* to resource allocation analyses, which means that decisions in this field are taken on the basis of certain private or public returns associated with such investment" (Carciofi, 1979).

In the theory of human capital, then, education becomes linked to productivity and thereby to market logic. And in the context of liberal economic theory, no other type of social constraint can operate as a determinant of education, or at most only spurious factors alien to its dynamics.

It is not by chance, therefore, that this viewpoint is precisely the one from which the most severe criticisms are levelled at Marxist and even functionalist propositions, inasmuch as they do not accord education sufficient autonomy and neutrality.

The criticisms directed from both Marxist and non-Marxist standpoints at the concept which envisages formal education as an instrument of change and social equity undoubtedly had the virtue of drawing attention to the fallacy of regarding educational systems as independent of their social matrix. But in their turn they were guilty of a different simplification: failure to recognize that with formal education as a sphere capable of issuing 'passports' to power and privilege, a specific arena of social and political competition was opened up, different from and relatively independent of the other social channels through which the prevailing order could be reproduced or changed. An arena of political competition which, like any other, implies confrontation and conflict between the interests of social groups and classes, a struggle for control of specialized institutions, the existence of contending educational ideologies, pressure and influence groups, co-operative movements, etc.

The dynamics of formal education systems undoubtedly represents something much more complex than a straightforward corollary of the dominant ideology. The idea, implicit in the critical viewpoints, that there is a consistent and effective system of domination capable of transmitting, from the higher levels of power to the educand, a coherent system of indoctrination messages is sharply refuted by the facts of the case.

Thus, the well-known evidences of political radicalism in educated sectors, the repeated expressions of student discontent at the secondary and higher levels of the system, holding good for groups of teachers too, or the very commitment to oppose the *statu quo* common in such educational institutions as universities, seem hardly compatible with the ideological function of a legitimatizer of the established order.

Admission that formal education systems as social apparatus are not always bound to be agencies of indoctrination and reproduction of social inequalities, oriented towards the strengthening

of the established order, does not necessarily imply opting for the thesis of their neutrality.

Perhaps the main criticism that can be formulated against the 'optimistic' theories of education as an autonomous agency of change lies precisely in that they consider it as a neutral agency capable of a great deal of freedom of action, transcending the structural constraints of a more general order.

The defendants of these theses do not of course disregard the fact that formal education systems are subject to determinations of their social matrix, but these influences have been underestimated by virtue of a 'positive bias' which considers education as an autonomous agency. This attitude was still further reinforced when more general theories were applied, through planning, to 'educational engineering'. There, the few cautionary reservations as to whether education could remove inequalities and promote change independently of the more general social matrix were perhaps least heeded.

It seems hard to imagine that any kind of rapprochement can exist between such widely differing conceptions of education. And since the divergencies derive from the underlying theoretical paradigms, the moot question is precisely the 'major theory' by which the individual propositions are sustained.

This does not seem to be the place to pursue the theoretical controversy beyond the copious literature already existing, nor, probably, would it be useful to do so here. It seems better worth while to establish instead a few propositions that will serve to identify the options of the present article, and from them to infer some implications for the analysis. The intention is not to demonstrate the why and wherefore of these options, and they are as arbitrary as anyone likes to imagine.

In the first place, from what has been discussed hitherto it seems clearly deducible that education must be regarded as a social value. That is, a socially-sanctioned value is set upon it, and its possession or control is socially considered as desirable.

Secondly, this valuation is not simply something in the mind of individuals, such as an attitude or any other psychological dimension. The quality of education as a desirable good de-

rives from the fact that it is, or may be, an instrument of power or privilege, since its possession or control affords or facilitates access to other social goods.

Thirdly, if it is a thing of value and an instrument of power and privilege, there is bound to be competition for its possession: competition which may be individual or collective; individuals and classes will struggle to retain or acquire privileges in a specific field of conflict. To the extent that education is of greater or lesser relevance to competition for other social goods, the conflict for its possession will be 'central' in a greater or lesser degree.

Fourthly, education will not only represent a good for which classes and sectors attempting to increase their privileges will contend, but may, in certain circumstances, become *the* good around which classes are formed and consolidated.

The inference to be drawn from these four points is that the autonomy of formal education systems is almost inconceivable. Only in conditions in which the possession of knowledge was of little or no importance, could educational systems keep out of the struggle over the distribution of power and privilege, and operate independently of the constraints of society and the State. The more strategic does education become as a mechanism of privilege, the less autonomy will it enjoy.

On the other hand, from the four points enumerated no proposition can be deduced as to the legitimatizing character of education. Hegemonic domination systems, vertically integrated and profoundly consistent from the ideological standpoint at all levels of the educational sphere, may possibly constitute situations of efficient ideological domination. But neither does it seem appropriate to accept *a priori* that this is the only form occurring, whether in capitalist or in socialist systems. If it is correct to admit that education is a battlefield of social forces, its instrumental and ideological 'function' will be the outcome of each particular situation.

It is a truth which nobody can question that contention over any social good places the privileged sectors in a more favourable position for the use of instruments of power. But as power is not eternal either, is split up, looks to new

sources, is shared and illegitimized, and ultimately changes hands, there seem to be no grounds on which education can be excluded from this dynamics. Perhaps it is precisely in developing societies that the participation of education in these processes of change has been most clearly apparent in recent history.

A final digression with respect to such societies will make it possible to clarify this point.

It was said at the beginning of the present chapter that there are contradictions between the unequal nature of society and its meritocratic ideology. In Third World societies, subject as they are to severe constraints proper to their origins and their insertion in the international system, these features have been strongly emphasized.

In the first place, the colonial past of such societies and their archaic structures, hereditary and but little diversified, generated structures marked by extreme social inequality. Secondly, their orientation towards development models based on technological innovation has also bred formidable challenges in relation to the improvement of productivity, the exploitation of their resources, technological development and the shift of the economy from the agricultural to the urban-industrial sectors.

The two aspects signify in practice social objectives founded on two competitive principles which are not always mutually compatible: that of redistribution and that of economic efficiency.

In the capitalist countries of the Third World, formal education systems became the objects of contradictory requirements. On the one hand, what was expected of them was an economic or technical functionality capable of meeting the demands created by the great changes in the sphere of production, but on the other they constituted a potentially open —and dangerous— field for redistributive action and the levelling-out of social inequalities.

In this sense, it can hardly be assumed that the requirements of expansion and modernization of education systems implicit in the growth strategy itself can have been perfectly harmonious or compatible with the maintenance of former privileges.

The behaviour of the ruling élite during the transition from a 'traditional' to a 'modern-

izing' style (Rama, 1978) was equivocal: on the one hand, they encouraged the productive system and the development of education, but at the same time they tried to retain their privileges. This seems to have become the hub of the conflict over education.

In contrast, from the standpoint of the sectors and classes in process of formation, education is seen as a source of mobility and a road to power. In default of alternative resources of an adscriptive nature of which they were deprived by their own origins, the new sectors made education their principal area of claims and demands. The 'banner' of education and meritocracy which is identified with the ideology of the middle classes in Latin America was undoubtedly consistent with their peculiar insertion in the dynamics of society. It was an ideology that did not, of course, derive from any intrinsic cultural feature of the new sectors, but simply from the fact that they had no other source of power.

Thus the nascent and struggling middle classes found in the formal education system a powerful instrument for their consolidation and their ascent in the social scale, setting up, in opposition to the traditional sources of power, an alternative criterion respecting legitimacy of social differences. Control of education and influence on educational policies became a primary field of conflict: a conflict reflected in innumerable strategies to obtain additional benefits and advantages through the educational systems, among which are included not only the better-known strategies designed to expand enrolment, diversify the cycles of education or raise its levels, but also others aiming at the 'downward' expansion of educational recruitment, by such means as education free of charge, or economic facilities obtained in a number of ways. Nor were the strategies confined to the educational sphere; starting with education, the middle classes waged an equally effective battle for the recognition of their 'credentials' in society and in the economy. The monopoly of the exercise of professions in the sphere of production and in services, the recognition of paper qualifications, the fixing of professional quotas or tariffs, the sanction of legal rules establishing the necessary requisites for entry into the State bureaucracies and many

other similar corporative mechanisms, were all efficacious instruments for defining, in the labour market and in society, circles of privileges based on education.

It is true that against the threat to the former structure of privileges signified by the classes in process of formation, more or less effective defences have been put up; here, too, Latin American experience displays a wide range of strategies. But the importance of the legitimacy bestowed on education by the very emphasis on technical and economic growth has made such reactions more difficult. Generally speaking, the privileged sectors have stood out against the educational reforms that they have seen as most 'dangerous', but have gradually given way before the pressure of the new classes. The reproduction of privilege has tended to take place through the internal differentiation of the educational system, which has kept up or strengthened 'élite' institutions for the upper classes. This mechanism has proved more efficient than containment of pressure for greater participation in the education system; but it has also shown that while the more privileged sectors were able to maintain a channel of individual differentiation for their members, on the other hand they were not capable of neutralizing the 'aggregated' effects of mass education and, therefore, of the consolidation of the new classes and their increasing participation in the scenarios of power.

As regards the Third World countries that have not pursued the capitalist path, and despite their very different social structure, it can be seen that there too formal education systems hold the same key position in class formation. What is more, the struggle for the 'good' represented by education is exacerbated in these societies inasmuch as the socialist changes themselves have closed other avenues of social mobility. Accordingly, it is not by chance that some of their revolutions have been cultural.

China's experience, mentioned by White (1978) among the conclusions of his study is, in this context, sufficiently explicit, and spares the need for further comment, since it shows that the formulation of educational policies is indubitably something more than a mere choice between alternative ways of attaining specific goals. The

same writer says that in view of the decisive importance of higher education as a road to power and prestige, it has been the focal point of keen political strife between the different social strata, which has been reflected in the battle for leadership within the Party. He then points out that the essential conclusion to be drawn from the events of the last two decades concerns the capacity of

the two key strata —each firmly rooted in the structure of the socialist State society— to obtain disproportionate access to higher education—even in face of a fundamental challenge—and to use this access to strengthen their social superiority and hand it down to their descendants (White, 1978).

II

How education can contribute to mobility

When formal education systems are referred to as mechanisms of redistribution of social opportunities, implicit allusion is made to a number of processes and components between which analytical distinctions may usefully be drawn. In this sense, the greater or lesser likelihood of education-induced mobility depends upon: a) the internal stratification of the formal education system; b) the degree of selectivity by social background in the recruitment of students; and c) the real possibilities of converting the success achieved within the education system into economic rewards, or, if preferred, into power and privilege.

a) *The internal stratification of the educational system*

We shall deal with the internal stratification of the system only in its morphological aspects. The forms taken by the educational pyramid—distribution by levels—correspond to the different opportunities for mobility. Thus, the number of levels and the way in which the population is distributed among them constitute an indicator of the degree of rigidity and inequality. Educational pyramids with a broad base at the lower levels and narrowing at the secondary and higher levels will therefore correspond to inequitable structures with scant opportunities for intra-educational system mobility. And conversely, in so far as the educational system expands its secondary and higher levels, that will be a sign of its relative permeability to the upward movement of those entering the system.

Accordingly, the internal stratification of the education system may be regarded as a variable related with the probability of education's being able to act as an agency for the redistribution of social opportunities. In this connection, setting aside other factors, it may be asserted that the less rigid the internal stratification of the educational system, the greater will be the opportunities of social mobility external to it. A lower degree of rigidity therefore seems to be an essential requisite for the existence of an upward mobility effect.

b) *Selectivity by social background*

As the internal stratification of the educational system tells us nothing of the social composition of its recruits, another condition would seem to be needed. The procedures for recruiting students may be, of course, more or less 'regressive' or 'progressive'. In the one case, the formal educational system may exactly reproduce the society's structural inequalities, allocating the same educational 'quotas' to the different social classes; in this situation children incorporated into the education system will reach the same levels as their parents. In 'progressive' recruitment, the most disadvantaged should be better represented than were their parents, whereas in a regressive one the inequality would be increased.

Furthermore, the ways in which individuals are allocated places in the educational system oscillate between two extremes: either in accordance with quotas predetermined in the light of

given criteria, or through the free play of supply and demand in the education market.

In some cases socialist societies have alternated between the two criteria. The controversy respecting meritocratic (market) allocation criteria versus the 'positive discrimination' criterion (quotas implying over-representation for the least privileged sectors) crops up practically throughout the educational policy of the Soviet Union, the Central European countries and China (White, 1978). In the western world, on the other hand, methods of educational recruitment have swung between the free play of market forces and interventionism taking different forms (scholarships for the most disadvantaged, education free of charge, tax exemptions, etc.). In general, the tendency of all these mechanisms has been to strengthen upward mobility patterns and to enhance the redistributive role of education. In contrast, other mechanisms, making for the perpetuation of inequalities, have operated through the predominance of private education, impossible or more difficult of access for the less privileged sectors.

c) *Education as an instrument of mobility*

However, the two conditions mentioned above are necessary but not sufficient.

Access to social positions in keeping with the educational levels attained depends upon two types of process establishing different likelihoods of mobility. On the one hand, these depend upon the relation between the rates of growth and expansion of the educational system, and upon other 'orders' of the social system (for example, occupational structure and income). Structural changes, growth recessions or 'booms', alter employment and income possibilities, with positive or negative effects on openings for mobility; and, in particular, 'structural' or 'transitional' mobility, common to developing countries, is, as has been shown, one of the most important processes of change as regards encouraging individual vertical mobility and facilitating the absorption of school and/or university graduates. The relative 'headway' made by the educational system in relation to the occupational structure and the comparative rigidity of income distribution has, on the contrary, been pointed to as an obstacle to social mobility, and

also as an instance of 'blocked mobility'. Furthermore, the effective mobility made possible by education depends upon the degree of permeability of the socio-economic structure. This is directly linked with the prevalence of meritocratic principles in assigning individuals to social positions, as against other principles of an adscriptive nature.

In principle, there is good reason to suppose that educational attainments must result in more advantageous social or occupational positions, but the evidence suggests that the most disadvantaged entrants to the educational system also have poorer chances of competing in the market.

Studies carried out in those countries where the non-existence of structural change makes it possible to analyse the permeability of the social structure have revealed the persistent influence of social background on 'status' improvement.

Seen in perspective, the findings arrive at conclusions that sometimes differ widely owing to the special features of the design of each piece of research. However, some significant coincidences can be pointed out.

The probabilities that an individual's position in the social structure may be independent of his social origin seem to follow an order of rank; they are highest in the case of educational attainments, lower in that of occupational positions and lower still in that of income levels. Apparently, for those of more modest social origin, to reach higher educational levels is easier than to barter their credentials in the labour market, or to succeed in using these to increase their earnings (Wilson, 1978).

Duncan and Hodge (1963) showed that although the educational levels attained augured access to the occupational structure with greater certainty than social background variables, these too operated indirectly inasmuch as they in their turn determined the educational levels reached. Taking into account the direct effect of social origin on the occupational levels attained plus its indirect effects they concluded that at a conservative estimate social origin and education made equal contributions to the explanation of access to occupational positions.

Griffin and Alexander (1978) were subsequently to add further proof that the 'occu-

pational attainment' process described by Duncan differs according to the level of schooling under consideration: the higher this is, the stronger will be the determining influence of social background factors on those of occupational attainment. The writers referred to note that this is compatible with the hypothesis that secondary school influences are of more importance for the socio-economic career of secondary school leavers than for that of university students. They also say that big differences are observable, in the direction foreseen, in the economic benefits accruing to school academic performance (STAND, i.e., Senior Rank) in the two groups, and that other notable disparities between them consist in the lesser economic benefits accruing to occupational status and the greater influence on annual earnings attributable to factors of social origin (in particular, parental income) and religious background in the case of university students (Griffin and Alexander, 1978).

Thus, the lower the levels of social origin and of schooling considered, the less will be the effect of adscriptive variables, but when the higher stages of education are taken into account, the relative influences of adscriptive and non-adscriptive factors tend to be reversed, and the former become paramount.

Coleman (1966), and especially Bowles (1977), Gintis (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), also agree in stressing the predominance of adscriptive factors and the close determinant linkage between levels of success attained by his scepticism as to the upward mobility function of formal education systems, shows that they are not necessarily the means of mobility *par excellence*. In his study on Sweden, England and the United States he concludes that access to occupational positions higher than those of the parents depends more upon individual factors than on the results of transit through the formal education system.

Other studies also show that the relation between educational attainment and occupational status attainment is not as close as might be expected. Bayce (1983) summarizes some of these findings, and draws attention to the fact that Blau and Duncan (1967) manage to explain 42% of occupational status attainment on the basis of educational attainment; Jenks (1972),

25% of the variation; while Sewell, Haller and Portes (1969), directly account for 34%. This last result is similar to that of Blau and Duncan when they make a direct analysis of the effect of educational attainment on occupational status attainment.

As regards the most important of the models constructed whereby the role of education can be related with economic attainment (earnings), the results were even poorer than those mentioned in connection with the education-occupation linkage. The income variation explained was generally very low (10 and 12%), except in certain types of work where it was as much as 60% (Mincer, 1975), but in these cases the share of the number of years of schooling in accounting for income was only 10%. Such conclusions as these led Jenks to maintain that the role of educational attainment as a determinant of income levels was virtually negligible and that education figured as a good in itself (a consumer good) rather than as a status symbol whereby higher levels of economic welfare could be reached (Bayce, 1983).

More recent studies have made it possible to complete the complex picture of the factors determining status acquisition, showing that a number of intervening elements would seem to act as bridges between social origin variables and those of occupational attainment and income. Thus, alongside the psychosocial factors incorporated by the Wisconsin team (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969) as intervening between social origin and status acquisition, others of equal significance were pointed out. In particular, those demonstrating the importance of the quality—not quantity—of studies pursued (types of school, influences of intra-school relationships, etc.) (Wilson, 1978).

Lastly, further and clearer light was shed when the focus of interest shifted away from social background variables measured as indicators of prestige (occupational or educational), and emphasis was placed on other aspects determined more by power.

Griffin and Alexander (1978) remarked that 'base' variables of this type had much greater predictive power than those traditionally used in other models, and that they afforded evidence of a very close relationship between social background and status attainments.

In short, these testimonies —and others omitted here— have revealed the complexity of factors contributing to status attainment and the role incumbent upon education as an instrument of access to more privileged positions.

Although many of these findings are contradictory or somewhat inconsistent,³ the probability that formal education systems may serve as a ladder to higher occupational positions or income levels is plainly not as clearly delimited as the critical theories have maintained, nor do they enjoy the degree of freedom assumed by the 'optimistic' theories. Rather do their degrees of freedom vary according to the play of two contradictory forces, in which either those tending to reinforce the system of inequalities

may predominate, or those making for change. Each specific situation indicated by studies on different countries and regions⁴ shows differing degrees of structural permeability.

The discussion up to this point might be summed up in the assertion that the probabilities of education's contributing to social mobility and fulfilling a redistributive role will depend upon the degree of permeability of the structure. Accordingly, a less rigid educational stratification structure, educational recruitment criteria and structural changes, together with the permeability of the social structure, may be considered the mechanisms implicit in the redistributive function of formal education.

III

Education and mobility in Latin America

To compare and contrast the considerations so far set forth here with the empirical data available on Latin America is no easy task; and this is particularly true of certain questions that systematic research has virtually neglected.

In the first place, a good many studies are available on what we have termed 'internal stratification of the education system' and somewhat fewer on 'recruitment'. In this connection, the studies carried out under the UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean afford the most complete and up-to-date diagnosis of the educational situation in the region, together with an invaluable data bank.

Some areas of research remain, however, with which it is more difficult to deal empirically: i.e., all those relating to the linkage between educational attainment and vertical mobility. The lack of studies on 'status attainment' will allow only an indirect approach to the subject.

Secondly, as the objective pursued under this last head is centered on the recent processes recorded in the region, it must be added that the strategy followed will be to make use of a number of previous studies which inevitably relate to different periods.

Lastly, the rest of the article will be organized in accordance with the criteria established in the first section.

1. *Trends in educational stratification*

All the evidence deriving from analyses of the development of schooling in Latin America and of the trends in educational coverage recorded in recent decades coincides in underlining three aspects: a) the boom in enrolment in formal education systems; b) the different growth rates of the various levels of education; and c) the acceleration of the expansion process in the past few years (Frejka, 1974; Filgueira, 1977; UNESCO/

³For an exhaustive discussion of the theoretical and methodological problems of this line of research, see R. Bayce (1983).

⁴Whereas a great deal is known on the differentiation by countries the same is not true of regional variations. See R. Bayce (1983).

ECLA/UNDP, 1981; Filgueira and Geneletti, 1981; Terra, 1981).

The trends noted in school enrolment in the region, for all cycles, indicated that in the past thirty years coverage of the school-age population (under 24 years old and over 5) had doubled, rising from 25 to 50%. Some countries, in particular those that started from higher levels of coverage, reached a stage in about 1980 at which 6 out of every 10 individuals of school age were incorporated into the educational system. In Argentina, for example, where this figure is recorded, the corresponding proportion thirty years before had been, in contrast, only 4 out of every 10. Other countries, which were among those lagging farthest behind (Guatemala, for example), managed to increase coverage in the same period from 10 to 30% (UNESCO ECLA/UNDP, Vol. 2, 1981). And in countries in an intermediate position (Panamá, Costa Rica, Chile) the increase during the period in question was even more noteworthy.

The same educational statistics show that the biggest contribution to this increase should be attributed mainly to the last two decades, in particular the period 1970-1980. The dynamism displayed between 1950 and 1960 was much less and only in a few countries whose previous levels had been high was this forward leap achieved.

Even more remarkable is the difference in the growth rates of the various cycles, where a positive correlation between cycle and dynamism can be observed. Coverage expands more rapidly in higher than in secondary education, and in the latter faster than at the primary level. Between 1950 and 1980, coverage in higher education climbed from 5 to 16% (a threefold increase), in secondary education from 15 to 25%, and in basic or primary education from 50 to 90%.⁵

The rate at which higher education is expanding in some countries at intermediate stages of development is exceptional, by whatever crite-

ron it is appraised. Ecuador and Venezuela, for example, increased coverage in this cycle from an average of 1.6% in 1950 to about 26 and 23%, respectively, in 1980; in other countries, such as Panama, Costa Rica and Peru, the corresponding figures are close to Argentina's, around 20%. Nor have these changes passed the relatively less developed countries by; some, for instance, like Bolivia and the Dominican Republic, have increased their rates of coverage in the last two decades by factors of 4 and 10, respectively.

At the higher level, too, little dynamism was shown in the first of the decades mentioned, during which period no significant increase in enrolment can be noted. Accordingly, the radical change in educational opportunities at the higher level must be regarded as a process pertaining to the last twenty years.

In secondary education, where dynamism is less, rates of coverage in most countries increased fourfold between 1950 and 1975. Where the process was more dynamic, coverage of over half the population in the age groups corresponding to the cycle was achieved. At intermediate levels of progress, coverage amounted to between 20 and 30%, and to 10% where the pace was slowest.

In 1950-1970 enrolment at the secondary level increased by 620%, and by 814% if the period considered is extended to 1975 (UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, Vol. 2, 1981). Obvious, too, in secondary enrolment were the educational preferences by which demand was selectively slanted; thus, technical education grew more slowly and failed to keep pace with the general rise in coverage in global enrolment.

Lastly, it should be noted that the growth rate of basic education was sufficient to allow an average coverage of nearly 80% of the corresponding age structure, which suggests that many countries of the region experienced 'saturation' effects and consequently a slackening of their dynamism. Globally, the increase in coverage in primary education showed the region's capacity to expand basic education levels, although, owing to situations of extreme inequality, in some countries, such as Bolivia, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Brazil coverage was still low in 1980.

The most remarkable feature of the entire process, however, is that there does not seem to

⁵Owing to technical problems deriving from the method adopted, gross rates of schooling sometimes exceed 100. Since 'over-age' is not controlled, there may possibly be more enrolments than individuals in the age group under consideration, which makes for an artificial increase in the real coverage for the ages theoretically corresponding to the cycle (especially in primary education).

have been any balance between the growth rate of primary education and that of the other levels. Thus, even in countries like those just mentioned, where basic education exhibited little dynamism, this did not prevent secondary and above all university coverage from expanding at a much more rapid rate. Noteworthy in this respect is the behaviour of certain countries, particularly Brazil and Bolivia, where the progress made by primary education bears no relation whatever to the rapid growth of the other levels.

When these trends are analysed from the standpoint of social mobility and of their redistributive effects, some interesting implications call for mention.

In the first place, the internal stratification of the region's educational systems, as a trend, seems to acquire less rigid and dichotomous characteristics. For instance, in the education pyramid the distribution trend shows how rapidly expansion is taking place at all levels, but particularly at those of secondary and higher education. From a pyramid with a large base (corresponding to the lower levels of primary education and to the no-schooling category) and with little in the way of intermediate levels, transition is rapidly made to a pyramid that broadens out at its intermediate (upper primary and secondary) and high (higher education) levels.

Secondly, this implies that the educational system has more internal fluidity and permeability, which allows of intra-level and intra-cycle mobility on the part of those incorporated in the system. In some of the countries where the increase in university coverage is biggest, this is reflected in practice, for example, in the fact that almost all those who reach the secondary level move on to that of higher education.

Although inter-country differences in respect of these two characteristics are of obvious importance, this is not the place to analyse individual cases; all that remains to be added is that in those countries which as early as the 1950s already showed higher levels, pyramids tend to be formed in which the transition from primary to secondary and thence to higher education is more evenly distributed. In contrast, in countries where growth is more recent, i.e., inasmuch as the process has lagged behind, mobility seems

much easier at higher levels—from secondary education to the university—than between primary and secondary education. Here there is a manifest screening, at the level of basic education, of those who can or cannot continue to move upward in the system. For those who have surmounted this barrier, their road to the university seems much more assured than is possible in countries with more advanced educational levels.

Thirdly, formal education systems gradually show a more equitable, or less concentrated, distribution of education considered as a 'good'. If the distribution of educational levels is looked at in the same way as that of income, some measurements of inequality show an increasing degree of deconcentration.

Taking the distribution of education among the population over 15 years of age, Gini's inequality indexes for years of schooling showed during 1960-1969 a systematic reduction ranging in the countries of the region—with only two exceptions—between 10 and 18% (Filgueira, 1977).

No figures are available for the 1970s, although enrolment trends can only have been conducive to a still greater reduction of inequality throughout the region. It is possible that countries like Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, which in 1970 had reached the lowest figures in the Gini index (0.34), may not have been able to continue this process at the same average rate as the region as a whole, but for the great majority, where the average figures were 0.55, the downward trend may be assumed to have continued.

This decrease is in contrast to the behaviour of income distribution, where inequity has been but little reduced during the same periods, and which shows extreme relative rigidity and concentration in comparison with the greater equalizing capacity of the educational system. The figures for inequality in income distribution in the countries of the region (for example, Uruguay, 0.49; Brazil, 0.70; Chile, 0.50) are always higher than those for educational inequality, and dynamic trends suggest that the gap between them tends only to widen.

Consequently, less rigidity, less concentration and greater opportunities for mobility are the three distinguishing

characteristics of the internal stratification of formal education systems during the past two decades. Their real effects on the structure of production and on society as a whole are only beginning to make themselves felt, since the boom in educational enrolment is a relatively recent process affecting only the new generations.

The fact that education, during this period, has become the 'societal order' whose relative dynamism is greatest suggests in principle two things: firstly, that the expansion of education and its growth profile have increased the probabilities of upward vertical mobility and, in consequence, have enhanced its potential redistributive role; secondly, that if this is to result in genuine social mobility, either a social structure with a high degree of permeability is required, or else a considerable expansion of opportunities for access to the sphere of production, in keeping with the educational levels that the system is generating to an increasing extent.

2. Social bases of educational recruitment

In the light of the foregoing considerations it seems evident that formal education systems in Latin America could not have expanded as they did without the incorporation of new social sectors, groups and classes formerly excluded from them. In reality, to judge from known data there are few countries of the region, if any, that nowadays can be held to possess educational systems of a traditional or elitist character. To a greater or lesser extent, educational statistics show how far the rigidity of these traditional systems has been relaxed, with the resultant more or less mass incorporation into the educational system.

As regards primary education, the expansion of enrolment and the improvement in the educational levels of the population have revealed the increasing penetration of formal education systems into rural areas and urban popular sectors (Filgueira, 1977). While it is true that, as has been pointed out, in rural areas school coverage has been extended less easily and the countryside-town polarity still holds good, the achievements of primary education have spread to rural areas too, so that gradually a

larger percentage of the population is being covered.

In this connection, a study on *Sociedad rural, educación y escuela* (UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981) points out that except in Uruguay and Argentina, rural enrolment was expanding in all the countries of the region during the period 1960-1970; in the eight countries considered, however, rural illiteracy decreased less than in 'other urban areas'—except in Ecuador—and less than in the capital in all of them but Colombia and Panama. Hence, in a general context of reduction of illiteracy, the total downward movement is concentrated in the capital and in 'other urban areas', and its pace slackens in rural areas.

That the dynamics of education systems should be slanted in favour of certain milieux to the detriment of others cannot be surprising, nor that preference should be given to those simultaneously combining the positive quality of constituting centres of high population density and nucleation with the negative quality of a low degree of dynamism. Cities of medium size, semi-rural nucleations or those with high percentages of migrant population of rural origin, and the urban popular sectors appear to have been the most direct beneficiaries of the expansion of educational coverage in recent decades; and only to a lesser extent the rural population.

The present situation in the countries of the region seems to derive from a fairly large group of factors, including the preceding degree of relative progress of primary schooling, special educational policies for the eradication of illiteracy, the different groups' capacity for pressure and organization, and the political 'centrality'—real or perceived— ascribed to these groups by the decision-takers. The heterogeneity of situations observable in the region, however, does not preclude tracing a similarity in the way in which educational coverage at the primary level follows the urban-rural line.

With regard to secondary education, the General Synthesis of the UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project points out that most of the students incorporated in the secondary cycle represented the first generation of their family to attain that level. Setting aside the upper

middle and upper strata, which have traditionally enrolled in this cycle, the remaining urban sectors, especially the lower middle classes and the higher strata of manual workers, seem to constitute the new clientele of the expanding secondary cycle. In certain countries, still lower strata are also covered, as, for example, some of those engaged in inferior manual occupations and even in unskilled services.

With respect to higher education, for which more student recruitment data by social origin are available, certain trends can be recorded with greater precision.

It is obvious, in the first place, that the lowest social strata are virtually excluded from enrolment and that the proportion of manual workers is very small; this is due to the cumulative effects of successive screening at the primary and secondary levels by which the groups with less possibilities of competing are expelled from the system.

As this is the terminal point of transit through the educational system, it will mainly be reached, as is also to be expected, by those sectors whose family background endows them with comparative advantages over others, while at the same time the new groups forming part of the increase in enrolment will come from the strata that previously had most social mobility.

From the data available for Uruguay (a survey of professionals just graduated in 1970), evidence can be obtained of the small extent to which the lower strata participate in university recruitment. Barely 11% of the total number of graduates came from families in which the father worked in skilled or unskilled manual occupations (Filgueira, 1976). When social background is measured by the father's educational levels, the result shows that father-son mobility is much greater: 18% of university graduates had a family background in which the father had incomplete primary schooling, and 27% came from families where the father had completed the primary cycle. This finding confirms that mobility within the educational system has been much greater than mobility in the productive or occupational sphere, and is consistent with the above-mentioned trends towards differing expansion in the two orders.

In contrast, among the lower middle strata and workers engaged in the higher-ranking manual occupations is to be found the principal base for recruitment of professional graduates, in so far as 47% of them come from such backgrounds. These have indubitably been the sectors that most clearly make use of higher education as an instrument of vertical mobility. The proportion of graduates whose social origin is traceable to the upper middle and upper strata is smaller, although considerable, amounting to 39%.

On the other hand, if social backgrounds measured by the father's education are analysed, it will be seen that of the professionals studied the proportions corresponding to fathers with secondary and primary education were 24% and 45%, respectively.

As was to be expected, other statistics relating to university enrolment in 1968—not to professionals—show even lower origins. While the figure of 11% for recruitment in the lower strata remains the same, recruitment in the middle and lower middle strata increases considerably and a decline is observable in that corresponding to the upper and upper middle strata (57 and 32%, respectively) (Klubitschko, 1980).

In Argentina, again for the public universities as in the preceding case, enrolment figures for the same year represent a social origins profile very similar to that of Uruguay: a slight decrease in the representation of the lower strata (7.1%) is offset with an increase in that of the lower middle and middle strata. Nor are significant differences appreciable in the case of the Universidad de São Paulo and the Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Such differences do exist, however, in respect of four public universities in Venezuela, where recruitment in the manual-worker strata accounts for 22.4% of total enrolment and in the upper strata for 22.0%.

Data that make it possible to compare two stages in the process are recorded only for Argentina and Uruguay, whose social structures are relatively frozen. In the other cases analysed, it can be inferred, although at the risk of error, that the explanation of some more 'democratic' recruitment patterns, such as that of Venezuela, might lie in the rapid recent changes in their

educational systems, which exhibit, within a general rising trend throughout society, a larger proportion of population from the lower strata than is found in countries where few structural changes take place.

If this were so, the fact that Venezuela's educational recruitment from the lower strata doubles that of Uruguay and trebles that of Argentina might reflect a higher degree of 'democratization' of the educational system induced by structural changes.

This is not meant to imply that in Uruguay and Argentina the educational system does not fulfil a 'vertical mobility' function, since it obviously does so, inasmuch as there are lower and lower middle strata whose members attain higher education; what is asserted is that this function is much more significant in conditions of rapid expansion of the educational and occupational structure.

Lastly, two reflections are necessary to close this discussion, and both relate to certain processes of educational differentiation which are not brought out in the preceding analysis of enrolment.

There is, on the one hand recruitment selectivity by professional careers and, on the other, selectivity by the character of the university or study centre, according to its prestige, quality of teaching, costs, etc. All the known studies show that the social origins of the students enrolled in the higher educational system differ according to the prestige of professional courses, their heavier costs, or expectations of higher income. Thus, for example, the survey of just-graduated professionals in Uruguay proves that the most democratic social composition corresponded to short courses or intermediate university qualifications (out of a total of 11% represented by the manual-worker strata, 23% took paramedical courses (Filgueira, 1977)). In others, such as engineering and economic sciences, the proportion was barely as much as 2%. Evidence of the same kind is found in such countries as Chile and Colombia, where a large share of the increase in enrolment corresponds not to training for 'traditional careers' (like law and medicine) or 'modern' ones (like engineering and chemistry), but to courses

providing credentials that qualify their holders for intermediate-level and dependent posts (UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981).

Similarly, the differentiation between degrees by the prestige of the universities conferring them affords grounds for attaching only relative importance to global measurement of enrolment as a valid indicator of 'democratization'. Here too the known studies indicate the different composition of the social backgrounds of students recruited in private and in public systems, or in universities of greater and of lesser prestige. Even in public secondary school systems an informal stratification emerges in which there are units of higher intellectual calibre and better resource endowment. Public school models, denominational schools or international secondary school systems (French, English, Italian), are examples of educational differentiation in which the equivalence of the education credential is highly debatable. In this connection, the same processes of differentiation between mobility openings as are found among the United States universities (The Big Three, Ivy League, Eastern Colleges, and The Big Ten) or in the English system (Oxford and Cambridge as against the rest), are being reproduced in the region and acquiring more and more 'centrality' as the expansion of education takes place. Entrance into the élite schools would open the gates to the highest ranks of industry and finance, enhancing the possibilities of 'status attainment'.

3. The efficacy of the education credential for mobility

In order to understand the role of education in social mobility and redistribution the first step should be to observe how vertical mobility operates in the region and thence to draw some conclusions of interest as regards education.

Conceptually, we have known since the time of the early studies on stratification and social mobility that there are at least two types of mobility: one called structural mobility (changes in the composition and volume of positions in order of rank), and another termed replacement or circulation mobility which corresponds to the compensation of upward and downward

movements as a form of movement of the zero-sum type.⁶

We also know that as a general rule the 'structural mobility' processes recorded in the Third World countries are long-term movements towards the opening-up of possibilities for upward mobility. Hence the earlier assertion that given these conditions there is a better chance that formal education systems may become mechanisms of training and selection for occupational positions in process of expansion.

Nevertheless, mobility and redistribution, although frequently confused, are not synonymous terms. There may be mobility in absolute terms without the existence of redistribution, if the whole social structure shifts towards higher levels while maintaining its pattern of internal inequalities.

More properly still, the concept of redistribution through education relates to questions of the permeability of the social structure and to the idea of replacement mobility, not to mobility for structural reasons.

Studies on social mobility in Latin America are not plentiful enough to permit of an analysis representative of the region as a whole. If any generalization can be based on what is known, it might be stated as follows:

First, social mobility (measured by the indexes of the father-son occupational matrix) is relatively less in Latin America than in more developed countries, or at most equivalent in some few societies;

Second, in its composition by the two types of mobility distinguished, structural mobility predominates, accounting for a higher percentage of total mobility than does replacement mobility;

Thirdly—and this is a characteristic feature differentiating the more developed countries from those of the Third World—the former have closed certain cycles of major structural change. It is a matter of degree, since no known country is exempt from changes of this kind, and

some type of induced mobility always makes its appearance;

Fourthly, the predominance of inter-strata or of intra-strata mobility occurs in varying degrees; thus, societies can be distinguished in which the displacements are more significant or less so, for example, with a predominance of upward and downward movements either between contiguous categories or between distant categories. This is because total mobility—the gross mobility index—measures only the quantity of upward and downward movements, and therefore is an unsatisfactory record of the magnitude of mobility;

Fifthly, especially in the Latin American countries, structural mobility is associated with sizeable upward displacements between distant strata, whereas replacement mobility corresponds to movements of a predominantly intra-strata type or between contiguous strata (little movement).

Two relatively recent studies, by Beccaria (1978) and by Do Valle Silva (1979), on Greater Buenos Aires and Brazil, respectively, make it possible to compare and contrast some of these propositions for two different societies within the Latin American system.

For Brazil, in 1973, Do Valle finds a total mobility equivalent to 58.4%, its components being 32.9% of structural mobility and 25.5% of replacement. In relative terms, of the total movements analysed between fathers and sons in six occupational categories (from agricultural workers to large landowners and professionals), almost 60% represents changes induced by the occupational structure. Had it not been for these structural changes, the resulting mobility—of the replacement type—would have been reduced from 100 to 40.

One of the most interesting findings also shows that the behaviour pattern of upward vertical mobility is at an exceptionally high level; of the total number of persons considered, 47% reached positions bettering those of their fathers, and 89% kept their place or rose higher in the scale. Throughout Brazil, therefore, only 11% was affected by downward vertical mobility.

If the inter-generational matrix is analysed in greater detail, it can be noted that when the effects of structural and replacement mobility

⁶We are shelving the discussion of other equally important forms of mobility (see Filgueira and Geneletti, 1981).

are separated, they follow entirely different patterns.

Whereas *all* structural mobility is upward—i.e., 32.9% of all individuals—replacement mobility is broken down by 14.2% of upward and 11.3% of downward movements. Accordingly, if the contribution of the two types of mobility to the expansion of opportunities of social betterment is compared, it will be seen that replacement mobility accounts for only 29% of upward vertical mobility. The remaining 71% is explained only by the structural changes.

Still more interesting is it to distinguish between the effects of the two types of mobility on the distances of the displacements. Here again the contribution of replacement mobility is notably slight in comparison with that of structural mobility. Whereas in the latter the upward movements between the positions of father and son imply displacements between distant strata, in replacement mobility contiguous and intra-strata movements predominate, and the barrier to mobility between the manual and non-manual and between the rural and urban strata is considerable. The great fluidity of the expanding social structure makes it easy for members of the urban popular and even rural sectors to rise to low and medium positions of a non-manual type, and there are even significant instances on record of access to the highest positions from the rural strata. But this is not the case with replacement mobility, which, besides being quantitatively much less, operates mainly within each of the major categories.

If mobility is weighted in accordance with the magnitude of the displacements—one for contiguous strata, two for cases when a stratum is 'jumped' and so on—the contribution of replacement mobility to upward movements, which was, as we saw, 29%, is reduced to 15%.

Beccaria, in his turn, records for Argentina's most dynamic centre a mobility higher than that of Brazil in the aggregate, although its composition is different. The proportion of structurally induced mobility is less than half the figure for Brazil, amounting to 23%. This seems consistent with the foregoing observations, by virtue of the peculiar evolution of the two societies, since Argentina seems to approximate more closely to the situation of the

developed countries. In these, as is shown by studies on England, the United States and Australia, mobility for structural reasons is very low (13, 14 and 25%, respectively).

Out of the total number of persons, upward mobility was observed in 38%, a much lower figure than Brazil's; but there are also differences in the composition of this mobility, since replacement mobility predominates.

Lastly, from Beccaria's analysis it can be inferred that in Buenos Aires the distance of movements is much more limited in replacement mobility than in the structural type; intra-stratum mobility predominates in the former but not in the latter.

Since it is extremely difficult to make a systematic comparison between a capital and a country, any conclusion drawn from this brief review must obviously be viewed with a great deal of caution. It may be assumed that the mobility recorded in Buenos Aires would change substantially if the data covered the other urban and rural areas. There would indubitably be more structural mobility, deriving from the systematic dwindling of the rural population during recent decades, and probably, too, replacement mobility would be less, considering that the contexts excluded are precisely the least permeable and the most adscriptive.

Accordingly, the analysis of Brazil and Argentina demonstrates the remarkable incidence of structural changes on the expansion of opportunities for upward mobility, as well as the extreme rigidity and scant permeability of the social structure as regards the promotion of compensatory upward and downward movements; and this is more marked, it must be repeated, in Brazil and in Buenos Aires.

If structural mobility in Brazil were assumed to disappear, only 14% would have experienced upward mobility between one generation and another, and this mobility would have been confined mainly to intra-strata displacements; the aspiration of the less advantaged sectors to see their children reaching high and intermediate occupational levels could be satisfied only by a very small proportion of the population.

In Argentina, where some decades of intensive structural dynamism are recorded—it should be noted that inter-generational mobility

comprises fathers who were in the EAP as far back as the 1930s— the findings show less structural mobility and more permeability. But while in Buenos Aires upward mobility by replacement is greater than in Brazil, amounting to 25%, it also occurs between contiguous or not very distant categories. In so far as structural changes were gradually frozen in recent decades, opportunities of upward mobility seem to have been limited to a structure that is not favourable to movements between the major categories.

Probably, therefore, when there are no structural changes, or at least in face of an increasing crystallization of the structure, class barriers become more clearly defined and mobility is confined to self-recruitment.

The implications of what has been said of education up to now are obvious, and clarify the distinction made between the 'easy' and 'difficult' phases because of their possible incidence on social mobility.

A further distinction may be drawn between two conceptually autonomous dimensions which may explain these phases and the ways in which they develop.

The first of these dimensions consists in the relative degree of expansion of the educational 'order' in comparison with the increase in openings for mobility (occupational structure). It may be represented as a continuum which stretches from a pole where education and occupation are in balance ($E=0$) to another extreme pole of disequilibrium where education runs ahead of the occupational structure ($E>0$). This dimension corresponds to the acknowledged autonomy of education, which in Latin America reveals a much greater capacity for expansion than other social stratification dimensions such as the occupational structure or income (Heintz, 1969).

