
**EUROPEAN
STUDIES
IN EDUCATION**

Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

**Education in Europe
An Intercultural Task**

WAXMANN

European Studies in Education
Education in Europe – An Intercultural Task

European Studies in Education

Europäische Studien zur Erziehung und Bildung
Études Européennes en Sciences de l'Éducation

Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

Volume 3

Education in Europe

An Intercultural Task

**Network Educational Science Amsterdam
Triannual Network Conference
Budapest, Hungary
September 15 - 19, 1993**

Ed. by Christoph Wulf



Waxmann Münster/New York

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

**Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task / ed. Christoph Wulf.-
Münster; New York: Waxmann 1995**

(European Studies in Education; Vol. 3); ISBN 3-89325-258-4
NE: Wulf, Christoph [Ed.]: European Studies in Education

ISBN 3-89325-258-4 □ ISSN 0946-6797

□ Waxmann Verlag GmbH 1995, Postfach 8603, D-48046 Münster, F. R. G.
Waxmann Publishing Co., P.O. Box 1318, New York, NY 10028, U.S.A.

Umschlaggestaltung: Bärbel Lieske; Satz: Walter Boll

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Printed in Germany

European Studies in Education

The political, economic, and social developments in the European Union pose new challenges to education in Europe, where each country has its own system. Under these circumstances, the relation between national, regional, and local traditions on the one hand and supraregional, transnational aspirations on the other must be conceived. The field of education is seeing the rise of new issues, responsibilities, and research requiring scholars from different European cultures to work together.

European Studies in Education constitutes an international forum for the publication of educational research in English, German, and French. The multilingual nature of this series mirrors that of Europe and makes it possible to portray and express cultural diversity.

The present volume was written in the framework of the Network Educational Science Amsterdam (NESA), in which more than 30 European and a few non-European faculties and research institutes cooperate in the area of education.

We sincerely thank the Faculty of Education at the Freie Universität Berlin, which facilitates the collaboration of the network's educational institutions, for its support in funding the publication of these research results.

Christoph Wulf

Content

<i>Introduction:</i> Education in Europe An Intercultural Task	5
--	---

Congress Opening

<i>András Masát (Budapest)</i> Words of Welcome	17
<i>Christoph Wulf (Berlin)</i> The Challenge of Intercultural Education	19
<i>Gustavo Egas Repáraz (Amsterdam)</i> The Network Educational Science Amsterdam Tasks and Perspectives	26

Educational Science. The State of the Art

<i>Christoph Wulf (Berlin)</i> Paradigms of Educational Theory The Development of Educational Theory in Germany	35
<i>Vasilios Makrakis (Rethymnon)</i> Paradigms in Educational Research Complementarity or Unity?	43

<i>P. Kreitzberg/E. Grauberg (Tartu)</i> Democratic vs. Scientific and Expert Legitimation of Educational Decisions	48
<i>Dieter Geulen (Berlin)</i> The Idealistic Bias in Educational Programs	53
<i>Elena Besozzi (Bari)</i> Social Change and Patterns of Socialization	57
<i>Lars Jalmert (Stockholm)</i> Fathers' Importance for their Children	62
<i>Silvio Scanagatta (Padova)</i> The Generation Gap: Youth Culture - Teacher Culture	72
<i>Jörg Zirfas (Berlin)</i> Ethics and Education. Sisyphos or Why Must We Educate?	79
<i>Bernhard Dieckmann (Berlin)</i> Some Remarks on Experience and Education	84
<i>Bernard Kruithof (Amsterdam)</i> The Civilizing Offensive and the Protection of Children in the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century	88
<i>Richard Aldrich (London)</i> Joseph Payne: An International Educationist	94
<i>Michael Göblich (Berlin)</i> Learning Landscape and Home? Studies of the Postmodern Classroom and its Historical Forerunners	99

<i>Vasilios Koulaïdis (Patras)</i> Empirical Research Paradigms The Case of Science Education	105
---	-----

<i>Andy Green (London)</i> Core Skills, Participation and Progression in Post- Compulsory Education and Training in England and France	110
---	-----

Education and Educational Science in a Period of Social Transition

<i>Sjoerd Karsten/Dominique Majoor (Amsterdam)</i> The Present and Future of Education in East Central Europe	119
---	-----

<i>Peter Hübner (Berlin)</i> Continuity and Change in the School System of the United Germany	124
---	-----

<i>Vlastimil Parizek (Praha)</i> The Vision of Education in the Czech Republic	128
---	-----

<i>Csilla Meleg/Anna Aszmann (Pécs)</i> Youths at Risk of the Period of Transformation	132
---	-----

<i>Benő Csapó (Szeged)</i> Students' Perception of the Effects of Social Transition	138
---	-----

<i>Erzsébet Golnhofer (Budapest)</i> Theoretical Attempts of Modernizing the Hungarian Education between 1945 and 1948	145
--	-----

<i>Palmira Juceviciene (Kaunas)</i> From Pedagogy to Educational Science, from Western Europe to Lithuania and from Lithuania to Western Europe	149
<i>Irena Zujienė (Vilnius)</i> Education in Lithuania - An Object of Reform	155
<i>Tatjane Koke (Riga)</i> Democratization of the Educational System in Latvia	159
<i>Rasma Garleja (Riga)</i> Humanitarian Aspects in Higher Education in Latvia	164
<i>Sirje Priimägi (Tartu)</i> Democracy in Education	168

The Teacher as an Agent of Change

<i>Henrietta Schwartz (San Francisco)</i> The Four Paradoxes of Teacher Education	175
<i>Yiorgos Mavroyiorgos (Ioannina)</i> Teacher Education and Teachers' Work Trends and Contradictions in the European Community Context	179
<i>Henryka Kwiatkowska (Warsaw)</i> What Teacher Education for the Integration of Europe?	185
<i>Alacja A. Kotusiewiczowa (Warsaw)</i> Education for Democracy in Search of New Values in Teachers Education	189

<i>Zoltan Vastagh (Pécs)</i> Teacher Training Reform in Hungary	193
<i>Anna Koczan (Pécs)</i> The Role of Feedback in the Change of Teaching Behaviour	198
<i>György Szépe/Zsófia Radnai (Budapest)</i> Applied Linguistics and Teacher Education	202
<i>Jack R. Fraenkel (San Francisco)</i> Characteristics and Behaviors of Effective Social Studies Teachers	208
<i>Eugene Michaels (San Francisco)</i> Cognitive Psychology and Instructional Systems Theory An American Perspective and Theoretical Interpretations	214
<i>Kaare Skagen (Tromsø)</i> Supervision Theory in Teacher Education A Comparative Study	216
<i>Wiel Veugelers (Amsterdam)</i> Value Education Related to Labor	220
<i>Frank McLaughlin (San Francisco)</i> Survey of Education and Human Services Credential Recipients: 1990-1992	226
<i>Éva Balázs (Budapest)</i> Needs for and Forms of Educational Management Training in Hungary	230
<i>Jan Solfronk (Praha)</i> School Management at the Pedagogical Faculty at Charles University Prague	238

<i>Jiri Kotásek (Praha)</i> Major Trends of Higher Education Renewal in the Czech Republic	243
<i>Görel Strömqvist (Stockholm)</i> Recent Change in Nordic Higher Education	247
<i>David Hartley (Dundee)</i> Contradictions in Scottish Education Policy: Signs of the Times?	252

Media in Education:

New Tasks, New Perspectives

<i>Philip Drummond (London)</i> Media Based Education in Europe	257
<i>Birgitta Qvarsell (Stockholm)</i> Young People and New Media Reflexions and Questions	263
<i>Jerzy Szmagalski (Warsaw)</i> Professional Communication Skills Training with Video Feedback	270
<i>Jan Skłodowski (Warsaw)</i> Computers and Informatics in Educational Theory and Practice	277
<i>Elena Ramirez Orellana (Salamanca)</i> A Proposal of an Analysis Methodology for the Information Contained in a Picture	281
<i>Shigekazu Takemura (Hiroshima)</i> Media Based Education in Japan	286

<i>Aihara Kazukuni (Hiroshima)</i> Research into the Role of Images with Reference to Comparative Culture in Education	296
<i>Skigeru Mori (Hiroshima)</i> Effects of Videogames on the Development of Computer Literacy	299
<i>David Pucel (St. Paul)</i> Technological Literacy A Critical Worldwide Literacy Requirement for all Students	303

Women Studies

<i>Marian de Graaf/Saskia Grotenhuis (Amsterdam)</i> Gender, Socialization and Child Development from a Constructivistic Approach	313
<i>Lisa Adkins/Diana Leonard (London)</i> Family Work and the Educational Careers of Working Class Girls in England	321
<i>Janet Ouston (London)</i> Women in Education Management	330
<i>Eva Széchy (Budapest)</i> Antinomies in the Schooling in a Changing Society	338
<i>Alexandra Fredericos (Athens)</i> Gender Images in the Greek Primary School Readers	342

<i>Chryssi Inglessi (Ioannina)</i> Gender Issues in Students' Counseling Center The Case of Ioannina University, Greece	346
<i>Marilyn J. Boxer (San Francisco)</i> Women's Studies and Feminist Goals in a 'Postfeminist' University	350

Integration of Children with Disabilities vs. Special Education

<i>John L. Romano (Minneapolis)</i> Social and Psychological Issues of Youth: Educator Prevention Training	361
<i>Alan Hurst (Preston)</i> Including Children and Young People with Disabilities and Learning Difficulties in Mainstream Education in England The Potential Impact of Recent Changes in National Policy	374
<i>L.T. van der Linden (Utrecht)</i> Towards an Integrative Diagnostic Appraisal of the Educational Relationship	379
<i>Carlo Catarsi (Florence)</i> Beginning from the Juvenile Court	385
<i>Marie Cerná (Praha)</i> Current Special Education Issues in the Czech Republic	393
<i>Edina Gabor (Budapest)</i> The School Prevention Possibilities	396

<i>Emoke Kovacs-Vass/Zsuzsanna Kovacs-Feher/Katalin Vecsey (Budapest)</i> A Concise History of Segregation and Integration of Children with Speech Disabilities in Hungary	400
<i>Lajos Kullmann/Judit M. Benczúr (Budapest)</i> Somatopedagogic Teacher Training for Physically Handicapped	405
<i>Juozas Petrusevicius/Vytautas Karvelis (Siauliai)</i> Special Education and the Problem of Integration in Lithuania	409

Intercultural Learning: Experiences and Perspectives

<i>Crispin Jones (London)</i> Europe, Europeans and Intercultural Education	417
<i>Josef A. Mestenhauser (Minneapolis)</i> Neglected: Intercultural Perspectives on Educational Transition as Intercultural Task	422
<i>Fred N. Finley/John J. Cogan (Minneapolis)</i> Global Environmental Education Curriculum Interacting Natural and Social Systems as an Organizing Theme	427
<i>Stephan Sting (Berlin)</i> Education between Interculturality and National Orientation	433
<i>David F. Hemphill (San Francisco)</i> Critical Rationality from a Cross-Cultural Perspective	441

<i>Gerd R. Hoff (Berlin)</i> Multicultural Education in Germany Policies Related to Multicultural Education	451
<i>Jan Karl Koppen / M.E. Voorthuis (Amsterdam)</i> Enrolment of Migrants to University Education in the Netherlands	468
<i>Hans Merkens (Berlin)</i> Youth at risk Work Orientations of Youth in Different Eastern and Central European Countries	479
<i>Krystyna Bleszyńska (Warsaw)</i> On Education of Ethnic Minorities in Contemporary Poland	487
<i>Myoung-Ouk Kim (Washington)</i> Family Conflicts Among Korean Immigrants in the United States of America	491
<i>Elizabeth L. van Dalsem (San Francisco)</i> Migration, Race, and Ethnic Relations in California as Researched and Experienced in the Microcosm of San Francisco and the Greater San Francisco Bay Area	496
<i>Xue Suzhen (Shanghai) / Christoph Wulf (Berlin)</i> The Nuclear Family in China and Germany Commonalities and Differences	499
<i>Jagdish S. Gundara (London)</i> Intercultural Teacher Education	506
<i>Hanneke Farkas Teekens (Amsterdam)</i> Working Towards a European Diploma in Teacher Education?	510

<i>Ken Foster (Preston)</i>	
Evaluation of the NESA Teacher Training Intensive Course	516
<i>Panel-Discussion</i>	
Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task	523
<i>List of Contributors</i>	556
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	567

Introduction

Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task

The reader of this book will be informed what the situation is like in the educational systems, educational science, and educational politics a few years after the drastic political and social changes in East-Middle Europe, both in this area and in Europe as a whole. What difficulties are seen and are being worked out? What attempts are being made to solve these problems? What unintentional side effects have arisen in the reform process which must be corrected? In spite of many things in common among the countries of Europe, the United States and Japan, the situation in educational systems and educational sciences in the individual countries and regions are also very different. Although education in all countries is organized in terms of national states and is culturally specific, everywhere there are explicit or implicit features of neighboring countries and cultures, whether one stresses the discrepancies or emphasizes the similarities. This situation is particularly clear in the countries of Middle and Eastern Europe, which on the one hand are looking for a resuscitation of their own history, and for an association with the development of Western Europe on the other hand. In those countries there is great interest in creating a democratic form of education supporting the participation of the persons involved. Ideas and models in countries with democratic traditions are being sought for this purpose. However, these countries as well must continually institute reforms to adjust to the drastically changing social conditions. In the realization of these reforms, in spite of all differences between all these countries, an international exchange of ideas, concepts of reform, and experiences is necessary and helpful.