All that has been studied hitherto shows that, in effect, this has been the dominant pattern in the region and that the alternative $E<0$ is empirically non-existent, unless in conjunctural situations and for a brief spell. This was demonstrated in the first section of the present chapter when changes in the internal stratification of formal education systems were discussed (Filgueira and Geneletti, 1981).

The second dimension relates to the types of mobility where a continuum can be seen to

extend between the extreme poles of little or no mobility of any kind and a predominance of replacement mobility, with an intermediate phase of predominance of mobility of the structural type.

If the two dimensions are represented as in figure 1 by two orthogonal axes, a space of four quadrants is created which represent different opportunities of mobility.

In dynamic terms, the movement of societies in Latin America has signified a shift from quadrant 1 to 4 (trajectory a). After an initial situation of very little mobility, the predominance of structural mobility gradually increased, while at the same time the development of education began to outpace that of the occupational structure. The first stage of the trajectory, in quadrant 1, therefore represents the 'easiest' moment of the positive relation between education and mobility. In one way or another it was the advantaged 'newcomers' that entered the education system during this phase who enjoyed the best social mobility conditions. The increasing predominance of structural mobility and little competition for jobs were undoubtedly the factors which helped to bring this about.

The subsequent trajectory which evolves in quadrant 4, however, corresponds to increasing difficulty with respect to social mobility. Education advances farther and farther ahead of occupational opportunities and, at the same time, structural mobility tends to surrender its predominance to replacement mobility.

The 'terminal' point of the trajectory, where to the freezing of structural changes is added a high degree of tension between the educational and occupational orders, seems to bring education to the critical limit of its capacity to promote social mobility.

Obviously, however, in principle there is no precise terminal point in any of the dimensions, and the idea is valid only for the representation in the figure; neither the 'mobility' continuum or the 'disequilibrium' continuum has a clearly-defined limit.

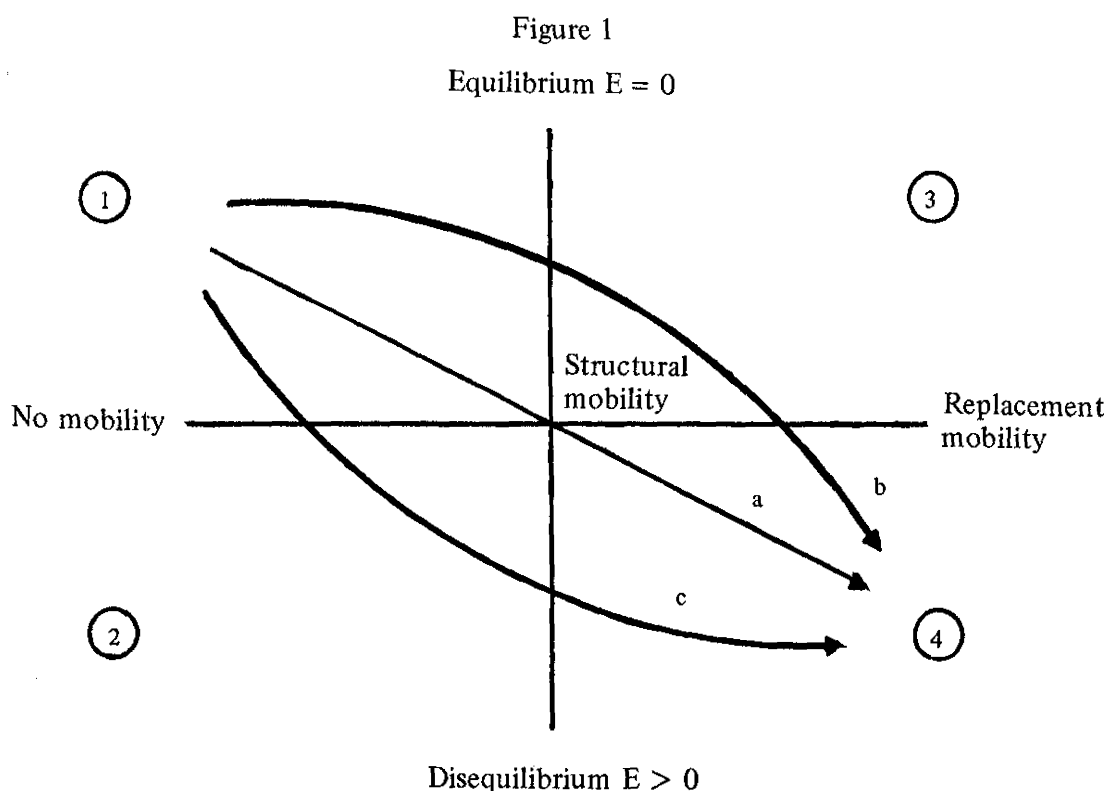
For education to surmount the critical point and once again become efficient in relation to mobility, one of three things must happen: either the permeability of stratification must

increase (replacement mobility besides being predominant is high), the disequilibrium generated by the disproportionate growth of the educational order must be reversed, or the structure of production must start expanding again at a new rate.

All that has been discussed up to now seems to preclude the possibility of the first alternative. The second would imply a spontaneous or authoritarian discouragement of education, as is partly evidenced by what has happened in the more advanced countries such as Argentina and Uruguay in recent years. Nevertheless it seems extremely unlikely to occur before a veritable collapse of the expectations of social mobility through education. At most, Latin American experience shows that the fewer real opportunities of social mobility there are, the greater is the emphasis upon and competition for education as a 'good'. In open democratic systems the interplay of aspirations and pressures for more education on the part of the middle and popular strata and the difficulties of satisfying demands for real mobility met with by

those in power seem to have notably strengthened the expansion of the educational 'order' in view of the rigidity of other channels. In this sense, the quest of legitimacy in face of the pressures for increasing participation allows the disequilibrium between education and structure of opportunities, as a way of absorbing tensions, to be aggravated to extremes that more and more seriously endanger the stability of the system. Under authoritarian governments, on the other hand, it is possible that this may not occur in so far as the pursuit of legitimacy is abandoned or diminishes.

Furthermore, figure 1 also makes it possible to establish an interesting distinction between the different trajectories of the countries of the region. Apparently, the longer ago a society's mobilization process began, the more closely did the trajectory resemble that of type b in the figure. Thus, the tension between education and occupational structure developed belatedly, allowing an easier and more prolonged period of educational efficiency in respect of mobility. In the countries that reached



this stage later, the path followed becomes more similar to trajectory c, where education increases rapidly and gets ahead of the occupational structure. These societies, with all their specific differential features, still seem, at all events, to have a relatively wide margin for progress at their disposal, thanks to the structural changes that still lie before them. It cannot be overlooked, however, that some countries with educational trajectories like that of Brazil, or others which make faster progress like Ecuador or Venezuela, are already facing enormous difficulties deriving from their acute and 'premature' disequilibrium.

In this connection, it is hard to imagine how structural changes can absorb the increment generated during the last two decades, tenfold in the case of university enrolment, or fivefold in that of secondary enrolment.

While it is true that some of these countries can still expand their occupational structure within reasonable margins, it seems unlikely that the process can be maintained at the same rate during the next few decades. Moreover, the effects of the enrolment explosion in recent decades are only beginning to make themselves felt in the structure of production, and their implications are still unforeseeable.

IV

Final considerations

From the data considered in the present article no precise estimate can be made of the magnitude of the impact of education on the more general processes of social mobility and redistribution of social opportunities. Nevertheless, it is possible to reach the conclusion that formal education systems have not been dissociated from these processes, and that at certain stages of the countries' development they have held an outstanding place, particularly when the new urban middle classes were formed and far-reaching structural changes were the order of the day.

It has also become evident that certain interpretations relating to education's high degree of autonomy or total dependence on the social matrix are untenable.

Rather, what the formal education systems do have is a relative autonomy, inasmuch as they neither simply and solely help to reproduce the matrix of social inequalities, nor can free themselves from its constraints. In this sense, education as an agency for issuing passports to power and privilege is subject to a good many more limitations than the 'optimistic' theories could have dreamt of; the mobility function attributed to education seems to be more efficacious than its redistributive function.

Moreover, the outlook for the future deriving from the analysis of social trends in education and mobility is disquieting in the extreme. Education in Latin America seems to have reached a critical point at which it has ceased to be a mechanism for the resolution of problems and has become a generator of new conflicts.

In the light of the social consequences of the superimposition of two parallel processes, one being the disproportionate growth of the educational 'order', and the other a loss of predominance of the mobility induced by structural changes, a tautening of social tension can be predicted for the future. At different rates and speeds, all the countries of the region seem to be moving in this direction.

If exhaustion of the mechanisms of structural mobility is foreseeable in the more or less near future, and if the possible occasions of mobility will be predominantly those deriving from a low degree of permeability of the social structure, it is hard to imagine what alternative mechanisms can be applied.

It is true that the same problem arises in the more developed countries and that in their case the positive effects of education on redistribution are less important than has been theoretically assumed. But it is also evident that

in them other processes associated with the 'welfare State' have done a very great deal to neutralize social inequalities.

The fact that countries like Germany spend US\$ 1 900 per capita on 'welfare' or Italy 830, and that the percentage represented by its costs amounts to almost one-third of the GDP in the Netherlands, Denmark and France—to quote only a few examples—shows the capacity of these societies to implement alternative equalization mechanisms. Nor is there any evidence in the United States, where education has been envisaged as the redistribution instrument *par excellence*, that welfare policies

have not been a more effective mechanism for the attainment of distribution objectives.

There is no sign of any such thing in the countries of Latin America, where the welfare State is still incipient and is confronted, as throughout the world, with increasing difficulties in the way of its expansion. It is predictable, therefore, that in these countries there will be a marked consolidation of the rigidity of their social structure, accompanied by an exacerbation of the problems connected with relative over-education, devaluation of educational credentials and competition for educational 'goods'.

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The role of education in relation to employment problems

*Juan Pablo Terra**

This article is clearly divided into two parts. The first reviews the controversy on unemployment and underemployment problems in Latin America, their nature and causes, and the measures which should be applied to eradicate them. In general terms, the author's analysis places emphasis on certain aspects of ECLA's thinking, such as the importance of the concept of structural heterogeneity in the description and interpretation of the problems in question, and on criticism of the economic conception which assumes that their solution consists simply in increasing the rate of economic growth, and shelve the structural problems which obstruct the homogenizing propagation of technology and its benefits in the economic and social structure.

Part two focuses full attention on the relation between education and employment; its central thesis is that the most important problems of both (unemployment, underemployment, absolute or relative lack of schooling) are closely linked to the economic, social, cultural and political segmentation of society and that the interpretation of these problems and the policies applied must therefore take into consideration this decisive fact. In the writer's opinion, education's major problem today does not derive from its supposed over-expansion but, on the contrary, from the inequality that has characterized its distribution by social strata, geographical areas and sex, and the consequently limited access to it observable in some disadvantaged social groups. He acknowledges that the educational process which has taken place during recent decades in Latin America has aspects and implications which it is very difficult to evaluate, but he maintains that "when in doubt one must opt for education". In the last analysis, education is the population's right, and, above all, must make for the cultivation of knowledge and must be at the service of the whole of social life.

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I

Employment problems

1. *The outlook of the 1960s and its loss of credit*

When the drive for development planning started in the 1960s in Latin America, the planning of education was regarded as an indispensable part of the system. This attitude was undoubtedly founded on a very clear and relatively simple interpretation of the role of education in development. From the standpoint of accelerated modernization, whose major features were urbanization and industrialization, Latin America would need large numbers of skilled personnel, of whom a considerable proportion would be destined to undertake activities in industry very different from the occupations characteristic of the traditional economy. To adapt the Latin American masses to this change seemed a difficult task; the level of skills of the economically active population was seen as one of the bottlenecks that obstructed development. Consequently, the essential function of educational planning was to adjust the occupational skills of the active population to the technical requirements of the new kinds of job that would necessarily multiply as development, particularly industrial development, made headway. This did not of course imply denying education other broader objectives—in reality, some plans proposed the pursuit of other ends such as cultural and social integration—, but it did introduce a new outlook whose lodestar was technical qualification and for which the most significant instruments were the projections of demand for technical fitness and occupational training.

This approach was grounded on a somewhat unorthodox version of the theory of human capital. This theory maintained that neither physical capital nor technology sufficed to account for economic growth. There were always other residual factors, outstanding among which was the 'quality' of the labour force. In the opinion of Theodore W. Schultz, education ceased to be, in the eyes of the economists, a consumer good and became a form of capital accumulation. This conception was incorporated into the 'orthodox' economic theories which, of course, advocated leaving this type of capital accumulation and its allocation to the free play of

market forces. However, in the 1960s, during the boom of planning-oriented thinking based on the visible evidence that the operation of the market was ill-fitted to resolve such problems, particularly in underdeveloped countries, the theory of human capital and the economics of education were placed at the service of educational planning.

It was, indubitably, an endeavour rather than an achievement. The planning drive was short-lived, so that it seldom went any farther than the effort of gathering and organizing information, starting a system of statistics, formulating a diagnosis and establishing a few objectives; when it did advance beyond these goals, its main task consisted in creating, reorganizing or modernizing the system of technical education.

During the succeeding years, the economic growth of Latin America, although little affected by planning, attained a very considerable rate. For the region as a whole, the average annual growth rates shown by the gross domestic product were 5.7% in the 1960s and 6.5% between 1970 and 1975.¹ Industrial development did even better, keeping up an average rate of 6.3% in the 1960s and 6.8% between 1970 and 1975.² The progress made in industrialization was therefore very significant; but it did not meet expectations with regard to the creation of jobs. Improvements in productivity were substantial in agriculture and even greater in industry, and for that very reason the increase in employment engendered by growth was extremely slight in agriculture and averaged only 2.8% per annum in industry. The major generator of employment opportunities was the tertiary sector.³ Around 1970 agriculture provided 10% of the new jobs created, industry 30% and services 60%.⁴

Secondly, the growth of secondary and higher education was explosive, in response to the social demand of the middle and upper strata, although insufficient progress was made in primary education to resolve illiteracy

problems, particularly in the case of some social groups at the lowest levels.

For this reason, and because of industrialization patterns themselves demand for technical training was not in line with the projections—kindling scepticism as to human resource training methods and the validity of the projections—nor did it generate the problems that had been supposed. The training of the labour force was not, generally speaking, a bottleneck obstructing industrial development; on the contrary, some striking surpluses of skilled population were to be noted.

Consequently, the theory that during the 1960s linked education to development lost credibility. Economists and governments then turned their attention mainly to the difficulties generated by the global cost of the education system and the pressures caused by the so-called 'surpluses' of persons with schooling. Employment market problems began to be perceived as something more complex, with emphasis on unemployment and underemployment. The role of education in resolving these problems became far less clear and aroused a great deal of controversy; consequently, the part that education ought to play in the development process also began to look much more uncertain.

The resulting situation is definitely dangerous. The replacement of a simple and largely inadequate theory by a much more complex and subtly-shaded perception must always be hailed as progress; but this progress is worth very little if it leads to uncertainty and paralyzes policy orientations. Education needs clearly-defined and energetic policies; and human and social development, in which the rate and patterns of economic growth are involved, needs education.

Reflection on the subject becomes a more imperative necessity than ever.

2. The subsequent view of employment problems

Later discussions of the topic, in particular the bibliographical output of PREALC and ECLA in this field, are centred on concern as regards unemployment and underemployment. They explain that Latin America's economic growth, although its rate is appreciable, affords only partial occupation for the labour force. The implications are, from the economic standpoint,

¹UNESCO-ECLA-UNDP, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Informes Finales 3*, "La educación y los problemas del empleo en América Latina", table 3.

²*Ibidem*.

³*Ibidem*, table 5.

⁴*Ibidem*, p. 7.

underutilization of a basic resource and the contraction and segmentation of the domestic market; from a social point of view, a piling-up of serious problems, among which the worst are poverty and marginality.

a) *Unemployment*

The first component of this underutilization is *overt unemployment*. In 1976, PREALC estimated, on the basis of empirical information that was not exhaustive on account of statistical data deficiencies, that in 1970 the rate of overt unemployment in Latin America as a whole had been 5.8%, as the result of national figures ranging from 2% to 16%.⁵ These rates, higher than those of the developed capitalist countries, were attributed to the insufficient growth of the Latin American economies. Long-term projections based on econometric models pointed to increasing rates of overt unemployment, which by the end of the century would reach, according to PREALC, 9.9%, and according to ECLA, 6.3%.⁶

Since then opinions have noticeably changed. If the earlier hypotheses had been correct, the fall in the growth rate after the petroleum crisis would have immediately aggravated unemployment. According to current data, however, urban overt unemployment, which had been 6.6% in 1970, would appear to have gradually declined to 5.8% by 1980, despite the lower economic growth rate recorded during the second half of the 1970s.⁷ These facts cast serious doubt on the explanation based on the 'insufficient dynamism' of the Latin American economies, and much more still on the above-mentioned long-term trends towards increase. The comment is valid even though the exacerbation of the recession after 1980 did then raise the rate to 7.4% in 1982.⁸

At this point a few reasonable assumptions may be put forward on the basis of the known

series of overt unemployment rates, with all due reservations in view of the still inadequate coverage and quality of the empirical data available:

i) Before the petroleum crisis, average unemployment rates were higher than those characteristic of the developed countries. This difference was not imputable to a globally insufficient rate of economic growth, which suggests that neither could it be resolved by an acceleration of growth alone. The explanation ought to be based on structural differences between the societies concerned, and, in principle, the analysis should not be confined to the econometric variables included in the models used.

ii) Although the apparent contradiction with the loss of dynamism of the Latin American economies is not enough to preclude the possibility of a conjunctural explanation of what happened, the decrease in rates between 1970 and 1980 suggests a longer-term trend linked to the structural evolution of society. An explanation of this type has not been hitherto formulated, or at least has not gained currency.

b) *Underemployment*

The second component of underutilization is *invisible underemployment*.⁹ This is a much vaguer concept. According to a first very simple definition, what is implied is the partial utilization of personal work capacity, when it does not take the form of limitation of the time worked.

This definition could cover two cases. The first would correspond to persons who waste the knowledge or skill they have acquired by working in a job which is beneath their qualifications—a problem very closely linked to that of the so-called 'educational surpluses'. The second would relate to persons with abnormally low productivity, usually due to deficiencies in respect of capital goods, technology, raw

⁵PREALC, *The unemployment problem in Latin America: Facts, outlook and policies*, Santiago, Chile, ILO, 1976, table 5.

⁶*Ibidem*, chap. III.

⁷PREALC, *Ajuste externo, empleo y salarios en América Latina y el Caribe*, in ECLA, *Notas sobre la economía y el desarrollo de América Latina*, No. 372, table 1.

⁸*Ibidem*.

⁹We are not taking into consideration here the other two notably less significant components: disguised unemployment and visible underemployment. See "La educación y los problemas del empleo", *op. cit.*, chapter III and notes.

materials or markets. Typical examples: the *minifundista* (smallholder) whose work capacity would suffice to farm a much larger tract of land, with substantially better results; or the unemployed town-dweller who, in default of productive employment, engages in very ill-paid and perhaps rather useless activities, such as looking after cars parked in the streets. In both cases, the idea of a partial waste of work capacity naturally arises.

The term *underemployment* as currently used in Latin America refers to the second concept. The generalized definition would seem to be full-time *occupation in low-productivity tasks*. But productivity is not always an available datum, and low productivity as an indicator is superseded by *low pay* and *low income*. This is a very serious distortion, since in many instances wages are low even though productivity is not. It appears, therefore, unduly equivocal to confuse underemployment with exploitation.

Even with reference to productivity, the concept, formulated generically, is highly problematic. What is normal productivity? The national average? A Latin American average? Some absolute level regarded as an acceptable minimum? A standard of reference drawn from the developed countries? The scale of underemployment will change according to the answer given. To ensure full employment for the population, must productivity be equal in all occupations? Must the country be a rich one? Is the term unemployment a synonym for poverty? Is it a synonym for inequality?

The concept becomes hazardous in so far as, being over-abstract, it loses contact with the point of departure and ends by applying the same word to social phenomena so diverse as conjunctural disguised unemployment, technological backwardness, regional or national inequalities in per capita income, and the poverty resulting from the irrational distribution of productive goods or from extreme wage disparities. In the last analysis, it is risky in so far as it confuses under the same head the partial utilization of work capacity; its full but inefficient utilization; and its full and efficient utilization, but at unfairly low rates of pay.

This underemployment, phenomenon customarily measured by income, has over and

over again been described as Latin America's principal problem.¹⁰ In 1980, according to estimates, it affected 46 million persons, i.e., 41% of the economically active population.¹¹ But not only is it considered quantitatively much more significant than overt unemployment; it is also regarded as more serious; and for a variety of reasons. For each individual overt unemployment is usually a temporary state, although for some categories of the active population it takes on a cyclical or repetitive form; underemployment, on the other hand, is a predominantly chronic state. Secondly, overt unemployment primarily affects women and youth, whereas underemployment is more characteristic of heads of households and drags the entire family nucleus in its wake.¹² All this is admissible, even when reservations as to the concept of underemployment are formulated: most of the social phenomena assembled under that head are stable and chronic manifestations of social distortions. They are closely associated with poverty; they have a strong determining influence on the quality of life; they lead to social segregation; and they reproduce and perpetuate their vicious circles through the environment, through the cultural and economic inheritance, and through virtual exclusion from social power.

As seen in the mid-1970s, underemployment was not only on a dramatically large scale, but was also thought to be increasing.¹³ However, the passage of time has not corroborated this trend. Today it is estimated that proportionally underemployment is decreasing slightly, although it continues to increase in absolute terms; this is partly attributable to the rural *minifundio's* loss of percentage weight, given the rapid growth of the urban population, where underemployment is less. At all events —like poverty— it has little chance of being reduced in absolute values; and still less of disappearing altogether.

¹⁰PREALC, *The unemployment problem in Latin America: Facts, outlook and policies*, op. cit., p. 1.

¹¹PREALC, "Técnicas para la Planificación del Empleo en América Latina y el Caribe", in ECLA, *Notas sobre la economía y el desarrollo en América Latina*, No. 329.

¹²PREALC, *The unemployment problem...*, op. cit., p. 20.

¹³*Ibidem*, chapter III-C.

c) *Total underutilization of the labour force*

In the bibliography on the region overt unemployment and underemployment are often added together to arrive at what has been called *total underutilization of the labour force*. To this end the procedure adopted has been to express underemployment by a number of unemployed equivalents, taking as a basis the proportion of normal productivity or income represented by the productivity or income of the unemployed. Thus the 46 million underemployed in 1980 were considered 'equivalent' to 24 million totally unemployed; and the addition of these to the 6 million overtly unemployed gave a total of 30 million 'unemployed equivalents'.¹⁴ Perhaps for certain purposes, and with an alert critical sense, it may be useful to handle so abstract an equivalence. But neither can it be concealed that the reservations suggested by the concept of underemployment increase after this transmutation. The moment at which the reservations become a formal objection is when these calculations are pressed into the service of the thesis of insufficient dynamism. Too often has this volume of underutilization of the labour force been accounted for in Latin America by inadequate growth of the economic product; and too often, also, have these figures been exhibited as proof that economic growth fell short of what was required.

Obviously, no one would wish to become an advocate of slow economic growth, or to argue that the resolution of social problems is independent of the increase in the product. The objections are of another sort: do the known facts really warrant the conclusion that it has been an insufficient growth rate that has prevented the reduction of unemployment and underemployment? Can it legitimately be inferred that a higher rate would *per se* absorb unemployment and underemployment?

Even in respect of overt unemployment, it may well be thought that this last expectation would be disappointed. Faster growth ought certainly to reduce the excess unemployment caused since 1980 by the severe recession; but the rest is a great deal more than doubtful. There are

countless examples of very rapid and even exceptional local or national development which have been coexistent with high unemployment rates. The problem unquestionably deserves very careful study.

But it is with regard to underemployment that there seem to be least grounds for such an expectation: Would rapid growth by itself bring about a more rational distribution of land? Would it lead to less concentrated allocation of capital goods? Would it make income distribution more equitable? Would it reduce technological segmentation? After the region's experience of economic growth, few would dare to reply to these or other similar questions in the affirmative.

Even setting aside the differences of style between 'labour-intensive' and 'capital-intensive' growth, the simple explanation that unemployment is an inverse function of the growth rate of the product is valid for overt unemployment and for some forms of disguised unemployment, but by no means for underemployment as a whole. Furthermore, it is valid in the context of conjunctural variations, assuming structural characteristics to be fixed. To begin with, 'frictional unemployment' is a classic designation for an incompressible quantum of unemployment which is required for the operation of the market, and is determined by structural characteristics of each economy and of each society, and which subsists even during periods when growth is avid in its demand for manpower. It seems indispensable to determine these parameters and to seek for their structural causes—which may range over such varied fields as territorial organization, cultural divisions, population shifts, occupational training or the efficiency of employment services and of methods of recruitment—before concluding that the difference from the capitalist developed countries is due to the growth rate of the per capita product; above all when in this variable no significant disparities are observable between Latin America and the countries aforesaid. This questioning of the most widespread interpretations of employment problems may seem to be straying too far from the central topic of the present article. But a satisfactory delimitation of the function of social policies,

¹⁴PREALC, "Técnicas para la planificación...", *op. cit.*, table 1.

including those oriented towards changing structural aspects of society, will not be possible without first clearing up the fallacy currently implicit in the thesis of 'insufficient dynamism': the economic assumption that all employment problems depend simply and solely on economic growth and are, therefore, in the last analysis, independent of the other dimensions of social life. Reinstatement of the unknown quantities at present existing with respect to the nature and causes of employment problems is an indispensable requisite for reflecting on the role that education plays or may play in this field.

d) *Technological heterogeneity and the informal sector*

In reality, the structural roots of underemployment have long been recognized in Latin America. ECLA has devoted a great deal of attention to the structural heterogeneity of the Latin American economies. It is a heterogeneity that finds expression in the coexistence of productive units which differ greatly in their characteristics: organization, size, technology, capital-intensiveness or labour-intensiveness. Some of these units seem survivals from a remote past, while others imitate the current or recent models originating in the more developed countries. It has been said, therefore, that a 'primitive stratum', an 'intermediate stratum' and a 'modern stratum' exist side by side. It is more than ten years since Aníbal Pinto and Armando Di Filippo established differences in productivity between the extreme strata ranging from 1 to 29,¹⁵ and pointed out that the volume of persons working in the 'primitive' stratum almost doubled the volume employed in the 'modern' one.

This division into strata is, up to a point, a cross-section of the classification by branches of activity, although it does not divide up each of these in the same proportion. The 'primitive' stratum maintained the biggest volumes of production in agriculture and artisan activities; it accounted for only a minor proportion of mining, basic services and trade; and disappeared altogether in manufacturing.

¹⁵See Aníbal Pinto and Armando Di Filippo, "Notas para una estrategia de la distribución y redistribución del ingreso", in Alejandro Foxley, *Distribución del ingreso*, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974.

The concept of 'primitive', although it has a special significance, is, strictly speaking, inappropriate. If in anthropology it has been stressed that the so-called primitive peoples are not really primitive today, there is all the more reason for making it clear that these productive strata, integrated in many ways into existing national societies, have undergone a historical evolution that has radically changed their characteristics and their significance.

A concept related to this, and widely current today, is that of the informal sector. PREALC, closely following the ILO report on Kenya, defined it in the following notes,¹⁶ highlighting the many-sided heterogeneity of economic life in the developing countries:

i) *Ease of entrance*, mostly because of the absence of the administrative processes which are required for the installation of bigger enterprises and, what is more, because of the small capital needs;

ii) *Family ownership* as the predominant form of organization of economic units;

iii) *Low level of labour force skills*, which are frequently acquired outside the formal education system;

iv) *Small scale* of activities;

v) *Use of domestic production resources*;

vi) *Labour-intensive technology*;

vii) *Competitive markets*, both for factors and output, as against the monopolistic or oligopolistic tendency of the formal sector. From the point of view of the individual workers, ease of entrance means a very elastic labour supply and consequently low incomes, compressed by competition and limited only by subsistence levels.

And other supplementary notes are added:

viii) *Little differentiation between owners of capital and contributors of labour*;

ix) *Limited role of wages*;

x) *Low degree of internal organization of enterprises*;

xi) *Weak external regulation*.

This type of definition by accumulation of descriptive notes, all of which are not always applicable, does not leave a very clear-cut

¹⁶PREALC, *The employment problem in Latin America...*, op. cit. p. 33.

concept; but at all events it is preferable to those that presuppose an etiology. In the case of one of these definitions, the informal sector would seem to embrace those persons who "do not work in organized enterprises and are the visible result of the manpower surplus".¹⁷ Here emerges, *a priori*, the thesis of manpower redundancy—correlative to that of 'insufficient dynamism'—and the scarcely defensible assertion that all activity in non-organized enterprises is a manifestation of the redundancy in question.

The informal sector is an awkward subject; economic analysis is a much more comfortable process when it deals with the modern stratum and that of organized enterprises, where it has the invaluable support of the developed countries' economic and sociological thinking. Although there too they have discovered the

importance of a formerly underestimated informal sector, made up of activities which used to be outside the scope of orthodox conceptualization, it is indubitably very different from its counterpart in the developing countries. Whatever the conceptual obscurities that remain to be cleared up, it is an indisputable fact that a large proportion of underemployment is to be found in this sector; and that the differences which separate it from the formal sector are preponderantly structural, and exhibit, among their many dimensions, undeniable cultural connotations. This aspect of the problem alone warrants the inference that if the underemployment phenomenon is not to be misrepresented and wrongly diagnosed, there is an imperative need to examine it in all its sociological complexity.

II

Causes of segmentation of the employment market

The problem once stated in the foregoing terms, a question of capital importance was bound to call for an answer: What is happening in the employment market to account for the persistent survival of these pockets of wasted manpower? For if the market is assumed to be operating smoothly, the economy ought to provide employment for almost the whole of the population.

Of course—and this explains the 'almost'—an ineliminable residuum of frictional unemployment would presumably subsist in any event. A change of job, even in so-called full employment situations, is not an instantaneous process. It takes time for the available job and the right person to fill it to come together; the person concerned perhaps has to transplant himself to a different geographical area, move house, follow a course of training. Structural changes in the economy, migrations, conjunctural fluctuations, technological innovations, microeconomic

vicissitudes, and even personal possibilities of career advancement generate continuous changes of job. The result of these changes and the time they absorb is a quantum of frictional unemployment which may vary through time, or from one country to another, as conditions alter.

In discussing this topic it seems necessary to refer to the Marxist thesis of the 'reserve army', according to which the capitalist economies always leave a quantum of manpower unemployed, in order to reduce the workers' bargaining power and thus lower the cost of labour. There is indeed some truth in this—although not necessarily in accordance with the Marxist formulation—which all analyses of the labour market admit. When manpower is in short supply its price tends to rise; the higher cost of labour induces the entrepreneur to introduce more capital-intensive techniques, which cut down the number of personnel and at the same time eliminate pressure in favour of wage increases. It is easy to agree that this phenomenon combines with the demands motivated by frictional resistances to strike a balance, on the basis of a certain quantum of

¹⁷P.R. Souza and V.E. Tokman, "El sector informal urbano en América Latina", in PREALC-ILO, *Sector informal, funcionamiento y políticas*, Santiago, Chile, ILO, 1978, p. 28.

unemployed, between a fluid supply of low-cost manpower and a limitation of the investment in capital goods required by the more advanced and labour-saving technologies.

All this is understandable. But what is the reason for a behaviour substantially different from that recorded in the developed economies? Why such huge underutilization figures? This is the difference that is still unexplained. For some reason or other all the so-called manpower 'surplus' does not flow into the market as theory would lead one to expect. If there is a surplus, at least its absorption does not seem to be one of the aims of equilibria. A deep-seated technological, social and cultural heterogeneity appears to split up the market into juxtaposed worlds, between which there is virtually no communication, and which are not governed by the same laws.

Inevitably, tentative explanations of this segmentation have been put forward, since some writers are not content with reference to quantitative insufficient dynamism.

1. *The radical theses*

Some theorists, orthodoxly Marxist or United States adherents of radical currents of thought, have urged that the focal point of the problem lies in production relations and in the class conflicts connected with the production surplus. In their opinion, unemployment and underemployment derive neither from technological problems nor from the educational characteristics of human capital; on the contrary, capital chooses technology and resorts to other economic and political means in order to maintain that reserve of manpower which enables it to keep wages down and appropriate the economic surplus. It frequently happens that so much emphasis is placed on the deliberateness with which technology is chosen to achieve this result, that some of these explanations have been stigmatized as 'conspiratorial'.¹⁸ Obviously, there does not seem much likelihood that the microeconomic decisions which determine the incorporation of technology can represent disciplined and intentional action in the service

of such a strategy. It appears more reasonable to suppose that microeconomic decisions are adopted within the ambit of each enterprise to further its own interests, and that any collective intention on the part of entrepreneurs is mainly directed towards containing wages and social pressures, either in the course of collective bargaining, or by political means, the latter especially when they can call upon the resources of an authoritarian State.

If this is so, entrepreneurs could hardly carry the adoption of manpower-releasing technologies to extremes without taking the irrational step of sacrificing the economic advantages and competitive capacity of their own enterprises. Consequently, the following are the inevitable questions that arise: Why should the reserve army be bigger than in the developed capitalist countries? Can it be that those countries are less capitalist than Latin America?

Once again: what the explanation does not explain is, precisely, the difference. According to the theory itself, the class conflict is a factor common to capitalism in developed and underdeveloped countries alike. There must be other explanations of the differences which should be sought in the articulation of the economic system with the social and political system.

This is an important point from the angle of education. If the reserve army thesis accounted for the resulting difference in the occupational terrain as proper to the system itself, not much room would be left for social policies, including educational policies, to change the mechanisms generating unemployment and underemployment. If, on the other hand, the difference may lie in the social and political system, the issue must be restated in new terms.

2. *The explanation of technological dualism*

Some of the answers given base their explanations on the existence of a technological dualism. The different strata of the economy use different technologies. The modern stratum, in which foreign enterprises are often predominant, uses extremely efficient capital-intensive technologies, transferred from highly developed

¹⁸See Claudio Salm, *Escolta e trabalho*, São Paulo, Livraria Brasiliense Editora, 1980, p. 6.

countries. It employs little manpower, carefully screened, to which it can pay high wages. When purchasing product designs, machinery, equipment and technical assistance, these enterprises import rigid 'packages of technology', adapted to the conditions of the developed economies. The inflexibility of these packages leads to deviation from the combination of capital and manpower that would be optimal for Latin American conditions. The overall result, reached in various ways—absorption of the saving necessary for the development of the less-advanced strata, product qualities and costs inaccessible to the members of such strata, limited employment of manpower, etc.—is an exclusive development style, responsible for simultaneous segmentation of production, the employment market, income distribution and the consumer market, and thus generating a feedback for its own exclusive tendency.

Unquestionably, these 'packages of technology', and the tiny margin they leave for seeking optimal combinations of capital and labour through appropriate technologies, constitute a notorious feature of certain activities, including several spearhead industries. There are serious objections, however, to an attempt to generalize this phenomenon and blame it for the global trend towards underutilization of the labour force. In many of the activities that are of most significance from the standpoint of employment, the rigidity of technology is a fiction. In the course of organizing production a thousand opportunities for saving capital and equipment and employing more personnel crop up, and this ought to suffice for the establishment of equilibrium. In most instances, the decision to renew machinery, equipment and technology is prompted by an economic calculation on the part of the entrepreneur; an assumption that microeconomic decisions are permanently biased by a propensity to squander capital seems too unrealistic, and pays no heed to the situation of the overwhelming majority of Latin American enterprises.

Even without sharing this conception of technological dualism pure and simple, it is worth while to point out what would be its implications in the field of education. If the attempt to account for segmentation in heterogeneous strata were based simply on the

rigidity of packages of technology, it is hard to see what part education could play in doing away with heterogeneity. Logically, therefore, from this explanation interpretations of the role of education derive which in no event propose so ambitious an objective. According to an extreme interpretation, the business of the educational system is to prepare the workers for productive performance in the modern sector: "The school is at the service of capitalist production". The diametrically opposed interpretation alleges that capitalist forms of production require a steadily decreasing proportion of skilled labour; to such an extent is technique incorporated in organization and machinery that for most of the personnel education is irrelevant from the productive point of view. "Neither is the school capitalist, nor does capital need the school".¹⁹

3. *Transposition of models in the framework of stratification and dependence*

There are other conceptions of segmentation which manipulate the 'technological packages' argument to explain the contrast between forms of production and its consequences, but which do not make technology an autonomous explanatory factor. Some of them have enjoyed and still enjoy particular prestige; they stress the view that peripheral societies, and especially those of Latin America, with their pronounced stratification, are subject to the demonstration effect of the developed countries' life styles. The upper and upper middle social strata imitate, sometimes with frenzied zeal, models of this kind, which the economies of the region cannot finance for all their inhabitants. To attain them the upper strata resort to power in support of very unequal income distribution and overspend on conspicuous consumption, thus cutting down the saving needed to increase the productivity of the backward sector. The imitation of models also extends to types of product, as well as to techniques for producing them. Thus modern production patterns find small markets for their products, inaccessible to the purchasing power of most of the population, and tend to maintain a

¹⁹Claudio Salm, *Escola e trabalho*, op. cit., p. 2.

high proportion of idle capacity. The interaction of these and other causes is conducive to forms of exclusive development which determine segmentation and prevent the diffusion of technology. The modern sector can provide jobs only for part of the population and the backward sector is left bogged down in low productivity and underemployment.

It is not possible to condense in one article, with the precision the subject deserves, a description and still less a critical analysis of the different variants of this type of explanation. Suffice it to say that in comparison with technological dualism pure and simple, the arguments that it adduces are much more comprehensive, take into account a variety of phenomena that cannot be overlooked, and link them up in decidedly more consistent explanatory systems. The imitation of life styles is not so much an economic phenomenon as a multidimensional social phenomenon which includes the idea of cultural penetration. This penetration—owing to the sharp stratification of the local population in terms of income and power, but also of cultural base and accessibility—operates differentially and generates diverse responses in the different parts of society. If the demonstration effect had equal incidence on all social strata, it is hard to see why it might be more responsible for the segmentation of the economy than the incentive of acquiring wealth and the consumer aspirations which operate in every capitalist economy. If a difference is to be sought that accounts for the peculiar phenomenon of Latin American segmentation, it will have to be found in a different, and already segmented, way of receiving the demonstration effect; or in a heterogeneous capacity for reaction to the stimuli aforesaid; that is, in any event, in a pre-existing stratification. And this, tautological as it may seem, is very important for putting employment problems in their true place.

These explanations, critically interpreted, throw into relief the force of the tension to which our societies are subjected by the global dephasing and the linkages existing between them and the world centres. But they also underline the fact that the reactions to this tension are conditioned by the internal dephasing and stratification pre-existing in these

societies; they show that the demonstration effect unleashes violent stimuli. These stimuli, such as the incentives of pecuniary gain and consumer aspirations, do not spontaneously generate, through the economic processes, either equality or homogeneity. Equitable distribution of the fruits of development is a policy objective, not a spontaneous product. On the contrary, when economic mechanisms operate on a heterogeneous basis, it should not be surprising that they reproduce and even multiply inequality.

4. *The historical roots of segmentation*

But if the quest for economic mechanisms that explain Latin America's employment problems, as regards their specificity in relation to the developed capitalist countries, goes back to a pre-existing social heterogeneity, this means, up to a point, a return to square one.

In the first place, it is an invitation to look back into the past, where there is no trouble in finding some background elements of the first importance. One of them, still very close to us in time—barely more than a human life time—is slavery; another, more remote in origin but not always extinct, is the subjugation of the indigenous populations by the whites after the conquest. Large proportions of the descendants of those subdued by force, particularly when they remained in their environment and were socially segregated, today represent backward groups in these segmented societies. The descendants of immigrants from Europe, or from other developed societies, 'tendentially' coincide with modern segments. This corroboration of the historical continuity of segmentation is too obvious to be overlooked.

Continuity is one thing, however, and lack of mobility another; and the Latin American process is very far from being persistent. The growth of the rural populations legally freed from slavery or serfdom, and the concentration of land ownership, confined such population groups to the *minifundio* or compelled them to emigrate.

The indigenous populations and the descendants of slaves who migrated from rural areas to the cities went through the melting-pot of urbanization with its linguistic, educational

and occupational effects; settlers on poor land were impoverished and virtually excluded from progress. Even though the traces of that heritage of initial oppression can still sometimes be found in the conditions obtaining for the urban popular sector of today, their situation is substantially different.

5. *The contributions of cultural dualism*

A few decades ago, the theories of cultural dualism tried to explain the processes whereby segmentation is transmuted and perpetuated through time. For the upholders of dualism the populations of the traditional and modern strata are differentiated by their cultures and particularly by their values. The modern entrepreneur, sometimes coming from developed countries, shares the capitalist ethic of accumulation; the technicians and workers respond, as in the developed countries, to wage incentives. In contrast, in the traditional strata, people work to satisfy their minimum material needs, but their code of values is different and in it solidarity and immediate concerns take priority. There is no visible unemployment; what work there may be is shared, and those who cannot work are protected. Accordingly, cultural inertia is the chief explanatory factor of segmentation. There is no question here of a problem of training for employment, nor even of a problem of formal education, but of a global phenomenon of a social and cultural character.

By the adherents of the theory of cultural dualism, which was largely based on the study of indigenous populations, the dichotomy is held to affect the structure of the basic personality, as it likewise affects the social structure, and the two sustain each other. Incorporating the traditional sectors into development calls for a complex cultural and social change whose centre of gravity lies in values; even for schooling, motivation is necessary.

When this emphasis on culture is carried too far, it tends to relegate to a secondary plane the basic structural conditions—for example, poverty and the meagerness of the land in the case of the indigenes of the Altiplano (high Andean plateaux)—to which culture is necessarily adapted and linked. But, viewed through its best exponents, this theory can

hardly be accused of simplism; it is a sociological conception which considers that the social structure and the cultural structure are mutually self-sustaining. To break down the barriers that shut in traditional society entails an attack on every front: demonstration effects, introduction of technology, changes in basic economic structures, food, health, housing, must all be associated with the educational effort to ensure its success.

But the problems generated by cultural dualism have not been identified in the backward areas alone. Migrants carried with them a cultural baggage whose content is incompatible with modern society, and on contact with it must be modified. Sociological studies have systematically shown the relation between these processes of urban acculturation and such phenomena as marginality, anomie, and of course, critical employment situations. Cultural inertia, from the standpoint of employment problems, played an important part in the urban segmentation of the active population.

The dualist theory of a quarter of a century ago, in describing the most typical Latin American countries, stressed the coexistence of modern geographical areas with others of a traditional character, and highlighted the resistance of the backward areas to the penetration of development. The study of the obstacles encountered revealed not only the meagerness of these areas' natural resources, the irrationality of their structure or the cultural inertia of their inhabitants: obstacles which might be called static. Processes were also found which helped to block penetration; for example, it was the young people, capable, enterprising and of course with the highest levels of schooling, who were the first to emigrate to the modern areas. As a result of all this, the backward areas were left with a negatively selected population, deprived of its most dynamic elements. Because they were traditional, they had high birth rates, which increased their proportion of inactive population; and because they were poor, they had high morbidity rates. The sums that families should have allocated to education and health were too heavy for their poverty to support. The flow of saving followed the same direction as human migration, seeking the opportunities opened up by the prosperity of the modern

areas. In consequence of these and other circular and cumulative processes, the diffusion of development was obstructed, and Latin America witnessed a stubborn perpetuation of backwardness and segmentation.