The title of our book *Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task*, recognizes a double objective. It must be stated once and for

all how the *current situation* in Europe looks in the central areas of education and educational science. At the same time, the title indicates the task of thinking over and exchanging ideas about what education in Europe could be like if above its sometimes national and culturally specific orientation it created the challenge of *multicultural and intercultural* aspects. If it is already difficult to comprehend how the present situation looks in the different educational systems and traditions of education and educational science, then the question of *the future shape of education* within a European Union, and, thereby, the possibilities of a multicultural, or rather intercultural education is even more difficult to answer.

It necessarily contains *many uncertainties*. Thus, it is not known in advance how *Europe* will develop, which form it will take and how the individual countries and cultures will determine their relationship to each other. It is, moreover, uncertain to what extent the countries are ready to modify the national character of their educational system and provide space for education to create *transnational loyalties*. Finally, it is to be determined what is to be understood by *intercultural* and what goals are ascribed to it in education. For that reason special significance is given to a formal definition of the concept, allowing for a certain openness and frankness concerning the subject.

Europe is constituted outwardly and defined inwardly through its borders. They cut Europe off and open it up at the same time. The *penetrability* of its borders inwardly and outwardly is one of Europe's central problems. A coherent identity of Europe is a phantasy. Europe cannot be identical with itself. Its *non-identity* is the determining feature. Unity can only occur if *diversity* and *difference* are maintained. Whoever emphatically propagates the unity of Europe speaks—certainly without himself being conscious of it—also of violence, which is required to remove the differences among the individual countries and cultures. Europe must open itself to the outside from the inside. Europe must *remain unsure of itself* and not sacrifice its diversity to standardization and reduction of complexity. Just as Europe's origins remain in the darkness of the losers, so its future is unknown and full of risk.

The recognition of *radical plurality* within Europe and in its

dealings with other regions of the world is necessary. It is decisive for Europe's future how the tension between the *universal* and the *particular* is dealt with: for example, how can the irreconcilability between ethnic-national and general European loyalty be endured? How will the contradictions between the logic of the economy and the values of liberal middle class democracy be grasped and treated? How will the contrasting interests between local, regional and general European environmental control be balanced? Europe exists in a reflexive self-centeredness. The heterogeneity of its history and development plays a decisive role in this. Interrupted, forgotten and superceded dialogues have been taken up and carried further. In Europe there are extensive regionally specific traditions which have been displaced by national structures. The memory of these regional prenational traditions also create a horizon for new development. Over the centuries the past and future can encounter each other in a new relationship. New *contingencies* are arising. The contingent character of historic development means: no development is carried out conclusively; every historical development could possibly have occurred differently. If one understands historical development as contingent, then one emphasizes the limits of its ability to be planned and the openness to the accidental and the spontaneity of historic events. This mode of thinking is also productive for the present developments in Europe. They are also unforeseeable and offer none of the security which so many expected.

Education: Only the superficial observer can accept the idea that it is possible for education to function for European integration. If this were attempted, the ambivalences would be concealed, the contradictions covered up and basic changes in people's experience prevented. Only a glance at the different concepts and semantic fields which are used in Europe for education makes it clear how great the differences are. Thus for example, in many European languages there is no equivalent for the concept "Bildung" used in Germany. The corresponding applies for the semantic fields designated by this concept. The differences become even clearer when one bears in mind the different national traditions in the educational systems. Thus the graduation of the conferred French "baccalauréat", which is central for the entire coun-

try, can hardly be compared with the corresponding graduation in the United Kingdom. Similar differences appear in the system of professional education or in questions of integration of handicapped children among the countries of Europe. Different structures serve mainly for solving similar problems. Thus the type of schooling in each European country has the task of *qualifying* the pupils, *selecting* them for different kinds of graduation and obtaining for them the *legitimacy* of state politics and democratic institutions. Certainly the chosen methods are very different in the individual countries and even in their diversity are closely connected with national and cultural identity. The educational systems are involved with the acquirement of complex social value systems for the rising generation. Their reform is closely connected with the expected current as well as future *self-image of the ethnic group, or rather nation*.

Interculturalism: How can the exchange between the educational systems and the educational sciences of the different countries of Europe be improved? How can the *interests of the distinctiveness* of other countries and the openness for these differences be promoted? The contingencies between the individual culture and the foreign one must be observed, experienced and believed to be enriching. Only with such experience can the specifics of each individual culture, each ethnic group be comprehended. Each culture, each society requires others in order to understand itself. Only through encounters with foreign cultures can it experience and understand its *distinctiveness*. At the same time it has become clear: no national culture is homogenous; in each there are many subcultures in which people participate in different ways. Thus, the similarities between those belonging to a professional group in different countries can be marked as the common interests of these persons with those belonging to other professional and social layers in their own country. Each of us belongs to many socio-cultural circles which intersect. Each of us has a multicultural existence already, which is worthy of being extended and strengthened through a better knowledge of other lands and foreign cultures. The aim of education in the Europe of today is the development of a multiculturalism which already exists in individual persons through conscious dealings with foreigners and others and the related challenges and uncertainties.

Can an *interculturalism* reaching outward, important for the future development of Europe, arise out of this already existing multiculturalism within the framework of a national culture, and how can the educational system contribute to this? No doubt, the educational system can only achieve a limited contribution to such a development. Other social subsystems like politics, the economy and the media must likewise contribute their own to it. The development of an intercultural consciousness is a decisive challenge at the end of our century. Education has an important task here, whose difficulties can hardly be overestimated; however, the prevention of an intercultural consciousness frequently is increasingly seen as the prerequisite for the formation of a national identity. Numerous questions awaiting solution have arisen in regard to this situation:

- To what extent has *intercultural consciousness* for a long time been a goal of education in Europe, which in terms of the present development, nevertheless, requires increased attention and promotion?
- How can the formation of *images of the enemy* and the consolidation of *stereotypes* about other nations and ethnic groups be avoided?
- How can *acceptance of the foreign* be increased and the ability be developed to proceed with *radical pluralism* without the danger of succumbing to arbitrariness?
- How can young people growing up within the uncertainty and complexity connected with radical pluralism be supported to become productive?
- How can a concept of interculturalism open to the future be developed which reflects the possibilities and limits of individual education?
- To what extent can interculturalism in Europe *in terms of content* be defined, or rather to what extent a formal definition of what is mostly undefinable required?
- Which forms of learning and experience further the formation of an intercultural consciousness with corresponding attitudes and *reactions*?

The catalog of questions can be extended. However, it is already clear: multiculturalism and interculturalism refer to an area of responsibility for the future of education in a Europe which is be-

coming united, in which many cooperative international efforts are required. The present volume is a contribution to this. Within its framework eight relevant thematic areas have been investigated:

Educational Science: The State of the Art

In this chapter a series of problems, questions and research results will be brought up, worked out and presented. One of the focuses will be questions about the ability of different paradigms of educational science to achieve their goal. Thus, a formerly historical hermeneutic paradigm will be distinguished from a socially critical and an empirical one. The consensus is that no paradigm can be replaced by another. The more the paradigms set up different focuses, the more mutual supplementation is required. In further contributions the relationship of socialization theory and education theory are the themes, whereby it becomes clear that socialization and education theory refer to each other and supplement each other.

Education and Educational Science in a Period of Social Transition

Here there are contributions whose theme is expressly the situation in the educational systems of countries in Middle and Eastern Europe. There are references back to circumstances before the comprehensive social changes occurred. The focus of the considerations are directed to the transition process to a democratic mode of education, in the course of which questions of participation and self-determination are given a central role. The contributions describe current difficulties as well as perspectives and scenarios of future development connected with the far-reaching reforms.

The Teacher as an Agent of Change

In this chapter the role of the teacher in school education is the theme. Which possibilities and limits exist for the teacher to reform instruction in terms of content and method? The consensus is that without the engagement of teachers, no reform can be realized. This also applies to the opening of school instruction for intercultural learning. Without winning over the teacher to the necessity for intercultural education, the school's development of an intercultural consciousness is not possible. The extremely varied aspects of this area set high demands on the didactic and pedagogical capabilities of the teacher.

Media in Education: New Tasks, New Perspectives

In the socialization of children and adolescents the media play a central role. Next to writing it is above all mass media having entered into competition with the effect of school education and whose "educational" influence on children and adolescents can hardly be overestimated. This also applies to the area of intercultural education. Here the media continually convey information, attitudes and values about those belonging to other countries and ethnic groups which basically influences the attitude of children and adolescents toward these countries and people. Just as important is the instructional application of these media, which provide new possibilities and demands. Here, also, international cooperative research is imperative.

Women's Studies

Women play a decisive role in education. In many countries more than half those teaching are women. In many countries this is the case not only in the primary area but also in the secondary ones. Only in the area of "higher education" there is an apparent imbalance in favor of male university teachers. On the background of this situation, the contributors of this section inquire about the

role of girls and women in the society and in the educational system in particular.

Insufficiencies and difficulties of women's socialization and education are described and reported with exemplary consideration and forethought. Traditional women's role models are questioned, new roles and allocation of responsibility between the sexes is sought.

Integration of Children with Disabilities vs. Special Education

Children with disabilities represent an essential part of the pupils of the open school system. In democratic states they have the same claim to support as other children. However, how can they be optimally supported? Does one choose forms of integration in the general school system? Or are forms of special support in particular institutions to be advocated? Up to what point is it a possibility, from which point on the others are chosen? Which experiences are available with different models? To what extent can the different educational systems learn from each other? These and similar questions are studied in this chapter.

Intercultural Learning: Experiences and Perspectives

In this chapter approaches to the promotion of intercultural learning in different countries are described and analyzed. This occurs with the help of qualitative presentations, empirical research and systematic analysis. In spite of considerable social and cultural differences in different countries, similar constellations of problems are evident. In their treatment, similarities and differences appear which make clear the complexity of this field of pedagogy. Perspectives for a global education reaching over Europe are developed providing a horizon for the promotion of interculturalism. The attempts of intercultural teacher training within the framework of the Network Educational Science Amsterdam and considerations for a European diploma in teacher education will be reported.

Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task

Panel Discussion

In this podium discussion the question of the possibilities and limits of intercultural learning are treated. The difficulties and successes of intercultural learning are reported from the perspective of politics, of the European administration in Brussels, and of science. The varied experiences in politics and education offer perspectives for an engaged promotion of the growing together of European countries whose cultural diversity is worthy not only of protection but also of cultivation in all attempts at cooperation within the framework of the European Union.

In terms of this situation, how will the educational systems and educational sciences in the European countries in the coming years develop? Which possibilities and limits are there for the reception of European perspectives in the national and ethnically stamped educational traditions of the different countries? How do *commonalities* and *differences* refer to each other so that productive perspectives for education will arise in the twenty-first century? With the aim of continuing the discussion that has gone on until now, the next Congress of NESA in June 1996 in Stockholm will treat these questions.

Christoph Wulf

Congress Opening

András Masát (Budapest)
Vice-Rector of Loránd Eötvös University

Ladies and Gentlemen,
dear guests, dear colleagues!