One of the most important contributions offered in the above-mentioned period is, undoubtedly, that of having made it clear that not only does social and cultural inertia perpetuate social segmentation, but also the dynamism unleashed by development itself may bar the progress of the traditional sector and, at the same time, may generate urban segmentation phenomena which are all the more marked the more intensive is that dynamism, precisely because of the clash between violent change and cultural inertia.

This is a surprising piece of evidence, necessitating a different way of introducing time into the hypotheses accounting for segmentation; and it acquires immense importance in face of the existing difficulties of explaining the peculiar features of unemployment and above all of underemployment in the region. Given the rapidity of Latin American population growth, urbanization and metropolitanization, and with due regard to the relatively recent historical background of intense social heterogeneity produced by extreme forms of domination, this line of theory perhaps makes it possible to explain, to a large extent, the segmented fashion in which economic, social and political systems are persistently reflected in the real conditions obtaining in Latin America.

And at the same time, perhaps it may allow more satisfactory explanations to be formulated for certain specific features that are particularly startling; one of them being the fact that poles of explosive growth—in respect of investment, production, occupation and population—²⁰ show high rates of unemployment while at the same time they are growing at a dizzy speed. This state of affairs, which seems to defy economic equations, has often been explained by alleging that, owing to the existing manpower surpluses,

the expectations of employment created always surpassed real employment openings. Perhaps this may happen, but at least a suspicion of an underlying contradiction lingers: Do such expectations still exert their attraction after employment opportunities have reached saturation point? Is it all an error of calculation? Is it merely a form of queuing up for jobs? Or do people realize that this stage is a sort of melting-pot through which they must pass in order to gain entry, for themselves and their children, to a different and desirable world, and that in the long run the transition will be worth their pains?

A detailed study of the transmutation undergone by these migrant populations before they achieve full employment—as opposed to unstable employment and underemployment—shows it to be astounding in its magnitude, since it is not merely occupational, but affects their entire culture, in the anthropological sense of the term, and even language, when the populations concerned are indigenous. A hard, traumatic, long-drawn-out transmutation, generating anomie and marginality. To explain away this metamorphosing population as a mere surplus of migrants, is an extremely dangerous simplification; perhaps it implies completely losing touch with the problem.

On the other hand, it would be useless to attempt to dissimulate the weaknesses of the theories of cultural dualism. Perhaps the worst of them is the concept of modernization itself; but this does not invalidate the preceding analyses. In any case, neither does it seem admissible to ignore the dimensions they have introduced into the statement of the problem. Simplified explanations, reduced to want of occupational training, confined to insufficiency in the rate of economic growth, restricted to an intrinsic characteristic of imported technology or to the capitalists' manipulation of technology to bring down wages, are not enough. And if they fail to explain, they may lead to false conclusions. To begin with, it is not surprising that they should have done much to create bewilderment as to the role of education.

Employment problems are not simply interchangeable modalities of a non-utilized manpower surplus. They are specific social facts,

²⁰We cite, by way of examples, the city of Guayana in Venezuela, and Cotzacoalcos-Minatitlán, in Mexico. The fact, however, seems fairly widespread throughout the world.

sharply differentiated and conditioned by a heterogeneity which embraces social structures, culture and personality. It is true that this heterogeneity has its roots in history, but it also derives from the direction and from the very dynamism of current changes.

The perpetuation of these phenomena would certainly suffice to call in question the prevailing development styles, not only as economic but also as societal models. If the causes of this perpetuation include recalcitrance to cultural changes, or their hazardous or

traumatic character, it is for education to play a part in doing away with heterogeneity.

In that case, neither is it unconcerned with employment problems, nor is its duty confined to giving proper vocational training to the active population. On the contrary, its fundamental role, from this point of view, is to help in combination with other forms of change, to get rid of segmentation and to minimize the human cost of the changes; its function is to integrate society and fit it for equitable and participative development.

III

Some empirical evidence

Analyses of Latin American statistical data on employment and education help to reaffirm the image of a very intensive segmentation in which the cultural component is extremely significant. The education variable is indubitably associated with the occupational categories, although it does not strictly correspond to what is assumed in some of the most accepted social stratification schemes, particularly those based on the entrepreneur/wage-earner dichotomy. In contrast, it has a very strong linkage with geographical location—rural, urban, metropolitan and other urban areas—and, in particular, with the existence of population groups that preserve their indigenous language and culture. Urban activities, even if manual, tend to be associated with a certain level of general education. On the other hand, data are lacking on the comparatively important role that should be played by vocational teaching, except in the categories of technicians and university-educated professionals. A whole set of other facts underline the close association between the urbanization process and educational change.

History bears eloquent witness to the different kinds of resistance to the penetration of education in the various segments. These differential behaviour patterns indicate a trend towards the perpetuation of very low levels of

education with considerable proportions of illiteracy and incipient schooling or none at all in large segments of the population, despite the rate of educational expansion in general and the explosive development of secondary and higher education. This evidence gives the impression that in all likelihood educational deficiencies, in their turn, have a serious incidence on the maintenance of segmentation.

At the same time, with due regard to the fact that in some places and specialities there are population surpluses with high educational indexes, it can nevertheless be seen that the general tendency is for an increase in the level of education to reduce the risks of unemployment, especially at the upper levels. A reduction in the supply of secondary and higher education might result in relative shortages which could accentuate still more the inequality of income distribution and the adscription of the best educated to the upper strata.

1. *Education and occupation*

Table 1 and figure 1, based on OMUECE samples from 11 Latin American countries, present a panorama of the educational profiles—percentage frequencies by years of study—for each of the socio-occupational strata defined under the ECLA/UNICEF Project on

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA (ELEVEN COUNTRIES):^a LEVELS OF EDUCATION BY OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1960 AND 1970
(Percentages)

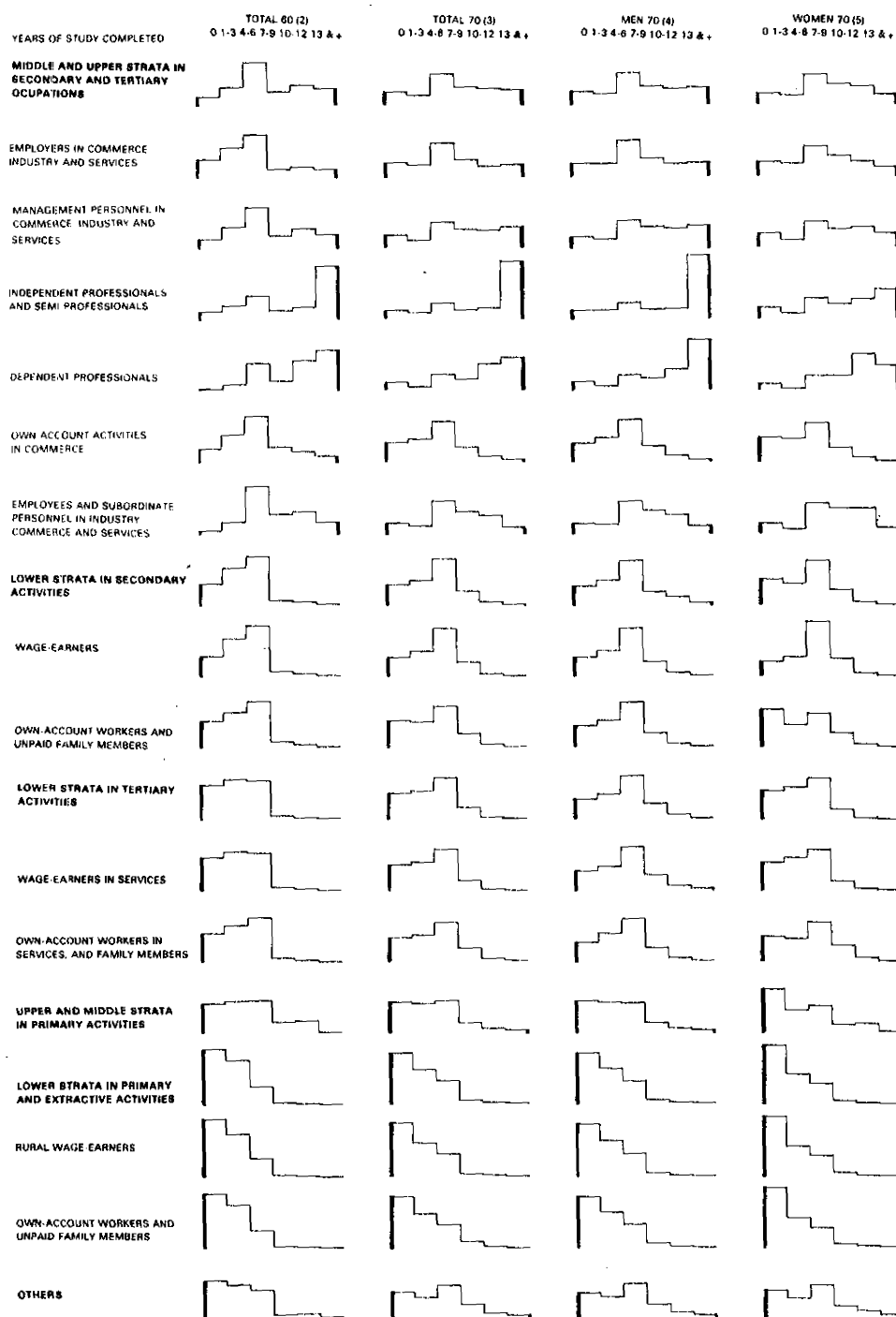
Occupational strata	No schooling		1 to 3 years		4 to 6 years		7 to 9 years		10 to 12 years		13 years and over		Undeclared	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
1. <i>Middle and upper strata in secondary and tertiary occupations</i>	7.33	10.72	15.31	8.43	35.34	24.72	10.45	15.06	15.87	14.00	14.12	12.37	1.56	14.70
a. Employers in commerce, industry and services	15.36	11.94	25.23	10.34	34.85	28.73	6.18	15.05	9.07	9.28	7.55	10.52	1.76	14.14
b. Management personnel in commerce, industry and services	7.92	10.82	18.42	6.00	34.27	21.08	10.51	15.20	15.92	14.64	11.44	17.46	1.52	14.80
c. Independent professionals and semi-professionals	6.66	7.61	11.19	5.91	19.71	12.85	6.42	7.43	9.89	8.85	44.62	48.29	1.51	9.06
d. Dependent professionals	1.95	6.88	5.52	2.70	23.00	12.16	8.31	9.09	25.37	21.33	33.37	27.54	2.48	20.30
e. Own-account activities in commerce	11.57	17.39	22.25	19.66	38.03	33.94	13.43	13.03	8.65	4.75	4.96	2.18	1.11	9.05
f. Employees, salesmen and subordinate personnel in industry, commerce and services	3.24	9.73	10.38	6.73	40.00	27.79	16.53	18.98	18.87	15.96	9.68	6.31	1.30	14.50
2. <i>Lower strata in secondary activities</i>	18.99	17.80	31.79	21.39	41.00	38.84	4.33	12.02	2.28	2.29	0.52	0.45	1.09	7.21
a. Wage-earners	16.99	15.96	32.28	21.35	42.55	40.39	4.33	12.17	2.21	2.19	0.48	0.42	1.16	7.52
b. Own-account workers and unpaid family members	22.45	22.73	29.27	21.44	38.79	34.55	5.32	11.72	2.58	2.64	0.68	0.55	0.91	6.37
3. <i>Lower strata in tertiary activities</i>	28.82	22.20	33.36	24.08	32.10	34.73	2.57	9.54	1.47	1.65	0.50	0.37	1.18	7.43
a. Wage-earners in services	28.98	21.77	33.45	24.17	31.88	35.23	2.53	9.42	1.46	1.57	0.50	0.38	1.20	7.46
b. Own-account workers in services and unpaid family members	24.45	20.52	31.09	22.69	37.56	33.46	3.74	12.08	1.69	2.71	0.50	0.56	0.90	7.98
4. <i>Middle and upper strata in primary activities</i>	25.07	25.85	26.46	24.56	27.16	26.98	9.60	8.33	10.12	3.37	0.64	3.01	0.95	7.40
5. <i>Lower strata in primary and extractive activities</i>	46.67	43.22	36.47	28.77	14.83	19.32	0.74	3.57	0.38	0.39	0.12	0.15	0.79	4.58
a. Rural wage-earners	47.52	44.75	35.41	28.02	14.82	18.85	0.83	3.10	0.37	0.34	0.12	0.13	0.93	4.81
b. Non-employer, own-account workers, and unpaid family members	46.05	42.49	36.96	28.91	15.04	19.57	0.73	4.30	0.45	0.52	0.10	0.15	0.67	4.06
6. <i>Others (residual)</i>	32.51	22.57	28.91	18.26	24.88	28.73	4.31	12.19	4.38	4.71	2.28	2.68	2.43	10.93

Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of data from ECLA-UNICEF, *Proyecto sobre estratificación y movilidad social en América Latina, 1960-1970*, Santiago, Chile, 1975-1979; basic tables using weighted averages.

Note: Corresponds to table 32 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

^a Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay.

Figure I
LATIN AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL PROFILES BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1960 AND 1970



Source: Prepared on the basis of data taken from tables 30, 31 and 32 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.
Note: Corresponds to figure 5 in the above-mentioned report.

Stratification and Social Mobility in Latin America²¹.

An initial fact observed is the educational heterogeneity within the so-called middle and upper strata in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

In 1970 the employer group covers the whole gamut from those with no schooling to those with high educational indexes, the category comprising persons who received only primary education being slightly predominant. There is evidence of an obvious improvement since 1960, but not of a reduction of heterogeneity. The name 'employers' unquestionably embraces a wide range of social distinctions, between whose extremes the formal-informal division of enterprises becomes apparent. This emerges more clearly when attention is turned to own-account workers in commerce, a group which does not even show any improvement during the decade. The panorama exhibits still more contrasts if to the so-called middle and upper strata is added the primary sector, in which the overwhelming majority is divided into equivalent groups: those with no schooling, those with incipient schooling and those with incomplete or complete primary education. The improvement from 1960 to 1970 is almost imperceptible.

Employees and subordinate personnel in industry and commerce present an educational profile slightly better than that of employers.

Professionals, both independent and dependent, are categorically differentiated from the rest of the stratum.

The lower strata in secondary activities include industrial workers, and artisans and unpaid family members. The former have a very definite characteristic which is systematically corroborated by detailed occupational analyses:²² a manifest concentration in the group with 4 to 6 years of study, a much smaller quota with secondary education, a rapidly declining proportion of those with incipient schooling—1 to 3 years of study—and 15% with no schooling at all. Except for this almost stable residuum,

primary education seems to have become an accepted thing among industrial workers.

As regards own-account workers, the profile is similar for men, but much lower for women; once again informal sector activities make their appearance here.

The lower strata in tertiary activities have perceptibly improved upon their 1960 level. For men the profile is very much the same as for industrial workers, with the same predominance of primary education.

It is remarkable that these lower urban strata have educational profiles so much superior to those of the middle and upper primary strata and a clearer trend towards improvement. As regards the lower strata in primary activities, a group in which rural wage-earners are predominant, it is not surprising that they show the most negative profile, with large numbers having received only incipient schooling and a predominance of those that have had none whatever, all this being accompanied by a patent trend towards stability.

Analyses of the younger generations, a group much more sensitive to change and more clearly reflecting the recent outreach of the educational system, definitely confirm some of these features. Table 2 summarizes the proportions of each of fourteen occupational groups represented by those with no schooling, those with incipient schooling and those who have had from 4 to 6 years of schooling around 1970, in the Latin American countries as a whole. The mean for farmers, fishermen, etc., is 37% with no schooling—the national percentages varying from 10% to 70%—, 32% with incipient schooling and 23% that have completed part or the whole of the primary cycle. These percentages, which are, as can be seen, extremely unsatisfactory, are closely followed by those for miners and quarry-workers and for domestic service. In contrast, for industrial and transport workers the picture is substantially different—and in some cases not very dissimilar to that of the commercial sector. For office employees, on the other hand, it is appreciably superior; although in this instance education may be said to constitute a technical requisite for the jobs they hold, a technical necessity is very far from obvious in the case of industrial workers. Behind

²¹See Carlos Filgueira and Carlo Geneletti, *Estratificación y movilidad ocupacional en América Latina*, Cuadernos de la CEPAL series, No. 39, Santiago, Chile, 1981.

²²See *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op.cit., chapter VI, B.6.

Table 2

PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS WITH ZERO INCIPIENT AND MORE ADVANCED SCHOOLING IN
EACH OCCUPATION, IN RELATION TO ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE YOUTH AGED
20 TO 29 YEARS

(Arithmetic means of percentages for each country)

Occupation of group	No schooling	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years
1. Professionals and technicians	1.7 ^a	2.0	9.1
2. Management personnel	4.1	7.4	17.8
3. Office employees	3.1 ^b	3.5	17.1
4. Non-itinerant commerce	8.8	14.1	33.9
5. Farmers, fishermen, etc.	37.1	31.8	22.8
6. Miners and quarry-workers	21.2 ^c	27.2 ^d	34.6 ^d
7. Transport operatives	5.9	16.4	43.6
8. Industrial operatives (I)	9.4	17.4	42.3
9. Industrial operatives (II)	16.3	21.8	39.9
10. Other manual workers and day-labourers	18.1	23.4	35.4
11. Domestic service	23.3	27.3	32.7
12. Personal services	12.1	17.9	36.3
13. Looking for a first job	16.6 ^c	14.0 ^c	24.4 ^c
14. Miscellaneous and unspecified	17.9	17.4	26.7
Total	21.1	20.9	28.0

Source: OMUECE 1970, *Programa uniforme*, table 11.

Note: Corresponds to table 43 in J.P. Terra, *Alfabetismo y escolarización básica...*, *op. cit.*

The following notes indicate an arithmetic mean calculated without data from:

^a Costa Rica.

^b Panama.

^c El Salvador; Panama.

^d El Salvador.

^e Colombia; El Salvador; Venezuela and Ecuador.

In no case is Argentina included, nor is Brazil or Haiti.

all this some other type of much more global phenomenon must surely lie.

The occupational distribution of youth with no schooling, incipient schooling or partial or complete primary schooling is particularly striking. To give some idea of general trends, table 3 presents the arithmetic means of distribution for 1 000 young people in each education group, and clearly shows the enormous accumulation of those with no schooling among farmers and fishermen, etc. Only on reaching the group with 4 to 6 years of study is a balanced distribution between agriculture and industry to be found.

The analysis gains in value if as well as the occupation the occupational category is introduced; table 4 shows, also by averages for national figures, the distribution of every 1 000 young people without schooling, by these two variables. It reveals that in some occupations

those with no schooling are essentially the own-account workers, in others the employees and in yet others both categories.

2. Educational and geographical area

The notorious internal heterogeneity existing in several of the occupational categories used above can be partly reduced if this schematic classification by socio-occupational strata is replaced by a detailed classification of occupations, albeit this type of itemized study cannot be carried out here.²³ But although such an analysis makes it possible to discern more clearly-defined features and to obtain more precise confirmation of certain notable regularities—such as that recorded

²³See *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, *op.cit.*, chapter VI, B.6, which gives the educational profiles for 83 occupations in relation to six countries.

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 1 000 ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE YOUNG PERSONS AGED 20 TO 29 YEARS, WITH ZERO INCIPIENT AND MORE ADVANCED SCHOOLING

(Arithmetic means of the permil figures for each country)

Occupational group	No schooling (excluding Argentina)	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years
1. Professionals and technicians	7 ^a	6	21
2. Management personnel	2	4	8
3. Office employees	12 ^b	13	54
4. Non-itinerant commerce	21	36	67
5. Farmers, fishermen, etc.	651	512	262
6. Miners and quarry-workers	7 ^b	8	8
7. Transport operatives	8	25	50
8. Industrial operatives (I)	57	119	218
9. Industrial operatives (II)	31	47	63
10. Other manual workers and day-labourers	30	44	48
11. Domestic service	52	70	55
12. Personal services	25	36	62
13. Looking for a first job	9 ^c	8 ^c	13 ^d
14. Miscellaneous and unpecified	87	73	77
<i>Total</i>	<i>1 000</i>	<i>1 000</i>	<i>1 000</i>

Source: OMUECE 1970, *Programa uniforme*, table 11.

Note: Corresponds to table 41 in J.P. Terra, *Alfabetismo y escolarización básica...*, *op. cit.*

The following notes indicate countries for which no data are available:

^a Costa Rica.

^b Panama.

^c El Salvador; Ecuador; Colombia.

^d Venezuela; Ecuador; Colombia.

Table 4

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF 1 000 ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 20 TO 29 YEARS, WITH NO SCHOOLING

(Arithmetic means of the permil figures for each country)

Occupation	Total	Occupational category				
		Employer	Own-account worker	Employee	Family member	Unclassified Undeclared
1. Professionals and technicians ^a	6.5	1.4	0.7	3.9	0.1	0.2
2. Management personnel	2.4	0.2	1.1	0.9	—	0.1
3. Office employees ^b	12.1	0.1	0.3	11.4	0.1	0.3
4. Non-itinerant commerce	21.0	0.5	13.1	6.1	0.8	0.5
5. Farmers, fishermen, etc.	650.7	8.9	273.3	264.3	91.4	12.7
6. Miners and quarry-workers ^b	7.1	—	1.1	5.7	—	0.1
7. Transport operatives	8.1	0.2	1.9	5.7	—	0.2
8. Industrial operatives (I)	62.0	0.7	21.7	33.4	3.8	2.2
9. Industrial operatives (II)	30.7	0.4	6.2	22.4	1.3	0.3
10. Other manual workers and day-labourers	30.0	0.3	8.2	20.3	0.3	0.8
11. Domestic service	52.5	—	3.0	47.7	0.7	1.0
12. Workers in personal services	25.0	0.3	2.5	21.3	0.5	0.6
13. Looking for a first job	8.6	—	—	0.0	—	8.6
14. Miscellaneous and unpecified	86.6	0.7	8.3	19.4	12.0	46.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>1 000</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>341.7</i>	<i>460.4</i>	<i>111.5</i>	<i>72.3</i>

Source: OMUECE 1970, *Programa uniforme*, table 11.

Note: Corresponds to table 42 in J.P. Terra, *Alfabetismo y escolarización básica...*, *op. cit.* Argentina, Brazil and Haiti are not included.

In the following cases, the mean was calculated without data for:

^a Professionals and technicians in Costa Rica.

^b Office employees, miners and quarry-workers in Panama.

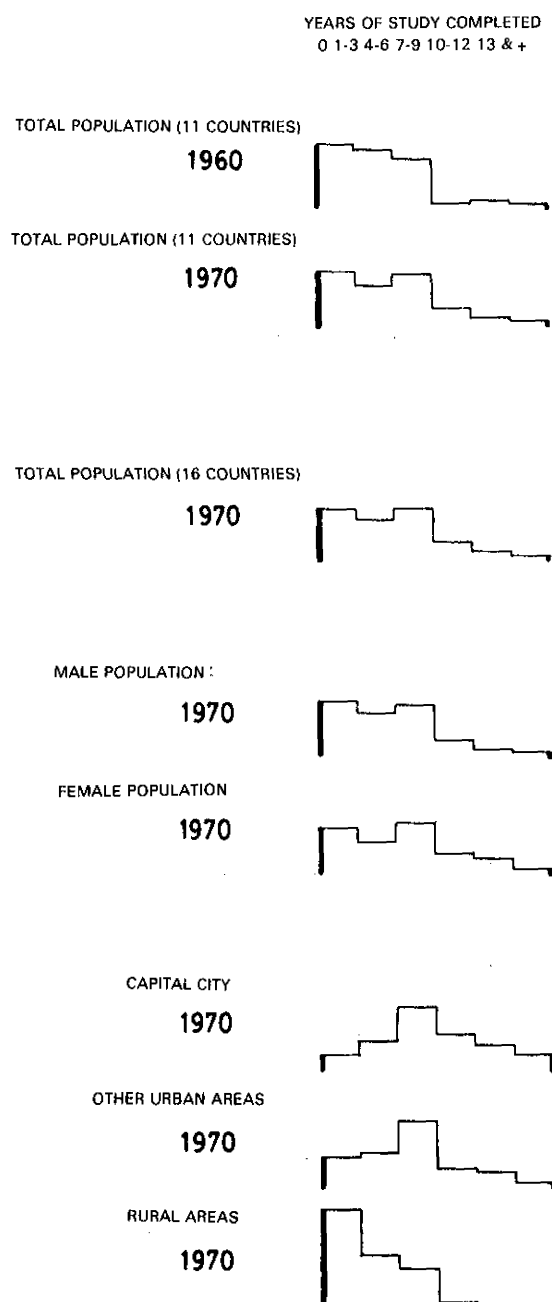
^c Those looking for a first job in Ecuador, Colombia and El Salvador.

in the case of industrial operatives, who in most countries appear with high frequency at the level of 4 to 6 years of study—, the shortcoming is to some extent insurmountable, inasmuch as it is a limitation innate in any classification which is based only on occupation.

If the analysis is subdivided by geographical areas, it confirms this situation. By a very significant cross-cutting of the occupational groups, it demonstrates that educational status is partly a function of environment rather than of occupation, to the point of awakening doubts as to whether the regularities shown by certain occupational groups—farmers, industrial workers—derive from the technical requirements of the occupation itself or whether they correspond to a definite environment—rural area or industrial city, respectively. Table 5 and figure II show, separately, the educational profiles for capital cities, other urban areas and rural environments; the data given represent the weighted arithmetic means of national figures. The contrast is highly significant. In the capital cities, one-third of the active population has received from 4 to 6 years of schooling; a small proportion has lower levels, including only 8% with no schooling at all; an appreciable proportion has attended secondary school, and 8% has attained more than 13 years of study. In other urban areas, although there is still one-third with 4 to 6 years of study, the scale tips the other way: 17% without schooling, 19% with incipient schooling and only 4% with over 13 years of study. It must be pointed out that in both cases the same range of urban occupations is covered, although the proportions are not the same. But the major contrast is with the rural environment, where half the active population has had no schooling and where levels higher than the primary cycle are virtually non-existent.

This disparity is not due solely to a different occupational composition, nor solely to the location of agriculture in the rural areas, but signifies a contrasting division of each of the occupational groups. This can be clearly seen in figure III, which shows the absolutely disparate profiles corresponding to the same occupation in different environments. It is noteworthy that this assertion is valid for the middle and upper strata in the three sectors. And in particular it must be stressed that those in the primary sector show

Figure II
LATIN AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL PROFILES
OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION,
BY SEX AND LOCATION, 1960 AND 1970



Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of data table from 23 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

Note: Corresponds to figure 3 in the above report.

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA (SELECTED COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, 1960-1970^a

(Percentages)

		Years of study completed						
		None	1 to 3	4 to 6	7 to 9	10 to 12	13 and over	Undeclared
Total 1960 (11 countries) ^b	100.00	32.71	29.55	25.79	3.71	4.21	2.82	1.21
Total 1970 (11 countries) ^b	100.00	28.15	20.77	26.36	9.81	4.65	3.12	7.14
Total 1970 (16 countries) ^c	100.00	27.48	21.46	26.67	9.78	5.05	3.15	6.41
Male 1970	100.00	28.44	22.72	26.59	9.40	4.11	3.02	5.72
Female 1970	100.00	23.97	16.86	26.91	11.07	8.44	3.68	9.07
Rural area 1970	100.00	49.80	26.02	18.77	1.46	0.70	0.20	3.05
Other urban areas 1970	100.00	17.02	19.33	34.39	11.34	9.20	3.57	5.15
Metropolitan area 1970	100.00	8.10	15.24	32.60	18.46	13.20	8.03	4.37

Source: Weighted arithmetic means of national distributions based on data from OMUECE, *Programa uniforme*, 1960: table 17; and 1970: table 6.

Note: Corresponds to table 23 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

^a For 1970 by sex and area.

^b Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay.

^c The same as in footnote ^b, plus Bolivia, Colombia, Nicaragua, Peru and Venezuela.

high levels of study only when they are located in the capital cities, and there in a sizeable proportion; which confirms that large or medium-scale agricultural entrepreneurs residing in the capital city—a tiny minority out of the total number of farmers—form part of the country's upper class and are a social and cultural phenomenon which has nothing to do with the rest. But it is also of great significance that the contrast is remarkably sharp in groups such as industrial wage-earners, employees, or own-account workers in the commercial sector.

In other words, the enormous educational disparity between urban and rural areas, and even more strikingly the capital city-rural disparity, colours all occupational categories. Underlying all this there is undoubtedly a very deep-seated difference, which extends to the nature of enterprises, even if they fall under the same head in a classification by branches of activity.

The educational disparity between these areas shows no signs of diminishing. According to studies carried out around 1970 on young

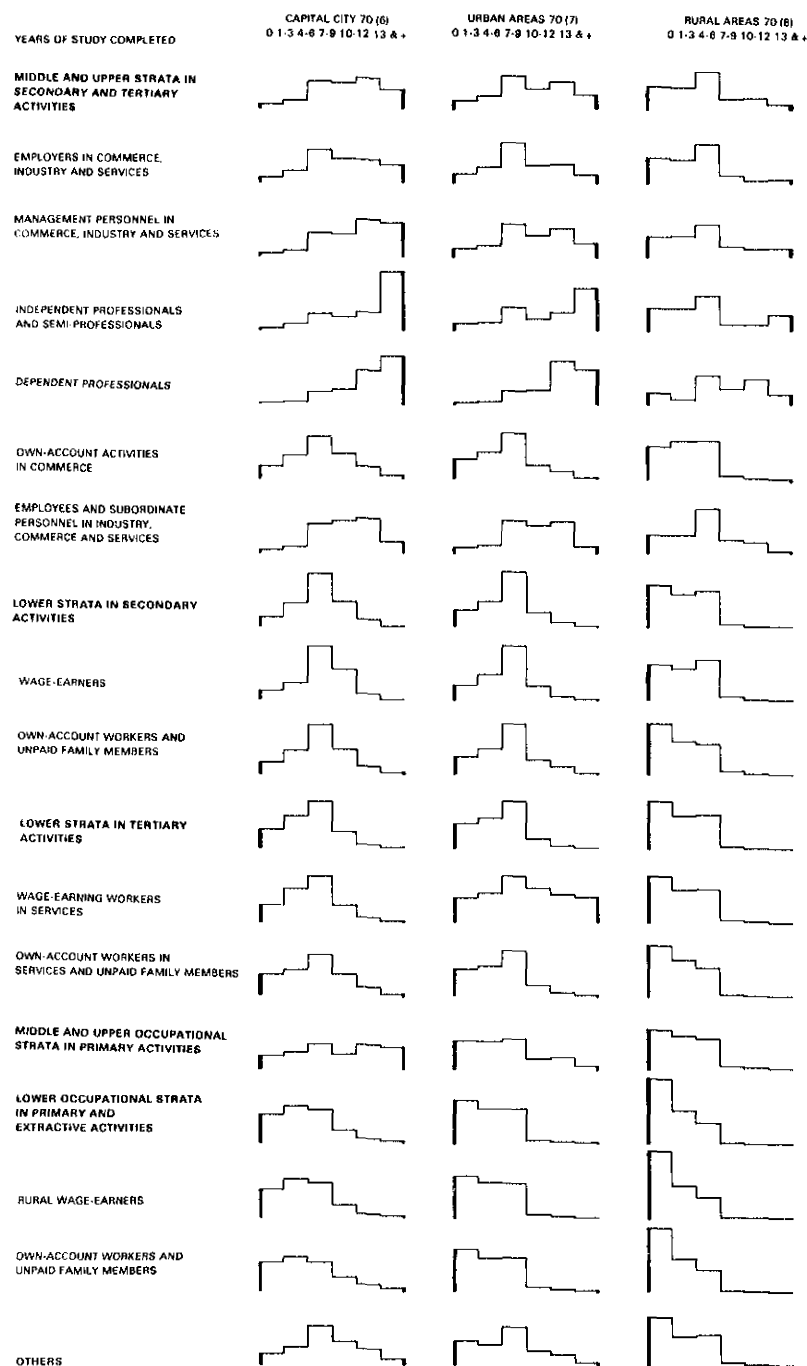
people of 15 to 24 years of age, in rural areas the average rate of illiteracy was still 31.1%, as against 7.6% in the urban environment as a whole and 4.5% in the capital cities. National rates ranged from 8% to 60% in rural areas, while the metropolitan rates varied from 1% to 10%.²⁴ During the 1960s, the ratio between mean urban and rural rates had if anything increased a little. The mean of juvenile illiteracy ratio fell by 45% in the capital cities, 27% in other urban areas and 22% in the rural environment.

Two phenomena, less clearly established from the empirical standpoint, deserve mention here. One of them is that the biggest and most constant inter-sex difference in rates occurs in the capital cities.²⁵ In principle this seems very surprising, since there is no question of different

²⁴See Juan Pablo Terra, *Alfabetismo y escolarización básica de los jóvenes en América Latina*, UNESCO-ECLA-UNDP, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/24, table 7 b.

²⁵*Ibidem*, p. 18.

Figure III
LATIN AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL PROFILES BY SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL STRATA



Source: Prepared on the basis of data taken from tables 30, 31 and 32 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.
Note: Corresponds to figure 5 in the above-mentioned report.

behaviour deriving from the need to surmount physical obstacles. Non-attendance at school in capital cities is not due to material difficulties in getting there, as might be supposed to be the case in the rural sector. Here an attractive hypothesis is that in the eyes of newcomers to the cities literacy seems a more urgent requisite for men, who have to lead an outward-related life and to enter the labour market; and that among women, more home-oriented as they are, the necessity is less imperative and the pull of cultural inertia stronger. As the difference between male and female rates is very wide in the capital cities of several countries where persistence of the indigenous tongues is appreciable,²⁶ it might be thought that among women the incentive to become literate is weaker—owing, for example, to the preservation of the indigenous language at home and in the neighbourhood—and that it proves insufficient to overcome the well-known obstacles encountered, in such cases, in the task of teaching and learning not only the national language but also reading and writing at the same time. If this were so, it would throw into relief the compelling force of the social requirement of literacy imposed upon men by their incorporation into the economically active population in large cities.

The other phenomenon was traced in the course of a follow-up of a youth cohort during a decade. The mean of the illiteracy rates for 12 countries in the group of young people who were 15 to 24 years of age in 1960 was 25.8%. This mean had fallen to 23.2% in 1970, when the ages of the group in question ranged from 25 to 34 years. At first sight such a decrease is striking, since it represents a progress taking place at age levels much higher than those of primary school attendance. At all events the reduction is far greater for men; in the case of male rates the average drops by 17%, whereas in that of female rates it declines only by 4%. Adult literacy attainment would seem to have occurred essentially among men.²⁷

In the light of a comparison by geographical areas, the phenomenon becomes clearer. The mean of illiteracy rates does not

decrease for young people remaining in the rural environment, continues almost stable in urban areas other than the metropolis and increases by 5% in the capital cities. In other words, the reduction is associated with the transfer of some of these young people from the rural environment to other urban areas and, above all, to the capitals. Naturally, the newcomers to the capital cities bring with them a lower educational level; which explains why there the average rate of illiteracy increases. But in turn these migrants, as everything leads one to suppose, have to some extent become literate—being older by that time—in the course of the urbanization process. This would account for the fact that in the aggregate the illiteracy rates of the cohort in question decreased.

The urbanization of youth is accompanied by a cultural change which is reflected in late attainment of literacy, outside the formal school system and which is essentially observable among men. Once again the most attractive hypothesis would be to assume that at least in part, this is a matter of adaptation to the prevailing social requirements for full incorporation into economic activity, into a life of urban relationships, into city culture, which bring their pressure to bear by means to which little study has been devoted hitherto.

3. *The significance of segmentation*

In theory, it would seem that the educational requisites of the modern sector should consist essentially in an occupational training requirement, given the technical character of the jobs called for in enterprises in that sector; this must be to some extent true. But in practice, overall empirical observation testifies to a predominance of general education—the basic and non-occupational secondary cycles—over secondary or higher technical education.

We have already touched upon some aspects of the subject; let us now take a look at others. In most cases the specific skill needed is taught by the production system itself. The relative loss of prestige of the technical teaching of trades²⁸ is also due to the fact that schools have

²⁶*Ibidem.*

²⁷*Ibidem*, pp. 30-35.

²⁸This is not a purely Latin American phenomenon, as it is substantiated, for example, by the ILO literature of the

difficulties in satisfactorily fulfilling this role: trades have become too many and various; work is increasingly conditioned by equipment and the organization of production, both of which it would be difficult and very costly to reproduce in schools and which, furthermore, are continually changing; it is very hard to predict the employment opportunities that the market will offer to each; many jobs are obtained through in-service training, linked in turn to progress in the occupational career, etc. Without denying technical education the importance which in any event it deserves, the education that the school can best provide, and which can hardly be given outside the classroom, is the general kind corresponding to the basic cycle—variable in its scope according to the countries' development—certain types of technical secondary education, and higher education.

But this is not enough to account satisfactorily for the demands for a general education, both primary and secondary, which, over and above reading, writing and a few elementary mathematical skills, appears to have so little to do with productive activities. And this seems just as difficult to explain as most social phenomena. But at all events it is felt to be of some use to formulate a few hypotheses in the light of which the existing fact may perhaps seem more comprehensible.

The first hypothesis: training for employment also implies habilitation for access to it; this involves previous insertion in the social environment and a capacity to fulfil the conditions imposed by the recruitment and selection mechanisms.

The second postulates that employers implicitly or explicitly assume that general education improves potentialities for subsequent in-service learning.

The third hypothesis is that, possibly, the product of education required by the enterprise is qualification for entering into social and functional relations, both within and outside the enterprise, much rather than as an instrument of the technical activities to be carried out.

But perhaps the most important of all is to recall that man is not only inserted as a productive force in a production unit: he is inserted as a human being in a society. It may be that this is why the segmentation of the market seems so closely linked to social ambits located in well-defined spaces and to the acculturation processes implied by the transfer from one environment to another.

4. *Unemployment and education*

The very definition of underemployment and the mere description of its typical forms, whether in rural or urban areas, reveals the close relationship of this phenomenon with the global segmentation of society and, therefore, with the cultural discontinuities and the educational disparities of which empirical evidence provides such overwhelming corroboration. But, if this association seems to admit of no doubt, it may be asked, on the other hand, what relation there is between over unemployment and education.

Inter-country comparisons are not propitious to an attempt to formulate simple hypotheses, doubtless because each country's situation is determined by the behaviour of numerous structural and conjunctural variables. Comparison by educational levels, on the other hand, brings to light some interesting trends. Table 6 and figure IV show that in the main, although not always, the trend of unemployment gradually rises between those with no schooling and those who have had from 7 to 9 years of study. After that the mean of unemployment rates drops sharply, until for those with 13 years of study and over it is only half the rate recorded for those without schooling. There is a certain inter-country diversity of behaviour in the first sections of the curve, with some very atypical cases; but in contrast there is no exception whatever to the decline in unemployment at the level where the educational average is highest.

The global picture, however, merges certain phenomena between which a distinction must be drawn, since it intermixes data for the different ages, sexes and geographical areas. Unemployment, of course, is much greater among youth, and as people grow older stability in their jobs increases. But as the older

last decade; see, in particular, Mark Blaug, *Education and employment problems in developing countries*, Geneva, ILO, 1973, pp. 21 and 22.

Table 6

LATIN AMERICA (SEVENTEEN COUNTRIES): UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY YEARS OF STUDY, BOTH SEXES, 1970

Countries	Total	No schooling	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years	7 to 9 years	10 to 12 years	13 years and over	Years of study unknown	% without data
Haiti	14.1	12.3	19.0	24.3	33.4	30.1	16.4	9.1	—
Guatemala	1.3	0.8	1.2	2.4	3.9	3.8	0.5	2.1	1.2
Nicaragua	3.6	2.6	4.3	5.4	5.4	3.6	1.8	3.4	3.6
El Salvador	20.1	21.7	20.4	19.6	15.6	11.4	3.2	11.1	1.1
Honduras	2.0	1.2	1.6	3.3	3.0	3.5	0.8	1.4	1.1
Bolivia	3.9	3.9	3.0	3.6	4.9	4.9	3.1	4.2	3.5
Dominican Republic	24.7	27.9	34.7	24.6	19.2	15.6	8.7	21.3	10.3
Venezuela	5.0	5.0	5.4	5.5	5.0	3.1	2.0	5.6	7.0
Mexico	3.8	3.8	3.6	4.3	4.5	2.7	2.6	— ^a	—
Peru	5.7	2.7	3.6	6.4	8.7	12.8	6.6	5.6	3.2
Ecuador	3.3	2.6	2.8	3.8	5.0	4.3	1.8	2.6	2.6
Colombia	2.1	1.3	1.6	2.7	3.2	2.7	2.6	3.7	1.1
Panama	9.6	4.4	6.6	11.9	15.6	10.2	4.4	18.3 ^b	—
Paraguay	2.1	1.7	1.6	2.4	3.7	2.8	1.1	2.3	1.9
Costa Rica	7.3	8.8	7.1	8.6	5.8	3.0	2.3	25.0 ^b	—
Chile	4.5	5.4	4.8	5.0	5.0	4.0	2.2	3.5	14.3
Argentina	2.0	— ^a	2.1	1.9	2.2	2.0	0.9	2.2	8.3

Source: OMUECE 1970, *Programa uniforme*, table 20.

Note: Corresponds to table 26 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

^a Denominator below 20.

^b Denominator below 100.

The percentages at the end of each line represent:

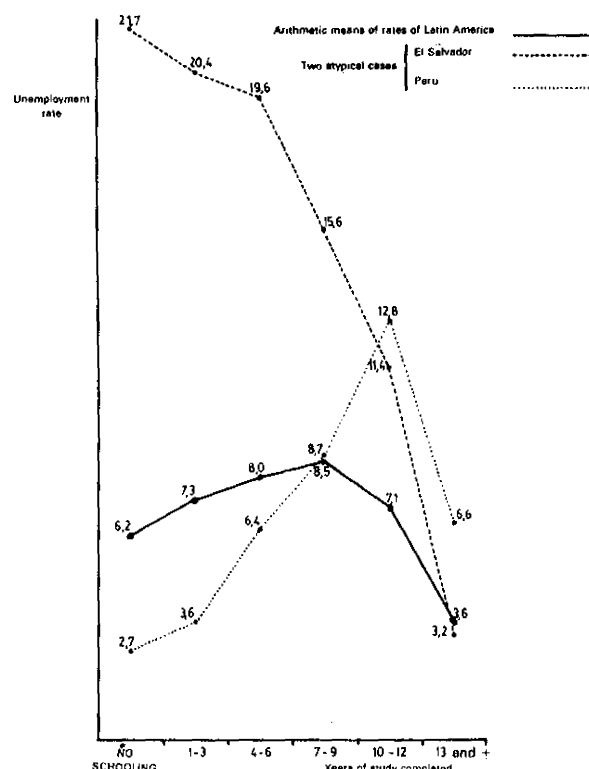
$$\frac{\text{Population for which no data on years of study are available}}{\text{Total without data}} \times 100$$

generations had, on an average, less schooling, the national figures seem to attribute to a low level of education a better occupational situation which strictly speaking is due to age. Furthermore, overt unemployment is a fundamentally urban phenomenon, whereas in the rural environment it is underemployment that is present on a massive scale. As educational levels are much lower in rural than in urban areas, the national figures make it look as though the higher educational level in the cities is the cause of their higher rate of unemployment. This mistake is avoided if the data are previously broken down by age, sex and area. Table 7 shows that for urban youth of the male sex, aged 20 to 29 years, the rate of unemployment is very high for those without schooling, but shows a clear decrease in the case of those with incipient

schooling and falls much lower still among those who have had 4 to 6 years of study. This trend is of course more marked in the capital cities than in other urban areas. In other words, for the male fraction of the urban active population, which is the larger, unemployment is gradually reduced as from the initial levels of schooling; educational deficiency at the basic levels is plainly associated with unemployment.

Indubitably this trend is not followed in the rural environment, a datum which must be added to the description of segmentation; and, conversely, unemployment increases slightly for youth of both sexes who have had from 4 to 6 years of study. Nor does it hold good for women in the capital cities, probably owing in part to the higher aspirations and the greater opportunity costs of economically active women in the middle

Figure IV
LATIN AMERICA
(SEVENTEEN COUNTRIES):
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY
YEARS OF STUDY, 1970



Source: Prepared on the basis of data from table 26 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

Note: Corresponds to figure 4 in the above report.

and upper strata. In any case, this does not invalidate the foregoing conclusions.

From the evidence that for urban youth of the male sex higher educational levels are definitely linked with lower rates of unemployment, some conclusions can be drawn, although it also raises some questions.

In appearance at least, the urban market, from the standpoint of stable job opportunities, privileges educands in proportion to their educational level, from the lowest to the highest, as it also does, of course, in respect of remuneration. This is abundantly confirmed by study of the educational profiles of the poorer groups. There are undoubtedly ample grounds for assuming that this partly accounts for the maintenance, in the urban environment, of social pressures in favour of higher educational levels, although it by no means explains them altogether. It also contributes, apparently, to the explanation of the different pace at which education makes progress in the urban and rural environments, which accentuates the cultural segmentation of society as a whole. Furthermore, it reduces the credibility of the theses that speak of hypertrophy of the educational system and of the surplus educated.

5. Employment of the best educated

The discussion of the subject should not be closed, however, without first considering other questions. To begin with, there undoubtedly are, at least in specific places, significant surpluses in

Table 7

LATIN AMERICA (FIFTEEN COUNTRIES):^a UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE YOUTH AGED 20 TO 29 YEARS, BY LOCATION AND BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, 1970

(Arithmetic means)

	Both sexes			Men			Women		
	No schooling	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years	No schooling	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years	No schooling	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years
Capital cities	9.7	8.4	8.1	13.5	10.0	8.4	6.3	6.3	7.6
Other urban areas	8.9	7.8	7.6	8.9	7.7	7.2	8.5	8.0	8.6
Rural areas	5.0	4.5	5.3	3.7	3.3	4.2	8.4	10.2	10.3
Total for country	5.7	5.8	6.9	4.9	4.9	6.3	8.1	8.8	8.8

Source: J.P. Terra, *Alfabetismo y escolarización básica de los jóvenes en América Latina*, op. cit., table 39.

Note: Corresponds to table 29 in *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, op. cit.

^a Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela.

certain intermediate and higher occupations, as there are persons whose activity does not seem to match with their training, and even some who waste it; these are irrationalities which must not be underestimated. It is also true that among the highly educated widespread feelings of frustration are generating social pressure; that these feelings are due to a maladjustment between the real occupational situation and the aspirations entertained, which can be assessed in different ways; but that the overall situation of occupational privilege cannot be denied.²⁹

More serious is the objection based on the role that would seem to be played here by social stratification. The occupational privilege of the best educated is not the result of their education's being functional, but of the fact that they belong to upper strata which enjoy a substantial share of social power, by reason of which good posts are concentrated in their hands. Let us agree that this thesis too is not to be lightly discarded. The upper strata control important positions in the economic, political and educational subsystems, and this enables them to consolidate privileges via occupational regulations. It is also noted, and rightly, that employment of the highly educated in Latin

America has largely proliferated in the public sector, by virtue of the increase in social and community services and also because of the lack of an economic rationale. Here the issue is linked with what has been termed the creation of spurious employment, to the detriment of aggregate economic efficiency and in the service of a segmented and exclusive model.

This is not a point that can be settled with the empirical information available up to now, or by reference to employment alone; it is, moreover, one among many others that still call for careful research. Nevertheless, the data suggest that a high level of education is, in fact, keenly desired; and that the value set on it seems objectively justified. It must also be pointed out that in relation to the developed countries Latin America shows serious and persistent lags in primary education; it is following far in the rear, although at a rapid rate, the trend towards generalization of secondary education; and despite the explosive role of enrolment in higher education, this last still has a very restricted outreach, radically different from the mass coverage it attains in the central countries. From this standpoint, Latin America would seem to be a long way off modern models.

IV

Conclusions

Obviously the role of education in relation to employment problems is a subject which would require, even from a factual standpoint, analyses exceeding the space allowed to an article, and for which, moreover, the indispensable empirical base is still lacking. However, it would be an improper expedient to adduce these as reasons for not formulating conclusions, however hypothetical they may be, once an effort has been

made to unravel the major enigmas. The problem is not and never will be one that can be reduced to its technical aspects, important as these are; what it does constitute, like development, is a major political issue, in the broadest sense of the term. And it will never be possible to reach conclusions without first introducing assumptions whose source lies outside the field of analysis; nor will these conclusions ever be separable from the assumptions in question.

It is reasonable, therefore, to formulate and attempt to systematize conclusions based on the information obtained, always providing that they make no abusive claim to be scientifically demonstrated. We opt, therefore, for reproduc-

²⁹Possibly this is partly due to a sort of nostalgia for bygone and even more marked situations of privilege, when university graduates were very few and constituted the power élite; as well as to comparison with the developed countries.

ing those drafted for the *Final Report* of the Project:

"In the first place, education is not *for employment*. Childish though it may seem to recall it, the aim of education is the cultivation of knowledge: a cultivation which implies the acquisition of knowledge but also, perhaps even more, the development of the capacity to think and learn. People needs to know who they are, what, they are, where they stand and to whom they can address themselves, in a physical and social world presented as extraordinarily complex by the accumulation of fragmentary data and their mass dissemination in modern societies. Knowledge and the capacity to acquire it are values in themselves. In some measure, people rightly seek them as such.

"Secondly, education is oriented towards the service of total social life. This would be unhesitatingly admitted even by the extremes of nominalism or pragmatism, which deny that knowledge has any value *per se*. Durkheim's classic definition may be incomplete, but it embodies unquestionable truths: 'Education, he says, is the active influence exerted by the adult generations on those that are not yet ripe for social life. Its object is to kindle and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by the political society as a whole and the special environment to which he is individually destined'.³⁰ The integration of this 'society as a whole' is one of the basic objectives of education, and it is not by a mere whim that communication through the spoken and written language is one of the irreplaceable ingredients of all basic education. Every aspect of this integration touches directly or indirectly upon the economic structure and the world of employment. It is natural whenever a society comes up against a problem of territorial, cultural, linguistic or class segmentation which jeopardizes its integrity, education should adopt as one of its objectives the overcoming of the difficulty. Obviously this is not independent of the global political project, nor of the way in which social integration is conceived: as egalitarian or as sharply stratified,

with the accent on co-operation or with the emphasis on domination. Upon that political project depends the conception of the nature of the employment market problems for which a solution is needed, and what is understood by resolving them. If the employment question is not merely to reduce the number of overtly unemployed, but to eradicate underemployment (and therefore poor productivity and low incomes), then establishing educational objectives in relation to the global project of society means focusing education upon the solution of employment problems. From this standpoint, i.e., from the angle of its effects on the global structure of social relations, education, in a democratic even if only a moderately egalitarian conception, must fulfil the following objectives, which represents a free version of the list drawn up by Wolfe.³¹

- a) To act as an instrument of social cohesion assisting in doing away with social segmentation; to help to incorporate the backward segments —traditional or indigenous— in the communication circuits and in the progress of global society, without destroying their identity or disintegrating what is valuable in them; and to collaborate in the reduction of class gaps and the elimination of the cultural deficiencies which play a part in the reproduction of stratification and poverty;
- b) To act as an instrument of individual and collective social mobility, not only facilitating the utilization of individual capacities and the upward movement of the categories at the lowest levels, particularly the marginal groups, but also accelerating the cultural and social incorporation of migrants, particularly in the urbanization process;
- c) To act as an instrument of income redistribution, by helping to even out earning capacities;
- d) To allow access to political decisions and to a number of different forms of social power.

³⁰Emile Durkheim, *Education et sociologie*, Paris, P.U.F., 1966, p. 41.

³¹This list is a free development and interpretation of four of the five points set forth by Marshall Wolfe in *El desarrollo esquivo: exploraciones en la política social y la realidad sociopolítica*, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1976.

"Thirdly, and only after the foregoing aims are well established, education can and must give more direct training for employment. This, however, calls for some more exact definitions. To repeat what was said above, training for employment embraces a good deal more than technical teaching, i.e. teaching the activities that constitute the technical content of specific roles. Training for employment implies habilitation for access to it; preparation for the life of social and functional relations, inside and outside the enterprise, which performance of the role involves; and lastly, in widely differing degrees in different cases, training for the technical activities of the role. The first and second points are very important, since they underline the paramount significance of general education: experience has shown, as has been noted, that industrial workers in Latin America must have a primary school background, little though they read or write when they are operating their machine-tool. The last point needs very flexible interpretation: in the more complex technical roles, such as that of the engineer, it is of great importance; in roles such as that of the administrative employee, whose technical base is type-writing and perhaps some accounting, this is a very minor aspect and can even be coped with by the interested party himself. From a different angle, the other obstacles that limit technical teaching must be forgotten: problems of cost and efficacy in the teaching of certain trades; the slowness of the training process and the unforeseeable fluctuations of demand; the unpredictability of personal evolution; limitations of recruitment mechanisms and criteria, etc.

"Before going farther into the matter of training for employment, a distinction must be drawn between the role of education in relation to overt unemployment and with respect to different types of underemployment.

"A point that should be noted is the claim to account for overt unemployment by means of conceptual models compounded only of economic variables. It is true that such variables (demand, investment, etc.) can satisfactorily explain the conjunctural fluctuation of overt unemployment and also certain forms of structural unemployment, such as occur, for example, when a torrential rural exodus, caused by population pressure and shortage of land,

manifestly overflows the urban economy's very limited capacity for expansion.

"In other cases, however, the rate of frictional unemployment is structurally high, and this is due to the social organization of the employment market, and to problems of communication, of geographical distribution and even of personal incapacity to adapt to the changes of occupation required by macro- or micro-economic variations. In these instances, as long as no change is brought about in the aforesaid conditions, there is bound to be a high proportion of unemployed if the market is to operate. In other words, the time it takes a jobless person to find the vacant post suited to his abilities, is not the same in a developed country with excellent information systems, good transport services, equivalent housing conditions everywhere and institutions specializing in speeding up the process (and even offering refresher courses), as in a Latin American country where few or none of these conditions are fulfilled. One may sometimes wonder whether this is forgotten when the explanation of the high rates of unemployment in the Latin American countries is obsessively sought in 'insufficient dynamism'. Occupational re-training is a form of education which may help to reduce overt unemployment, but only in the framework of a market whose fluidity is improved in many directions.

"A second type of problem, indubitably more important, is that of the relation between underutilization of urban manpower and the urbanization process. Getting incorporated into urban society and training for the urban employment market is not so simple a matter as the physical move to the urban area. It is a process of acculturation which has to overcome considerable inertias. It has already been shown that in these conditions intensive economic dynamism sometimes coexists with high rates of unemployment. In seeking to reduce the unemployment problem to economic equations, it has too often been forgotten that Latin America is characterized by its impressive urbanization process. If the causes of high rates of urban unemployment and underemployment, as well as the markedly segregated character of a considerable proportion of the ill-defined and misunderstood informal sector, stem from this type of socio-cultural phenomenon, a major educational effort of a

specific kind, aimed at facilitating acculturation, could assuredly improve the situation.

"As regards rural underemployment, so different that the use of the very word 'underemployment' is a source of dangerous confusion, it must be urged that at the bottom of the problem is the distribution of land or the global shortage of it in relation to the volume of rural population. Here education cannot be asked for what it is unable to give. In default of structural reforms affecting the physical base, it can do little to assist in improving rural conditions. Perhaps its most important contribution (and a very important one) still is to facilitate the emigration of the population surplus and prepare it for a less traumatic transition. Obviously, if structural reforms are introduced its task is more complex.

"In the light of these considerations, the following closely interrelated questions need answering: does the maladjustment between the technical training of economically active persons and the technical characteristics of jobs act as a brake on the development of Latin America? Is it a cause of unemployment or underemployment? Does it produce other harmful effects? In consequence, can education, by giving technical training, help to activate economic development or to reduce unemployment and underemployment?

"The answer includes three points:

1. The categorically affirmative reply given in the 1960s was undoubtedly exaggerated.

In the first place, the modern capitalist forms of production, and in particular the transnational corporations, have shown themselves quite capable of getting by with fairly unskilled personnel, by emptying the jobs of technical content, giving in-service training, importing equipment with a high level of incorporated technology, and when necessary importing the technicians themselves. The problem lies in the resulting type of development: transnational modern enclaves, a markedly dichotomous structure of the economy.

Secondly the strength of the trends towards educational development was underestimated. Secondary and higher education expanded without waiting for the policies which the technical experts deemed necessary. In particular, when a type of technician was in short supply and those

available were very well paid, a course preparing for these specialized careers was instituted. If no competent educational institutions existed, and while they were expanding or were created, the youth of the élites studied abroad. After a time the supply tended to exceed demand.

2. However, in denouncing this exaggeration, to do which is nowadays a commonplace, a risk is incurred of forgetting that the shortage of skilled personnel has caused and actually is causing serious problems:

- a) In some cases this shortage seriously obstructs or retards development. This happens especially when a large number of small and medium-sized enterprises are concerned—the opposite case to that of the transnational corporations. Examples are easily found, especially in agriculture where the problem is reflected in the quantity, quality and competitiveness of products. In other instances, educational poverty stimulates over-concentration of development at its national geographic poles or in the more advanced countries, where the appropriate human resources are to be found, as well as the other conditions sought for.
- b) Even in the case of large transnational corporations, development varies according to whether they are of the enclave type, or are integrated with and supported by a sizeable quantity of smaller national enterprises which do depend upon the capacity of the local population. The diffusion of development is not the same. Obviously, when State or private domestic enterprises are to be created, entrepreneurial and technical competence is important. The lack of acquired skills has its repercussions in the shape of more training abroad and a more segmented economic structure.
- c) The excessively high rates of pay of technicians, when these are in short supply, increase the inequity of income distribution, consolidate privilege groups, encourage the inflow of foreign technicians and give too strong an impulse to the training of élites outside the country. Within certain limits, these last two effects signify ways of importing know-how and

techniques, but when they are carried too far they aggravate the denationalization of the élites and social segmentation.

3. It must also be recognized that the existence of far more skilled personnel than there are occupational openings causes serious problems:

- a) Surpluses produce a fall in income. The truth is that much of what has been written and discussed in this connection swells the problem to hypertrophic proportions. As was said before, surveys everywhere show the most highly qualified at the top of the social scale. The term 'proletarianization of the professionals' is often simply a reflection of nostalgia for the old days when the shortage of professionals made all of them members of closed oligarchies; or expresses their aspirations to attain the conspicuous consumption patterns of their counterparts in developed countries. Nevertheless, the problem does really exist in some cases and for certain occupations.
- b) These situations generate a twofold frustration: on the part of those who have acquired know-how which they cannot use and which earns them no intellectual, social or economic reward; and on the part of the country that bears the burden of a costly educational effort which it feels is not being turned to good account. These frustrations result in exacerbation of social tensions.
- c) Although impoverishment and frustration are ideologically exaggerated, they encourage the tendency towards a corporative protectionism aimed at strengthening privileges.
- d) A final effect is the emigration of highly-qualified persons, the 'brain drain' and a siphoning-off of economic resources invested in these experts which countries understandably try to prevent.

"In the aggregate these are phenomena, real or grossly exaggerated, which culminate in almost unmanageable problems, since the pursuit of egalitarian objectives is restrained by the risk of unleashing pressures which it will be impossible to control.

"The corollary of all this, is not only the possibility but the necessity of drawing up strategies and planning educational development. But these strategies and plans will be oriented in

the first place to the recognition of a right of the population, secondly to a global political project and only thirdly to an adjustment of the educational supply to the demands of the employment market. Even this last must be interpreted as something a good deal broader than teaching 'ways of doing' which correspond to the 'technical activities' of productive roles.

"Consequently, educational planning cannot be conceived merely as a technical process based on analysis of the operation and requirements of the economic system or of the growth objectives established for it. This would mean totally perverting the function of education.

"For this reason, and also because of the technical objections aforesaid which limit their validity, neither rates of return nor projections of demand for technical training are universally valid criteria, nor do they permit *per se* the definition of educational objectives and goals. Projections can, however, provide a framework for broader political discussion and help to define certain minimum requirements. Again, rates of return are useful elements in diagnosis, for the purpose of detecting shortages and bottlenecks or locating problematic surpluses.

"Since planning techniques are hardly more than auxiliary, since the problem is complex and insufficient information is available for a check to be kept on the effect of all variables, since the educational system is slow in its responses and demand is changeful and partly unforeseeable, educational planning will always involve large areas of doubt.

"To cope with such uncertainties, recourse must be had to very general criteria.

"The chief of these is, in nutshell: *when in doubt, stake on education*. A stake must be laid on the human, social and productive fertility of education. In the first place, on basic education for the population as a whole. But also on secondary and higher education, whether technical or humanistic. And this, in Latin America, signifies first and foremost the formal educational system, since the extreme youth and rapid growth of the labour force mean that in this way their characteristics can be very rapidly modified. When there are barriers to integration and social levelling it is idle to assume that they have only a cultural basis and to suppose that education alone will suffice to break them down. But they

do always have a cultural dimension (sometimes enormous) and adequate education can always exert pressure on them and help to weaken their resistance. Too high an educational level in the disadvantaged strata, in relation to other opposing forces and other structural obstacles, builds up equalizing pressures and erodes the obstacles in question.

"Secondly, the fertility of a high educational level cannot be rationalized case by case. The same thing happens here as in the relation between scientific research and technical progress. If humanity had not expended a tremendous effort on research, irrespective of its applicability, in vast fields of scientific knowledge, most of the great practical advances would have been impossible. The most spectacular cases in point have been witnessed in such spheres as nuclear physics or genetics. Economic application after a certain lapse of time is chancy, unforeseeable and implies a practical 'waste' of many efforts that make their contribution only through general and unapplied knowledge. There is an analogous relation between development—which implies creation, discovery of opportunities and mobilization of idle resources—and the educational level of the population. The fertility of the educational level largely eludes analysis, inasmuch as it generates pressure and opens up possibilities which ripen unpredictably or in a diffused fashion. But it is a good thing to admit

that it is inseparable from a substantial practical 'waste' and from the generation of an appreciable volume of pressures that remain latent.

"On this last very thorny point, too, it is better to formulate a few conclusions. The question is not one of accumulating tensions by multiplying them and refusing to consider the frustrated human potentialities and the unsatisfied aspirations. But the formula 'when in doubt, stake on education' takes into account the assumption that there cannot be endogenous development or participative change without social tension.

"Obviously, these pressures have corollaries of two types, at the levels of individual human cost and of accumulation of political and social pressures. In the last analysis it is a problem of political wisdom, once again inseparable from the global conception which this is not the place to analyse. But *vis-à-vis* those who are obsessively concerned for the radicalizing effects of the educational surplus, it is worthwhile to assert the confident belief, nurtured also by a great deal of experience, that a global improvement in the educational level of the masses may develop attitudes much more mature than radicalization pure and simple. Naturally, if what is wanted is simply to consolidate unjust inequalities and marginalization, education becomes dangerous. And so, probably, in the course of time, does the lack of education."

Development and education in rural areas

*Carlos A. Borsotti**

The problems connected with education in rural areas are so many and varied that the author has arranged them in four broad categories with a view to facilitating their consideration by those who are responsible for adopting decisions in this field.

The first category embraces 'preliminary questions', relating in particular to the normative and technical principles on the basis of which the existing situation is interpreted and proposals for action are formulated; the second comprises the orientations of education policies, i.e., the application of the above-mentioned principles to decisions bearing on what for, for whom, in what form and how education is to be provided; the third refers to the conditions in which educational policies are put into practice; while the fourth examines the status of society and education in rural areas.

The problems falling within this fourth and last category are discussed in the second half of the article, which endeavours to present a brief picture of the structures of rural society, of the changes that have taken place during the last few decades, and of some particularly important aspects of education in rural areas, such as the educational profile, and the formal education system and its quantitative performance. The author's conclusions include some remarks on the probable future of education in the next few years in rural areas; in a time of crisis it is unlikely that these will be able to compete successfully with other more powerful areas and groups for the scanty resources available.

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Introduction*

The Regional Intergovernmental Meeting on the objectives, strategies and *modus operandi* of a major project in the sphere of education in Latin America and the Caribbean recommended that activities be centered upon a few specific objectives and that priority should be accorded to certain population groups, particularly relevant to the purpose of improving the educational situation in the rural areas of the region (OREALC, 1981).

These specific objectives include the following: a) to provide schooling for all children of school age and to offer them a minimum general education of 8 to 10 years' duration; b) to eradicate illiteracy; c) to develop and expand educational services for adults. An improvement in the quality and efficiency of educational systems figures as a necessary (although not a sufficient) condition for the attainment of the foregoing goals.

Among the population groups to which priority attention should be devoted the following are included: a) population groups suffering from critical poverty (generally located in rural and marginal urban areas); b) indigenous populations handicapped by poverty and the language barrier; c) the adult population aged 15 years and over which has had no schooling and is in a state of illiteracy; d) youth and children in the rural environment who have been unable to start school or have dropped out; e) children under six years of age whose nutritional status and family and socio-economic environment place them at a disadvantage as regards their incorporation in the educational system, their continued school attendance and their progress in school.

The problems which it is sought to combat are not of course new, and, notwithstanding the improvements achieved in recent decades both in absolute and in relative terms, their persistence would seem to indicate that they spring from deep-rooted causes, of different kinds (political, economic, cultural and technical) and closely interrelated. Even those countries of the region that have attained relatively high levels of educational development still have pockets of

*Section IV of the present article is a concise synthesis of documents Nos. 25 and 26 in the appended bibliography.

rural population affected by serious educational deficiencies. The gravity of the whole problem, the deep-seated nature of its causes and its very perpetuation point to the advisability of dismissing any illusory hope of kitting upon rapid solutions or improvements. Moreover, the problem's long-standing character itself, in conjunction with the partial approaches to it that have frequently been adopted, has bred stereotyped ideas as to 'the rural question', 'rural culture', the 'rural school', which hinder complete understanding of the problems and dictate even the fashion in which they are presented.

Perhaps a good way to gain a clearer picture of the difficulties arising out of the very complexity of the problem and, at the same time, to avoid the biases implicit in a negative attitude (based on those same difficulties and complexities) or in a sort of ruralist romanticism (grounded on highly justifiable value judgements), is to centre these reflections on an exercise in empathy and to pose the question: what would you do if you became responsible for education in a country's rural areas?

Since there are almost as many answers to this question as there are countries in the region, each potential bearer of responsibility will meet with diverse problems and will be faced with different possibilities and limitations in resolving them. Accordingly, no claim is made here to reflect the real situation of any individual country or to offer prescriptions valid for any social space. Analyses are useful instruments (neither more nor less) for stating problems as adequately as possible and for estimating the probable results of the action taken, but they are not the source from which the values constituting the pivot of social projects can be deduced, or the political strength for executing such projects can be drawn, or changes can be produced that ultimately depend on the social agents that make history, whether these be individuals, groups or social classes.

Reverting to the proposed exercise, whoever

is accountable for education in the rural areas of his country will probably make his response under a number of separate heads. In the first place, he will try to make sure that the position he holds enables him to carry out an educational development project, and will go on to describe it. Secondly, he will do his best to retain his post, which implies taking up a position in the political conflict (overt or latent), and involves political contacts, procurement of a consensus, building-up of willing support, neutralization of groups that are not in power and partly or wholly dissent from those that are, and an endeavour to get dissident opinions expressed in terms of policy (what education, for whom, when, how, where, etc.). Thirdly, he will try to obtain the necessary resources. Fourthly, he will attempt to estimate the 'resistance of the material'—i.e., the attitude of the administrative and technical members of the office staff (educationists, planning experts, sociologists, etc.) and of those in the field (teachers, heads of educational establishments, inspectors, etc.)—as well as the degree of flexibility allowed him by legislation, regulations and formalities (what he can do on his own account, what must be approved by an official of higher rank). Only when he has reached this point will he be in a position to say to what extent the educational development project he advocates can be put into practice.

Before getting this far, the future official will have stated (more or less explicitly) his response to a number of matters which crop up whenever education in rural areas is on the carpet: some of these could be catalogued as preliminary questions; others bear more directly on the orientations of educational policy; others are connected with the conditions in which this educational policy will be implemented; lastly, yet others relate to the diagnosis of what is happening in the rural environment and in the educational service to which the rural population has access. In pursuit of the proposed exercise in empathy, the above-mentioned topics will be reviewed.

I

Preliminary questions

1. *Education for the poor or satisfaction of basic educational needs*

It has been argued that between poverty-oriented policies and policies centred on basic needs there is a substantial disparity (Graciarena, 1979; UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981, a)). Policies that take poverty as the focal point of their approach define it as a self-contained problem, without projections into other structural spheres and broader social processes; in consequence, they seek to deal with the problem of mass poverty as an anomaly that must be eradicated or extirpated, and take it for granted that this can be done without deferring or reducing growth, or changing either the structural features of the economy and of power or the dynamics of the prevailing development style... Such policies are usually conducive to care-oriented or paternalist proposals... which are marginal to overall development policies and strategies (UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981 a), p. 159).

On the other hand, the point of departure of policies centred on basic needs is a broad spectrum of problems: food, non-renewable natural resources, population, ecological balance, democracy, international order, social justice and the overcoming of human alienation... The issue that this approach raises is the attainment of full development of the human being, and it implies a radical repudiation of the social systems extant and even of industrial civilization... Proposals deriving from the basic needs approach demand, in one way or another, the total reorganization of the individual and social personality and of the international and national social order, requiring, in the latter respect, the restructuring of institutions and of political and economic power (UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981, a)). Between these two positions, intermediate possibilities exist which, although they presuppose transfers of resources of various kinds and some degree of downward income redistribution, do not involve an increase in social and political participation as a requisite for the fundamental democratization process

implicit in the basic needs approach (Graciarena, 1979). The decision as to which position must be adopted is a value judgement, based on criteria different from those on which a feasibility judgement is grounded. In an education policy, as in any other, this tension between the desirable and the feasible is ever-present, and the ways in which it is resolved cannot be appraised in the abstract.

2. *The degree of neutrality of technical mechanisms or instruments*

Recommendation on strategies or projects for the development of education in rural areas frequently review all aspects of educational activities (politico-administrative organization, planning, designing of curricula—programmes, timetables and time schedules, activities—, textbooks and teaching material, evaluation, supervision, teacher training, inter-institutional co-ordination, research on education, etc.). There would be nothing to say against this practice if it were not observable over and over again that the socio-political context is not usually made explicit, and neither is the way in which the various aspects considered will be put into practice or their effective possibilities of realization. The proposal to establish regionalization as a means of conducting political and administrative business may be acceptable, but it leaves a number of questions pending: whether regional authority will be confined solely to the technical aspects of education or whether it will also cover political decisions; whether there will be a real transfer of technical and financial resources or whether each region will have to manage with whatever resources it has at its disposal at the time; whether regionalization presupposes an effective upward flow in the adoption of decisions, whether it will signify dealing only with educational matters and whatever falls within the sphere of rural education, etc. The proposal to promote appropriate low-cost technologies for the teaching-learning process (OREALC, 1983)

evokes all the doubts that invariably arise in ascertaining for what these technologies are appropriate, who is responsible for the pertinent decision and on what criteria it is based. The reply to such questions may give some indication of whether the approach on which educational policy is based focuses on basic needs or upon poverty, since appropriate low-cost technologies can be promoted either for the whole educational system, with a view to mass outreach among the population whose educational levels are lowest, or in such a way as not to alter the distribution of resources allocated to education in the urban sectors.

It is a somewhat striking fact that many of the proposals put forward in the context of education in general are referred to and reiterated in relation to rural areas, in particular those that concern the designing of plans and programmes in accordance with each area's needs, community participation, knowledge of the environment, etc. The limitation of these proposals to the rural area may be attributable to the idea that the needs of the urban areas are much the same, or that community participation is not indispensable since the urban population has other means of participation, or teachers already know (because they are urban) the needs of the community, or knowledge of the urban environment is shared by teachers and pupils alike. Many of these assumptions are clearly unsatisfactory, for which reason it may be concluded that what underlies them is a conception of education for rural areas entirely different from urban education, which may be acceptable, but leaves it open to question whether the object of this recognition of heterogeneity is to arrive at homogeneous results or to establish, from the standpoint of education, two separate worlds.

3. *Crisis in education or crisis in incorporation*

Education is in a state of crisis, and this crisis affects all its aspects: the authoritarianism implicit in the teacher-pupil relationship; the lack of objectives with respect to the human personality that it is desired to form; its 'bankers conception'; its reproduction of social relationships; its failure to encourage a critical attitude in the educand; its propensity to restrict personal creativity; etc. Nor is this crisis anything new; it has long been a

palpable reality in the middle and upper urban sectors (among both teachers and parents), and has been reflected in proposals ranging from the development of methods and techniques to the total abolition of formal schooling. This crisis, to which the region's cumbersome systems of formal education are making disjointed and evasive responses, is different from the critical situation created by the need for these systems to incorporate a public which they hitherto have been or still are excluding *de facto*, in so far as their structure, methods and practices afford a service appropriate for a public of a different type. Paradoxically, the rural population wants the traditional school it has never had, while the proposals of the technical experts aim at offering it an informal, participative and active system which is not yet in real and widespread currency in the urban environment, either because no decision is taken to adopt measures implying a revolution that goes beyond the educational sphere, or because the necessary human and financial resources are wanting.

As regards the development of education in rural areas, the confusion between the crisis in education and the critical situation in respect of incorporation may lead to the maintenance of existing conditions: defective traditional schools and experimental application of innovations whose impact is slight.

4. *The different forms assumed by education*

If education is understood to mean the various learning processes by which knowledge, abilities, skills, attitudes, etc., are acquired, it is possible to draw a rough distinction between the following spheres: a) early socialization, including all the practices in which children participate in their family and their community; b) the pedagogical practices included in the formal education system; c) the pedagogical practices included in the diverse non-formal educational activities, whether they are directed towards supplementing or replacing those of the formal education system (the three R.'s, etc.), or whether they pursue the most widely varying ends (training in different skills); d) incidental education, which includes all the diffuse and inadvertent teaching-learning processes implicit in any social practice (activities and relationships), whereby new lessons are inculcated or those formerly learnt are kept up,

reformed or called in question. Early socialization and incidental education are carried on in the socio-cultural environment to which individuals —both educators and educands— belong, and that environment may recognize in the pedagogical practices of formal or informal education different degrees of congruence, complementary or contradictions with its own culture.

Compatibility between the culture of the educands and that of formal and informal education eliminates one possible source of failure in the teaching-learning process. This, however, is only one of the angles from which the matter can be considered. Another is that of the values embodied in that culture (consumerism, competitiveness, individualism, etc.) and transmitted both by the communication media and through all sorts of everyday practices. When the culture of the educands is not coincident, or is definitely in contradiction or parallel with that of formal and informal education, one of the most formidable causes of failure in teaching-learning processes looms up, and, at the same time, a number of deep-rooted ethical questions arise: possible cultural violation; the aspiration of the supposed victims of such violation to become incorporated in the culture of which the school is just one manifestation; scrupulous respect for their cultures on the part of certain population groups which, having no political representation in a State that is not defined as polyethnic, may remain enclaves, etc. From this standpoint, discussion on the efficacy of teaching, reading and writing in the mother tongue or in Spanish is a purely technical problem which presupposes that answers have been found to all the questions posed above.

5. *Interpretations of fact*

If anything is suggested by the topics just outlined it is that interpretations of the societal trends recorded, and proposals for influencing them, are based, however consciously or unconsciously, on a scale of values and on some theory or other. Diagnoses and policies will tend to differ radically: a) if development is held to consist in changes in the technical relations between a series of indicators, or is understood as the history of the countries of the region in respect of the formation of socio-economic structures of the dependent capitalist type, whose development styles are in one way or another conditioned by their insertion in the world order; b) if the State is conceived as a bureaucratic apparatus responsible for designing and implementing policies, or as the political groundwork of society, having predetermined and specific relations with the civic society; c) if differences in the various social sectors' access to employment, income and the diverse social goods and services (including education) are regarded as the result of discriminatory incorporation or marginalization deriving from the deficiencies of the modernization process, or as necessary consequences of the sociopolitical relations attendant upon the process of capital accumulation. This point is of crucial importance in rural areas, since it is linked with the way in which the peasant question and its relations with the question of indigenous population groups are defined; d) if education is viewed as a means of training human resources, in order to increase economic efficiency, attach the peasant to the soil and reduce migratory pressure, or as fundamental human right.

II

Orientations of educational policies

Policy orientations (what for, for whom, what, how) inevitably have an ethical component and, as has just been shown, this component immediately comes to the fore in the case of education and finds expression in the technical instruments utilized. Values, however, are not a set of abstract textbook principles, but take concrete shape in everyday life, even though it may be inadvertently. In the light of this necessary application of values to reality, some aspects of the orientations of policies for education in rural areas will next be considered.

As a general rule, in documents in which these policies are set forth the key questions are answered in the following order: what for, what, for whom, how. By the time the replies to the question 'how?' are reached, a suspicion has dawned that the reshuffling of the questions is not a mere matter of orderly presentation and that 'what for?' and 'what?' have been given priority over 'for whom?'. This highlights the fact that, paradoxically (but not inconsistently with technocratic thinking), the axis on which the policy pivots is not man and his interrelationships but one of the now not-so-modern mythologies (increases in productivity, growth rate of production, economic development, etc.) from which stems the abstraction known as the 'rural population'.

The conception of rural life as a separate and static world has been shelved. Progress has been made, as in the Quito recommendation quoted at the outset, in differentiating the target population by age groups and sex. Some typical situations in which the rural population are found have been identified (medium-scale producers with accumulation capacity; producers integrated into the market, although without accumulation capacity; wage-earners resident in semi-urban areas; subsistence farmers; indigenous groups—commonly concentrated in these last situations—and non-indigenous population). Nevertheless, all this is not yet reflected in policy orientations, and a proposal persistently urged, for example, as one of the answers to 'what for?' is to keep the population settled in the

rural environment by means of appropriate incentives and to gear the development of skills to work and employment in agricultural areas (OREALC, 1983, p. 39).

In addition to this unrealistic practice of responding to the question of 'what for?' without taking into account the living conditions of the target populations, there is a possibility of segregation of the population groups concerned, which is not, it would seem, being generated by education but is in any event legitimized and endorsed by education policies. It is of course no easy matter to define in archetype of human personality that the educational system should seek to form in societies which are characterized by structural heterogeneity, with an expanding nation-State, and in which the inter-class correlation of power is shaped by a particularly changeful period of time and social space. Nevertheless, either the challenge will be taken up or the question of what education is for will continue to be answered in relation to an abstract human being representing no real type (although approximating to that of the upper middle strata of the urban population), or by splitting up the population into fragments whose reassembly in a body politic with national solidarity will be problematic.

This challenge is not confined to the issue of what education is for. The origin and early expansion of the region's educational systems have urban roots. In so far as it was sought to homogenize the entire population, to integrate the nation-State, and to prevent or palliate the characteristic implications of the rural irruption into the cities, the single national school and single national teacher model, in a peculiarly deteriorated form, was transplanted to the countryside, with a complete disregard of sub-regionalisms and subcultures that made matters even worse. In view of this situation, a solution is proposed which is structured around two main axes: technical and administrative decentralization; and dismissal of urban models, inappropriate for the rural area. This has come to be stated in terms of dichotomies; basic education

common to the nation as a whole or differentiated education; centralized organization or decentralized organization. Furthermore, the extreme versions of the two alternatives are usually taken, and a choice is propounded between a common basic education, nation wide and centralized, and a differentiated basic education with decentralized administrative and technical organization. This habit has bred a tendency to overlook intermediate options, such as a differential basic education with technical and normative but not administrative centralization, or a common basic education with administrative and technical decentralization, or others such as have been put into practice, with some degree of continuity, in certain countries of the region (Costa Rica, Colombia).

The proposal of a common basic education, nationwide and centralized, is in actual fact upheld in many countries of the region, and is perhaps the most consistent with prevailing development styles if it is considered from the angle of the political discourse. Should an attempt be made really to implement and to give the rural and marginal urban population access to, and retain them in, a school approximating to the urban model (complete, with staffs of more than one teacher, certificated teachers, and proper teaching material, etc.), this proposal would entail political and financial requirements that would make it non-viable.

The option of a basic education differentiated at bottom but pursuing common objectives, administratively and technically decentralized but integrating its various levels, has been put into practice through recourse to nucleation and regionalization (also called 'mapping education'). Into this design are incorporated official educational activities, both formal and informal, in the fields of basic education, literacy campaigns, vocational education and, on occasion, secondary education. The exclusion of universities and of private educational establishments, as well as the limitation of this way of organizing the education service, while it indicates the characteristics of the integration of the educational system that is pursued and those of its connections with the rest of society, should not lead to negation of all the progress signified by this proposal and the contribution that it may be expected to make.

Given conditions as they really are, some technical proposals relating to more specific aspects of educational policies are manifestly inapplicable, particularly those emanating from international meetings at which the identity of target populations is watered-down amid the diversity of situations existing in the countries of the region. Undoubtedly, the policy orientations deriving from them fulfil an invaluable twofold role: expounding the programme of the 'other education' and denouncing the serious deficiencies of the educational system in force. The proposals mentioned suggest, *inter alia*, the achievement of a pedagogical relationship implying inter-education; the explosion of the idea of educational space as separate and graduated; an education which takes the environment into account from the standpoint of its educational effect; a change from an attitude of dependence and conformity to an attitude of criticism and participation; an education useful for supplementing and improving the community's conception of the world; an education based on the postulates that it should be active, relevant to the time and place, integral, integrated and conducive to action; a personalized education; an education integrated with productive activities and helping to increase production and productivity; a formal education system flexible in its structure, agile and adaptable to changing needs, so that it can be more efficient and equitable; teachers whose role is determined by the real situation, so that they thus become agents of economic, cultural, social and political change in rural areas; teachers qualified to maintain a new pedagogical relationship, to participate in inter-disciplinary educational activities, to organize experiments in community promotion; teachers, in short, who have sufficient knowledge and motivations to apply a pedagogy pertaining and adapted to the environment, and operating on inter-disciplinary lines.

The length of the foregoing list makes it strikingly clear how right Gregorio Weinberg is when he maintains that current thinking is keyed to twenty-first century education, whereas the educational system and the organization of schools correspond to nineteenth-century education, which has afforded the population of rural areas little accessibility and still less permanence.

III

Conditions attendant upon the implementation of education policies

It has been felt desirable to draw attention here to certain questions which are by no means new, but which have seldom been discussed in relation to the conditions in which education policies are put into practice.

One of the various ways of classifying development styles distinguishes between those pertaining to market-economy, mixed-economy or planned-economy societies. Almost all the countries of the region represent different combinations of mixed and market economies. What it is important to stress here is that these types of economy are also, and fundamentally, forms of articulation of societies and their classes. These different modes of class articulation condition policy practices, including those relating to education. The matter is further complicated by the fact that, owing to a series of circumstances, in Latin American societies market economies are not necessarily accompanied by liberal political systems, and neither are mixed economies inevitably matched with political systems of the social democrat or social democracy type. The room for action created in either case, both inside and outside official circles, offers different potentialities and limitations, but, in general, everything that leads to active education with community participation and organization is apt to be suspected of 'indoctrination of exotic ideologies' and accused of encouraging subversion, as has sometimes been officially acknowledged.

A point to be considered in the foregoing context is the way in which various politically active groups view the processes that have taken place in Latin America. For some, no changes have been brought about in the region, or at any rate none that have attained the intensity or followed the direction that could have been wished. Others, see the changes as having been controlled by the ruling classes. Lastly, yet others see the changes as radical, and while some maintain that carrying them on in greater depth may lead to the breakdown of the system, there are others who hold the opinion that the system

has an unlimited capacity for adaptation. The political weight carried by the supporters of one view or another will determine different possibilities of implementing a given education policy for rural areas.

Apart from the perceptions of the politically active groups, there are other states of collective consciousness which are none the less real for being more difficult to define. Each class considers it legitimate and appropriate to demand a certain quantity and quality of education. The question is to determine how far these demands are regarded as legitimate by the other classes and, furthermore, how far the recognition of their legitimacy implies that a reallocation of resources, should it occur, will be accepted or will lead to various forms of political protest. When the educational situation and prevailing living conditions in rural environments are taken into consideration and are reflected in a policy proposal, a movement of sympathy and of emotional solidarity tends to spring up in the middle and upper urban sectors. But as soon as the resources allocated to the development of education in the rural areas begin to affect or threaten to affect the quantity and quality of the education that the said sectors define as legitimate and appropriate for themselves, their emotional response is transmuted into political opposition. This is usually the point at which policies focusing on basic needs begin to turn into policies centred on attention to the problem of the poor. Moreover, those who have little or no education commonly entertain very vague ideas, if any, of the quantity and quality of education that they want, and in addition enjoy relatively little political power. Thus, the allocation of educational resources (human, technical and financial) which, according to the distribution rules in force, should be assigned to the upper and middle urban strata, becomes a top-ranking constraint on policies for the development of education in rural areas.

In view of the predominant characteristics of the region's formal education systems, there

are some who argue that no such systems exist in Latin America as formal organizations, i.e., deliberately planned and structured for the pursuit of specific ends. Others, again, maintain that such systems, with their own characteristics, do exist and that the form they take is one proper to segmented, structurally heterogeneous and concentrative societies. These differences of opinion are not mere academic quibbling, since admission of the existence of a system with its own characteristics implies that an intervention designed to change any of its elements or their interrelationships will sooner or later have repercussions on the remaining components. Even in the case of systems to a greater or lesser extent unintegrated, as are many of the educational systems of the region, with the universities on the one hand and on the other the various departments (of secondary, primary, rural—in some countries—and adult education) operating separately from one another, they are integrated by popular demand for their services and by the allocation of resources to each of the segments, which, as explained above, affects the response to the demands in question. The administrative segmentation of education in rural areas may make it possible to reallocate resources to that segment (up to certain undefined limits) and to carry out a number of activities without interference from other segments of the system (likewise up to certain undefined limits), but it may also be conducive to the provision of a low-quality service without detriment to the situation of the remaining segments.