It is an honor and at the same time a pleasure for me to welcome you here in Budapest on behalf of the University Loránd Eötvös Budapest. Nearly 300 colleagues from many countries have come to our NESA meeting, to the third international NESA conference. This large number of participants indicates in itself how important and how current the topics are with which this conference and the NESA in general is concerned - important and current topics from all over the world. I think the venue of the conference underlines the intensive and continuous interest of the founder universities in Western Europe to cooperate with East and Central European universities, among them with the Loránd Eötvös University. These founder universities: the University of Amsterdam in The Netherlands, the University of Coimbra in Portugal, the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium, the University of London in Great Britain, the Autonomous University of Madrid in Spain, the University of Salamanca in Spain were eager to inform us about their activities in educational science and their aims and objectives in conducting research and teaching. The first contact with Hungarian institutions was made as early as 1990 (two years after establishing the Network, and just when political changes made it possible to think of European integration and cooperation as a reality). Since that time a meaningful and concrete cooperation with several Hungarian universities and with the National Institute of Public Education has been established. I am proud that the University Loránd Eötvös is among these institutions, and I would like to thank our partners and my colleagues for their participation in NESA activities. Loránd Eötvös University, like all the other Hungarian institutions, has been aware of the common responsibilities in educational science, and they will also be so in the future. If we are

able to work together and to make our contribution to such a successful cooperation, it is firstly thanks to TEMPUS Joint European Projects. TEMPUS is not only a vehicle for the internationalization of higher education for the whole region, but for NESA collaboration as well. While working in international networks and participating in joint projects, we have also learned how difficult it is to face what was unthinkable before -- the possibility of a European integration and cooperation on the one hand, and the diminishing financial resources for higher education on the other. But we all know that we do not have any other choice: without international cooperation there will be no progress in research, no progress in the theory and practice of education. We have to be in a position to offer an education which is valid and where diplomas will be recognized everywhere. We need students with a European mind set and a national or local education. In other words, the only future for an educational institution anywhere in the world can only be an educational system which meets international standards. It does not mean, of course, that we shall give up national and local traditions in education. All these experiences and achievements are valuable, and we must protect them now more than ever: they are building blocks in a national culture, and I am convinced that future European educational institutes will continue building up their unique, historically developed profile, adding additional value to the European standards.

All your workshops in this conference, and not least the title of the conference: "Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task", provide evidence of your awareness of these problems. Let me thank the Organizing Committee, the Hungarian Conference Committee and Program Committee for their work in preparing this conference, and let me welcome you again here to Budapest and to Hungary. I wish you successful discussions and ideas for your research and practical work in the future, and hopefully you will also enjoy Budapest in these beautiful autumn days.

Christoph Wulf (Berlin)

*Chairman of the Steering Committee
Network Educational Science Amsterdam*

The Challenge of Intercultural Education

In distinction to the first two congresses which were primarily devoted to the formation and development of the Network, this congress has a thematic orientation; thus the present congress, in transcending the Network, has now become a congress in the discipline of educational science.

In accordance with the developments over the last few years, for the first time colleagues from the Baltic States, Russia and the Ukraine and from all the Scandinavian countries, Greece and France are taking part in this year's congress. And although the focus of our Network lies in Europe, we nevertheless require the cooperation of other regions of the world and have thus a number of colleagues from Japan, Thailand, Latin America and the United States from whom we can expect valuable and stimulating contributions to the treatment of our subject.

At the present congress the work of the strand groups will be continued; occasionally this work has taken place over many years and is now leading to the first publications. New strand groups have been added in which a similar international cooperation is aimed at. As well as the work structured in long term cooperation, the thematic focus of this congress, "Education in Europe: An Intercultural Task", is especially significant for the future orientation of pedagogy and education in Europe.

In the past three years the Network Educational Science in Amsterdam has been a great success. The majority of the Erasmus and Tempus project-applications were accepted. Programs to enlarge the libraries dedicated to educational science in central Europe were implemented. Stipends for the exchange of young

scholars in research institutes for educational science were given out. The EPICURES project, which is intended to facilitate the cooperation between a number of European research centers, has been submitted, and a decision is expected soon. The same holds true for the Atlantic-Link project, which is dedicated to supporting cooperation between universities in the United States and the European Community. Numerous cooperative projects with universities in Japan and in South America are being planned. The foundation of a series "European Studies in Education" has also been proposed, and the faculty of Educational Science at the Free University of Berlin has responded to my application with finances for a five-year period.

NESA is at a peak in its development. This situation is essentially the result of the tireless and devoted work of the NESA coordinator Gustavo Reparas and his office in Amsterdam. I would like to express my gratitude to all of them here. I would also like to thank Professor Gevers, the president of the University of Amsterdam, who has repeatedly demonstrated his personal interest and engagement in the affairs of NESA. Many thanks as well to the many colleagues in the faculty of education at the University of Amsterdam who have helped the Network in past years to overcome problems and difficulties.

Despite the large success of the NESA we must also recognize that networks, as non-governmental organizations, are highly sensitive to interference. With the exception of the expenditures for the secretariat, the work of the NESA is no longer financed by national resources, but by European resources. This is not a trivial detail, but rather a fact of considerable importance. For the first time in European history there exists an international exchange program for lecturers and students with international research projects and cooperation among universities and research centers which are financed not just by two or three national partners, but with European funds.

Even despite the fact that the available finances cover only a narrow margin of the demand, the financial support of educational and research programs with European funds is also symbolically significant. That students study at universities in foreign countries is no longer the individual affair of students or their countries of origin. Such sojourns for foreign study are now seen

as an affair of Europe and its future development. On the symbolic level this marks an attempt to spur on transnational interests and loyalties in the younger generation which complement the largely nationally oriented interests and loyalties with new perspectives.

Independent of how the individual may perceive the development of a common Europe, the formation and European support of networks such as NESA is an important step of symbolic significance for our future in the intensification of cooperative work in Europe. NESA is today "the" network for international cooperation in the field of educational science in Europe. The possibilities contained in this network have not been exhausted. Their realization is essentially determined by how the collective work in Europe progresses in the next few years.

No matter how these processes are individually transacted, we can probably expect that the international affiliations will increase. Already a growth in migrant movements in Europe has been registered whose dimensions would have been considered impossible only a short time ago. These movements mean that increasing numbers of foreigners live in the ethnic communities of Europe. The problems arising from this will thus play a more substantial role. Due to the massive presence of problems in some regions among members of different ethnic backgrounds and nationalities, various social and educational programs have been implemented in many countries that are intended to help solve these problems. Many of these programs which contribute to multicultural or intercultural education have no doubt offered valuable insights for the solution of the problems that lie ahead. The advantage of these programs lies in their overwhelmingly addressee-related character. Specific problems are addressed and processed with precise concepts and methods. The success of these efforts varies. Since the problems themselves are often not only of social or educational origin, but also of economical and political origin, the successes in the field of education are correspondingly small. Perhaps such efforts have more often rather a legitimizing function and less a pedagogical effect. In any case, the programs offer experience in contact with foreigners which is important for the treatment and social contact with other cultures.