Another aspect of the question worth considering in relation to the praxis of educational policies is the historical background of each and all of the component features of the educational scene. There have been variations in the educands, in methods and techniques, in budget management procedures, in the size and complexity of Ministries of Education, etc. Changes have taken place in the teaching profession from the standpoint of its social status, the social background of its members, its recruitment, its relative income, its training, the ideology that is revealed in its attitudes and aspirations, etc. The aforesaid historical trends, each moving at its own tempo, have not always been

confluent, still less channeled, towards the improvement or at least the maintenance of the quality of the educational service for the popular sectors and in particular for rural areas. The fact is that these movements have their own inertia, which establishes different possibilities and constraints in respect of the implementation of educational policies.

Lastly, it must be recalled that intentional modification of the various aspects of the educational system calls for diverse types of social and political power and in addition takes different lengths of time. Some of the innovations can be handled with relative ease over the short term, especially if such resources as the following are available: family allowances; school lunches; exercise-books, textbooks and teaching material; monitoring of compliance with mandatory provisions, etc. Others, in contrast, present more difficulties and require a higher degree of consensus and legitimization, for example, technico-administrative reorganizations which imply changes in relative power within the system. Lastly, there are others by no means easy to deal with, inasmuch as they consist in behaviour patterns, values, ideologies rooted in everyday life, institutions, which have their own inertia: teacher training; popular aspirations reflected in demands for education; 'distance' from school culture; the role of education in family strategies; etc. The different degrees of political and social power required, as well as the differences in maturation periods, are apparent even when the aspects to be changed are confined to the formal education system. A case in point is afforded by those policies which aim at attaining short or medium-term objectives through teacher training programmes.

After this bird's-eye view not only of some preliminary problems which will have to be faced (consciously or unconsciously) by the future official in charge of the development of education in rural areas, but also of some of the stumbling-blocks to policy orientations and to the implementation of policies, the time has now come to consider what is happening in the rural environment and in the educational service to which the population of rural areas has access.

IV

The status of society and education
in rural areas

The following concise synthesis of some of the societal and educational trends observable in the rural areas of Latin America is simply an attempt to highlight the central structural aspects of the networks set up for satisfying educational needs in such areas and the problems deriving therefrom; and, undoubtedly, it will seem as unsatisfactory as any synthesis must, especially when it is of regional scope.

It should be made clear that the rural and the urban environments will not be understood here as separate worlds but as intrinsically overlapping spheres. Recognition of the fact that rural life has certain features of its own, such as the distribution of the population and its general occupational characteristics (predominantly linked to the natural cycles), can hardly blind one

to the fact that without understanding the dynamic connection between the urban and the rural spheres it is impossible to understand the real rural situation. What is more, the changes that have occurred in rural society are inseparable from those that have taken place in society as a whole; in addition, these changes affect the population in different ways according to the positions it holds, and have different educational effects and implications. It is important to determine not only the scale of the changes recorded in the various social respects, but also (and above all) in what direction they point: what is the type of society they prefigure; what is the situation of the rural world and of the population living in rural areas; and what is the significance of all that is summed up in the word education.

A. RURAL SOCIETY

During the last thirty years the rural areas of Latin America have been the scene of a number of processes which belie their reputed want of mobility, and of which a mere list affords some idea of the changes brought about. The *modernization of agriculture* has meant that land and the use of agricultural machinery and technology have been concentrated in the capitalist sector to an extent which has signified the redefinition or destruction of the pre-existent system of production and an aggravation of heterogeneity among the economic units. *Temporary or permanent migrations*, whether from the countryside to the town, or from one rural area to another, have involved, on an average, more than one in every four rural inhabitants and more than one member per family. The *cash economy* and *consumption of industrial goods* have become generalized. *Communications* of every type have increased. The *role played by the State* has been extended through the provision of all sorts of services (technical assistance, health, agrarian reform programmes, etc.). This whole

set of processes must be taken into consideration in order to understand the new rural scenarios that have taken shape and their implications for culture and education in rural areas, with due regard to the fact that all this has happened in the space of one generation. The different ambits in which social relations are articulated must also be taken into account.

1. The status and dynamics of the *class structure* are linked to the modernization process. The *summit* of this structure is not in the countryside, but in the cities, incarnated in the directors and managers of various types of companies owning capitalist agrarian enterprises. Thus, the mutual link of personal loyalty between the landowner and his workers has been lost. The economic, political and cultural control that used to be exercised on the basis of these links now tends to be exerted by other means. The *former notables* (the doctor, the priest, the schoolmaster) are now accompanied by personalities of another kind (bank managers, heads of public services, techni-

cians, top-ranking personnel in agroindustries). These new notabilities share with those of earlier dates the position of representatives of official and urban culture, but they are more markedly modern and technical in character. The rural *middle strata* comprise a variety of situations (medium-scale capitalist producers; truck-owners; storekeepers; wholesale dealers; hirers, contractors or '*empreiteiros*'). To these rural middle strata belong the beneficiaries of agrarian reform programmes, a group bearing witness to the fact that when by some means or other one can 'get into the swim' of modernization it is possible to improve one's circumstances without leaving the rural environment. The broad mass of *small producers* includes *minifundistas* or owners of family or sub-family smallholdings; occupants of modest plots of land which they farm under some variant of the sharecropping system (*aparceros*, *medieros*, *colonos*, *inquilinos*); squatters in agricultural frontier areas, on roadside land belonging to the State and unmarketable. Some of them go to swell the glut of *wage-earning workers*, a landless and relatively superfluous agricultural labour force which works in the rural areas but in most cases lives in small towns or on the fringes of more highly urbanized localities. This class structure has a 'modernizing' cultural impact on the rural population through direct relations or by its mere existence.

2. *Permanent migrations* imply some sort of communication (visits, news), between the former rural resident and his relatives and friends. These communications sometimes take the form of transfers of money which reveal the implementation of a family strategy and the availability of a certain economic surplus. Visits involve a demonstration of access to appliances, clothing, modes of conduct, which are indicators of integration into urban life, estrangement from rural life, and the differences, between the two. They confirm that migration is a possible step and transmit a feeling that in the city people are at least as well off as in the country, but with better prospects. *Temporary migrations*, in which larger proportions of the rural population are involved, have a twofold impact on the non-migrants through the accounts given by migrants and on the migrants themselves as regards their perception of rural life after their experience of migration.

3. *Communications* also exercise a modernizing influence. The enlargement of the network of cities, road-building and more frequent and varied means of transport increase contacts with urban life, either through the transport of rural inhabitants to the cities or through the arrival of national and foreign tourists. To this must be added the expansion of symbolic communications (radio, television, periodicals, etc.) which transfer to the countryside an urban outlook even on rural life itself.

4. The extension of *State action*, in a national space totally incorporated in the countries' life, operates in the same direction through services of different kinds. Similarly, *non-State institutions* (especially those of a religious character) bring to the countryside individuals and families of urban extraction, whose income, life styles, language, modes of conduct and conceptions of the world are different from if not diametrically opposed to those of the country-dweller.

5. The installation of *agroindustries* may assume different shades of cultural significance: the processing plants imply the possibility of working for a stable wage and adopting an industrial way of life and discipline; the enterprises purchasing agricultural products impose certain standards of quality, which means that farmers get into touch with agricultural technicians, types of seed, credits, etc.; those who step in as agricultural producers bring the workers they engage into contact with machinery, tools, technological inputs of another kind and permitting a better quality product than can be obtained by the small farmers of the area.

6. A key factor of cultural change in the rural environment is the *extension of markets*, in whose ambits are determined the criteria and norms that regulate different types of transactions and on which converge the holders of the class positions described above: the rural labour force market; the market for foods and industrial goods; the credit market. But the hub of the agrarian question is the *land market*, in which the overlappings of the rural and the urban are clearly apparent, since provisions as to land ownership, issue of title-deeds, price-fixing, are settled upon in the urban spheres. The purchase of land in the market is out of reach for small farmers and the only possibility of acquiring it

that they can glimpse is through agrarian reform projects. In practice, the problem for them consists in not losing the land they have or in getting hold of land in one way or another.

7. The provision of *personal services and symbolic goods*, supplied by the State and by a vast range of institutions which carry out programmes designed to alleviate the people's situation, imply the appearance on the rural scene of a number of persons, norms, values, customs and appliances of urban origin and content. Generally speaking, the intercourse between officials of these institutions and the rural population is asymmetrical by definition, since the latter resort to the former only to receive, and thus the conjugation of power, prestige and legitimacy attains its maximum.

8. Consequently, the rural population is not homogeneous, and faces and participates in the various processes of change from different standpoints and in different ways. The processes observable, and their cultural implications, suggest a *cultural set-up* composed of objectively conflictive situations: i) land is valued as a source of security, and at the same time is inaccessible; ii) material and non-material goods are in sight which are valued but absent, and, obtaining which implies, in one way or another, some degree of uprooting; iii) organizational patterns are introduced in which direct or indirect participation is inevitable, but which are alien to those sanctified by custom; iv) involvement in processes of rapid change is combined with a predisposition against them; v) it is necessary to develop strategies which permit the continuity of the family and of the ties it creates, but which entail its disarticulation and break-up; vi) the development of markets places implicit emphasis on individualism, competitiveness, personal or family mobility, in relation to a population which cherishes other values and which sees itself as inferior and in an increasingly disadvantaged situation as regards employment, production and marketing; vii) while the importance of women is enhanced (because of their early migration to the city; because of their running the family business during the temporary migrations of the menfolk), patterns which place them in a subordinate position still persist.

9. The *situation of indigenous groups* deserves separate consideration. In face of the quantita-

tive and conceptual difficulties of defining exactly what is meant by indigenous, it is proposed that the term should be taken to apply to the population constituted by social groups that maintain, even if in a modified form, their ancestral customs and their language, and are able, in many cases, to claim a territory for themselves. Their situation is different in different countries of the region. All the indigenous groups, as defined above, live in the rural areas and, from their discriminative position, have followed the changing fortunes of the national societies, so that they share with the non-indigenous rural population the economic and social vicissitudes in which it has been immersed. But just as the land is worth more to the peasant than its mere economic value, for the indigene the land is not a capital good, nor an investment, nor a means of living. It is *the* means of living, the spot where the family produces enough to keep itself alive, the place of the mythological/religious ceremonial which accompanies the worship of their ancestors' gods. The relation between man and the land is the *raison d'être* of their entire existence. The indigene who wants to shake off the title not only has to make a geographical move, but must break his links with the land, cease to till it, permanently leave his community, sunder the socio-cultural ties which bind him to his social and organizational nucleus and which give him his identity. In view of the long-drawn-out process of social, cultural and political discrimination and of economic expropriation to which the indigenous population has been subjected, there is some ground for asking how distinct and how persistent is its socio-cultural unity, and for doubting whether any such thing as *the* indigenous problem exists. Not only does it exist, however, but there are lively signs of increasing awareness of it on the part of the indigenous groups themselves. Given the presence of sectors of the population whose status in the national class system is consolidated or predetermined by their membership of one or other of the socio-cultural groups against which discrimination is practised, some people ascribe to the indigenous population, *in toto*, a cultural uniformity and a unanimous desire to reassert their identity which is far from being founded on fact. On the other hand, there are some who view

the indigenous population, *in toto*, as a species of civic incompetents and who feel it necessary to help them or to wait until in the course of history, through the social selection mechanism, they are finally assigned a place within or marginal to national society. From these different attitudes diverse proposals for action derive. In between the indigenous groups that decisively reassert their condition as such and the population of European origin a numerous social category has grown up: the *mestizos*, *mistis*, *cholos*. Among all of them there are reciprocal relationships which are economically and culturally prejudicial to the indigenous groups, but are also harmful to the national society. 'Being an indigene' is defined as a stigma by the whole of society; the notion is current everywhere and is affirmed and strengthened through countless everyday actions practised by all the members of the society in question. In that sense, it is a problem that affects national culture, political democracy and the whole of the social structure.

10. The scanty information available on local settlements, neighbourhoods or communities brings to light a high degree of heterogeneity as regards their socio-economic situation and their access to educational services. This heterogeneity among rural settlements must not be allowed to obscure certain basic facts: a) they constitute a restricted social unit, occupying a given territory, possessing some sort of (formal or informal) organization, keeping up fairly homogeneous customs, and predominantly engaged in crop and stock farming; b) a considerable part of the lives of women and children is spent in and conditioned by that physical and social environment; c) certain analogies exist which have led the residents to group together in the settlements, and a relative homogeneity prevails in respect of problems and needs, environmental conditions, services and infrastructure. In the case of indigenous settlements there is also a high degree of heterogeneity according to their real ethnical situation: use of the autochthonous language; degree of substitution of cultural elements; demand for 'anticipatory' socialization in the urban or national environment; maintenance of certain cohesive cultural patterns, forms of internal community government; etc.

11. In the local settlements, neighbour-

hoods or communities are to be found the *family units* that have been affected in diverse ways by the course of events in rural areas. However, the great majority of families in these localities produce goods and services for their own consumption; they are responsible for and directly undertake nearly all activities connected with generational reproduction and daily maintenance of their members; almost all their consumption is confined to the home; home is the centre of everyday social life and the *locus* where individuals become social agents, participants in economic, social and political relations, bearers of norms and values. Given the frame of reference constituted by the survival strategies of family units in the most deprived rural sectors and by the social, economic and cultural processes in which they are involved, two key questions must be considered in order to figure out the significance of education in rural areas and its performance: i) how do family units condition the participation of their members in the formal education system; ii) why and for what do families demand formal education.

12. For children in the lower rural strata, as for the other members of the family units, the hallmark of life is subsistence, which is the paramount motive of concern. The social environment in which these children move is reduced to their family, where they are allotted a status and tasks for which they are responsible according to different age and sex categories. The cultural gap between the family and the educational system, the methods adopted for giving lessons in early socialization, open-air life and the cultural conception of childhood itself result in a discrepancy between the psychomotor and mental development of children in rural areas and the preparation that the formal education system takes for granted. Given the general conditions prevailing in rural settlements and among families living in rural areas, and the characteristics of early socialization, *women* emerge as key agents in the development of education in rural areas, in their own right and because of the role assigned to them in social and family life.

13. All the aspects hitherto considered have some sort of incidence on values, norms, language, the material elements of culture and relationship patterns. The educative action of different kinds that takes place in the course of

early socialization cannot but be affected, since the socializing agents themselves are undergoing a relatively intensive process of resocialization or incidental education and probably, with regard to their activities in connection with socializing the younger generation, they may feel a great

many doubts as to what must be transmitted and as to the significance of what they do transmit, since the very speed of change makes it impossible to predict the positions of the future social systems for which youth is being socialized.

B. THE PROFILE OF EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

1. *Illiteracy among the population aged 15 to 24 years* is definitely being steadily reduced in the region; but the incidence of this decrease has not been the same in the different areas of the various countries. In capital cities, as early as 1970, the rate of illiteracy for this age group was not more than 10% in any country of the region. In other urban areas the rates were higher, although in 8 out of 13 countries the illiteracy rate was below 10% and only in one did it approximate to 30%. In contrast, in rural areas, countries had illiteracy rates approaching or greatly exceeding 30%. For this age group, differentiation between countries is hardly possible in the case of urban illiteracy, whereas in that of rural illiteracy such a distinction can easily be drawn. The illiteracy rate for women in the 15 to 24 age group living in rural areas is lower than that of men in some countries of the region, but on the other hand is much higher in others. Bolivia, Peru and Guatemala afford notable cases in point, which are indicative of the difficulty of changing the situation of women in the indigenous rural population.

2. *Illiteracy among the adult population* (total population aged 15 years and over) has declined at a slow but regular pace. This tempo does not adequately reflect the most recent efforts made in many countries of the region, owing to the great inertia of the older population groups, whose situation has remained unaltered and tends to neutralize the changes that have taken place in the case of the younger generations. The reduction of illiteracy followed a homogeneous pattern between 1950 and 1970, since although the difference between the countries at the upper and lower end of the scale of distribution is no longer so wide, distribution throughout the scale is still uneven, the order of countries is unaltered and no discontinuity of any significance has been observed. The countries of

the region that are relatively most developed in respect of education seem to have reached some sort of limit to their possibilities of bringing down their illiteracy rates still farther, while the countries whose educational development is relatively less have reduced illiteracy at a cumulative average annual rate of approximately 1%. If this trend were to continue, the latter countries would take over 40 years to approach the illiteracy rates recorded by 1970 for the countries where educational development is relatively more advanced. It has been shown that in certain circumstances, a firm political decision can achieve if not the eradication, at least a drastic reduction of illiteracy, as in the case of Nicaragua in 1978.

3. As regards the *level of education*, the overwhelming majority of the population living in rural areas fails to complete the primary education cycle or has not been to school at all. In the rural environment, the world of formal education is made up of those who have never gained access to the system, those who obtained access to it but got no farther than the third grade (functional illiterates), and those who have reached the higher grades of the primary school, these last probably linked to medium-scale production with accumulation capacity and to other not directly agricultural or extractive activities. These three groups, taken in conjunction, shape different educational profiles of different significance. There are countries with a low educational profile in rural areas (high percentages without schooling, low or medium percentages in the lower grades of the primary school and low in the higher grades); cases in point in 1970 were Bolivia, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. In these countries the mere fact of going to school at all may be operating as a selection mechanism, since at best only one out of every two persons manages to do so. Moreover, the

possibility of retaining the knowledge required at school is very slight in social contexts with this educational profile. Other countries have a medium educational profile in their rural areas (medium percentages without schooling or with a lower primary grade and medium or high percentages in the higher primary grades); examples are Ecuador, Panama, Peru and the Dominican Republic. Lastly, there are countries with a high educational profile (low percentages without schooling, high percentages in the lower primary grades and medium or high in the upper primary grades); this is the case with Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay. In these countries two out of every three individuals have gained access to the formal education system. The possibility of retaining the knowledge acquired at school is greater in social contexts where at least 60% of the population has attended primary school and 30% has completed the top grades.

4. The difference in *average years of educa-*

tion by area of residence and by sex reveals, on the one hand, the diversity of national situations and, on the other, the existing discrimination against rural areas and women. Generally speaking, town-dwellers have more years of education on an average than residents in rural areas, and men have more than women. The disparities between men living in rural and in urban environments are less than those between women in the two areas. At one extreme is Peru, where the average number of years of study is twice as high for males as for females, with great differences between areas of residence, by sex. This situation is understandable in view of Peru's high proportion of indigenous population and the incidence of this on the status of women. At the other extreme, in Costa Rica average numbers of years of study are similar for both sexes, women being at a slight advantage in both urban and rural areas. The average number of years of study is 1.6 times higher for the urban than for the rural population, and shows a declining trend.

C. THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN RURAL AREAS

In brief outline, the situation of the formal education system in rural areas can be described in terms of the following characteristics:

1. *A centralized and bureaucratic organization*, so that political, technical, organizational and financial decisions are apt to be biased by and urban view of problems and by pressures on the part of the city-dwellers;

2. *An education oriented towards an urban-citizen model*, the corollary of which is the introduction of a nation-wide curriculum and of normative procedures for the entire country;

3. *Educational objectives* centering on universal, free and public education, directed towards homogenizing the population, a tendency which gives rise to the contradiction mentioned earlier between these homogenizing objectives and population in heterogeneous situations and underlines the options previously considered between a common and universal basic education and differentiated schooling;

4. *A relation between formal education, socialization and incidental education* such that they are articulated more by juxtaposition than by co-operation or complementarity;

5. *Formal educational institutions or establishments* which, in addition to their maintenance and equipment problems, are under staffed. This implies that some schools cannot offer the complete cycle or have only one teacher for several grades;

6. *A school organization* with universalizing, academic and extensive curricula, ill-adapted to local conditions with detailed programmes that leave teachers little freedom, and with school activities designed on the basis of schedules and timetables that do not take into due account the characteristics of local life, the climate and the seasonal nature of farm work;

7. *Teachers working in rural areas* have the most widely varying levels of training, the percentage of uncertificated teachers being high in many cases. National education systems have raised the academic requirements for a teachers' certificate which, in most of the countries of the region, now has to be issued at the university level. It has been noted that the teachers recruited for the formal education system enter it in marginal urban and rural areas and teach mainly the lower grades, so that the service pro-

vided is staffed with insufficiently experienced personnel in the areas where educational deficiencies are most serious and in the grades that are of key importance for the encouragement of continued school attendance. To this must be added the type of training given to teachers, described over and over again as inappropriate for teaching in rural areas, as well as their working set-up as regards both general conditions of work and those that affect their technical performance. Emphasis has frequently been laid on the deficiencies of supervision or inspection, which tends to assume the form of administrative control rather than a support for educational activities. Among the human resources that have joined in the work of the formal education system, mention must be made of the promoters, monitors and activators, usually members of local communities, who, with diverse educational backgrounds (generally not superior to the complete primary cycle), characteristics and aims, act in association with teachers or replace them. There are also various types of educational auxiliaries, paid or voluntans (literacy campaigners, health and hygiene promoters, members of extension services, etc.). The efficacy and significance of these roles for the formal educational system has yet to be evaluated;

8. It is within this system that children belonging to a population whose situation is such as has been described come into contact with the teachers. The *teaching practices* applied in the social space represented by the school bear the mark of all the conditioning factors that are incorporated in each of its component elements. Scanty though it is, educational research on what goes on in the small physical and social space constituted by the classroom allows of some approximation to certain aspects: i) in non-Spanish speaking areas, the language situation is clearly a barrier; ii) the way in which teachers use their authority is apt to restrict the children's active participation; iii) the motivation schemes utilized generally reflect a wide cultural gap between teachers and pupils; iv) the use of textbooks and other teaching material is basically determined by the teacher, and children seem to utilize them more as a mode of entertainment, of introduction to the world of books, of familiarizing themselves with printed shapes, letters and colours, than as learning aids; v) the behaviour models transmitted, practised and taught in the classroom involve competitiveness, individualism, submission, passivity, and all this without explicit instructions, but as a natural emanation of the relation existing and of the conditions in which it evolves.

D. THE QUANTITATIVE PERFORMANCE OF THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

This analysis is confined to primary or basic education and to the corresponding age cohorts, in which educational supply and demand in rural areas is almost exclusively concentrated.

1. By 1978, *enrolment in primary education* in the rural areas of Latin America amounted to 20 million pupils and represented 35.8% of total enrolment at the primary level. This lesser proportion of rural primary enrolment, conditioned by the degree of urbanization, is to be found in all the countries of the region. Those that have a relatively small percentage of rural population show growth rates of primary enrolment in rural areas which fall below urban primary enrolment, and even negative rates of growth, as happens in Argentina and Uruguay. In their turn, countries with high percentages of rural population do not exhibit a homogeneous behaviour pattern. The

inverse association between degree of urbanization and growth of primary enrolment in rural areas seems to hold good for the extreme cases, leaving a wide range of situations where the relation in question does not appear to be valid, which suggests the existence of a political decision to expand enrolment in rural areas.

2. The expansion of enrolment has resulted in an improvement in the *coverage* of the formal education system, although with differences between countries and between administrative divisions within each country. While in some countries high and rising levels have been reached in all areas and in all the age groups considered, in others 32% of boys and 34% of girls of school age living in rural areas have been left outside the school system.

3. In these areas, the *retention* capacity of

the formal education system is low. In 1974, almost 70% of enrolment at the primary level in rural areas corresponded to the first three grades. Information based on apparent cohorts indicates that the retention capacity of the educational system is increasing, but the situation is far from satisfactory, since in the course of the primary cycle 85% of those who started school drop out. The rate of retention is lower during the first two or three years, and this phenomenon is particularly marked in rural areas. While the probability of retention from one course to the next varies from year to year, the fluctuations are relatively slight and in general the dominant trends are maintained. This would suggest that the low percentage of retentions is due to complex causes and that any notable progress is unlikely to be made in the short term. A breakdown of data by administrative divisions and by zones, even within rural areas, seems to show marked variations. Much the same thing would appear to be happening in the case of different population groupings (by sex, ethnic).

4. The scanty information available on promotion rates suggests that the higher the grade, the higher they rise. Accumulative estimate of the compound probabilities of promotion from one course to another puts the rate of final promotion very low, with a less-than-20% probability of promotion from the third to the fourth grade, and with better performance on the part of girls. The system's

low rates of retention and promotion point to the existence of repetition, retardation and, in the end drop out.

5. Trends in national *repetition* rates for the rural areas of the region have been dissimilar in those countries for which information is available. In some, the rate shows a measure of stability; in others, a definite reduction; and in another, lastly, an increase. Repetition rates generally tend to be higher in the first grades.

6. Repetition (and late entry) are reflected in *school retardation*. The available information shows that this phenomenon would seem to be declining, and that it varies widely from one country to another, but that even in those countries where indicators of the development of education in rural areas are satisfactory, the proportion of rural pupils with school retardation does not fall below 30%.

7. Repetition and retardation, in conjunction with other factors, finally conduce to *drop out* from the formal education system. In some countries the rates of drop out have substantially decreased; this generally happens when the drop-out rate is successfully reduced in the early years of schooling, which seem to be the most important as regards their incidence on illiteracy and on the general performance of the formal education system. National figures do not show the great differences that exist between administrative divisions and in all likelihood within these.

E. THE PARADOX OF EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

A rough description has now been given, in broad outline, of the changes that have taken place in rural society, the educational profiles of the rural population and the characteristics and performance of the formal education system. The paradox of the situation seems to lie not so much in the poor results obtained by this system but in the fact that notwithstanding these and the consequent frustrations suffered by the population, formal education is still in great demand, as can be seen from the rates of increase of enrolment and its expanding coverage.

It may now be asked what are the bases of this keen demand. To judge from the available

information, rural family units want education for various reasons: i) formal education is regarded as a good in itself. Parents wish their children to receive elementary education because to study is always a good thing; ii) formal education is considered a source of prestige, and parents seek education for their children either in order to confirm the *status* already attained by the family, or as the road towards a higher *status* or towards getting better-paid jobs; iii) formal education is viewed as a way of integration into urban life and into national citizenship; iv) formal education is regarded as a source of instrumental know-how. It is sought as a means whereby young people can

be better trained for work, better prepared to engage in non-agricultural occupations or at least can learn to read and write, since the amount of paper work to be dealt with is constantly increasing.

In view of all this, in rural society the school ends by fulfilling a revulsive rôle: it inculcates an image of childhood alien to that current in the rural environment; it defines as work a series of activities unconnected with those formerly so defined; it appears as a means of access to the prized and distant urban way of life; it represents a different process of social selection of individuals. This revulsive role, which calls in question the elements of local culture, not only constitutes a mode of articulation between the

urban and the rural worlds but also (and possibly for the same reason) narrows, with the assistance of the other modernizing processes, the gaps between school culture and the public to which it is addressed. In the rural environment, the school as an outpost of the formal education system and of all it implies, would seem to be strengthening the receptive attitude of a public already predisposed to accept its services. The probable result of this will be an increase in migration from the country to the town, a destruction of local cultures, or both at once. These consequences, however, depend not so much upon the formal educational system as on the development style.

V

Conclusions

Some doubts may linger as to the extent to which the nation-States of the region have completed their internal integration, but it may be felt that the changes which have come about during the last thirty years have been conducive to the unification of national societies in the sense that the entire population (urban and rural) can be defined as participating in one and the same political space. From this same standpoint, the hypothesis might be postulated that as in the past the dispute respecting the legitimacy of domination led first to taking into account and then to incorporating the urban middle strata, something of much the same sort will happen with the rural sectors.

The situations are different, however: external debts have climbed to figures inconceivable a short time ago; the prices of export commodities have deteriorated; competition in the international market is becoming more and more difficult. In this context, there does not seem to be much future for the rural areas, except for those capable of producing surpluses and of improving their capacity to compete in national and international markets; i.e., those areas which are proving fertile soil for capitalism, which is far from having firmly struck

root throughout the whole of the national territories.

It has been argued that given the development of the nation-State, in relation to the consolidation of capitalism two main dilemmas arise: a) who is to take the initiative? the public sector, as the administrative and economic arm of the State, or the private sector, as the manifestation of private enterprise; b) where is the emphasis to be placed? on the homogenization or on the differentiation of political and socio-economic spaces, since capitalism calls for full operation of the national labour, merchandise, land and capital markets, with prices established in those markets through the interplay of supply and demand, and, above all, for universal rights invested in all citizens (De la Peña, 1982).

Whoever is responsible for policies relating to the development of education in rural areas will have to bear in mind that the option chosen in face of the aforesaid dilemmas will influence the changes that occur in rural society, the educational profiles of the rural population and the characteristics and performance of the formal education system. If, moreover, he wants to pursue a coherent and viable policy, he will take into account not only the political positions of the

group responsible for his appointment with respect to the foregoing questions and to global policy orientations, but also the conditions in which his policy will be put into effect.

Thence he will be able to draw up his policy on the basis of three major working hypotheses:

1. Given a maximum hypothesis, it would be a matter of changing the political, organizational and technical structure of the formal education system within a context of social reforms in greater depth, forming part of a basic needs approach;

2. Given a medium hypothesis, the question would be to bring about reforms in the political, organizational and technical structure of the formal education system from within that system and directed towards some aspect of it. On this hypothesis, unless measures are included for the purpose of discriminating in favour of basic or primary education in rural areas, the expansion of the traditional model may widen the gaps between the different social groups;

3. Given a minimum hypothesis, the aim would be to encourage all action taken from the bottom of the system or from outside it, or from the two sources in conjunction.

Some suggestions might perhaps be put

forward: for example, a beginning might be made by classifying the agricultural population in the following groups: a) those with accumulation capacity; b) those without accumulation capacity but linked to the markets by their production; c) own-account subsistence farmers; d) wage-earners; e) various combinations of *b*, *c* and *d*. Similarly, from *b* to *e*, the population groups that are indigenous could be distinguished from those that are not. The next necessary step would be to break down the population by pre-school age, school age and post-school age groups. According to the information available, the population group with accumulation capacity demands formal education at all levels. For the other groups, a possible policy might consist in carrying out non-formal activities for the pre-school cohorts (on the basis of training for mothers), and literacy campaigns, training programmes, etc., for the cohorts of post-school age. For the school-age cohorts, different alternatives might be considered to ensure their access to and retention in the school.

In other respects, very few will be better acquainted than the future official with the opportunities and constraints he will encounter on assuming his post.

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Pedagogical model and school failure

*Juan Carlos Tedesco**

Although there is a consensus to the effect that the problem of school failure still looms so large in Latin America that it casts a shadow on the successes achieved through the ever-increasing coverage of the educational system, its causes are the subject of ardent theoretical and empirical controversy. The present article examines these causes with the aim of shedding light on the problem, determining the areas in which research on it should be concentrated and helping to orient the measures designed to resolve it along more efficacious lines.

The author divides the causes into various types, according to whether they are exogenous or endogenous to the educational system and relate to material or to cultural aspects. Material exogenous causes are connected in particular with socio-economic conditions and family structure; cultural exogenous causes, with family attitudes and values *vis-à-vis* education, linguistic patterns and mass communication media; material endogenous causes, with school resources and endowments and the organizational modalities of the school system; and, lastly, cultural endogenous causes, with teaching methods, content and orientation and the training and attitudes of teachers.

After reviewing the main research on the subject conducted in Latin America, the author concludes that there is no solid evidence to support the unidimensional predominance of any one of these types of causes, as, *inter alia*, some sociological, biological, psychopedagogical or socio-educational schools of thought assert. He therefore recommends that further research on key aspects of the phenomenon should be undertaken, and that the orientation of policy measures bearing on school failures should be decided upon without *a priori* dismissal of some of the types of causes mentioned.

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Introduction

Diagnoses of the present educational situation in Latin America pivot upon two main axes: quantitative expansion, and the system's low level of internal efficiency. In this connection, there can be no doubt that the last three decades constitute a period in which the effort to expand coverage has outstripped the rate of population growth and brought about a substantial change in the traditional exclusion from education of vast population sectors. On the other hand, it is obvious that inclusion in the system has been characterized by notable shortcomings; according to global estimates, approximately half the pupils who enter the primary cycle drop out of school in a state of semi-illiteracy.¹

These phenomena —expansion of coverage and low level of performance— have generally been analysed separately from each other. Expansion is usually presented as the 'benign' indicator which highlights State effort and the dynamic character of social changes in the region; poor performance, in contrast, is presented as the 'critical' indicator on the basis of which can be postulated the faultiness of the strategy adopted for the distribution of social services, and the need to make even more intensive efforts in the field of education.

However, the situation has now reached a point at which the two problems are closely interlinked. In this regard, it must be recognized that quantitative expansion has altered the traditional terms of the politico-educational debate; today, access to the system is virtually a reality for the whole of the urban and high percentages of the rural population. The central problem at present is that of how to guarantee that the inclusion obtained may be an effective means of access to the domaine of knowledge

¹For a summary of the statistical data available on educational expansion see UNESCO, *Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y el Caribe; análisis estadístico*, ED-79/MINEDLAC/REF.2; and also Carlos Filgueira, *Expansión educacional y estratificación social en América Latina (1960-1970)*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/4, Buenos Aires, 1977; Luis Ratnoff and M. Jeria, *Estado de la Educación en América Latina y prioridades de desarrollo*, IDB, Plans and Programs Department, Sectoral Policies Division, Washington, March 1979.

and of cultural codes. From this standpoint, expansion could be successful only if a change were introduced in the character of the pedagogy applied. As was said in an earlier study, "...access to the system and change within it must be analysed not separately but simultaneously, and the objective consisting in the universalization of schooling would not be plausible unless the structure of the system were adjusted to the characteristics proper to the new public which it is sought to incorporate".²

Stated in these terms, what is in question could be said to be a sort of updating of the

pedagogical view of Latin America's educational problems. But this return to the level of pedagogical analysis should be effected without losing sight of the contributions made during recent years by the social sciences as a whole—especially economics and sociology—to an understanding of educational phenomena.

These contributions are a safeguard against lapsing into the customary dissociations whereby educational issues are considered without regard to structural elements and structural analyses negate the specificity of pedagogical practices.

I

The pedagogical model and cultural marginality

In the past, basic education was regarded as the institution through which the population as a whole would be incorporated into the domain of the predominant cultural codes. In classic capitalist development models, the educational system as a whole was conceived as a scheme for social distribution of knowledge through which the masses would be given access to the elements that guarantee cultural homogeneity (ability to read and write, basic notion of arithmetic and the central values of the social order), while for the élites the way was open to the more academic branches of study and to mastery of the instruments which would permit the creation of new knowledge.

From this point of view, the most important feature of what is nowadays called the *traditional* educational system was coherence, not only between the structure of the system, curricula content, methods used and their institutional definition (school, role of the teacher, etc.), but also between this group of elements and the social structure. Articulation was established

fundamentally around a *cultural* axis. The priority task of education was to *form the citizen* (as leader or as led) within a framework defined by the parameters of liberal democracy. In this sense, the right to education was yet another expression of the right to political participation, and, as such, a product rather of conquest than of concession.

In the course of the transplantation of this model to Latin America, substantial changes took place in some of its basic characteristics. It must be recalled that in the central countries discussion of the traditional prescription pivoted upon the question of hegemony and to whom it would correspond in the integration process. The keynote of this discussion was laicism, since that was the point where the existing cultural differences were to be found. In its transposition to Latin America the debate assumed a notably more limited character, and supplanted discussion of the cultural and ideological options capable of integrating the population as a whole through alternative possibilities that would bridge the real differences existing in the region (indigenous tongues versus the Spanish language, the Catholic religion versus autochthonous cults, etc.).

From this point of view, it can be argued that cultural imposition in Latin America had

²See Juan Carlos Tedesco, "Elementos para un diagnóstico del sistema educativo tradicional en América Latina", in Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *El cambio educativo: situación y condiciones*, Buenos Aires, Informes Finales/2, August 1981, p. 69.

features very different from those prevailing in the central countries. Vast population sectors had to submit not so much to the imposition of a different cultural code as to the destruction of their own; in terms of 'reproduction theory', these sectors were not regarded as legitimate subjects of the predominant 'cultural arbitrage' and at the same time suffered the destruction of the social and material bases that sustained the development of their own autonomous 'cultural arbitrage'. This cultural exclusion is the equivalent, on the plane of codes of language and thought, of the marginality existing at the level of participation in productive activities and income distribution. How far has the expansion of educational coverage that has occurred in recent decades made a difference to this situation?

It is obvious that vast traditionally marginal sectors are being brought into the educational system, and that in this context schools and teachers are increasingly assuming the role of cultural intermediaries. In the history of many family of popular origin access to schooling is a novelty and the marginal population—marginal in the sense referred to here—would seem to be the object of a work of systematic cultural imposition.

However, the cultural linkage produced within the framework of the school is characterized—as the data on learning performance and continuance in the system show—by its low productivity; in many directions, all that this linkage does is to allow cultural exclusion and rejection to become realities at the school level. For the newly-incorporated population, the commonest experience is, precisely, school failure. Thus, the traditional problem of exclusion holds its ground, since all that is peculiar to the cultural imposition on the popular sectors exercised through the school continues to revolve around the difficulties of attaining the objectives professed.

But the problem is no longer expressed in the same terms as in the past. Nowadays the debate also embraces school pedagogy and its agents: teachers, pupils, State bureaucracy, contents, etc. In this connection, the hypotheses put forward in the recent studies carried out under the DEALC Project have consisted in maintaining that school activity has been

expanded without modification of the requisites insisted on for school performance: requisites designed in relation to the cultural capital of the middle and upper population strata. Furthermore, these hypotheses affirm not only that the former features are preserved, but that in the course of expansion the school has lost the most dynamic features of the traditional model—a loss which is reflected in two fundamental aspects: material and human resources in the first place, and, secondly, the character of the contents disseminated.

As regards the first aspect, all the studies show that educational supply for the popular sectors is characterized by the poverty of the material resources available (teaching material, buildings, etc.), the teachers' instability of tenure and lack of experience and training, and so forth. Educational expansion in Latin America came about when the social role of the primary school teacher had also undergone substantial change. In the traditional model, the teacher held a central place both in the learning process and in the cultural circles of society as a whole. In Latin America, on the other hand, the mass diffusion of basic education is concomitant with a crisis of theories of learning based on the 'directiveness' of the teacher, and with loss of professionalism in the teaching career, which is progressively becoming a road towards higher studies unconnected with pedagogy.

With respect to contents, it must be recalled that the mass diffusion of school culture in Latin America is occurring precisely when that culture is beginning to lose its most dynamic features. In the classic process of educational expansion, the school culture reproduced the ideologically predominant order, but, at the same time, this order represented a substantial modification of the socialization patterns and contents utilized by the institutions formerly responsible for these processes (essentially, the family and the Church). The expansion of schooling represented a conquest—generally won through conflict—of areas of socialization occupied by those agencies. In this struggle, what the school proposed to do was based on secular values, republican principles and a measure of scientific perception of reality which reflected, with a relatively high degree of correspondence, the cultural order reigning in the most dynamic spheres of society

as a whole. From this point of view, the Latin American idiosyncrasy consists in the fact that school culture is expanding when it has acquired the features of an impoverished culture, cut off from the social context, since its norms are fully valid only within the school environment. For this reason, it may be asserted that the cultural models offered to the population newly incorporated into the educational system are not even totally representative of the culturally predominant models.

In this sense, the impoverishment of school culture finds expression in the low degree of

integrating power inherent in its prescription. This implies that the relative ineffectiveness of school action is not to be traced only to the imposition of different cultural codes, but that account must also be taken of the content of those codes and their intrinsic capacity to become a culturally hegemonic prescription.

With these parameters in mind, an attempt will next be made to draw up an integral balance-sheet of existing knowledge on the problem of school failure, in order to derive therefrom a few proposals for future lines of research in this field.

II

The explanations of school performance³

To judge from the available studies on the factors that account for school performance, this is, in reality, a matter of response to a multiplicity of factors that reinforce one another. Briefly, the material living conditions and the socio-cultural characteristics of families of popular origin determine the development of attitudes and expectations which are not favourable to the children's school success. These peculiarities are enhanced by a type of school organization and pedagogical practices that consolidate the low probabilities deriving from social background, so that a causal circuit is formed in which feedback is continuous.

The group of variables associated with school performance can be classified in two major categories: a) firstly, factors exogenous and endogenous to the educational system, and, b) secondly, natural inequalities and cultural differences.

In accordance with these categories, the available material can be arranged in four broad groupings, by reference to which an account can be given of the existing stock of knowledge and of the most significant problems that may arise in connection with any attempt to determine research priorities:

- a) *Material exogenous variables*: nutrition, housing, socio-economic position, family structure, etc.;
- b) *Cultural exogenous variables*: parents' level of education, attitudes and values with respect to education, language patterns, contact with mass communication media, parental help in school performance, etc.;
- c) *Material endogenous variables*: here two sub-groups must be distinguished:
 - i) material endogenous variables of a physical type: resources and endowment of schools;
 - ii) material endogenous variables of an organizational type: promotion systems, expansion of pre-schooling, etc.;
- d) *Cultural endogenous variables*: teachers' attitudes, training and experience, contents of teaching, methods, etc.

³In this section use has been made of part of the study "Calidad de la enseñanza y procesos sociales", presented at a regional meeting on priorities and programmes for educational research related to the objectives of the Major Project in the field of Education in the Latin American and the Caribbean Region, organized by UNESCO and OREALC, Lima, June 1982.

A. MATERIAL EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

A great deal is known about the repercussions of material living conditions as a whole on school performance. Practically all the studies on the subject have demonstrated the existence of close associations between material deficits and low levels of school success. Evidence has also been produced to show that all these variables are intimately interlinked so that the possibility of separating one from another is particularly tricky and theoretically disputable.

Studies on nutrition are a case in point. Nutrition indexes are associated with socio-economic variables (income, housing, etc.), and it is impossible to distinguish precisely whether the traits characterizing malnourished persons are attributable to the malnutrition factor itself or to factors of a socio-economic type. However, as a recent study concisely puts it, "...there can be little doubt that when malnutrition at an early age is serious and prolonged, it may have repercussions on the mental development of a child which are liable to be irreversible".⁴ In less extreme situations, in contrast, the evidence suggests that the problem is much more complex and controversial. In the first place, it is by no means obvious that nutritional deficiencies are inevitably reflected in mental retardment;⁵ secondly, some of the pertinent research has shown that school failure cannot be explained in terms of the pupils' mental retardment.⁶

At a more global level of analysis, various studies have pointed out the high level of correlation existing between socio-economic position and school performance. Indexes of socio-economic status are generally based on

income, housing, education and occupation data, and there can be no doubt that poor performance is concentrated in the lower social strata. At more specific levels of analysis, an attempt has been made to define the incidence of some of these variables more exactly.

As regards housing, for example, a study carried out in marginal urban areas in Buenos Aires found that in terms of correlation between material living conditions and school performance, the closest association was, precisely, with housing. The study suggested that probably this datum reflected not only an improvement in everyday living conditions but also greater concern for the life of the family group on the part of its active members.⁷

Family structure is another of the variables to which special attention has been devoted in this field of research. In the first place, various sociological and anthropological studies have underlined the existence of significant changes in family structure and in socialization patterns, of which too little is known as yet. In this connection, it would seem that in rural areas where the most disadvantaged sectors are concentrated, migration and seasonal occupation phenomena are occurring which essentially affect men. Women and children then come to perform a highly important productive function, and changes take place both in the traditional conditions of the socializing agents and in the very definition of the role of childhood. In the case of marginal urban families, the existing studies tend to discredit the stereotyped concept of a high degree of family disorganization; nor can data on average number of children, participation in the labour market, etc., be generalized for the region as a whole.

As regards school success, however, it would appear that there is a close association between the number of children and school performance,⁸ albeit, in other instances, a

⁴See José M. Bengoa, "Niveles individuales y sociales asociados a la desnutrición", in Fernando Galofré (compiler), *Pobreza crítica en la niñez: América Latina y el Caribe*, ECLA/UNICEF, Santiago, Chile, 1981, p. 177. A further selection of studies on the subject can be found in a special issue devoted to malnutrition, poverty and mental development in *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, São Paulo, Fundação Carlos Chagas.

⁵See José M. Bengoa, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁶See, for example, Luis Bravo Valdivieso and Sonia Salas de Bodini, "Características psicopedagógicas de escolares básicos repitientes", in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Educativos*, Vol. 5, No. 4, México, 1975, pp. 23-26.

⁷See Ana M. Eichelbaum de Babini, *La villa miseria y la escuela en Buenos Aires. El medio familiar y el éxito escolar*, Buenos Aires, CICE/Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 1976, p. 60.

⁸See Luis Bravo Valdivieso *et al.*, "Características psicológicas y socio-culturales de la retención escolar durante

linkage has been found with the total number of family members.⁹

On child labour too, only the scantiest information is available. That obtained through parent surveys tends to show that wage-earning child labour is of very little significance,¹⁰ and that child labour in the home—while on a larger scale—is similarly devoid of such characteristics as can be associated with school performance.

Some doubt may reasonably be felt, however, as to the reliability of these data, since in answering this question parents are generally influenced both by social disapprobation of child labour and by legal provisions that prohibit it. Some studies recently carried out with different methodological approaches lay stress on the considerable magnitude of the problem and the need for further research in this direction. With respect to the rural area of Colombia, for example, a recent study corroborates the hypothesis concerning the significant repercussions of child labour and of seasonal migrations on school performance.¹¹ In relation to urban areas, on the other hand, the lack of information is much greater.

Viewed from a theoretical angle, the most immediate risks attaching to an analytical approach to the school failure question based on material exogenous determinants are those of *biological determinism* and those of *sociological determinism*. If performance is explained by intelligence and this in turn by the nutritional levels prevailing in the pre-natal phase or in very early childhood, by hereditary genes or by any other natural factor prior to schooling, the margin for transformative action open not only to the school but to social stimuli as a whole obviously becomes minimal. When the approach adopted is not biological but sociological, the foregoing argument is regarded as an ideological

rationalization designed to justify the prevailing social order. But the conclusion reached is that the place held by parents in the social structure univocally determines educational process and only with important changes in the social structure could the prevailing social distribution of knowledge be altered.

On the other hand, in the developed countries there has been a recrudescence of interest in recent years in the debate as to the role of hereditary influences versus environmental influences.¹²

In contrast, in Latin America the discussion has taken a different turn. Biologicistic positions have been discredited both by research and by social realities themselves, since, whatever the role of heredity, no one can assert that, save in exceptional cases, the genetic capital of human beings may be an impediment to such elementary learning as is involved in basic schooling.

In the case of sociological determinism, the arguments adduced retain a high degree of validity when the whole group of macro-educational problems is analysed. On the other hand, when the analysis relates specifically to such phenomena as school performance, the schema proves too inflexible and affords no explanation of such significant aspects as, for example, differences in school performance within the popular strata. Moreover, explanations of school performance by virtue of external determining factors afford no opportunity of evaluating the elements that mediate in the process. In other words, it seems obvious that social origin and the set of variables that determine socio-economic status affect educational performance through variables and processes of a cultural type, on which more detailed information is required. In this connection, knowledge on the influence of external factors on school performance has been greatly broadened by the incorporation of cultural variables, of which a partial analysis will be undertaken in the following section.

el primer ciclo básico", in *Deserción Escolar*, year 2, No. 5, Buenos Aires, PROMEP, September 1981.

⁹See Ana M.E. de Babini, *op. cit.*

¹⁰See Ana M.E. de Babini, *op. cit.*; E.R. Espada and S. Vecino, *Los escolares de barrios populares de Bogotá: una reserva de talento*, Bogotá, ICOPE/ASCOFAME/CENDIP, 1974.

¹¹See A. Toledo, H. Clavijo and M.M. de Hernández, "El alumno de la escuela rural como fuerza de trabajo", in *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, No. 5, Bogotá, CIUP, 1980.

¹²See T. Husén, *Influence du milieu social sur la réussite scolaire. Perspectives des recherches sur l'égalité devant l'éducation*, Paris, OECD, 1975.

B. CULTURAL EXOGENOUS VARIABLES

In analysing the impact of the cultural conditions that characterize the popular sectors on children's school performance, a certain de-phasing can be discerned between theoretical postulates and empirical studies carried out to substantiate them.

From the theoretical standpoint, in recent decades the axis around which the whole body of social sciences in the region has revolved has been the problem raised by the exclusion of large masses of the population from access to the various orders of the social structure: attempts have been made to categorize this phenomenon under the head of such concepts as 'marginality', 'structural heterogeneity', 'informal sector', and in lines with each of these postulates numerous studies have been carried out which now make it possible to describe in some detail the composition of those excluded in the sphere of work.¹³ In contrast, knowledge of this problem from the *cultural* point of view is not nearly so exact. In this respect the research conducted has been less, but at the same time it may be said to have been markedly dissociated from educational research.

The importance of cultural variables in pedagogical practices can be examined on the basis of a general hypothesis posited by analyses of the socialization process. According to this postulate, the success of schooling depends upon the correspondence that exists between the patterns characterizing the pedagogical work of the school and the patterns of socialization proper to the family and the context surrounding the child.¹⁴

The correspondence between the social links existing in society and those prevailing in pedagogical activities is a subject that has been little explored in research, although fully discussed in the literature that analyses the social functions of education.

School linkages will be analysed in the forthcoming sections, although it may be stated in advance that the pertinent information existing —while not exhaustive— is, up to a point, convincing. On the other hand, the question as to what are the characteristics of the child socialization process calls for substantial research; on this point, information is not only scarce but does not lend itself to generalization. In contradistinction to certain outlooks which tend to perceive the marginal sectors as homogeneous, a brief weighing-up of the relevant studies confirms that there is a very significant heterogeneity within these sectors which is particularly marked in rural areas.¹⁵

Furthermore, the available studies agree that the situation is not static but that the structural changes which peasant economic units are undergoing —with their repercussions on urban areas in terms of seasonal migrations, etc.— are perpetually modifying the roles of socializing agents and the contents of the socialization process itself. In this framework, a very broad panorama opens out, within which, initially at least, attention may be drawn to the following aspects.

a) *Linguistic patterns*

Not only the studies carried out in the socio-linguistic sphere and in that of the sociology of learning, but also quantitative research in the field of social sciences, point to the fact that school success is linked to the pupil's linguistic capital. Valdivieso, for example, showed that school promotion was associated not with overall intellectual capacity (IQ) but with more specific processes connected with language.¹⁶ Children repeating grades are little able to understand what the teacher is saying in the classroom. This state of affairs reaches a peak in areas with indigenous population where

¹³See the set of studies carried out by PREALC.

¹⁴From the theoretical angle, this hypothesis is formulated in P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron, *La reproducción: Elementos para una teoría del sistema de enseñanza*, Barcelona, Laia, 1977; and in P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *La construcción social de la realidad*, Buenos Aires, Amorrortu, 1968.

¹⁵See the Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Sociedad rural, educación y escuela*, Informes Finales/1, Buenos Aires, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, June 1981.

¹⁶See L. B. Valdivieso, *op. cit.*

teacher and pupil do not share the same language code.¹⁷ Moreover, some studies seem to suggest that the linguistic interaction between parents and children in popular sectors differs in quantity and quality from that existing in the middle strata.¹⁸ Little is known on this subject, however, and probably educational research should, as a first step, make an effort to recover all the information that effectively exists but remains as yet in the ambit of other disciplines and social areas.

b) *Definition of the role of children*

This variable more specifically refers to the way in which childhood is defined in each social stratum. There is a tendency to suppose that a single model of childhood exists, proper to the cultural patterns of the urban middle strata. The studies prepared under the DEALC Project, however, show that in rural and marginal urban areas, children take on productive and domestic work from a very early age, and that in reality one of the few times when they behave (or are required to behave) like children in the conventional sense that the school takes for granted is, precisely, when they are pupils.¹⁹

In this same line of analysis, it must be taken into consideration that one of the cultural factors which affects school performance is the lack of 'preparation' for the role of pupil. Some studies have testified that the parents of pupils whose performance is poor are very ill-informed as to the operation of the educational system,²⁰ while in others it has been shown that going to school is a novelty not only in the child's personal life but in the history of the family and of the social group.²¹

¹⁷See Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Proceso pedagógico y heterogeneidad cultural en el Ecuador*, Buenos Aires, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, DEALC/22, August 1979.

¹⁸See Ana M.E. de Babini, *op. cit.*

¹⁹See Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Proceso pedagógico...*, *op. cit.*

²⁰See Ana M.E. de Babini, *op. cit.*

²¹See Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Proceso pedagógico...*, *op. cit.*

c) *Valuation of schooling*

With reference to this variable, it has been maintained that school performance is linked with a number of indicators that reflect the parental attitude towards schooling. Among the best known, mention may be made of associations between school performance and parents' expectations regarding their children's success; the help they provide with respect to the demands of the school; participation and the relations established with teachers, etc. Generally speaking, there is a tendency to assert that children who fail belong to families with low expectations, that adopt a passive attitude to the children's school performance and do not maintain any links with the school.

Other available evidence, however, makes it clear that the situation is much more complex and unexplored.

Firstly, the global studies carried out under the DEALC Project have supported a hypothesis according to which the notable expansion of schooling in recent decades is explicable—up to a point—by virtue of *popular demand for education*. In this connection, it is really little that is known as to the effective role played by popular pressure in the expansion of education. It would seem that in many cases demand does exist although its expression is inorganic and not particularly clear as to the type and quality of educational service most appropriate to its needs.²²

Secondly, not much is known of what sort of strategy is worked out by families in the event of the children's school failure, and of how it is assimilated in the framework of family strategies for survival. In this regard, two major hypotheses might be put forward for study:

i) School failure would appear to be assimilated not as a failure but as the inevitable outcome of an illegitimate aspiration. Here, evidence could be produced to support the contention that school success plays no part or is not accorded priority in family survival

²²See Germán W. Rama, "Estructura y movimientos sociales en el desarrollo de la educación popular", in Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Informes Finales/2*, August 1981.

strategies. The family —according to this hypothesis— would 'determine' the school failure of the children through specific processes of stimulation, valuation, etc.;

ii) School failure would seem to be effectively assimilated in terms of failure and would be an outcome imposed upon families despite the strategies devised to prevent it. In this line of

analysis, failure would be a product of objective inequalities and would be virtually unavoidable.

As can be seen, the two hypotheses (although presented as dichotomous alternatives which simplify the complexity of the problem) open up different perspectives in relation both to the explanation of failure itself and to educational policies.

C. MATERIAL ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES

1. *Material resources*

The influence of this group of variables on the school performance of pupils has recently been the object of systematic studies which represent a great advance in knowledge of the subject. Probably the work done under the ECIEL Programme in the framework of the Education and Development Project is one of the most outstanding contributions in this field, and the conclusions reached can be taken as starting-points for other studies at the national level and for analyses of specific problems which the conclusions arrived at in such studies bring to light.²³ Briefly summarized, the findings of these ECIEL studies substantiate the following propositions:

a) The schools' material resources preclude incorporating into teaching the new functions that make for raising the quality of the basic education service offered to the population. Such aspects as sports, health, teaching of art, etc., cannot generally count upon the minimal infrastructure required for their efficacious development;

b) The material endowment of schools does not permit systematic application of non-verbalistic pedagogical styles and practices. The lack or the deterioration of laboratories and scientific instruments and the underutilization of those that do exist are significant obstacles to the diffusion of new modes of learning;

c) Material resources are unevenly distributed among the population as a whole and that of the various regions. Their distribution seems to correspond to two broad and tacit criteria. According to the first, the farther the schools are from the centres of power, the more precarious are their resources; thus, rural and marginal urban schools are subject to significant discrimination where obtaining material resources is concerned. According to the second criterion, the younger the pupil, the fewer resources are allocated to the teaching-learning process.

Thus, the early years of basic education (in which the largest quantity of school population and the highest indexes of failure are concentrated) are those in which least resources are available.

Hence it would be possible to define a specific relationship between the exogenous variables analysed in the foregoing sections and the variables endogenous to the educational system. This relationship would be one of mutual reinforcement, since precarious material living conditions are matched with schools offering a service that is equally precarious;

d) There is no linear correspondence between greater availability of resources in certain areas or social sectors and greater expenditure on education by the areas or sectors concerned. Apparently, those that have most manage to secure bigger shares in the distribution of global resources, whence it is clear that there are complex political mechanisms for access to the sources from which material resources for education can be obtained:

e) Lastly, this group of studies endorses the hypothesis that a higher index of expenditure on education, with its concurrent benefits in

²³See C. de Moura Castro *et al.*, *A educação na América Latina: um estudo comparativo de custo e eficiência*, Rio de Janeiro, FGV/IESAE, 1980.

terms of better physical conditions and better human resources, is associated with higher levels of school performance.

This last hypothesis is obviously the most significant from the standpoint of educational policy options for the region. Within the general framework it affords, however, those material aspects that have most incidence on school performance should be defined more precisely and in closer relation to individual country situations.

Thus, for example, some studies at the national level have been unable to detect any evidence of association between class size and performance. In others, no linkage was discovered between expenditure per pupil and performance, or between performance and teacher certification and training time.²⁴

Over and above any possible observation on the methodological means whereby some of these findings were arrived at, it is important to recognize two aspects of the question:

—In the first place, it seems evident that an increase in material and human resources does not automatically guarantee a positive effect on the quality of teaching. In this connection, there would seem to be a need for more systematic study of the repercussions of material changes on school organization and, through that, on performance. To endow schools with teaching equipment without changing curricula or without training the teachers in its use implies neutralizing a considerable proportion of its effects. And conversely, to implement a teacher-training policy without endowing the schools with the material and organizational facilities whereby the learning process can be turned to good account may produce the same results. In this regard it is possible to postulate the need for a line of research based on analysis of the processes and conditions through which changes in material conditions in schools influence school performance.

Within this approach, a matter of crucial importance for the definition of the *content* of material aspects consists precisely in reassembling findings of studies related to the endogen-

ous variables of a cultural type that will be analysed in the following section. A case in point is the problem of supplies of textbooks. While statistical studies have shown that in a great many cases the availability of textbooks has a positive effect on performance, it is obvious that this incidence depends upon the adaptation of the textbooks to the cultural characteristics of the public for which they are intended, and upon their use.

—Secondly, a problem that must be faced is that of the financing of education. In this regard, the region has been swept by a sort of widespread scepticism as to the possibilities of increasing State expenditure on education. Research on this point, however, underlines two essential factors: firstly, there is a serious problem of distribution of the existing resources; secondly, many studies admit this limitation as an assumption which, however, must not necessarily be accepted as such.²⁵

2. Organizational endogenous variables

In this respect, both educational research and the definition of policies have been centred upon two major axes: on the one hand, everything relating to pre-schooling and its effects on school performance; on the other, everything bearing on internal promotion systems within the educational system.

a) Pre-schooling and performance

Little research has been devoted to the subject of pre-schooling as a whole, especially as regards socio-pedagogical factors.²⁶ In this connection, a recent study gives a good description of the findings reached and some of the main problems pending.²⁷ According to these data, which coincide with others deriving from re-

²⁴See E. Schiefelbein and J. Simmons, *Los determinantes del rendimiento escolar: reseña de la investigación para los países en desarrollo*, Ottawa, IDRC, 1981.

²⁵See Aldo Solari, "Development and educational policy in Latin America", in *CEPAL Review*, First Semester 1977, Santiago, Chile, United Nations, pp. 59-91.

²⁶See J.E. García Huidobro and J. Ochoa, "Tendencias de la investigación en educación en América Latina", *Documentos de Trabajo I*, CIDE, Santiago, Chile, 1978, p. 50.

²⁷See E. Schiefelbein, "Efectos de la educación preescolar en el ingreso al sistema formal", in *ECLA/UNICEF, op. cit.*, p. 325.

search currently under way,²⁸ the effect of pre-schooling on performance and successful completion of the first grade is positive, but needs to be considered with some care.

The study carried out in Colombia, for instance, revealed a manifestly positive relation between attendance at the pre-school level and promotion at the end of the first grade; but if schools are distinguished from one another by socio-economic level of pupils, this relation disappears.²⁹ In Chile's case, the study showed that pre-schooling improved the performance of children of low social origin as far as reading and writing was concerned but did not eliminate the differences between these children and those from other social sectors; moreover, the differences in the result were not recognized by the school, and at the end of the first year children with pre-schooling were seen to have the same marks as children without it.³⁰

Furthermore, studies of pre-schooling also bring to light two features which must be taken into account: firstly, the scanty coverage at this level, and secondly, differentiation of access by socio-economic background. In this respect, the existing data are not sufficient for a precise description, but it is obvious that expansion at the pre-schooling level tends to be concentrated in urban areas and the beneficiaries are preponderantly from middle and upper socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, internal heterogeneity is highly significant, extending from establishments endowed with abundant and 'sophisticated' resources to premises that serve as 'day nurseries' looked after by more or less unqualified personnel and subject to no pedagogical control or supervision of any kind.

This group of elements endorses the suggestion put forward in the study quoted above to the effect that the results of pre-schooling "must be analysed in the light of what really happens in classrooms at the pre-school and primary levels, and of the

environment to which pupils are exposed in their homes and neighbourhoods".³¹

In this context some questions and problems may be posed which educational research ought to examine in greater depth:

i) the existing studies show that in view of the diversity of results obtained as to the effect of pre-schooling on performance and promotion, this argument does not afford an exclusive basis for justifying the expansion of pre-schooling. The problem of the ineffectiveness of basic education is located within the primary school and it is there that it should be resolved. This hypothesis raises a key question in terms of strategies for educational policy, since it may well be asked how far the priority accorded to pre-schooling is only another way of situating the problem outside the school, at the risk of diverting resources and activities from the central objective;

ii) the expansion of pre-schooling may be meaningful in more global terms, linked to the improvement of nutritional, sanitary, recreational and other forms of care, among children from marginal areas where both parents work and/or where the younger brothers and sisters are looked after by the older children. In this connection, research concerned with the incidence of family conditions (number of children, child labour, etc.) on school success warrants the assumption that the expansion of pre-schooling may have significant effects on school success in so far as it improves child care conditions and thus releases children from domestic work;

iii) in its turn, the expansion of pre-schooling poses the question of what type of pedagogical activities is the most appropriate for the marginal population. Here the options pivot either upon a curriculum concentrating mainly on affective and socializing functions or upon a curriculum designed to equip marginal children with a specific set of cognitive capacities such as "...thinking, abstracting, categorizing, solving problem and taking decisions".³²

²⁸See J. Filp *et al.*, "Efecto de la educación preescolar formal sobre el rendimiento escolar de niños a fines del primer año básico: un estudio de seguimiento en Chile" (in the press).

²⁹See E. Schiefelbein, "Efectos...", *op. cit.*, p. 338.

³⁰See J. Filp, *op. cit.*

³¹See E. Schiefelbein, "Efectos...", *op. cit.*, p. 340.

³²A.M. Poppovic, Y.L. Espósito, M.M. Malta Campos, "Marginalização cultural: subsídios para um currículo pre-escolar", in *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, No. 14, São Paulo, Fundação Carlos Chagas, September 1975.

b) *Promotion and school failure*

As studies on coverage indicate, the main problem as regards the efficiency of schooling centres upon repetitions.³³

In view of this evidence, the hypothesis was postulated that the evaluation and promotion mechanisms were the factors that explained the high failure indexes. In support of this hypothesis a number of psychopedagogical arguments were adduced, such as the existence of individual rates of learning, the deterioration of the self-image, etc., while at the same time the criteria applied by teachers in evaluating pupils were described as apparently based on subjective and rigid opinions. On these grounds, the prescription for educational policy consisted in the establishment of systems of automatic promotion in the first three grades of the basic cycle.

Little is known as yet of the result of these experiments, or of the criteria by which some

countries of the region have abolished them after having introduced them. A recent study suggests that in countries where they were put into practice "...the accumulation of pupils due to repetition was transferred to the end of the first four-year cycle, or else built up a bigger pile of failures at the secondary level".³⁴

The psychopedagogical arguments, moreover, do not appear to enjoy universal support. As is maintained in the study referred to, respect for individual rates implies a concept of spontaneous, predestined and emergent physiological maturation which does not recognize the importance of educational influences.³⁵

Clearly, to judge from these expressions of opinion, automatic promotion is an issue that has not been sufficiently evaluated, and in any case its introduction, if the other pedagogical variables remain constant, does not resolve the problem, but at best defers it.

D. CULTURAL ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES

The endogenous variables of a cultural type comprise a very significant part of the pedagogical process itself. Accordingly, they could be analysed in terms of their basic components: the teacher, the contents, teacher-pupil interaction and norms of evaluation, promotion, supervision and educational guidance.

As regards the teacher, a sizable body of studies exists on the basis of which the findings and the most outstanding lacunae can be indicated.³⁶

In the first place, it has been maintained that one of the key variables in the explanation of school performance lies, precisely, in the teachers' attitudes and expectations. Following up the classic experiments of Rosenthal and Jacobson in this connection, some studies have

demonstrated the existence of an important correlation between the subjective evaluation of the pupils' learning potentialities and their effective school performance.³⁷

In these studies, in general, it has been possible to show that teachers' expectations were associated with the social origin of the pupil and operated in terms of what is called 'self-fulfilled prophecy': inasmuch as failure is expected and the expectation determines the failure, the results confirm the validity of the prophecy and reinforce it. According to this interpretation, the expectation of teachers are essentially dictated by cultural or social prejudices and are reflected in a

³³See E. Schiefelbein, "Efectos...", *op. cit.*

³⁴Berta P. Braslavsky, *La lectura en la escuela de América Latina*, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Fichas/17, Buenos Aires, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, 1981.

³⁵*Ibidem*, p. 54.

³⁶B. Avalos and W. Haddad, *Reseña de la investigación sobre efectividad de los maestros en África, América Latina, Filipinas, India, Malasia, Medio Oriente y Tailandia: síntesis de resultados*, Ottawa, Ontario, IDRC, 1981.

³⁷See L.B. Valdivieso and S. Salas de Bodini, *op. cit.* See also E.S. de Sa Barreto, "Profesores de periferia: soluções simples para problemas complexos", in *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, *op. cit.*

fatalistic conception which paralyses any action strategy for improving matters.³⁸

However, a study recently carried out with respect to a sample of teachers in schools with pupils of popular origin in Brazil³⁹ furnished a good deal of evidence which enhances and reformulates the significance of this hypothesis. In the first place, the study in question improves upon the one-track postulates of the preceding hypotheses with regard to the determination of school success by teachers' expectations. According to the findings of this study, teachers form their expectations as to performance on the basis of the real data obtained in their working experience, and they generally see these expectations corroborated because of their own lack of appropriate technical responses whereby they can take action to avoid their pupils' school failure.

In this context, the most important product of the study referred to consists in consideration of the teacher training variable as the junction point of expectations and results in respect of learning.

There are few studies on this subject which analyse the teacher training problem *per se*, much less the problem of the relation between training and the requirements of teaching where the pupils are of urban or rural popular origin.

All these problems open up a broad field of research, in which certain key elements are outstanding.

a) *Teacher training*

The field of teacher training is one of those most neglected by educational research. The studies carried out on the basis of quantitative data suggest complex and even contradictory associations between the different variables. Thus, for example, the above-mentioned *Reseña* relating to the efficiency of teachers⁴⁰ showed

that some studies found positive relations between qualifications and performance only in the early grades. In the description of factors determining school performance, on the other hand, contradictory situations were observable where the links indicated were positive in some studies and in others were of an opposite or insignificant character.

But in this case, just as in the studies on material determinants, it would seem indispensable to undertake a qualitative analysis of contents, modalities, intended recipients, possibilities and conditions for application of what is learnt, etc., in order to be able to evaluate the various kinds of training.

Generally speaking, the questions arising a propos of these problems relate to the degree of adaptation of teacher training —both initial formation and in-service training— to requirements for working in marginal areas and with popular sectors. Some partial evidence suggest that the level of adaptation is very low, both in pedagogical and in socio-cultural respects. The testimonies of rural teachers in some countries of the region indicate scanty preparation for work in single-teacher schools, ignorance of the indigenous language and culture, etc.

Teaching activities in their turn reveal a high level of ignorance of the real social environment and likewise a high level of prejudice.⁴¹

In this regard, it is needful to investigate the process through which these attitudes are formed and what role is played in this process by mere information on the culture and the conditions of the environment. It might be postulated that the levels and characteristics of the prejudices existing among teachers are apparently a factor that must be taken into account in order to design training methods that will make for their modification.

This might be an appropriate context in which to introduce one of the subjects most widely discussed in the pedagogical literature of recent years: the research-action question. A matter that should be studied in this respect is the influence exercised by the study of socio-cultural

³⁸See Juan C. Tedesco and R. Parra, *Marginalidad urbana y educación formal: planteo del problema y perspectivas de análisis*, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Fichas/14, March 1981.

³⁹See Guiomar Namó de Mello, *Magisterio de 1º grau: da competência técnica ao compromisso político*, São Paulo, Autores Associados-Cortez, 1982.

⁴⁰See B. Avalos and W. Haddad, *op. cit.*

⁴¹See DEALC Project, *Proceso pedagógico...*, *op. cit.*; J.C. Tedesco and R. Parra, *op. cit.*

conditions in marginal areas through methodologies for research which the teachers themselves are responsible for carrying out, and in which the objective is not primarily the discovery of knowledge that is new from the standpoint of the social sciences, but discovery for the teachers themselves.

b) *The role of reading and writing*

It is common knowledge that the highest figures for repetition and drop-out are found in the first grades of the primary school, a fact which is closely related with learning to read and write. In this connection it would be necessary to look into what actually happens in teacher training as regards specific preparation for teaching of this type. Some studies suggest that there is a tendency to neglect this branch of training, correlative with the raising of primary school teachers to education at the third level.⁴²

This problem acquires still greater importance in contexts where the indigenous population is predominant. The technical difficulties arising in these cases are much more complex, but the most striking thing is that these difficulties have not been seriously tackled in didactic research or in teacher training. According to certain studies based on classroom observations, the commonest way out has consisted in ignoring the problem, and leaving the teacher without any type of technical equipment to enable him to cope with such situations with a certain measure of efficiency. The habitual responses of teachers hover between the use of interpreters (Spanish-speaking adults, children in the upper grades, etc.) and total ritualization of the teaching process.⁴³

c) *Teacher-pupil interaction*

Studies on this subject have increased in recent years, through the use of methodologies based on systematic classroom observation. An initial weighing-up of these studies would seem

to warrant the assertion that there are pedagogical circuits, so to speak, differentiated by social origin of pupils. The needs of pupils of popular origin, among whom the highest level of failure is concentrated, are met through a type of teaching, characterized by a strong element of ritualism, in which teachers tend to interact more with pupils whose levels of performance is high, evaluation is not utilized as part of the learning process, recourse is constantly had to methods based on verbalism, memorization and authoritarianism, and so forth.⁴⁴

Specific studies on the role of teacher-pupil interaction in relation to performance are few and far between, and their conclusions raise a series of questions. The studies on Ecuador and Paraguay,⁴⁵ for example, noted that democratic and permissive attitudes on the part of teachers were associated with better levels of performance. Yet other evidence suggests that in reality the problem is more complex, and that a mere change of attitudes is not enough; the teacher must also be technically equipped to tackle learning problems and resolve them.⁴⁶

Thus, the challenge facing educational research consists in overcoming the present dissociation between psychopedagogical and didactic research and findings on the one hand, and socio-educational research and findings on the other. Psychodidactic research has concerned itself with learning irrespective of the social conditions in which the pupil and the school have to work, while by socio-educational research the specific problem of learning has been shelved. Ultimately, the broadest field opened up in this line of analysis is that of the search for a didactic—in the fullest sense of the word—appropriate for the popular sectors.

⁴⁴See, in addition to the studies already mentioned on Ecuador and Bogotá, Carlos Muñoz Izquierdo *et al.*, "El síndrome del atraso escolar y el abandono del sistema educativo", in *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Mexico, 1979.

⁴⁵See F. Sweet, *Los factores determinantes de la escolarización y el aprovechamiento en la educación ecuatoriana*, IIEP/PUCE/ECIEL, 1976; D. Rivarola and G. Corvalán, *Determinantes del rendimiento educativo en el Paraguay*, Asunción, ECIEL/CEPES/CEPADES, 1976.

⁴⁶See Guiomar Namó de Mello, *op. cit.*

⁴²See Berta P. Braslavsky, *op. cit.*

⁴³DEALC Project, *Proceso pedagógico...*, *op. cit.*

Education and culture: a political perspective

Hypotheses on the importance of education for development

*Pedro Demo**

After analysing the educational situation in Brazil, and particularly stressing its shortcomings, the author seeks to answer an important question: wherein lies the need for education?

Those who attempt to reply to it from a socio-economic standpoint place emphasis on the role of education as an adequate means of gaining a foothold in the labour market and as a channel of social mobility which makes it possible to rise in the occupational scale. The author does not think that to accord priority to the expansion of education is justifiable from this point of view, since if education is to be able to fulfil its role as a means of occupational insertion and a channel of social mobility, the economic structure must be expanded and new opportunities must really be created; unless it is accompanied by a consistent increase in productive jobs, the expansion of education will end in the frustration of the educand and the devaluation of its results.

Education can also be justified by its role as an instrument of socialization, although there are two sides to this: positive, in so far as it furnishes knowledge with which to face life, and negative, in so far as it makes for moulding individuals in conformity with the social system.

Without disregarding the socio-economic and socializing importance of education, the author asserts that its most important role lies in the political formation of educands, whereby they can become citizens participating in an increasingly democratic society. He therefore concludes with the proposition that the educational system be changed in such a way that its expansion may create a climate in which a free and democratic society can flourish.

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Introduction

Belief in the importance of education is almost universal. This is suggested by certain attitudes nowadays shared in common, such as the interest of families in guaranteeing education for their children, and the social concern for establishing compulsory schooling up to a given childhood age. Its importance, however, has undergone changes in the course of history. In the first place, its economic importance for development is not what was assumed in the theory of human resources. Secondly, there are societies with high indexes of school attendance that do not develop satisfactorily, as may perhaps happen in the case of some of the more southerly countries of Latin America, to say nothing of the advanced countries that have produced extremely anti-educative ideologies, such as racism, colonialism, etc.

In development contexts, it is easy to see that education reflects the effects rather than the possible causes of the pressure represented by the necessity of material survival.¹ The difficulties of school attendance make this still more clearly perceptible, for without an improvement in material living conditions it is virtually impossible for the benefits of schooling to be duly reaped. On the other hand, if *from the socio-economic angle* education is not as powerful as is imagined, *from the political angle* it is a *sine qua non* for attaining effective citizenship, although relations between the two are not mechanical or automatic.²

The aim of the present study is to formulate, even if in embryo, a few *hypotheses* on the importance of education for development, taking as a point of departure certain data from the 1980 census in Brazil, which suggest the existence of an educational situation that is still

¹L.A. Cunha, *Educação e desenvolvimento social no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Francisco Alves, 1977; C.G. Langoni, *Distribuição da renda e desenvolvimento econômico do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Expressa e Cultura, 1973; R.A. Costa, *Distribuição da renda pessoal no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1977; R. Tolipan and A.C. Tinnelli (org.), *A controvérsia sobre distribuição da renda e desenvolvimento*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 1975.

²G. Rama (compiler), *Educación y sociedad en América Latina y el Caribe*, UNICEF, Santiago, Chile, 1980; R. Franco (compiler), *Planificación social en América Latina y el Caribe*, UNICEF, Santiago, Chile, 1981; R.V. Vega, *Democratización y educación básica en la reforma educativa peruana*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, Buenos Aires, draft, Fichas/13. March 1981.

very unsatisfactory and up to a point disconcerting. Accordingly, it is worth while to ask in what respect would this unsatisfactory situation appear to be prejudicial for the country... is it prejudicial to growth? is it prejudicial to the establishment of conditions favourable to political participation?

Attention will be drawn, in addition, to the importance of the concept of *culture* in relation to this latter approach which gives priority to emphasis on the political importance of education and an endeavour will be made to establish what may perhaps be a middle way between positions that carry the socio-economic, political or autonomous point of view to extremes.

I

Some data on Brazil in 1980

The sole purpose of this section is to serve as an empirical starting-point, taking into consideration the hypotheses which will be adopted. It therefore presents a concisely summarized set of data, which, despite their typical unreliability, may suggest certain points for analysis. Three historical frames of reference have been selected within the course of two decades, i.e., 1960, 1970 and 1980, years in which censuses were taken in Brazil.³

a) The most striking feature is the relative stagnation during the 1970s of the compulsory (7-14 age group) school attendance rate, which was 67.20% in 1970 and stayed at 67.70% in 1980. It is hard to escape the impression that a decade has been lost. The two most serious problems here would seem to be: firstly, that no progress has been made; secondly, that the rate is as yet very low, signifying in practice that of the children of school age who ought to be attending school, over 30% are not doing so.

Many children drop out of school too early,

either because little more than 50% survive the transition from the first to the second year of basic education, or because in most rural schools teaching is given only up to the fourth year. The figure cited does not therefore mean that over 30% of the children had never been to school; it does imply that they ought to have been in school and were not.

b) The number of children not attending school is impressive because, besides being very large, it remains virtually unaltered during the three reference dates selected: about 7 million. In all likelihood this number is concentrated in the poorest areas, where it may perhaps be said that the need to survive is much more pressing than the need to be educated.

The very magnitude of these numbers is a reminder of the peculiar character of a country that is geographically and demographically oversized, which makes it exceedingly difficult to attain what are considered minimal educational levels.

c) Much significance attaches to the age distortion, i.e., the presence of youngsters over 14 years of age in the basic education cycle. Although there are also pupils under 7 years old, what is typical is the exceeding of the legally defined age limit for basic education. In 1980, children over 14 accounted for 25.20% of total basic education enrolment, which means that one out of every four pupils is over age. There are places in which this percentage is much higher, a circumstance which might be somewhat 'unfair' to the 'real' rate of enrolment, inasmuch as this does not take into account children outside the age group considered. But since these

³The data from the 1980 census are very disappointing, inasmuch as they suggest that as regards basic education we would seem to have lost a decade. This is generally admitted to be an unsatisfactory census, in which considerable distortions may exist. It is hard to believe that in 1970 and 1980 the rates of school enrolment were the same. For instance, it is strange that the population aged 7 to 14 years should have increased by 5 million between 1960 and 1970, but only by a little more than 2 million between 1970 and 1980. At the same time, the census records what are almost the final enrolment figures (it was taken in September), while other statistics relate to the initial enrolment. In any event, there is little point in arguing over whether the pupils that did not attend school numbered 7 or 5 million.

children nevertheless are in fact in the basic education cycle, a 'virtual' rate is also used, which may make the rate of schooling a good deal higher.

However, neither can it be concealed that there are children who ought to be in school and are not.

Furthermore, the rates deriving from the

census data can be said to be rigorous in the sense that they virtually represent final enrolment (the data are compiled in September, while the school year ends in December). In any event, they are certainly much more real than the initial enrolment rate, since this is often distorted by the tendency to take promises of enrolment into account, and by other problems.

BRAZIL: SOME EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

Category	1960	1970	1980
Population	70 070 457	93 193 037	119 070 865
Population aged 7 to 14 years	14 406 371	19 692 771	21 933 936
Population aged 7 to 14 years attending school	7 480 673	13 236 860	14 842 092
School enrolment rate, 7 to 14 years of age	51.92%	67.20%	67.70%
Pupils aged 7 to 14 years not attending school	6 925 698	6 455 911	7 091 844
Proportion over age in basic education	24.87%	32.29%	25.20%
<i>Literacy (15 years and over)</i>			
Percentage of illiterates	39.48%	33.11%	26.08%
Absolute figures	15 877 113	17 882 248	19 413 034
<i>Indexes of school performance</i>			
Began in first year and reached fourth year	23.29%	36.80%	39.40%
Began in first year and reached eighth year	8.60%	17.20%	17.70%

Source: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia y Estadística (IBGE). Index of performance data supplied by SEEC/MEC. Data processed by SEAC/SEPS/MEC, Brasília, 1982.

d) The rate of illiteracy continues very high, i.e., approximately 25% of the population aged 15 years and over, and in absolute terms the number of illiterates in 1980 reached nearly 20 million. Although a considerable decrease was recorded between 1970 and 1980, it fell far short of expectations, especially considering the programme specially set up to tackle this problem: the Brazilian Literacy Movement (Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização—MOBRAL), the objective of which was to reach a rate of approximately 10% by 1980.⁴

e) School performance is still a substantial challenge. In 1980 the eighth year of basic education was reached by only 20% of the children who had entered school seven years before, which means that drop-out and school retard-

ment affected 80%. Although performance made considerable progress between 1960 and 1970 (rising from 8.6% to 17.2%), it remained virtually stationary throughout the following decade.⁵

These data, indubitably disconcerting, must be compared with the economic growth data. The 1970s, of course, were the decade of Brazil's maximum growth, although at its close the rate visibly declined; at its opening very high growth rates were recorded, reaching in 1973 a 14% increase in the gross domestic product; thence arose the exaggerated notion of a Brazil-

⁴See V. Paiva, "MOBRAL: um desacerto autoritário", published in three parts in *Síntese* 23, Nova Fase, Rio de Janeiro, Centro João XXIII, September/December 1981, January/April 1982 and May/August 1982.

⁵In the Second National Development Plan (II PND), proposed for the period 1975-1979, it was assumed that the rate of school enrolment would exceed about 80% by the end of the 1970s, which in practice was not the case. See P. Demo, *Política social nas décadas de 60 e 70*, Fortaleza, Editora das Universidades do Ceará, 1981; *Brasil: 14 anos de revolução*, document prepared by the Institute of Economic and Social Planning (IPEA), Brasília, 1978.

ian 'economic miracle'. Obviously, such an achievement brought about very complicated effects—for instance, the external debt—but it cannot be denied that in practice economic growth did take place.

This evidence suggests that education would seem to have contributed very little to growth, in view of the foregoing figures, which revealed a relative stagnation of basic education. No strictly causal relation should be looked for, either in a negative sense (the training of human resources has nothing to do with economic growth) or in a positive sense (the training of human resources is a cause of economic growth).

At all events, it is important, as will be seen later, to distinguish between growth and development. We shall seek to relate education with development rather than with growth, since the latter signifies the accumulation of wealth and capital, and the display of a capacity to maximize the economic product in quantitative terms, while development implies the distribution of the product and of wealth, participation in the progressive enrichment of the country. The concept of development is primarily qualitative and exhibits a political participation component; for this reason, we would say that it is participation that converts growth into development.⁶

Thus, growth can occur without development, provided that the former is accompanied by a concentration of income; income increases, but its distribution is unfavourable to the lower groups. In the last analysis, it might be said that a country can grow without education but cannot develop without it, since it is a necessary (although not a sufficient) pre-requisite for all forms of political participation. Perhaps this is just what happened in Brazil during the 1970s.

In social policy two central spheres of action are to be distinguished: the *socio-economic* and the *political*.⁷ The socio-economic sphere reflects the problems of material survival and in it, accord-

ingly, attention is concentrated on the question of occupation and of income. In these terms, there is no more effective and structural way of distributing income than through insertion in the labour market. This is more important than vocational training and than nutrition, sanitation and housing programmes. Any social policy, in the socio-economic sphere, will be the less welfare-oriented and the more redistributive, the more capable it is of adequately incorporating the active population in the labour market.

This depends essentially on the performance of the economy, for it is the economy that generates jobs and employment opportunities; in this connection, there is little that education can do. At all events, here we have one of the fundamental challenges of development, i.e.: on the quantitative plane, how to create a sufficient number of jobs; on the qualitative plane, how to generate earnings higher than the minimum wage.

The political sphere relates to the problem of participation, i.e.: together with adequate insertion in the labour market, its defence as the worker's due by right of conquest or as an integral constituent of citizenship. Participation is essentially a conquest; it is not given or granted, nor is it pre-existent; it exists only if it is won. Nor can there ever be enough of it. It is an unending historical process of democratization.

The economy has no distributive function. If distribution is to be obtained, political pressure must be applied by those concerned. In the political sphere, participation is the road to redistribution and self-promotion, through which is constituted a society of citizens, or, in other words, individuals capable of assuming rights and duties, contributors to and participants in the destinies of society.

In this sphere, education is a necessary and irreplaceable requisite; this is what reinstates it as an essential component of development.

⁶See M. Wolfe, *Desenvolvimento: para que e para quem?* Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1976; P. Senger, *Desenvolvimento e crise*, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1977; P. Demo, *Desenvolvimento e política social no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Tempo Brasileiro, 1978.

⁷See S.B. Ammann, *Participação social*, São Paulo, Editora Cortez e Moraes, 1977; P. Demo, *Pobreza socio-econômica e política*, Florianópolis, Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 1980; and by the same author, *Participação é conquista: Noções de política social participativa*, Universidade de Brasília/INEP, Brasília, mimeographed text, 1982.

II

Wherein lies the need for education?

It is impossible to show that education is of no socio-economic importance, taking this to mean above all its possible effect on the training of human resources.⁸ Of course any country needs skilled workers, especially at the secondary education level. The ever-quoted examples of Germany's energetic pursuit of its national reconstruction after the war and of Japan's pre-eminence in terms of occupation of the international market and of internal growth, are not without their *raison d'être*. Nor can it be denied that when some importance is attached to study, another end in view is the improvement of the conditions of survival. It can justifiably be asserted that someone who is short of economic resources tries to acquire some specialized skill in order to guarantee his rise in the social scale.⁹

Nevertheless, the socio-economic importance of education is less than is imagined or expected. In simplified terms, it may be said that:

- a) Education does not create productive jobs, as the economy can, especially in respect of its secondary sector;
- b) Education does not reduce the abundance of the manpower supply, and training for jobs through specialization never necessarily coincides with their generation;
- c) Education does not always succeed in neutralizing the effects of socio-economic poverty, such a malnutrition, which may mean that very little advantage can be taken of schooling.¹⁰

The foregoing points suggest that, on the socio-economic plane, lack of education is not the

most serious problem. More disquieting, undoubtedly, is the want of economic dynamism, when industrial activity absorbs only a very small proportion of the available labour force, with the result that too much of it is absorbed in the antiquated primary sector and in the swollen ranks of the tertiary sector.