The decision for the congress theme, *Education in Europe: An*

Intercultural Task, was based on the conviction that in view of the present development in Europe social contact with foreign cultures must generally become a stable factor in education. Central to our congress theme is thus the question what it means for our understanding of education and educational science when in Europe and in other countries of the world children, youths and adults in unprecedented numbers live and encounter members of other cultures. Don't these political, economic and social conditions in Europe make it necessary to reconsider the subject of education? Can we be satisfied with the previously unquestioned tendency to consider education exclusively in the context of national cultures?

Let there be no misunderstanding: the education of the younger generation is preeminently the affair of the individual nation-state cultures constituting Europe. Europe is characterized by the variety of its cultures which ought to be maintained and protected against attempts at universal standardization. Europe's wealth lies in its diversity and variety which are the products of a long, common, and often calamitous history. Despite the many differences, Europe's common history is also the common foundation upon which the question of the new possibilities of cohabitation with ethnic groups and cultures can be raised.

In this respect new possibilities must also be sought in education in dealing with ethnic groups and cultures. This is not a simple question. Socialization and education leave deep impressions each and every day. With language and imagination, mimesis and desire, ritual and gesture, they are inscribed in the body of children, anchored in the collective ideas and stereotypes, norms and regulations, and reflected in the habitus and in practical knowledge. Let me illustrate a small aspect of what I mean with a linguistic example: the word "nature" in English, "nature" in French, "natura" in Italian and "Natur" in German. They all have the same etymological origin, and yet what a difference exists from language to language and from culture to culture in the meaning, in the field of associations and in connotations!

Stating differences between cultures in Europe implies that in being conscious of the individual value of each culture more attention ought to be given to the distinctiveness of foreign culture

than has hitherto been the case. Not that the foreign culture should be measured using the yardstick of one's own culture. Rather, it is important to learn to deal with the distinctiveness of foreign culture so that the encounter with it is experienced not a threat to one's own culture, but as an enrichment of it.

How is this possible? And how often do political, economic and social conditions hamper such processes? How deeply and historically rooted are the prejudices that each culture harbors with respect to other cultures? Even with the high level of education, stereotypes are difficult to disperse. They fulfill important functions in securing the identity of the members of an individual culture. They facilitate the division of one's own culture from a foreign culture and thus help to create a stronger identification with one's own culture. Since the European cultures have a common basis in Greek and Roman antiquity, in Christianity and in the Middle Ages and are thus related to one another, they require reciprocal distinction in order to assure their uniqueness and individuality. In this amalgam of commonality and differences, so characteristic for the cultures of Europe, lies the possibility, but also the limitations, for communication and cooperation.

With respect to the nation-state organization of the European countries changes are certainly possible. More difficult are the permanent changes in the relationships between cultures. Here, complicated translation and transformation processes are required, in the course of which misunderstandings and misinterpretations are just as prevalent as successful processes of interpretation and communication. All these processes take place in the context of the collective opinions and values that have been generated over the course of European history, over which the individual with his own experience of enculturation has no direct control. These predominantly linguistically mediated opinions coagulate into constellations and structures that are difficult to analyze and change. And that is one reason why the confrontation between members of different cultures is a more difficult process than is generally assumed.

The confrontation with foreign cultures is a necessary element of every process of enculturation, socialization and education. In

the contemporary political, economic and social development in Europe, these processes deserve more attention. A more intensive treatment of the subject of foreign culture is necessary in the educational system, not simply because of the increasing interdependence of European societies among themselves, but also for the sake of a better self-understanding of each individual society. A better self-understanding of one's own culture facilitates a more open and richer contact with foreign cultures.

Conscious attention to foreign societies thus assists the acquisition of one's own culture. In the educational system, the approach to foreign culture occurs primarily through the acquisition of language, through the study of a foreign tongue. And yet to what extent are these processes of rapprochement reduced to the mere acquisition of linguistic abilities? How much room and time is left for acquainting oneself with the culture to which the language belongs? How strong is the consciousness of the political necessity of direct contact with other European cultures and with societies outside of Europe? To what degree are teachers qualified for such tasks? In the face of present developments in Europe these questions must be dealt with in the educational system more intensively than has hitherto been the case.

With reference to the "intercultural task" or "intercultural learning" in this context, three levels of meaning are implied:

- 1) In all nationally organized educational systems, the encounter with other cultures, with the foreign, with the other, is of increasing importance.

- 2) Intercultural learning is reciprocal learning between members of different societies with the goal of becoming better acquainted with other cultures and thus better understanding one's own culture.

- 3) Intercultural learning aims at developing thought departing from the perspective of the other and moving to the self - heterological thinking. This heterological thought rejects the reduction of another culture according to one's own, and is more concerned with enriching the referentiality of one's own culture through the experience with another culture.

Decisive in these processes is the experience of similarity and difference. In this respect, processes of difference are often more difficult to tolerate than processes of similarity since they rela-

tivize the self. Calling oneself into question through the experience with the distinctiveness of foreign culture and the consequent relativization of the self are among the most trenchant experiences in encountering the foreign and the other. It is, and always has been, difficult to submit oneself to such experiences. Tolerance is required as well as self-examination and self-reflexivity. Perhaps we can make a small contribution to the development of this method of observation in the course of our congress.

Gustavo Egas Repáraz (Amsterdam)
Coordinator Network Educational Sciences Amsterdam

The Network Educational Science Amsterdam

Tasks and Perspectives

Dear Mr. Vice-Rector, distinguished guests, dear colleagues and friends,

It is my honor and privilege to welcome you all to this 3rd international NESAs conference in Budapest. As educationalists we know that the importance of education has to be rediscovered by society, different times over a lifetime. If we take the European Community as a society it may come to you as a surprise that at this very point in history when Europe is in deep turmoil, the world of economy and the world of politics are advocating loud and clear the importance of improving the quality of education for all as a basic condition to safeguard the transition process towards Europe's future.

In May of this year the European Commission issued a working paper setting guidelines for Community action in the field of education and training.

In this policy paper the position is held that the member states of the Community share values (such as human rights, civic responsibilities and openness to the world), values that are transmitted to the rising generations through education and training. Furthermore, and I quote:

In the decades after World War II, "the widespread consensus about the importance of equality of opportunity in democratic societies has resulted in a dramatic expansion of education inspired not only by the needs of the economy but also by the conviction that the personal development of all children would benefit society. In the rapidly changing world of today these values of education and training need to be re-affirmed and

re-inforced, and they provide the basis for the emerging European identity and citizenship."