Thus, from the socio-economic viewpoint, the employment/income variable is more decisive, since it has greater capacity to guarantee a higher level of education than the reverse.¹¹ The very selectivity of the educational system seems to bear eloquent witness to this effect. The eighth year of basic education is reached by 20% of the initial enrolment at most, and it is by no means difficult to show that this process of selection is mainly economic. Similarly, the inordinate growth of higher education during the past decade, especially of private institutions at that level, would appear to reveal the economic power of the privileged classes, which are capable of obliging the country to spend at a faster rate on higher education than on basic education.¹²

A somewhat ingenuous outlook is very common, according to which occupational training *per se* would guarantee access to employment. Although this may occur, it is patent that occupational training would only be effective if the economy were to generate a sufficient number of jobs. Otherwise, a surplus of professionals or skilled workers helps to force down salaries and wages, as is already happening in many university careers. Furthermore, everything confirms the view that enterprises could easily do without the schools, if all they offered was occupational training, since the enterprises themselves possess many other

⁸UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *La educación y los problemas del empleo*, Final Reports 3, Buenos Aires, October 1981; A.C. de Andrade, *Coordinación del sistema formal de educación con el de formación profesional en países de América Latina*, Montevideo, OAS/CINTERFOR, Estudios y Monografías, No. 34, 1978.

⁹See Claudio Salm, *Escola e trabalho*, São Paulo, Editora Brasiliense, 1980.

¹⁰See P. Demo, *Educação, cultura e política social*, Porto Alegre, Editora Fundação Padre Landell de Moura - FE-PLAM, 1980.

¹¹See L.A. Cunha, *Educação e desenvolvimento social no Brasil*, *op. cit.*; P. Demo, *Desenvolvimento e política social no Brasil*, *op. cit.*

¹²During the 1960s enrolment in higher education increased by over 1 000% and in basic education by approximately 70%; in the 1970s, enrolment in higher education rose by over 300%, while the basic cycle showed practically no growth.

means of satisfying this requirement. Their primary interest is in the 'teaching of skills' to get the work done and thus increase productivity, though here, of course, an exception must be made of those few functions that call for creativity and administrative talent.¹³

It is not that occupational training must necessarily be a matter of teaching skills; although it is dependent, nevertheless, on prevailing socio-economic conditions, and tends to exemplify education as viewed from the angle of instruction, of teaching, of training of manpower, rather than from that of creative social motivation and the development of potentialities. From the standpoint of the enterprise, the tendency to teach skills is characteristic, since its objective is to increase productivity. For the same reason, there is a general preference for the training given in the enterprise itself, which, with its modern means of 'manipulating' the learner, makes for forming a well-adapted and productive worker rather than a citizen capable of constructive criticism and creativeness.

Nor is it possible, moreover, to fail to recognize that poverty profoundly affects school performance, owing either to the effects of malnutrition, to the compelling need to work all or part of the day or to a potential lack of interest in any content not directly linked to material survival.

Occupational training, however, is only one of the important facets of education. Equally fundamental is the *socialization* dimension, with its negative and positive aspects. Generally speaking, the negative features of social reproduction are accentuated, making themselves apparent mainly through the trend towards crystallization of social inequalities.¹⁴ In other words, education is not only a universal 'training'

process, which casts individuals in the moulds expected by the system and seeks to secure their commitment to the maintenance of order, but is also a means of safeguarding privileges through qualitative reservations: for the poor, a poor education; for the rich, a privileged education. So marked is this tendency that free public education itself, when it attains a good level, is monopolized mainly by the privileged members of the system, as in the chronic case of the universities; the privileged study in favourable conditions and free of charge, the rest pay for poor-quality private education.

But there are also the positive aspects, linked to the transmission of knowledge, of information, of accomplishments, etc.¹⁵ Even though ingenuously at times, considerable attention is usually paid to this facet, because it is generally the prism through which families envisage education. Their children go to school in search of instruction, of knowledge and even of erudition, in contrast to those remaining ignorant. And this the school can offer, playing therein an important role as a modernizing factor of society, in which is condensed the basic function of learning. To learn is an essential activity in life and, although more can be learnt from life itself than in school, the latter can be an effective source of learning. In short, in this respect the school can be said to play an essential formative role, necessary to equip us for facing modern life.

It is important to recognize, however, that in this function the school is tending to be superseded by the modern communication media, which can better its instruction. True, the school is a major source of transmission of knowledge, which gives it indisputable value, but it is not altogether irreplaceable. Without inclining towards the extreme position that advocates total deschooling of society, it must be acknowledged that real competitors exist in this field.¹⁶

¹³See Claudio Salm, *Escola e trabalho*, op. cit.

¹⁴See P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron, *A reprodução — elementos para uma teoria do sistema de ensino*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Francisco Alves, 1975; B. Freitag, *Escola, Estado e sociedade*, São Paulo, Editora Moraes, 1980; J.C.G. Durand (comp.), *Educação e hegemonia de classe — as funções ideológicas da escola*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 1979; C. Nunes, *Escola e dependência — o ensino secundário e a manutenção da ordem*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Achiamé, 1980; M. de L.C.D. Nosella, *As mais belas mentiras — a ideologia subjacente aos textos didáticos*, São Paulo, Editora Moraes, 1980; W.G. Rossi, *Capitalismo e educação — contribuição ao estudo crítico da economia da educação capitalista*, São Paulo, Editora Cortez e Moraes, 1978.

¹⁵See W.E. García (co-ordinator), *Inovação educacional no Brasil — problemas e perspectivas*, São Paulo, Cortez Editora, 1980; UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, *El cambio educativo — situación y condiciones*, Buenos Aires, Final Reports 2, August 1981.

¹⁶See I. Illich, *Sociedade sem escolas*, Petrópolis, Editora Vozes, 1979.

However, other important effects of education still remain, among which we would chiefly single out its effect on women, as regards the reduction of the birth rate, as well as the inculcation of habits of learning and behaviour which make for a general increase in adaptability. This last characteristic, above all, may be much appreciated by enterprises, inasmuch as it could easily be translated, in operational terms, as productive 'docility'.

Alongside what we have very briefly described as the *socio-economic* approach and as the *socializing* approach, there is at least a third approach which seems to us more essential and

possibly irreplaceable: that of *formation*. This is a specifically political approach, not necessarily linked to formal schooling, but committed to the process of forming citizens, in which the cultural dimension is also an essential ingredient. Certainly to educate is also to train human resources, still more to socialize, but primarily and in essence its purpose is *formative*, or, in other words, it should develop the creative and participative potentialities of the individual and of society. In this regard education is irreplaceable, and an essential factor in development.

III

Education and participation

What the lack of education means for the illiterate or for persons with insufficient schooling might be summed up as *being deprived of fitness for the exercise of citizenship*.

The essence of citizenship cannot be related to specific ideologies of actual democracies, inasmuch as these are only possible and relative prescriptions, but to the general objective of socio-economic and political participation, over and above and in spite of the systems in force.

It is important to grasp the tenor of this type of relation between education and participation, which is not mechanical or automatic. However much evidence can be collected to suggest that an educated people is a free people, the social sciences have been unable to interpret it as necessarily implying a cast-iron link between education and liberty. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in perceiving likewise that to be a democrat it is not indispensable to be able to read. The most extravagant ideologies are generally forged by intellectuals, or, in other words, highly educated persons, as in the case of Nazism, authoritarianism, racism, colonialism, and so forth.

Perhaps it may be useful to distinguish between two main dimensions in this field: the *formative* and the *cultural*. Education in the formative sense is a strongly humanistic project,

based on the creativity and potentialities of the individual and of society, and promoting by natural means the cultivation of the participative area. It takes the educand to be the protagonist in the process of formation of an individual with rights and duties, capable of self-determination and of adopting a creative position *vis-à-vis* the world and society. It is in this sense that it is asserted that education is less concerned with training human resources for the economic system, than with forming citizens. This is not prejudicial to the work approach, since work forms part of the citizen's life, but work is seen as a right of citizenship, not the reverse.¹⁷

Education as *cultural* achievement becomes a consequence of the cultural process, this latter being understood as the artificer of community identity and the context of self-promotion.¹⁸

¹⁷See the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais — INEP), *A profissionalização do ensino na Lei 5692/71*, Brasília, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982: cf. the chapter on work, the conception of work and education ("Trabalho, concepção de trabalho educação"), pp. 11 *et seq.*

¹⁸See P. Demo, *La dimension culturelle de la politique sociale*, paper drafted for UNESCO (in preparation for the Mexico meeting on culture in August 1982), Brasília, mimeographed text, December 1980.

The idea of culture cannot be restricted to its classic dimension of the *élite*, of leisure and of art; without depreciating that conception, what is most important is to understand a people's formative process, in order to grasp the characteristic features of its past creativity and its future potentialities, the end pursued being the capacity to define and to achieve the development that suits it best. Thus, this idea of culture easily incorporates the *motivating* spirit of participation and becomes the natural frame of reference of education. The latter would be enforced, alien and aggressive if it were incapable of respecting the community culture and the existing potentialities.

Once again it seems necessary to reiterate here that the cultural relation too is neither mechanical nor automatic. Culture is an essential referent for any participative process, because participating means being capable of making a contribution, and this capacity materializes through the most characteristic product of the historical formation of a society, namely, its culture. Nevertheless, there are undoubtedly negative features in any culture, however much they may be expressive of a characteristic of the community: '*machismo*', aggressiveness, urban anonymity, etc., are very typical features of our culture, but that does not make them positive.

It cannot be denied, however, that culture has a specific power, inasmuch as it moulds behaviour, nurtures ideologies, signposts the paths of history, and shapes ways of being and loving, as well as modes of doing and producing. This influence, although it does not generate coercion, which would be an assault upon the idea of participation, does constitute a historical tendency of recognized strength. Such is education: in so far as it is the expression of a democratic culture, while it does not necessarily guarantee democracy, it creates the most propitious atmosphere possible for participation.¹⁹

If participation is to be authentic, it must be the instrument and content of a historical process of conquest. The natural propensity of edu-

cation is to reproduce rather than to change the social structure. It can become a major channel of participation, in so far as it acquires the necessary historical and political awareness of its role in the formation of citizens. The educator is not participative by vocation: quite the opposite.

At all events, within the framework of social policy, the most appropriate place for education is the political sphere, alongside other channels of participation, such as the organization of civic society, participative planning and research and the cultural identification of the community.²⁰

Among the components of the citizenship project are the following:

- a) the idea of *formation*, not of training, since the starting-point is the potentiality of the educand, on the assumption that he is the principal party to the process;
- b) the idea of *participation*, of *self-promotion*, of *self-determination*, i.e., the central content of social policy, understood as the realization of the participatively desired society;
- c) the idea of a subjective social being, not an object, a patient, a client, an element;
- d) the idea of *rights* and of *duties*, above all those that are fundamental, such as human rights, the duties of a citizen the right to the satisfaction of basic needs, the right to education, etc.;
- e) the idea of *democracy*, as the form of socio-economic and political organization best suited to guarantee participation as a process of conquest;
- f) the idea of *liberty*, *equality* and *community*, which leads to the formulation of ideologies committed to the reduction of social and regional inequalities, to development, to enhancing the quality of life and well-being defined in cultural terms, to the satisfaction of basic needs and to the guaranteeing of the fundamental human rights;
- g) the idea of access to *information* and to *knowledge*, as instruments of the growth of the economy and of society, as well as of socio-economic and political participation;
- h) the idea of access to *skills* capable of in-

¹⁹See S.B. Ammann, *Participação social*, São Paulo, Editora Cortez e Moraes, 1977; and by the same author, *Ideologia do desenvolvimento de comunidade no Brasil*, São Paulo, Editora Cortez e Moraes, 1980.

²⁰See P. Demo, *Participação e conquista — Noções de política social participativa*, Brasília, Universidad de Brasília/ INEP, mimeographed text, 1982.

creasing the creativity of work, conceived here as a cultural component rather than as a mere productive element.

In the light of these considerations, it seems possible to delineate more precisely what the lack of education means to an illiterate person, i.e., being deprived of fitness for the exercise of citizenship. If we do not understand it in either a mechanical or an automatic sense, the assertion may be made that without education a people cannot be emancipated. History is replete with examples of peoples which 'in a very well-educated way' exploit other peoples, inasmuch as knowledge, science and technology are used for projects of destruction rather than in the service of participation. At all events, this fact alone shows how necessary it is to think of education in the context of power and of participative conquest.²¹

As the daughter and often the slave of power, education has a natural tendency to reproduce social inequalities. For this very reason, facile proposals for education to be made participative by those in power may be overhasty, since such a change is a realistic possibility only if it is understood as a conquest and not as a product of prevailing trends. Participation must be defined precisely as its own conquest, since there is no such thing as given and definitive participation. It is native to the logic of power to incline towards imposition and accumulation of privileges. Of its natural tendencies, the first to appear is imposition; just as the market, left to its own logic, concentrates income. The distribution of income and power is a matter of participatory conquest, not the mechanical or automatic effect of economic growth.

It is essential that education be a formative process, not because it springs from a supposititious vocation for magnanimity, which would simply be ingenuous paternalism and welfarism, but because, since it tends to consecrate imposition, it must be transformed into a conquest of

participation. Education as culture acquires even more central importance, inasmuch as it implies transcending mere exhortatory flights and beginning to consolidate, through firm behaviour patterns and habits, the process of democratization.

In this connection, it may be asserted that an uneducated (unformed) person is more exposed to 'manipulation' by those in power, to adoption of imitative mass behaviour patterns, to ignorance of fundamental rights and duties, to the allurements of foreign ideologies, etc. If we revert to the data given at the outset of the present article, it will be easy to see that this situation is prejudicial to the formation of citizenship. The harm it does may take the following forms: a) *political obstructions*, such as casuistry in party life, populism and 'manipulation' of the vote, apprehensions as regards popular participation, indeterminate trade-unionism, and little organization of civic society; b) *socio-economic obstructions*, such as a timid, compensatory or welfarist social policy, lack of resistance to abuses of economic power, defencelessness with regard to unemployment and the satisfaction of basic needs; loss of the character of development, a process more dependent upon the outside world than generated from within; c) *cultural obstructions*: weak community participation, or a tendency towards State welfarism; imitativeness in the fields of science and technology; little remembrance of the country's past; and only a slight sense of national, regional or community identity.

In the political sphere, education may serve—in utilitarian phrase—to reject impositions on the part of the dominant structure, to repress inordinate economic exploitation and to rectify intolerable social inequalities, as it gradually forms citizens capable of self-defence and of collaboration. Education can establish the right conditions for a more acceptable society: it is not a sufficient but a necessary requisite for development.

²¹See M. Gadotti, *Educação e poder—Introdução à pedagogia do conflito*, São Paulo, Editora Cortez e Moraes, 1980; V. Paiva, *Paulo Freire e o nacionalismo desenvolvimentista*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Civilização Brasileira, 1980; M. Carnoy, *La*

educación como imperialismo cultural, Mexico City, Editorial Siglo XXI, 1978; M. Berger, *Educação e dependencia*, São Paulo, Editora Difusão Editorial, 1980.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears important to stress that the linkage between education and participation cannot be reduced to the specific dimensions of the systems in force, whether capitalist, socialist or of any other sort. The very notion of culture suggests the necessary diversity of models and, at bottom, the limitless character of our formative potentialities. Participation is an authentic utopia; it is not fully realized, but it is an indestructible and permanent constituent of a social process which is a constant evolution. All the participation that can be achieved is little in comparison with the infinite extent of our formative expectations. And like knowledge, participation knows no bounds, although it cannot be set up as an autonomous or exclusive variable, since if

there were no material production there would be nothing to distribute either. But political poverty may be no less than poverty of the socio-economic kind; or, in other words, the need for political participation is as infrastructural as the need for material participation.²²

Perhaps we might put forward the hypothesis that the economy, in general, *grows* irrespective of human resources, but society does not *develop* without education.

²²See P. Demo, *Pobreza sócio-econômica e política*, op. cit.; and by the same author, *Pesquisa participante — mito e realidade*, University of Brasília/INEP, Brasília, mimeographed text, 1982.

Styles of development and education

A stocktaking of myths, prescriptions and potentialities

*Marshall Wolfe**

In a number of articles, some of them published in *CEPAL Review*, the author has made a critical analysis of the development models which prevailed in Latin America during the 1950s and 1960s, their limitations—both as regards their results and as regards the assumptions on which they were based—and the new models proposed, especially during the last decade. The first chapter of this article is a brief summary of these ideas, necessary in order to tackle the main concern of the article, namely, the current problems of education, its trends, and the possibility and feasibility of its reorientation.

The article then goes on to deal with some specific topics connected with its central concern. On the one hand, it sets forth the principles on which the transformation of the educational models and conditions should be based, such as intellectual preparation for an uncertain future, the formulation of national projects and the identification of the social forces which could support them, the understanding of educational institutions and their clientele, and the capacity to get away from preconceived action formulas. On the other hand, it appraises some recent experiences in educational reform and considers the significance of non-formal education. Finally, it examines the role that could be played by three important 'clienteles' of the educational system in the event of its reform: young university-educated persons, teachers, and the poor or excluded.

As regards future trends, the author takes the view that, generally speaking, neither a situation of stable continuism nor one of thorough-going change will prevail, but rather policies of 'crisis management' whose consequences are very difficult to anticipate.

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I

New myths for old?

During the 1950s and early 1960s, 'development' and 'education' took shape in Latin America as ideological constructions, models or myths purporting to explain real processes of societal reproduction, growth and structural change and to show how to accelerate or manipulate these processes. The same constructions can be labelled 'models' for their use by planners to order their prescriptions and 'myths' for their wider dissemination so as to mobilize consensus behind certain directions of change and certain sacrifices.¹ The models or myths of economic development, social development and education followed parallel courses, the latter two sometimes competing with but more often dominated by the former.² Regional and global organizations, in particular ECLA, UNESCO and the OAS, promoted their standardization through innumerable meetings, reports and advisory services. The Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean constitutes, among other things, a stocktaking at the end of the 1970s of their heuristic and operational power as models and their inspirational and mobilizing power as myths.

The model or myth of economic development envisaged a speeding up of capital accumulation, supplemented by financial flows and technological innovations from abroad, supporting a transition from predominantly agrarian export-oriented economies to predominantly urban-industrial economies

¹ Celso Furtado, *El desarrollo económico: un mito*, Mexico City, Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975.

² Dr. Raúl Prebisch speaks of "...an attitude which is far from having disappeared, and which consists in selecting some partial and fragmentary aspects of development on which to preach 'sound-doctrine', sometimes, often in fact, in admonitory accents. The solution of the development problem, we were told over and over again, is a question of population." ... "Next it was the turn of education. Who can deny its significance, not only economic but also cultural? But in this fragmentary view of a global phenomenon it was often forgotten that the education problem could not be dealt with or resolved outside the context of development and of the inescapable need to speed up accumulation and alter the composition of capital." "Socio-economic structure and crisis of peripheral capitalism", *CEPAL Review*, No. 6, second half of 1978, p. 168.

oriented toward the domestic market, with continual enhancement of productive capacity and national economic autonomy leading to eventual ability to provide employment, incomes supporting adequate levels of consumption, and modern social services to the whole population. These advances would take place within basically capitalist systems controlling the means of production and sources of accumulation, but would require vigorous support and guidance by the State, making use of newly available and readily transferable techniques of planning.

The model or myth of education envisaged continually increasing enrolments in the formal educational system and continually increasing allocations of public funds to it, accompanied by reforms in educational content and distribution, leading to universalization of the basic 'tool skills' and to output of the 'human resources' needed for development, in correct quantities and qualities, according to the narrower economicist versions, or leading to this objective plus equalization of opportunities and enhancement of capacity to function as citizens and consumers in societies oriented by democratic political institutions, according to broader versions.³ Educational planning linked with overall development planning would enable the State to intervene intelligently and harmonize educational output with the stage of development and with other priority demands on public resources.

At the end of the 1970s, a confrontation of the realities of 'development' and 'education' with these rationalistic and optimistic perspectives reminds one of folk tales in which a malevolent spirit grants wishes. The productive capacity of the national economies has grown enormously and the structures of production, distribution and consumption have been transformed and 'modernized', in the larger countries at least. The capacity of the State to implement as well as formulate development strategies has increased markedly —although this really means capacity to impose *some*

strategies consonant with the international and national distribution of power, and not others.

Allocations to formal education and the quantitative growth of the educational systems have, in many cases, exceeded the expectations of human-resource-oriented planners at the beginning of the period. Education has, on the whole, met whatever demands have been made on it for 'human resources', although several studies in the Project demonstrate that these demands have had little to do with the vision of the schools turning out packages of skills to fill predictable niches in the economic system.⁴ Education has contributed very significantly to the kinds of societal modernization and social mobility that have taken place.

The parts of the national populations able to make themselves heard have identified themselves, on the whole, with what has happened in the name of development, modernization and education, and are hostile to any threats to their expectations to obtain more in the way of consumption and upward social mobility from the same processes.

Yet it is too evident to require elaboration that the national societies that have emerged from the real processes of growth and change are no more equitable, nor more stable, nor more autonomous, nor more capable of democratic consensus on national goals than before. Depending on the indicators used, one can reach different conclusions as to whether the masses of the population are any better off materially than before, but there can be no doubt that their *relative* deprivation, the visibility of this deprivation *vis-à-vis* the excesses of the consumer society, and their inconformity with deprivation have increased.

A sense of lost opportunities, of growth processes turning malignant, of squandering of irreplaceable natural as well as human resources, of contradictions forced underground, of urgent needs for new conceptions and strategies is pervasive, not only among the anti-capitalist sectors of opinion that never accepted the earlier

³The ECLA publication, *Education, human resources and development in Latin America*, United Nations, New York, 1968, sets forth, in different chapters, the narrower version, a broader version, and early doubts concerning both of them.

⁴See, in particular, Juan Carlos Tedesco, *Educación e industrialización en la Argentina*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/9.

models or myths, but also among the intellectual fathers of these models or myths, who now view the divergences between expectations and realities not as inefficiencies and lags to be expected in any period of transition and remediable by further growth, but as inherent characteristics or sources of dynamism of an imitative 'peripheral capitalism'⁵ or 'transnational' style of development.⁶ The gearing of the structures of political power, production and consumption to this style of development has narrowed the options that formerly seemed to be accessible to governments in Latin America, or left them with no visible alternative to serving, with varying degrees of resort to armed force and to social palliatives, the requirements of the style, at a time when the style itself, and the consumer society it has generated, are losing dynamism and confidence in their centres of diffusion.⁷

⁵See, in particular, Raúl Prebisch, "A critique of peripheral capitalism", *CEPAL Review*, No. 1, first hal of 1976, pp. 9-76, and "Socio-economic structure and crisis of peripheral capitalism", *CEPAL Review*, No. 6, second hal of 1978, pp. 159-252.

⁶For present purposes, the most satisfactory definitions of 'style of development' are following: "the way in which human and material resources are organized and assigned within a particular system (capitalist or socialist) with the object of solving such questions as what goods and services to produce, how, and for whom" and "the specific and dynamic modality adopted by a social system within a particular context and at a particular moment in history". Aníbal Pinto, "Styles of development in Latin America", *CEPAL Review*, No. 1, first hal of 1976, p. 105, and Jorge Graciarena, "Power and development styles", *ibid.*, p. 186. The term became current in Latin America at the beginning of the 1970s, largely to explain and justify various national initiatives aspiring to overcome the 'excluding and concentrating' traits of the real processes of growth and modernization, without altogether abandoning the original models or myths of capitalist development guided and humanized by the State. More recent formulations have used the term somewhat differently, arguing that the ascendancy of a homogenizing 'transnational style' has made such options illusory and the differences between national styles mainly expressions of different capacities for successful adaptation to the ascending and penetrating transnational style. See Osvaldo Sunkel, "The interaction between styles of development and the environment in Latin America", *CEPAL Review*, No. 12, December 1980, pp. 15-50.

⁷See Marshall Wolfe, "Reinventing development: utopias devised by committees and seeds of change in the real world", *CEPAL Review*, No. 7, April 1979, pp. 7-40.

The larger countries of Latin America, comprising most of the regional population, by conventional yardsticks are now 'semi-developed', entitled to the label of 'middle class' among nations, and spokesmen for the original myth of development have repeatedly urged their governments to recognize that their levels of income and productivity give them already the material capacity to eliminate critical poverty and distribute the fruits of development with a reasonable degree of equity. However, this 'semi-development' seems to be a trap, in which the appetites of the groups holding a share of power, manipulated by the promotional and marketing features of the transnational style, block any significant redistribution as well as adequate domestic accumulation of capital for further growth. Short-term borrowing from commercial banks in the central countries, facilitated by an international conjuncture unlikely to persist indefinitely, is a precarious substitute for such accumulation.

Unrealized reformist and revolutionary warnings of imminent catastrophe for the prevailing style of development have a long enough history to warn one against underestimating its potential for adaptation and survival. Even if the dominant forces in the national societies remain willing and able to impose the price to be paid by the weaker sectors, however, the increasingly disruptive mutations in the world centres make the future meeting of the style's external requirements —financing, energy supplies, political guarantees, ideological models— problematic.

The contradictory impression of major quantitative achievements gone wrong and heading toward impasses applies as much to the educational as to the economic aspects of the style of development. At one extreme, the hypertrophy of higher education, deriving from factors diagnosed in some of the Project's studies, has gone far beyond an inequitable and self-perpetuating distribution of opportunities to acquire the qualifications needed and rewarded by the style of development, and it now amounts to an entrenchment of spurious education leading to spurious absorption into employment. At the other extreme, primary education of such poor quality as to be equally spurious confirms the marginalization of much

of the population from a style of development that, in any case, has little need for them. The educational systems have done something—probably much less than the mass communication media—to diffuse 'modern' consumerist values throughout the population, and to inculcate respect for certain symbols of nationality, but otherwise they have done little to support a common cultural frame of reference. As in the case of the economic systems, the momentum of growth of the educational systems, the resources invested, and the entrenchment of clienteles with fixed expectations seems to rule out the adoption of coherent alternatives, or major redistributions of educational resources, except at very heavy political and other costs.

It would be ingenuous to attribute the inequities, inefficiencies, contradictions and signs of probable future non-viability in the organization of production, distribution, consumption and education in Latin America today to misleading models or myths and misconceived strategies. The political and technobureaucratic actors have generally exaggerated their ability to understand and control the course of events. In the case of education, reformer-planners having the ear of power have recurrently fostered visions of bringing about major social changes through education in a hostile or uncomprehending environment and through instruments (teachers and bureaucrats) with purposes of their own. When real trends have continued to diverge widely from their calculations and to cast doubt on the relevance of their roles within the State, they have fallen back on rituals substituting for control, with declining faith in their efficacy, most notably in the elaboration and publication of fixed-term plans.

The models, myths, plans and strategies have had consequences, for better or worse, but it would probably be impossible to assess the extent to which present patterns would have been different in their absence. The remarkable increases in allocations to education since the 1950s, for example, would probably have taken place through social pressures and political calculations, even if the 'human resource' and related arguments had never been formulated,

and these arguments had little to do with the lines taken by educational expansion.

The unexpected and unwanted consequences of the dependence of educational expansion on the distribution of power in the society and the striving to confirm, or obtain differential social and occupational advantages have not discouraged convictions among reformer-planners, as well as sectors of the wider public, that education can be used to change society in a desired direction. Presumably the Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean is committed to this viewpoint. Its studies confronting educational-developmental objectives with real trends in the uses different clienteles have tried to make of education should, in principle, point the way to more sophisticated and effective tactics for would-be agents of social change through education.

When one tries to formulate the lessons, however, one is tempted to hedge them with so many qualifications that their purport for policy is as obscure as the future itself. Albert Hirschman's image of the 'hiding hand' comes to mind. Major innovative policies are more likely to be pursued vigorously if their originators are convinced that the way ahead is straight-forward; the results may be beneficial on balance even if not what they hoped for. If, in the language of international advice, which shies away from over-concreteness, they had tried to 'take into account' all the perplexities that lie ahead, they might never have got started.

The model or myths of the 1950s relied on a number of suppositions that can now only be admitted, at best, with modifications so extensive as to change their nature, but when these are listed it is evident that if reformer-planners threw them overboard altogether, they would leave themselves without compass or rudder, uncertain of their own roles and without clear interlocutors in the society. The suppositions include:

- 1) That the national State is capable of applying coherent strategies representing some conception of the general interests of the society, with some degree of autonomy *vis-à-vis* the balance of forces in the society.

- 2) That 'planning' can help the State do this through application of an identifiable,

transferable, politically neutral body of techniques.

3) That the different classes and organized interest-groups in the society are accessible to rational demonstrations of what needs to be done, in the light of common values of national solidarity, equity and efficiency; and that the demonstrations themselves can be more than rationalizations of the interests of the dominant forces.

4) That quantitative indicators and targets can reflect real levels, trends and outputs sufficiently to serve as a basic framework for policy and planning, and that a reasonable degree of correspondence between quantitative and qualitative changes and outputs can be expected.

5) That capital accumulation and quantitative growth in production, incomes, formal education, public allocations to social services, etc., will eventually either lead semi-automatically to reasonably equitable distribution, democratization, social stability and national autonomy, or make such achievements possible through reforms planned and administered by the State.

6) That quantitative growth will eventually solve or facilitate solutions for unwanted by-products or distortions of the development process, such as widening gaps in consumption levels and life styles, or degradation of the environment and the quality of life, and that these phenomena can thus be ignored or given a low priority in policy and planning for the medium term.

7) That the 'developed' or 'industrialized' countries (capitalist or socialist) have achieved indefinitely sustainable processes of growth in production, education and general welfare and that the rest of the world can achieve similar results by adoption and creative adaptation of one of these models or parts of both.

At this point, one must turn to the new models or myths that are emerging from the parallel criticism and demystifications of 'development' and 'education' during the later 1960s and the 1970s and ask whether, or under what conditions, they will be able to influence the future directions of growth and change in Latin America, under the specific conditions summarized above, at a time when several

national initiatives to achieve radically different styles through combinations of State action with manipulated popular mobilization have failed and when receptivity to proposals for planned transformation is low.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of these new models or myths, whose production, discussion and dissemination have practically become an institutionalized way of life. They range from the participatory and egalitarian socialist styles of development urged by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, the Fundación Bariloche, and other institutions, through the Prebisch proposals for transformation through State-guided social use of the surplus⁸ and the ILO schemes for development centred on the meeting of basic needs, to the pragmatically reformist World Bank-associated proposals for eliminating critical poverty. The different schemes for reshaping development itself generally include or imply different strategies for the transformation of education: 'conscientization', 'de-schooling', 'permanent education', 'non-formal education', etc.

From the standpoint of the potential influence of these schemes, whether as direct guidelines for policy or as mobilizing and inspirational myths, the following observations seem justified:

1) In their more widely disseminated versions they constitute 'committee utopias', emanating from international organizations or meetings of 'experts' that are inherently unable to agree on basic theories of social change and that are prone to mix terminological innovations resuscitating prescriptions previously current, practical reforms, and radical challenges to transformation of social structures, power relationships and values. Inter-governmental bodies have found it easy to endorse such compromise formulas without committing their members to anything specific.

2) They are unable to identify convincingly societal agents potentially able and willing to

⁸Raúl Prebisch, "Towards a theory of change", *CEPAL Review*, No. 10, April 1980, pp. 155-208.

carry out the transformations or reforms called for, often falling back on warnings of catastrophe if the prescriptions are not followed, or hopes that crises will enlighten the holders of power. The earlier models or myths of development called on governments, as the key agents, to do with greater vigour and coherence things not very different from what they were already doing. The new versions heap heavy responsibilities on agents vaguely identified or left implicit (the State, the planners, techno-bureaucrats, 'enlightened' public opinion, political movements, interest-group organizations) for seeking and doing quite different things, traumatically contrary to their previous practice.

3) The proposals commonly disregard the overloading of the State's present capacity to inform itself and act coherently in pursuit of relatively modest objectives, and also the present tension between continually rising demands on the State that it 'solve problems' and rising scepticism or rejection of the State as problem-solver or arbiter.

4) In spite of the concoction of 'committee utopias' and the exhortations to 'unified approaches' to development, a good many of the new schemes present as central focuses for policy specific 'major problems'. Each major problem tends to become inflated in the course of international discussions until its solution becomes synonymous with development. The competition for attention between the spokesmen for specific problems and solutions further overloads the State's capacity to synthesize or fix priorities, and encourages the substitution of ritualized recognition of the importance of the problems for action (education was, in fact, one of the first major problems to receive this kind of attention, but it was relatively easy to make the proposed solutions compatible with the models or myths of development then current).

5) The new models or myths combine incompatible technocratic and participationist conceptions of policy-making. The former leads to exaggeration of the potential planning has for controlling the future; the latter to exaggeration of the potential of 'conscientization' and popular creativity; both evade the realities of power and the limits of goal-oriented rationality.

The conceptions of the role of education in development associated with models or myths of the 1950s and 1960s generally envisaged, at least implicitly, a major contribution to the 'modernization' of values, motivations and life styles in the service of continually rising and diversifying production and consumption. Some, as in the versions of Everett Hagen and David McClelland, made these contributions more central than the direct training of human resources for the labour market.

The more radical among the newer schemes, with varying degrees of consistency, propose an educational contribution to an entirely different life-style: egalitarian, participatory, frugal, respectful of limits imposed by ecosystems, more concerned with cultural satisfactions and creativity than with consumption of non-essential goods, replacing boundless confidence concerning the fruits of technological and managerial innovation by caution and determination to subordinate such innovation to higher priorities and values. The Prebisch proposals for transformation, while retaining the previous emphasis on accelerated capital accumulation, technological innovation, and continually rising production, call for a frontal attack on the 'privileged consumer society' and its manipulation by the forces in power and their mass communication media.

According to the earlier conceptions, education would be helping societies to modernize along lines already tested and found good by the experience of the 'developed' countries—lines self-evidently harmonious with human nature once freed from the trammels of traditionalism. The newer conceptions are obviously far from looking on the 'developed' countries as models to be imitated. In fact, they originate partly in protests from within these countries against the disbenefits and dangers of their prevailing style of development to themselves as well as the rest of the world. The newer conceptions share some degree of belief in a Rousseauian 'natural man', open to transformation once freed of societal blinkers; in the rehabilitation of peasant cultures, and in the success of socialist systems such as the Chinese in changing human nature, but basically they are calling for an educational contribution to the transformation of life-styles against the

mainstream, in the direction of social orders that have no convincing precedents.

They may well be right, and the alternative may well be societies even more unjust, repressive, wasteful and irrational than the present patterns. The contributions such conceptions demand from education are obviously central to their long-term approximation to reality. Such contributions are not too hard to define in ideal terms, as Paulo Freire, Iván Illich and others have done. They are even beginning to enter into official policy formulations in incongruous combinations with the longer-standing educational objectives.⁹ It is much harder, however, to envisage them as possible outcomes of the reform of existing educational systems than were the contributions to human resource development and modernization previously envisaged.

Somehow the expectations, social interactions and interventions in the environment of whole societies must change. The material and cultural aspects of new life styles will call for new kinds of creativity and adaptability, including the invention and

diffusion of what Illich has called 'tools for conviviality'. Even if one expects the major changes to be as conflictive and contradictory as in the past, forced on the national societies by painful demonstrations that continuism is impossible, the ideal role of education would be to help the social groups experiencing the changes to cope with them. When one tries to envisage possible paths to such an ideal role, however, one has to fall back on the conclusion that the role of education will continue to be ambivalent, highly dependent on changes in other areas and contributing as much to the persistence of outworn attitudes as to their transformation. A belief in the capacity of education to lead the way to new styles of development might be a useful myth, generating energies for a larger contribution than would otherwise be forthcoming, but it is a myth that today it would be hard to advance convincingly. The difficulty of educating for a style of development that may never become a reality exceeds that of educating for specific human resource demands that cannot be forecast with any confidence.

II

Some principles for the future

The next stages in thinking about development and education, with a view to possibilities for transformation not only of the models or myths but also of the realities, will need to recognize and incorporate an unavoidable tension between several principles. These can be summarized as follows, at the risk of seeming to exhort would-be reformer-planners to 'take into account' a paralytically indigestible combination of desiderata:

1) Intellectual preparedness for an indeterminate future that cannot be projected

with any confidence from trends up to the present. This future can be expected to confront crises of many kinds and of external as well as internal origin, calling for flexible and imaginative responses and a continuing readiness to set aside preconceptions that conflict with emerging realities. As was suggested above, an ascending 'transnational' style of growth and modernization, quite different from the images of development formulated a quarter-century ago, is encountering contradictions that may prove insuperable, practically simultaneously with its achievement of a position of dominance in Latin America and its defeat of several national attempts—all of them weakened by contradictions of their own—to achieve radically

⁹See Rodrigo Vera Godoy, "Disyuntivas de la Educación Media en América Latina", UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/19.

different styles. For the present, educational as well as other policies cannot avoid subordination to the expressions of this style in the objectives of the groups holding power and the expectations of the clientele of the policies. These constraints are bound to change, probably repeatedly, through the reactions of power-holders and clientele to the crisis, but the directions of change cannot be foreseen any more clearly now than the present conjuncture could have been foreseen two decades ago.

In a more restricted sense, education fitting the coming generation to cope with change—including the inculcation of basic scientific knowledge—will be more relevant for the dynamism and adaptability of the 'transnational' style than education imparting the skills now in demand.

2) The quest for national projects, myths, or images of the future capable of inspiring a major developmental and educational effort, and for social forces capable of identifying themselves with such projects and imposing them on reality. (For present purposes, a 'national project' can be defined as a combination of objectives and strategies, deriving from the generalized models or myths of development, but adapted to national characteristics and incorporating an image of the national future conceived as possible, desirable, and capable of mobilizing wide support.) This has been one of the leitmotif of the Project's research; the evolution of education in Latin America up to the present has been stimulated and influenced, if not guided, by a series of such national projects.¹⁰ Without national projects pointing to possible and desirable futures, the steering of any course through the real indeterminate and conflictive future becomes out of the question, even if history affords no reason to expect that the future will correspond closely to any blueprint. Education, in particular, would be condemned either to a continuation of inorganic growth—increasingly ritualistic and void of content, determined by the occupational

interests of educational bureaucrats and teachers and the credentialist interests of clientele—or to drastic curtailment determined by financing difficulties, political suspicions, and the impossibility of keeping up the 'spurious absorption' of its products.

Yet the second part of this desideratum—the identification of social forces willing and able to identify themselves with the Project—is just as important as, and harder to meet than, the formulation of plausible and attractive national projects. At present, the latter effort is falling into discredit through proliferation and inflation of declarations of objectives, tied weakly or not at all to strategies and ritualistically endorsed by governments. The 'national projects' remain those of ideologists or technobureaucrats, receiving a precarious hearing from political leaders themselves precariously in power, and practically ignored by the major social forces struggling to adapt to and extract advantages from the prevailing style of 'development'.

3). The effort to understand objectively and draw operative conclusions from the historical evolution of institutions and clientele, their present structures, the interests and tactics of the actors in them, and the constraints and opportunities all of these present for policy and planning. In most countries, the educational institutions and clientele are quite different from those of the 1950s, have much greater weight in the societies, and present more acute contradictions. The forces controlling the State, educational bureaucracies, teachers, students and their families are probably all more sensitive than before to the impact of educational policies on their own interests, expectations for the future, and images of the Good Society, if they have any. In many cases, a series of disruptive but ineffectual reforms has left them wary or hostile toward innovation. This applies not only to the much-criticized upper and middle strata but also to the marginalized groups, repeatedly called on to 'participate' in initiatives that shortly are abandoned by their promoters or suppressed by the State.¹¹

¹⁰See, in particular, Gregorio Weinberg, *Modelos educativos en el desarrollo histórico de América Latina*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/6.

¹¹See José Rivero Herrera, *La educación no-formal en la reforma peruana*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/17, especially p. 41.

Education has acquired, for different sectors, a wide range of functions for personal livelihood, social mobility, guaranteed entry into preferred areas of employment, etc., that beneficiaries will not readily abandon, whatever their incongruities with the ideal functions of education. Mass pressures for certain uses of the educational systems will continue long after the impracticability of such uses for the greater part of the amplified clientele has become obvious, as in the case of the devalued and segmented higher education of today. The administrative, planning and teaching personnel have acquired credentials in certain ways of doing things that ensure that they and not others will do what is to be done and receive the rewards; they cannot take lightly any devaluation of these credentials.

Educational diagnoses, like development diagnoses, may well lead to the conclusion that present structures should be scrapped and replaced, but they should incorporate a realistic appraisal of feasibility and cost, and of the possibilities for using or neutralizing ongoing institutions and interests. If one proceeds from the expectation that mutations in the prevailing style of development will intensify frustration and insecurity in most of the population, it may be an asset to preserve a measure of stability and capacity to change without leading to unrecognizable results in those familiar landmarks, the schools.

4) The effort to conceive alternatives, for very specific educational problems as well as for the system as a whole, with a maximum of freedom from preconceptions, stereotypes, and 'packaged' prescriptions, especially those deriving from international organization and advisers. The limited contribution of educational planning bodies up to the present to this kind of thinking, in spite of their generally reforming orientation and their relative marginalization from political and administrative responsibilities, deserves note.¹² One reason, presumably, has been that the innovations they have envisaged have

constituted 'packages' associated with their own credentials as planners, achieved through regional courses and meetings.

A recent thesis on technological development is relevant at this point: When an innovation is "offered in the international market major interest groups study the manner to influence the definition of a technological package based on this item". The recipient society or organization, it is assumed, must adapt to the 'package' and can legitimately be evaluated for its capacity to innovate and adapt successfully within the requirements of the 'package'. "The feedback is technique-oriented, not oriented to cultural or organizational purposes or opportunities." "The data and evaluation components of technological packages are perhaps one of the most subtle and effective instruments of dependence."¹³

In the case of education, the role of technological innovations has been minor, both in the sense of technologies of teaching and in the sense of teaching of technologies, in spite of a broad consensus on their importance. The conceptions of 'human resource development' and 'modernization', however, were transmitted as packages, and the newer conceptions, associated with very different images of development and the role of education within it, are being transmitted in the same way. Naturally, whatever the yardstick used, the educational systems have received low marks for their contribution to development, and the societies have received low marks for their ability to adapt to the 'package'.¹⁴

¹³Warren Crowther, *Technological development, development styles and environmental problems*, E/CEPAL/PROY. 2/ R. 35, October 1979. Crowther also states: "... educational and information technologies are... the most obvious vehicles of alien values which contradict real development, and it is imperative that national projects and policies are most explicit and realistic about the political power and ideology which such vehicles represent".

¹⁴For example, educational systems and even educational reformers in Latin America have hardly taken into account the full implications of adoption throughout the societies of technological innovations that do not require literacy for the reception of information, entertainment and cultural stimuli. The transistor radio and television presumably make literacy less essential for participation in political life and even for the acquisition of technical

¹²N. Fernández Lamarra and I. Aguerrondo, *La planificación educativa en América Latina*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Fichas/1.

This last principle of innovativeness taking nothing for granted and refusing to be overrated by conventional wisdom is particularly hard to apply in a judicious way, and would be meaningless without reference back to the other three principles. Its spurious counterpart is the 'Adamism' identified by José Medina Echavarría as a constant propensity of Latin American discourse on development: the quest for originality, terminological if not substantive, and the neglect of lessons from previous reforms, aborted or domesticated.