This view of the role of education in the European society is being emphasized by the growing awareness that education and training is a vital component of economic strength, cultural development and social cohesion. The nations of Europe, with all their political and cultural diversity, have long recognized that their future is dependent on the skills, ingenuity, inventiveness and creativity of people. Industrialization and the growth of education have gone hand-in-hand. Yet all member states share concern about their competitive edge and their capacity to generate sustainable economic growth. Over the last few years a growing consensus has emerged throughout the European Community, as in other parts of the world, that so-called "human or intangible capital" is the natural endowment of a nation, as their financial power and fixed capital will become dwindling resources.

Europe and the Educational Challenge: An Inter-cultural Task

This is not only a question of men and woman acquiring new skills and knowledge, but it is about the vital need to create an educational society that can meet the demands coming from demographic changes, migration and the multi-cultural character of our modern societies; it is about the creation of a society that can appreciate the cultural and language pluriformity, a society with a built-in potential to change and innovate itself according to our democratic traditions. In a civilized and prosperous society there is no room for racial violence and ethnic separation of people. Although we all know that education cannot make up for society, we will have to stick to the mission that education has in the modern world: "education for all, taking into account environmental, economic, social and cultural needs". Education should be a well equipped, highly professional, open learning system of our societies, including recurrent and life-long learning, meeting educational needs without any distinction of race, ethnicity, religion, gender or social background. This is what education should stand for, and we all know that we are far from these

ideals and values.

In many recent publications coming from the world of European industry this view on the importance of education, especially for the functions of the European labor market, technological competitiveness, economic growth and social cohesion has been stressed. Despite the work done by the European Commission to stimulate international cooperation in higher education and research, it still seems that while economics and politics are re-discovering the importance of education in the European context, the educational community is lagging behind. We are not at the end, not even on the way, we are only starting to think about education as an international practice, not primarily within the local and national context, but as a vehicle to an integrated Europe, to internationalize the curriculum, the teaching process and technology of learning and by jointly doing so, to create an European Educational Community.

As schools and faculties of education we have a double interest in the internationalization of education. In the near future three million teachers will be replaced, teachers that have to be prepared to meet the manifest failures of our school systems and commit themselves to what can be foreseen as a new educational revolution. All this will require strong and independent schools and faculties of education, with their own capability to provide new training methods, curriculum innovation and organizational improvement of the schools. Our schools and faculties of education have to maintain an acceptable level of educational research, develop projects that can meet international standards and reflect the interdisciplinary character of educational studies. To raise and maintain these international professional standards schools and faculties of education should actively engage in international cooperation. We educationalists should stop complaining about politics and economy, leave our parochial thinking behind and get our European cooperation on the road. The educational community of teachers and scientist have a unique contribution to make. The cultural and personal values for which education stands cannot be reduced to only economic or political discourses, no matter how important they may be. It is our professional responsibility to organize ourselves and express educational interests and

points of view, investigating the special problems and needs that relate to international cooperation in the field of education and teacher-training. Although there will always be a shortage of money, we are seeing new opportunities and instruments to build our international professional community. Recently the European Commission even took special measures to elevate the performance of educational studies and teacher training in a diversity of European programs.

The NESA Record between September '90 - September '93

When we started building-up NESA in 1987 it could hardly been foreseen that it was to be captured in the dynamics indicated above. The need for educational cooperation that exceeds national thinking and local interests has been proven by NESA. This is perhaps our major achievement; we have been able to set a convincing example, although many problems remain to be solved. Education, pedagogy and teacher training will, by building a first rank international cooperation in teaching and in research, not only serve personal enrichment, but first of all the quality of the profession and the fulfilment of its institutional mission. We were able and we see possibilities to seek financial and moral support from politics and the economic world to develop our network programs, without ever giving up our own responsibilities. The NESA record of project has expanded to a total of twenty projects in teaching, curriculum development and research, including university institutions and research institutions in twenty-two different countries. The total budget between '90 and '93 exceeds an amount of 2 million ECU. When we started this network I remember discussions about the non-European participation in NESA. I strongly hold the view that NESA, although being a European based network, should not exclude cooperation with regions outside Europe. Looking back, I can only reach the conclusion that this has proven to be the correct policy. We just completed a new NESA application for an Experimental European-American pilot project in educational studies and teacher training. The cooperation with our American colleagues has been most rewarding and

challenging. With our Japanese colleagues we managed to get new interesting projects on Media Based Education and Citizenship Education started, projects that look very promising. Professor Dean Schwartz played a remarkable role in building these bridges on the US side, as Professor Takemura did on the Japanese side, and we ought to thank them for that on behalf of the whole network. There is far more that we have in common and that we can share with each other in the teaching practice and in research, than issues that separate us.

Despite all the differences that exist in size, mission, legal and fiscal conditions under which institutions of higher education function, there is an overall tendency towards an expansion of international activities. This phenomenon is closely linked with a genuine philosophical commitment to close cultural perspectives in the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, financial reduction in university budgets and a decline in the traditional student enrollment, and the rise of academic entrepreneurialism. We may assume that the institutional context in which the international activities are initiated contains all the normal characteristics of a collegium and a professional bureaucracy, with all that this implies in terms of inertia, resistance to central directives and a very healthy decentralization of expertise and autonomy at the level of the individual and basic unit. When developing an international network we have, therefore, to distinguish between different actors that each require appropriate instruments for change, when establishing a development and implementation strategy to enhance international co-operative activities.

For researchers it has always been crucial to be communicant members of international networks to sustain their vitality and place at the frontiers of knowledge, through personal contacts, exchange of publications and reports and conferences. Traditionally, teaching and administration have been more national, regional and even local oriented. The international tradition of research fits very well in the emerging European research programs. In matching research projects in terms of priorities, topics and research output, it will be the departmental and individual research capacity in the setting of the international collegial network that

defines the university profile and specific project participation opportunities. Academic leadership and reputation is predominant; the bureaucratic structure is supposed to be subsidiary, supportive and facilitating. Undoubtedly a key element in the success of NESA has been that in the set-up of specific "strands", the principle of academic leadership has been the guiding rule. The same rationale that makes international research projectworking, professional interest and integrity, academic leadership and reputation, have made the international educational projects possible. This principle, however, contradicts the traditional bureaucratic organizational format of authority and decision-making in educational and training programs of higher education establishments as a whole. In the process of expanding and institutionalizing the international educational programs, the challenge will be to balance the role of the bureaucratic and academic professionals in such a way that the *key role of the academic professional commitment as prime mover is not put aside*. This role is new in the setting of educational and training programs and can easily be undermined by bureaucratic procedures. If the administrative regulations endanger the professional interest and freedom, the added value of the time invested will soon drop below zero from the pure academic point of view. Without safeguarding this specific issue, the new programs could prove to be self-destructive. Central authorities will easily tend to overlook this organizational condition, because it can only be measured on the microlevel of direct human interaction on the shop floor.