For actors within the machinery of the State, innovativeness concerning general objectives may be acceptable and even conducive to personal advancement, and so may identification with packaged reforms backed by international blessings and funds. Detailed questioning of the way things are done, whether

certain things are worth doing at all, and whether different things, making present credentials occupationally irrelevant, should not be done instead, are more dangerous to the questioner, and if carried too far might make a public administration, dependent on routinized and standardized solutions, unable to function at all.

Standardized and bureaucratized ways of doing things may be unavoidable without being tolerable, and one of the most fruitful tactics for would-be reformer-planners should be to seek means of reducing the scope of these ways at the base, by freeing teachers and communities to experiment, to take what they find relevant from the prescriptions now current, without committing the whole system to transform itself, in full awareness that many teachers and communities would make erratic use of their new freedom, or no use at all.

III

Some lessons from the studies

The studies carried out within the Project have had more to do with the third principle than with the second, and have treated the first and fourth only incidentally. That is, they have concentrated on the ways in which national school systems have actually evolved up to the present and the role of social and economic demands in this evolution. One cannot conduct research into what does not yet exist, and the outstanding common characteristic of the systems studied has been the primacy of demands from the forces able to make themselves heard in the societies, combined with the bureaucratic momentum of educational growth once under way, over national educational projects, reforms and innovations, packaged or otherwise.

Peru is an extremely interesting exception among the countries studied in its creative but

apparently short-lived outburst of educational reforms conceived within a national project relatively coherent in its objectives if not in its execution, juxtaposed to or competing for attention with other radical reforms in systems of agricultural and industrial production and in popular participation guided from above. The two studies carried out for the Project¹⁵ emphasize the contradictoriness of the process, combining technobureaucratic authoritarianism and denial of the legitimacy of class or interest-group struggles with stimulation of the entry of wider population strata into struggles to control their own livelihood. The main lesson seems to be one previously taught by Mexico's socialist education of the 1930s: the extreme vulnerability of educational innovations to shifts

information; at the same time they may provide stimuli for the acquisition or preservation of literacy without the intervention of the schools.

¹⁵José Matos Mar, *Educación, lengua y marginalidad rural en el Perú*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/10; and José Rivero Herrera, *op. cit.*, *La educación no formal en la reforma peruana*.

in the outlook of the power-holders, the force and complexity of societal resistances to such innovations, and the incapacity of such innovations to bring about self-sustaining changes in the society.

However, the experience of the Peruvian reform is very suggestive in relation to the principles summarized above. The reform was able to link itself to a national project and showed abundant creativity in devising new educational forms. Could it have consolidated itself better if it had applied a strategy incorporating an objective understanding of the relevant actors, in particular the teachers and the clienteles of traditional education, and if it had restrained its fragmentation of new approaches? In such a case, in the absence of the 'hiding hand', would the reform strategy have been too cautious and 'realistic' to have had a significant impact?

Guyana seems to be another exception, but the study prepared for the Project¹⁶, with a focus on the values and occupational preferences of secondary students, does not throw light on the extent to which a well-defined national project advanced by the Government represents a real commitment by forces in the society, or the extent to which the educational strategy goes beyond the formal inculcation of the values and symbols of the national project. One suspects poor correspondence between the symbols and the students' observations of the social order. If farming and fishing, for example, are really unskilled low-wage occupations in Guyana, as the text accepts, it is not surprising that secondary students reject them, however much teachers and schools texts insist on their importance. Without a change in the technological level of the occupations and in their remuneration, propaganda through the schools on the importance of food production would probably result mainly in scepticism concerning the seriousness of the national project. This conclusion may be of general relevance for the inculcation of official national projects through the schools.

In a third case, Ecuador, one finds a pronounced contradiction between the well-developed capacity of the planning agency to diagnose and criticize both the national style of development and the educational system, and the persistence of developmental and educational patterns in which the deficiencies and distortions common to most of the region seem to be particularly pronounced. Here the question of the efficacy of planning bodies as agents of societal change comes to the fore. In settings in which the prospects for conventional planning, aspiring to control the future, are mediocre, can the function of social criticism or denunciation, carried out by the planning agency over an extended period help change the consciousness of the dominant forces and thus national educational policies?¹⁷

Throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, all of the groups pressing for access to more education have shaped their tactics on the basis of the presumption that education in schools with formal selection mechanisms leading to formal certificates or credentials is 'real' education. While some of the clienteles, particularly in higher education, have tried to do away with certain selection mechanisms, they have retained the conception of the end product as the credential entitling its possessor to a certain level of employment. The supposed sources of demand for qualifications imparted by education, the employers, have supported this bias by basing their selection procedures on level of formal education and status of the institution attended, with much less attention to the matching of specialized qualifications to the job in question. Legal restrictions on the exercise of a wide range of occupations, some requiring only modest skills, have strengthened credentials.

Thus, innovations, centering on education outside the schools or dissociated from formal credentials generally face an apathetic or hostile environment, whatever conceptions of the developmental functions of education inform them, and even in settings where the family or

¹⁶Sar B. Khan and Una M. Paul, *Social values of secondary students and their occupational preferences in Guyana*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Fichas/8.

¹⁷JUNAPLA, *Desarrollo y educación en el Ecuador (1960-1978)*, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/20.

community insists on functions for teachers other than teaching children, as in rural Ecuador or Peru. The environment would presumably be much more receptive in situations of revolutionary transformation, in which the whole system of stratified credentialism linked to the distribution of power has become obsolete, but the example of Cuba suggests that these situations would be transitory, followed by a return to educational selectivity and formal credentials, presumably more directly relevant to the kind of society being constructed. Also, non-formal educational initiatives aiming to 'conscientize' disadvantaged groups to understand and struggle against their disadvantages can gain a precarious hearing; but the incompatibility of these with the structures of power usually results before long in their suppression.

One study prepared for the Project suggests important qualifications to the above generalization, and also suggests that non-formal education, or 'incidental education', as the study in question calls it, may take root where it has not been looked for: in the efforts of members of peasant movements, trade unions, etc., to acquire the kinds of specialized knowledge and skills that will help them cope with emerging challenges and opportunities, permitting a kind of immediate relevance not achieved either by the formal educational system or by the more ambitious non-formal educational schemes devised by intellectuals, such as those of Peru.¹⁸

In the absence of situations in which non-formal education can be associated with the reality or at least the hope of societal transformation, or in which organized groups have to improvise to meet real new opportunities, the social strata envisaged as the main beneficiaries of such education would be justified in viewing it as a disguise for inferior education perpetuating their disadvantages, aimed at making the poor into conformist and productive poor, as Aldo Solari has indicated, while enabling the State to evade the major redistribution of educational resources that

would be needed to meet the proclaimed objectives of social equality and integration.¹⁹

One can also raise the question of potential societal receptivity to educational innovation in a broader sense. The more radical proposals for innovation, whether or not they envisage doing away with the school, reject the conception of 'education' as a process of information, indoctrination and socialization taking place in formal settings during a fixed part of the life-span, in favour of an 'educational society' in which education would have as permanent and pervasive a role as religion has had in many societies up to the present.

These conceptions offer an inspiring intellectual frame of reference, but suggest certain doubts, in addition to the doubts as to whether they correspond to the real capacity of reformer-planners to influence what is going to be done in the name of education in Latin America during the foreseeable future. Do they represent a tactic (presumably unconscious) of educators aspiring to become the priesthood of 'another development'? Is a society centred on self-education possible or desirable? Could such a society avoid falling into ritualistic celebration of its own culture? Is there any historical evidence that the masses of the population would respond creatively over the long term? Would not 'permanent education' be as demanding as 'permanent revolution'? The experience of the national societies, such as the Scandinavian, that have achieved the widest range of opportunities for continued self-education seems to show that receptivity and creativity have their limits.

Altogether, it seems plausible to expect that educational content, objectives and distribution in Latin America will retain a considerable measure of continuity, with most innovation taking place within formal school settings and with some mechanisms of selectivity and terminal credentials. Educational change, as in the past, will more often lag behind than spearhead societal change. For the immediate future, the prospect for most countries of the region is not one of transition, whether harmonious or

¹⁸Rubén Maidana, *Educación y reforma agraria en Honduras: el fenómeno de la educación incidental*, mimeo.

¹⁹Aldo Solari, "Development and educational policy in Latin America". *CEPAL Review*, No. 3, first half of 1977, pp. 59-91.

violent, to coherent new national projects, setting different tasks for education and bringing a redistribution of power and resources permitting accomplishment of such tasks. The prospect is rather for an exacerbation of the contradictions already visible in educational

expansion, with continual shifts in policies aiming to palliate or suppress the contradictions, within a wider setting in which all aspects of the transnational capitalist style of development and the consumer society will become more unstable or more precariously rigid.

IV

The clienteles of education and prospects for positive change: bureaucratization and creative resistance

Under these conditions, a continuing struggle by national educational authorities and planners to achieve or maintain a reasonable degree of efficiency in the educational system in relation to relatively traditional objectives, ranging from the universalization of literacy, through the diffusion of common national values and cultural symbols, to preparation for participation in a technological society, will be legitimate and desirable. Such efforts will partake of the centralization and standardization that have been justifiably criticized. The State is unable to function otherwise, particularly under prevailing conditions of overlapping crises and overloading with demands. Creative resistance to such centralization and standardization is also necessary, and it may be worthwhile to speculate as to how such creative resistance might come into being and help reshape the educational systems without a utopian triumph over their bureaucratic antagonists.

Let us take a look at three clienteles of the educational systems —the university-educated youth originating in the middle strata, the teachers, and the marginalized or excluded poor— as potential sources for such creative resistance. It goes without saying that this look, directed to questions that have been the object of so much controversy, will be dangerously superficial, and arbitrary in its emphasis.

The hypertrophied and segmented systems of higher education are particularly impervious to any kind of coherent policy emanating from

the State, other than authoritarian purging and curtailment. The earlier functions valued by the forces controlling the State —socialization of élites and formation of higher-level professionals and technicians— were long ago privatized and withdrawn into enclaves within higher education. The later functions of providing stratified outlets for pressures for upward social mobility and of postponing to the next generation the direct struggle with the middle strata over income distribution have been overwhelmed by the growth and proliferation of institutions.²⁰ One finds separate specialized education for the economist technobureaucrats (largely abroad), the military, the church, even the critical intellectuals (these last expelled from the universities to research centres such as CEBRAP or abroad). The gap between future élites and counter-élites and the mass of students from the middle strata has widened; the environment for a common language or framework of ideas is lacking. Meanwhile, the possibilities for 'spurious absorption' of the output of higher education are reaching their limit. Authoritarian régimes are beginning simultaneously to cut both the supply (by restricting higher educational enrolment) and the bureaucratic labour market.

Presumably both the forces controlling the

²⁰See Germán W. Rama, *Condicionantes sociales de la expansión y segmentación de los sistemas universitarios*, Buenos Aires, mimeo, 1980.

State and the clienteles of higher education find the situation frustrating, but a minimum of consensus on acceptable ways out of the trap is not in sight. Here if anywhere the possibility of constructive change depends largely on the capacity of the clienteles of learn through experience and formulate their own projects. However, the contradictions of higher education derive so complexly from the contradictions of the style of development itself that the likelihood of the clienteles—especially those now losing their precarious foothold in the privileged consumer society—taking the lead in changing the style of development may be somewhat better than the likelihood of their making realistic demands for reforms in higher education.

The educated and frustrated youth have repeatedly been nominated for the honour of leading the way to alternative styles of development, through their supposed capacity for criticism, mobilization and action not altogether determined by their social origin and their expectations for personal gains. Experience in Latin America and elsewhere warns against over-generalization on 'youth' as a category, and also suggests that significant minorities among the educated youth are capable of taking a leading role, but only in relatively exceptional conjunctures and for brief periods.

Their capacity to criticize the society and act on their criticisms is likely to be as superficial as present higher education itself, which cannot support an adequate understanding of national or world trends or options; or as segmented, since the different combinations of institutional quality and class origins of students lead to different reactions and demands. Resentment and frustration over inability to achieve personal goals are poor and dangerous foundations for criticisms of the style of development. Mobilization is likely to take forms easily repressed by the State or self-destructive because of the violence of the internal conflicts it generates, its manipulation by factions, and the divorce between its demands and tactics and those of other sectors of the society, including those sought as allies by the mobilized youth. As long as 'spurious absorption' into public employment remains a viable option, the pattern of 'compulsory revolutionary service' in the

universities, followed by conformism in the bureaucracy, is likely to persist.²¹

The fact that minorities among many generations of students since the 1920s or even earlier, long before the massification of the universities, have mobilized to demand reforms in the universities as well as the societies suggests further questions: Are student movements capable of learning from history? Is anyone trying to teach them the lessons? What lessons?

The major differences between the situation of the students in these earlier periods and today are the greater numbers involved, the degree of segmentation of institutions, the collapse of selectivity mechanisms, and the prospect of a reversal imposed by the forces controlling the State after decades of continually widening access for the urban middle and lower-middle strata of the population. The private white-collar service-sector occupations characteristic of the transnational style of development may absorb greater numbers, with no practical necessity for prior university-level education, but they can hardly absorb a higher proportion of the youth facing exclusion, who are continually increasing in numbers through demographic growth and the momentum of previous middle-stratum expansion. One can expect a good many of the governments to devise mechanisms of mobilization and regimentation (including extended military service and civilian 'youth services') to replace the universities' function of delaying the entry of youth into the labour market and giving them at least the illusion of mobility and social usefulness, but

²¹For an unsparing diagnosis of the contradiction between student activism and middle-strata aspirations, see chapter III of Carlos Guzmán Beckler, *Colonialismo y revolución*, México City, Siglo Veintiuno Editores "qualms of conscience are then soothed away through political activity. This activity is more verbal than anything else. Nevertheless, the idea of 'democratizing' the universities and 'opening them up to the people' figures in all the slogans and battle cries, especially in the last twenty-five years. In view of form of the social structure, it is impossible for a member of the underprivileged strata to get to the university, since he will have difficulty in getting past the third grade in primary schooling, if he gets that far.

Consequently, this 'opening up to the people' really means still more advantages for the bourgeoisie, who are the people who actually do get to the university" (page 174).

with quite limited effectiveness. Continuing resistance to these trends by youth of the social strata in question seems inevitable, in the university setting and elsewhere, but proposals from outside for infusing coherence and creativity into this resistance are bound to seem ingenuous. Creative resistance will require changes in values, or possibly a return to basic values of democracy and solidarity now discredited by ritualistic incantations, a diffusion of alternative national projects deserving support, and a realistic appreciation of the painstaking effort of converting such projects into reality. The most damning criticism of higher education is that it has contributed so little to these requisites for creative resistance.

The teachers constitute another clientele of the school systems that should, in principle, be capable of creative resistance to centralization and standardization, recognizing the challenge to adapt education to the setting in which they find themselves and to force problems on the attention of the higher authorities. In most countries of the region, primary school teachers are now one of the largest occupational categories, and their numbers give them a potentially powerful voice as an organized interest-group. Evidently, however, the repetitious task of teaching, under unfavourable physical and cultural conditions, confronted by unrealistic and erratic bureaucratic norms, without convincing and inspiring opportunities to participate in a national project, encourages routinization or an organizational concentration on wage and job-security demands rather than creative resistance. One of the Project's studies suggests that even where the teachers have acquired important functions of community leadership and intermediation with the authorities this has been at the expense of their time and interest devoted to teaching.²² There have been no recent counterparts to the heroic role played by Mexican rural teachers during the 1930s. The primary school teachers, after all, belong to the lower reaches of the middle strata

that have sought upward mobility through education, and their 'professionalization' through the inclusion of teacher-training in the universities, has fostered the quest for advancement through formal credentials without giving them training relevant to their future working conditions or stimulating creativity.

To the extent that the forces controlling the State can acquire and adhere to a clear and realistic idea of the role of education in their national project, the problem of linking the teachers to this project should not be so intractable as the problem of transforming higher education but, as the difficulties of the Peruvian reform illustrate, effective solutions will require patience and a thorough understanding of the motivational and ideological differentiations among the teachers so as to enlist allies, neutralize opposition, and overcome inertia. For the reformer-planner, confronting the enormous mass of poorly trained and motivated teachers and working with the limited resources the State can be expected to make available, tactics of 'leavening the dough' seem most promising: creation of innovative training centres and refresher courses, mass distribution of texts stimulating thinking and opening new perspectives for teachers generally starved of reading materials, etc. The indispensable precondition is a national setting that stimulates or at least permits interaction between the teachers and forces proposing to transform the style of development.

The Project's studies confirm what was already pretty well known —that educational systems have not been able to incorporate the children of the rural workers and peasants except in token fashion, and that further quantitative expansion along present lines does not promise to remedy this. Such a situation, although intolerable in terms of the professed values of the educational systems, does not generate perceived 'problems' or threats for the future to anything like the same extent as the hypertrophy of higher education. The groups in question may be able to formulate autonomous conceptions of their educational needs, as peasant communities have done for generations, but they cannot force them on the attention of

²²Proceso pedagógico y heterogeneidad cultural en el Ecuador, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, DEALC/22.

the State. In any case their conceptions are bound to lag behind the changes in social and economic patterns that the children will confront. A 'concentrating and excluding' style of development does not require education, beyond a rudimentary literacy, for these groups and would be unable to allocate occupational and other rewards to the recipients if it were forthcoming. Up to a point, the 'regressive absorption' of part of the population into casual labour and personal services at minimal incomes, facilitated by lack of education, is just as compatible with the style as is the 'spurious absorption' of other parts into bureaucratic employment on the basis of educational credentials.

Naturally, the educational efforts of the State respond to other considerations also, including political values and international standards calling for universalization of primary education as well as the need to absorb the output of teacher-training institutions, and the disadvantaged strata are not altogether barred from making educational demands and devising their own educational tactics. In most cases, however, these factors are not strong enough to bring about a major reallocation of resources and rethinking of methods.

Stated baldly, the proposition that one or two years of schooling in a language they do not understand when they enter the school will be useful to peasant children is too implausible to obtain any credence; yet rural educational policies amounting to this have persisted and extended their coverage over several decades in various countries. Even in settings in which the language barrier between teacher and pupil is not present and the average period of schooling is longer, the incongruity of the schooling with the living conditions and cultural background of the children and a teaching schedule based on the unrealistic supposition that the children will complete the full primary course reduce the likelihood of imparting permanent literacy. The studies of Ecuador and Peru indicate that 'education' of this kind can consolidate itself as a ritual, in which some actors pretend to teach and others pretend to study, without any sufficiently coherent reaction from the families of the children to force a change.

Other studies demonstrate, through the

widely differing examples of Costa Rica, Paraguay and the English-speaking Caribbean countries, that a better approximation to universal primary education is possible in poor and predominantly rural countries through conventional schools. These are all small countries in which the impact of the 'concentrating and excluding' style of development has been relatively late, limited and different from the impact in the large countries.

In the latter, vested interests supporting the maldistribution of educational resources and bureaucratic rigidity of the system would hinder a genuine shift of priorities to primary education for the disadvantaged strata, even if the forces controlling the State were genuinely determined on this. At the same time the capitalist modernization of agriculture and the consequent marginalization of much of the rural population pose two completely different functions for primary education: a) qualification of an agricultural labour force to use machinery and modern productive techniques; b) preparation of the remainder of the rural youth to migrate and seek non-agricultural employment. The first function does not require universal primary education, and the dominant forces are likely to be too ambivalent about the second to allocate major resources to it. For one thing, they would prefer a reduction in the rate of cityward migration, although they have no clear policies for keeping the excess population on the land; for another, most of the migrants will enter the urban economy in unskilled 'informal sector' occupations requiring only a minimum of literacy that most of them can probably pick up in the course of urban living.

If the style of agricultural modernization should regain its dynamism and count on favourable export markets, one might expect a continued slow expansion of rural primary education, responding to the mixed motives and pressures noted above, with many localized projects for reform but no major changes in the deficiencies of content and distribution. Under such conditions, the generally deplored late entry into the school might make sense for the rural entrant. If a year or two of schooling is the most that he can expect, it is more likely to leave something lasting if it is experienced immediately prior to entry into the labour market.

If the present crises were to bring about a drastic shift in structures of power at the national level, with new régimes dependent for survival on mobilization of rural as well urban masses, one might expect an accompanying shift in educational priorities and approaches: mass literacy campaigns drawing in the educated youth; a strong, probably over-optimistic reliance on rural primary schools as centres of community mobilization and cultural change; a drawing of individuals from the disadvantaged strata into leadership positions requiring them to improvise their own education. Such a transformation is easier to envisage in some of the poorer, smaller and more rural countries than elsewhere.

For the majority of countries, an immediate future of 'crisis management' seems more probable than either stable continuism or transformation. One aspect of crisis management might well consist of policies designed to keep the rural population on the

land and obtain from it more adequate supplies of basic foods. The manageable dimensions of urbanization, on the one hand, and the combination of rising food shortages, prohibitive costs of imports, and breakdown of modern large-scale agriculture because of high energy requirements and other factors, on the other, might force the State to allocate resources to the promotion of modernized versions of labour-intensive peasant agriculture. Such policies would, among other things, provide clearer justifications and content for rural primary education. They might also give the peasants more leverage for influencing the education of their children and for devising 'incidental education' bypassing the schools. At this point, however, one is tempted to stray into speculations useful to the planner-reformer only to the extent that they stimulate him to prepare for an indeterminate future, or alternative futures.

Some CEPAL Publications

Economic Survey of Latin America, 1981, ECLA, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 863 pages.

The *Economic Survey of Latin America* is an annual publication whose primary object is to describe the main trends in the economic development of Latin America during the year to which it refers. In Part One of the *Survey* for 1981, the general features of this development are presented, special attention being devoted to the international context, economic growth, employment and unemployment, the external sector and prices and wages. In Part Two, events in 30 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are individually reviewed, and, lastly, a statistical appendix gives the effective real exchange rate indexes for exports and imports.

Generally speaking, the *Survey* indicates that despite the impressive growth experienced by Latin America since the end of the Second World War, its development is still largely conditioned by events taking place outside the region. What is more, the trade and capital flows which link it with the industrialized countries have acquired greater relative importance since the oil crisis of 1973, so that the region can hardly diverge for any length of time from the basic trends prevailing in the international economy.

Nevertheless, one of the most notable features of the 1970s was the ability of the Latin American economies—even the non-petroleum-exporting countries—to maintain vigorous growth despite the upswings in petroleum prices in 1973 and 1979 and the subsequent recession and deceleration of the industrialized countries' economic growth in 1974-1975 and in 1980, respectively. In one way or another, the region seemed to be successfully overcoming its dependence on external factors. In 1981, however, the external events reasserted their influence, and the Latin American economies once more followed in the footsteps of the rest, with a brusque drop in their rate of growth from 5.9% in 1980 to 1.7%—one of the lowest of the region's growth rates in the past 40 years, and not very different from that of the OECD countries. Thus, in 1981 the evolution of the Latin American economies was again largely determined by external economic forces and events and, therefore, was more closely adjusted to the evolution of the industrialized countries, with which it is inextricably linked.

Las encuestas de hogares en América Latina (Household surveys in Latin America), "Cuadernos de la CEPAL" series, No. 44, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 122 pages.

The three studies collected in this volume summarize the experience that ECLA has gathered in identifying, systematizing and dealing with the main problems confronting research on socio-economic and demographic variables through household surveys in Latin America.

The first paper, "Las encuestas de hogares en América Latina: un panorama de los principales problemas" (Household surveys in Latin America: an overview of the main problems) discusses the potential of this statistical instrument, and the precautions that should be taken in

applying it to research on demographic variables and internal migration. Special attention is devoted to research on employment, this being considered the most important of the subjects for whose study household surveys are used in Latin America. Thus, a more exhaustive analysis is offered of the problems that arise in connection with measuring the economically active population, unemployment and underemployment in their various forms. The measurement of levels of living, taking into account their diverse components, is the subject of a special chapter; lastly, the problems relating to sample design and the quality of data are tackled.

The second study, entitled "Comparación entre encuestas demográficas prospectivas y retrospectivas para estimar niveles y diferenciales de mortalidad. La experiencia del CELADE" (A comparison between prospective and retrospective demographic surveys as regards estimating mortality levels and differentials. CELADE's experience) illustrates the use of household surveys in the field of demographic measurements. It describes the evolution of CELADE's criteria as to the type of survey that should be used, in the light of the progress made by the techniques of demographic analysis.

Lastly, the paper entitled "Descripción de las características de las encuestas de hogares de trece países de América Latina para la medición del empleo, desempleo y subempleo" (Description of the characteristics of household surveys in thirteen Latin American countries for the purpose of measuring employment, unemployment and underemployment) presents a comparison of the various conceptual and methodological components of these surveys and draws attention to the diversity of the criteria applied for similar purposes and the consequent difficulty of obtaining homogeneous and comparable results.

Las cuentas nacionales en América Latina y el Caribe (National accounts in Latin America and the Caribbean), "Cuadernos de la CEPAL" series, No. 45, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 109 pages.

Ever since ECLA came into being, one of its concerns has been the progress of macro-economic measurements in the region, since they are crucial for the quantitative analysis of medium- and long-term development processes and the analysis of short-term trends in the Latin American economies, as well as for planning, for the drawing-up of economic policies and for appraisal of their effects.

The present *Cuaderno* represents yet another effort in this direction, and aims at updating descriptions and diagnoses appearing in earlier volumes in the series on the question of the availability of national accounts estimates and the methods used by countries in preparing them. It is also intended to promote fuller discussion of the possibilities of expanding the coverage of these estimates so as to incorporate subject areas which have become indispensable in analysis of the operation of the Latin American economies and of its consequences in terms of efficiency and well-being. It likewise seeks to indicate some promising possibilities of improving upon the quality of the estimates made at present; and, lastly, to contribute to the emergence of a consensus among producers and users as to the priorities and guidelines that should govern the development of essential economic statistics, in order to provide the Latin American countries with data bases which will be relevant to the analysis of the problems they have to face, which will be concordant in

quality and timeliness with the complexity and urgency of these problems, and the production of which will be in keeping with the countries' available resources and will fit harmoniously into their institutional systems.

A provisional version of this document served as a basis for discussion at the Latin American Seminar on National Accounts (Mexico City, 10 to 14 August 1981), during which the participating countries exchanged a great deal of information, knowledge and experience on the practices followed by each of them in the preparation of its national accounts, and which afforded an opportunity for collective evaluation of the existing situation and of future prospects for the development of national accounts in Latin America. The present revised version incorporates the comments and elucidations emanating from the Seminar.

Demanda de equipos para generación, transmisión y transformación eléctrica en América Latina (Demand for electricity generation, transmission and transformation equipment in Latin America), "Cuadernos de la CEPAL" series, No. 46, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 201 pages.

In collaboration with the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), ECLA is working on a project whose object is to analyse the present situation and future prospects of Latin American production of capital goods.

As a step forward in this enterprise, designed to ensure that the region takes better advantage of the opportunities for industrial progress afforded it by its own requirements, a set of studies has been undertaken for the purpose of assessing demand in the main sectors of production, with a view to subsequently identifying its characteristics and weighing them against the supply capacity of the countries of the region.

Since the capital goods universe is very wide and varied, it has been thought advisable to give priority to the sectors whose demand corresponds mainly to boilermaking, heavy and semi-heavy metalworking industries and important electrical equipment. This priority is justified by the relative magnitude of requirements and by the fact that much of this equipment can be manufactured with components of varying levels of complexity, and that many of these can be partially made by enterprises at different stages of technological progress. In other words, priority has been given to those sectors whose demand, apart from its significance in terms of absolute magnitude, could conceivably be met with locally manufactured products by means of a regional co-operation effort in which the industries of the small and medium-sized countries could participate.

In conformity with the foregoing guidelines, the present study is directed towards showing the dimension and most outstanding characteristics of the demand for equipment deriving from programmes for the expansions of electric energy generation, transmission and transforming capacity, in 17 countries of Latin America, during the period 1980-2000.

The study is divided into two chapters and four annexes. In the first chapter the consolidated data for the group of countries covered by the study are presented; in the second information on individual countries is given, except in the case of the Central American Isthmus, where the data available do not allow of an adequate breakdown, and in that of bi-national projects, since provision of the corresponding equipment cannot be assigned piecemeal to the participating countries. However, the nominal power represented by bi-national projects is included in the information for each individual country, taking into account the arrangements for power distribution agreed upon.

In annex 1 country-by-country data on technical characteristics of hydroelectricity projects are given; in annex 2, on thermal projects; in annex 3, on transmission lines; and in annex 4 on transformer substations.

Establishing container repair and maintenance enterprises in Latin America and the Caribbean, "Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL" series, No. 24, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 236 pages.

In an effort to create a suitable environment for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to collaborate with one another in the establishment of container repair and maintenance enterprises, in May 1980 the ECLA Transport and Communications Division started work on a project of two years duration entitled "Economic co-operation among countries of Latin America and the Caribbean for the establishment of container repair and maintenance enterprises". The activities programmed under this project include the drafting of the document referred to here, which is not in itself a manual on the subject, but nevertheless does present, in broad outline, some of the most important economic, industrial and operational requirements for the establishment of such enterprises.

In so vast a transport system as containerization, countries of the region wishing to participate in it must carefully select an entry level for which a) the supportive infrastructures either exist or can easily be established; b) the undertaking is local in nature, i.e., not subject to international competition; and c) the work involved is labour-intensive. Although these criteria for evaluating an appropriate level of entry into any technology might seem to preclude participation by some Latin American and Caribbean countries in containerization, such is not in fact the case.

As is demonstrated at some length in this book, the container repair and maintenance industry satisfies these requirements. Nonetheless, since containers continue to be modified to enhance their strength and handling features, they are the subject of ever-increasing levels of technological sophistication. It should be understood that as transport technology becomes increasingly sophisticated, it will be found more and more expensive, its life-span will be shorter, and operational, construction and repair skills will take longer to learn. For developed countries with sufficient financial resources to invest in the necessary facilities and equipment, and qualified personnel to perform repair and maintenance tasks, these rising levels of technology have not created any insurmountable problems. In contrast, owing to scarcity of

financial resources, skilled personnel and supportive infrastructures, Latin American and Caribbean countries face the very real risk of being so overtaken by such technological changes that they might be unable to participate effectively in this growing industry. Thus, while repair technology is still within the reach of all Latin American and Caribbean countries, appropriate sectors in each country should evaluate not only the feasibility of establishing container repair and maintenance enterprises but also the usefulness of such enterprises as a technological base from which other areas of containerization might be entered.

Drinking water supply and sanitation in Latin America, 1981-1990, "Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL" series, No. 25, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 70 pages.

This number of the "Estudios e Informes" series brings together three papers on various social and economic aspects of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade in Latin America.

The first of these "The financial demands of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade in Latin America", is a study on the financial resources that will be required if the objectives of the Decade are to be achieved. It presents in some detail, for every country of the region, estimates of the investments needed and discusses the possible sources of financing for these investments.

The second paper, "The provision of drinking water and sanitation services to the rural population of Latin America", describes the present situation in the region and suggests some opportunities that the Decade offers for reconsidering the policies adopted towards the provision of water supply and sanitation to the rural population.

The third and final paper, attached as an appendix entitled "The International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade: The situation in Latin America on the eve of the Decade and the prospects for the future", was prepared jointly by ECLA and the Pan-American Health Organization; a brief introduction to the origins of the Decade and an overview of the water supply and sanitation situation in the region is followed by a study of the strategies being evolved to achieve the objectives established by governments for the Decade.

Los bancos transnacionales, el Estado y el endeudamiento externo en Bolivia (The transnational banks, the State and external indebtedness in Bolivia), "Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL" series, No. 26, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 282 pages.

One of the characteristic features of the 1970s was the emergence of the transnational banks as the main agents for the transfer of external saving to the developing countries.

In view of the importance of this phenomenon, the object of the study in question is to continue and expand the work already done by ECLA in Peru (see Robert Devlin, *Los bancos transnacionales y el financiamiento externo en América Latina. La experiencia del Perú, 1965-1976*, ECLA, Santiago, Chile, 1980) by enlarging the data base and extending the analysis to

other countries in order to make a more integral appraisal of the nature and effects of the activities of the transnational banks in Latin America, and thus collect fuller background information on the role of these institutions.

The study adopts two complementary approaches: analysis of the transnational banks and reference to the Bolivian State. Thus it embraces the two main protagonists of the massive borrowing that took place in the 1970s. As a result, the study is divided into three parts: one dealing with the transnational banks and a second with the State, while the third aims at combining the two in a synthesis which leads to certain conclusions and recommendations.

Part I (chapters 2, 3 and 4) discusses the predominant share of the transnational banks in the financing obtained by the country. Chapter 2 indicates in broad outline the factors that influenced the expansion of the transnational banks in the peripheral countries during the 1970s, and analyses the specific circumstances accounting for their penetration into Bolivia. Chapter 3 studies the terms and conditions of the bank loans granted to the country; while chapter 4 sketches the different lending strategies of the various credit institutions, both from the global point of view and from that of their individual action.

Part II (chapters 5, 6 and 7) analyses what is known as the multidimensional State. In chapter 5 the State is shown to be not so much a homogeneous as a heterogeneous and multidimensional entity, whose diverse interests call for supremely delicate and coherent handling, to avoid contradictions within the State apparatus and the consequent weakening of the bargaining power of the State. In chapter 6 the planning system and the institutional machinery for controlling external indebtedness are reviewed, and it is noted that the pressure exerted by national groups (who wanted to borrow) and by the transnational banks (which took pains to increase the supply of resources for the country) created conditions in which both the spirit and the letter of the control systems were subverted, to the detriment of a wise policy towards the negotiation and allocation of foreign currency resources. Chapter 7 analyses the use of bank loans by the public sector, and by public enterprises in particular. Through a study of the borrowing experience of certain leading public enterprises, and of the course followed by their projects, an attempt is made to show that the application of resources fell far short of the goal of optimal utilization.

Part III of the study endeavours to synthesize and to analyse in combination the two viewpoints corresponding to parts I and II; and some recommendations are also put forward, both for the banks and for the country, with respect to financing policies aimed at avoiding a repetition of what are now seen to have the mistakes of the past.

Estilos de desarrollo, energía y medio ambiente: un estudio de caso exploratorio (Development styles, energy and environment: an exploratory case study), "Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL" series, No. 28, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 129 pages.

The intention in this exploratory case study is to attempt to reply to the following question: are development styles conceivable that need less energy per capita and per unit of gross

However, other important effects of education still remain, among which we would chiefly single out its effect on women, as regards the reduction of the birth rate, as well as the inculcation of habits of learning and behaviour which make for a general increase in adaptability. This last characteristic, above all, may be much appreciated by enterprises, inasmuch as it could easily be translated, in operational terms, as productive 'docility'.

Alongside what we have very briefly described as the *socio-economic* approach and as the *socializing* approach, there is at least a third approach which seems to us more essential and

possibly irreplaceable: that of *formation*. This is a specifically political approach, not necessarily linked to formal schooling, but committed to the process of forming citizens, in which the cultural dimension is also an essential ingredient. Certainly to educate is also to train human resources, still more to socialize, but primarily and in essence its purpose is *formative*, or, in other words, it should develop the creative and participative potentialities of the individual and of society. In this regard education is irreplaceable, and an essential factor in development.

III

Education and participation

What the lack of education means for the illiterate or for persons with insufficient schooling might be summed up as *being deprived of fitness for the exercise of citizenship*.

The essence of citizenship cannot be related to specific ideologies of actual democracies, inasmuch as these are only possible and relative prescriptions, but to the general objective of socio-economic and political participation, over and above and in spite of the systems in force.

It is important to grasp the tenor of this type of relation between education and participation, which is not mechanical or automatic. However much evidence can be collected to suggest that an educated people is a free people, the social sciences have been unable to interpret it as necessarily implying a cast-iron link between education and liberty. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in perceiving likewise that to be a democrat it is not indispensable to be able to read. The most extravagant ideologies are generally forged by intellectuals, or, in other words, highly educated persons, as in the case of Nazism, authoritarianism, racism, colonialism, and so forth.

Perhaps it may be useful to distinguish between two main dimensions in this field: the *formative* and the *cultural*. Education in the formative sense is a strongly humanistic project,

based on the creativity and potentialities of the individual and of society, and promoting by natural means the cultivation of the participative area. It takes the educand to be the protagonist in the process of formation of an individual with rights and duties, capable of self-determination and of adopting a creative position *vis-à-vis* the world and society. It is in this sense that it is asserted that education is less concerned with training human resources for the economic system, than with forming citizens. This is not prejudicial to the work approach, since work forms part of the citizen's life, but work is seen as a right of citizenship, not the reverse.¹⁷

Education as *cultural* achievement becomes a consequence of the cultural process, this latter being understood as the artificer of community identity and the context of self-promotion.¹⁸

¹⁷See the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais — INEP), *A profissionalização do ensino na Lei 5692/71*, Brasília, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1982: cf. the chapter on work, the conception of work and education ("Trabalho, concepção de trabalho educação"), pp. 11 *et seq.*

¹⁸See P. Demo, *La dimension culturelle de la politique sociale*, paper drafted for UNESCO (in preparation for the Mexico meeting on culture in August 1982), Brasília, mimeographed text, December 1980.

It consists in a compilation of the provisions of the Convention, to which have been added the relevant explanatory notes, the whole being ordered in four chapters which show the procedures prior to application, those relating to the application proper, a routine to be followed for each transport operation and the aspects connected with the general administration of the Convention. It is hoped that this presentation will help to make the various provisions of the Convention more clearly understood, and may also be of use to countries for the purposes of their internal regulations, as well as for the instruction of customs and road transport personnel.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), **África y América Latina. Perspectivas de cooperación interregional** (Africa and Latin America. Prospects for interregional co-operation), United Nations, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 286 pages.

In February and May 1977, at meetings of the member States of ECA and of ECLA, the countries of Africa and Latin America adopted resolutions 302 (XIII) and 363 (XVII), respectively, on the strengthening of the existing facilities for technical co-operation and the promotion of new programmes on technical co-operation among the countries of their respective regions, to that end making use of the regional commissions within the framework of their mandate and of the resources available. Pursuant to these resolutions,

the Secretariats of the two commissions agreed upon the need to define specific studies to be jointly carried out on the basis of three key sectors: the development of human resources, interregional trade and science and technology.

The fundamental objective of these studies is the promotion of reciprocal economic and technical co-operation between Africa and Latin America, i.e., the identification and formulation of possible joint activities to be undertaken by the countries of the two regions. This co-operation might take any of the following forms: co-operation between governments of the two regions through bilateral agreements; between a Latin American country and several African countries, or *vice versa*; between two or more Latin American countries and two or more African countries; or between subregional or regional institutions in the two regions. It is hoped that these forms of co-operation may lead to the participation of non-governmental entities both in Africa and in Latin America.

The proposals and recommendations appearing in this document aim at the eventual participation of all the countries of the two regions in co-operation activities and suggest a framework in which these can be carried out. The different chapters analyse the current status of interregional co-operation between the countries of Africa and Latin America, with special reference to the three spheres mentioned. They also refer to the national, subregional and regional institutions existing in the countries of the two regions which might be used to promote economic and technical co-operation and to serve as its instruments, and suggest various other mechanisms for putting this co-operation into effect.

product than would be necessary if the present style were perpetuated, and that can be sustained by a more diversified energy base, less dependent on hydrocarbons?

In response to this inquiry, the energy problem is examined from the angle of development styles and from that of the impact on the Latin American environment that would be produced by the various energy options, using for illustrative purposes the individual case of Chile.

As a first step, the energy situation in four developed countries, i.e., France, Japan, Sweden and the United States, is analysed, and the conclusion is reached that the objective of attaining high levels of industrialization and well-being does not necessarily involve reaching the almost astronomical levels of energy consumption that characterize the United States. Attention is devoted to the energy consumption patterns of these countries and the way in which they have evolved, the indicators used being energy consumption per capita and per unit of gross domestic product (global and sectoral), relative distribution by primary sources, and the electrification coefficient.

The second step in the study is the construction, with reference to Chile and to a thirty-year time horizon, of different scenarios of energy supply and demand, linking them with the prevailing development styles (reference scenario) and with two other scenarios (A and B) corresponding to possible alternative development styles. Scenario A was constructed on the assumption of fairly insignificant changes in the prevailing development style, the only outstanding feature being the saving of energy. The alternative scenario B envisaged the introduction of substantial changes in some of the processes most characteristic of the predominant style of development.

The comparative analysis of scenarios warrants the assertion that by means of certain changes in the development style, it would be possible to reduce total energy consumption by about 20% and consumption of hydrocarbons by approximately 50% in relation to the 'normal' trend, or reference scenario: the various implications of this statement should be explored in future research.

Tablas de insumo-producto en América Latina (Input-output tables for Latin America), "Cuadernos Estadísticos de la CEPAL" series, No. 7, Santiago, Chile, 1983, 383 pages.

The object of this *Cuaderno* is to present the results of the main input-output studies prepared in the Latin American countries. The intention in publishing them is to stress the importance of the subject in the field of economic statistics and to place at the disposal of interested parties a volume containing all the relevant material that it has been possible to collect in the region.

The input-output model is a valuable instrument of analysis, since it not only affords a complete description of the origin and destination of production in a given period, but also records transactions between the sectors of production and the sales made by these to the final demand sectors.

The fundamental aim of the countries' effort to draw up their input-output tables has been to obtain prior knowledge of the structure of production and the relations of

interdependence existing among the various sectors, before subsequently using the results obtained in order to diagnose the real economic situation as precisely as possible, and thus to facilitate short- and medium-term sectoral and global programming.

The input-output tables have also placed at the countries' disposal a frame of reference for the generations of economic statistics, since their formulation has thrown into relief the lacunae, limitations and priorities in respect of information requirements. Over the medium term this frame of reference has been the cause of an improvement in the quality, consistency and timeliness of statistics of this type. Attention must be drawn to the fact that this model, by its integration in the New System of National Accounts, has become a necessary tool for the application of the system, of which it is one of the key components.

This document includes the findings of most of the studies published up to June 1982 in 17 countries, and comprises 182 tables, which as a general rule contain the following elements: a) tables of values of intersectoral transactions in total, domestically-produced and imported goods and services; b) the matrices of technical coefficients of total, domestic and imported inputs; and c) the matrices of direct and indirect domestic production requirements per unit of final demand for domestically-produced goods and services. For some countries, the statistical studies published here have been supplemented by tables of technical coefficients prepared by ECLA, thanks to which a more homogeneous and a more easily usable presentation has been possible, especially in the case of research relating to more than one country.

The statistical material compiled is accompanied by a brief commentary on the general characteristics of the matrices prepared, and an account of the main methodological problems that arose during their construction.

The compilation is completed with a list of bibliographical references which updates that published in the document entitled *El sector externo en las experiencias de insumo-producto en América Latina* (E/CN.12/L.101), 1973.

Manual for the application of the TIR Convention, ECLA, Santiago, Chile, 1983.

The TIR Convention is an agreement on customs transit under which the action of the customs authorities in the signatory countries can be concerted so as to facilitate the operational and documentary procedures relating to the transit of merchandise in road transport vehicles or in containers.

If the Convention is fully to achieve its objectives, it is indispensable that the customs authorities of the Contracting Parties should permanently maintain a climate of great mutual confidence and an attitude of effective co-operation in all matters connected with its practical application.

The present *Manual* has been prepared by ECLA as a contribution to the steps taken by the Meeting of Ministers of Public Works and Transport of the countries of the Southern Cone to obtain the application of the 1975 TIR Convention in their countries.