Dear colleagues, I sincerely hope that this conference will contribute to further improvement and success of our cooperation within NESA, to make this a valuable professional and human experience.

Educational Science

The State of the Art

Christoph Wulf (Berlin)

Paradigms of Educational Theory

The Development of Educational Science in Germany

In the sixties and seventies the study of educational science in Germany became one of the most widely developed fields in the social sciences or humanities. In terms of content this development took place due to the addition of empirical science and critical educational theory (the later inspired by the Frankfurt school) to the then dominant type of educational theory orientated towards the humanities. The development led to an unprecedented level of differentiation and complexity in the educational sciences. The development in content was paralleled by the institutional growth of the educational system and educational science in research institutes and universities.

As a scientific discipline educational science was constituted in the reciprocally supplementing interplay and overlapping of its three major directions: the pedagogic theory of the humanities; empirical educational science, and critical educational theory. Since these three scientific paradigms were of central significance in the process of the development of educational science, their reconstruction is a necessity for the self-understanding of the discipline. This reconstruction is the task of the present paper which outlines the central positions of educational science and indicates their general theoretical foundations. By demonstrating the specific achievements as well as the limitations of the individual positions, this paper seeks to serve the reader as an introduction to the present stage of development of educational science in Germany.

In the course of the development of educational science, controversies arose which were not restricted to the field of educational science. In that process, educational science lost its monolithic character. Various branches were created which in the increasingly pointed debates strove to distance themselves from one

another. With the intensification of the engagement in the controversies, little room was left for a balanced overview of the entire field. Although the controversies were not always completely resolved, they did help to clarify issues. The results lie in the recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of the individual paradigms which became evident during the debates among the various positions. Each of the three most significant paradigms developed specific questions which were handled with distinct methods and practices and which determined in their own manner their relationship to educational practice. A short sketch of the central points of reference of these major branches may demonstrate this.

The Educational Theory of the Humanities (Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik)

The origins of the educational theory of the humanities go back to Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Dilthey (1833-1911). In the twenties, it became prominent under the influence of Hermann Nohl (1879-1960), Theodor Litt (1880-1960), Eduard Spranger (1882-1963), Wilhelm Flittner (1889-1990) and Erich Weniger (1894-1961). Right up to the late sixties this was the definitive paradigm in German pedagogy, in whose framework Wolfgang Klafki, Klaus Mollenhauer and Herwig Blankertz began their academic careers. In attempting to characterize this by no means homogeneous paradigm, five distinct features can be isolated which have determined large fields of educational science to the present day:

- 1) the historicity of education and educational theory;
- 2) the central significance of hermeneutics for educational theory;
- 3) the demand for the relative autonomy of education and educational theory;
- 4) the pedagogic relationship;
- 5) and the relationship between theory and practice, constitutive of educational theory.

Empirical Educational Theory (Empirische Erziehungswissenschaft)

Since the beginning of the century there have been numerous attempts to make empirical and analytical research a stable part of educational theory. Only in the sixties and the first half of the seventies did the empirical research in educational science become established. Today about one quarter of the university professors in faculties of educational science focus on empirical research. The development of the empirical paradigm took place in tandem with the reform movement in the educational system. Today it seems that basic research is regaining significance.

In the historical perspective attention should be drawn to:

- the work of the two founders of "experimental educational theory", August Lay (1912) and E. Meulmann (1920);
- the efforts of Else and Peter Petersen to ground pedagogic "fact research";
- the works of Aloys Fischer (1966) and Rudolf Lochner (1927; 1963) on the development of a descriptive educational theory;
- and Heinrich Roth's efforts to bring about a "realistic turn".

The most consequent model of educational theory orientated towards Karl Popper's critical rationalism was published by Wolfgang Brezinka (1972). It is based on the following epistemological principles which are important for empirical educational research:

- the division between the context of discovery and the context of justification;
- the distinction between metascientific normative decisions pertaining to basic values and the demand for value freedom in the object sphere of the scientific system of statements;
- the rejection of the principle of induction, still considered to be valid in positivism, as a means of reasoning in the system of statements;
- the deductive construction of theories that can be provisionally affirmed by the fact that attempts to falsify them were unsuccessful;
- intersubjective falsification as a method of investigating statements.

In this paradigm science is defined as a research activity directed towards cognition of reality with the help of scientific methods. Since this concept cannot fulfill all tasks that have been recognized by "former" paradigms in the field of educational theory, Brezinka supplements educational sciences (1) with a philosophy of educational theory (2) and with practical educational thought (3). Furthermore, he subdivides educational science in the broad sense of the word into a "theoretical science of educational theory" and a "historiography of educational theory". The historiography is largely conceived of according to the principles of "theoretical educational science". The field of the "philosophy of educational theory" is also subdivided into a "cognitive theory of pedagogic statements" and a "moral philosophy". Thereafter, practical educational thought is developed by reverting to the concept of practical artistic apprenticeship. Although a detailed description, analysis and critique of this concept of educational science cannot be entered into here, the epistemological problems that result from such a triadic division of a science ought to be noted - problems that are created by clinging to the concept of a unified educational science while at the same time dividing educational science into subdisciplines that are of varying value.

The scientific doctrine of critical rationalism that provides the basis for the concept of a largely content independent unified science is comprised of five central elements:

- definition and explanation of categories
- operationalization of concepts
- scientific statements
- theories, hypotheses and their verification
- technology as a field of application for theories.

Not only the theoretical-scientific sketches of critical rationalism, but the results of the empirical research already carried out are especially important for the construction of educational science as a complex social science and branch of the humanities. With their aid important new information can be obtained that is helpful in developing a multi-dimensional body of knowledge for educational theory. And yet in the course of this development it became clear that the empirical educational science of the sixties and

seventies could not fulfill the expectations placed upon it. Especially the hope to achieve a substantial contribution to the improvement of educational praxis with the help of empirical research could not be fulfilled.

Critical Educational Theory **(Kritische Erziehungswissenschaft)**

Critical educational theory was developed as a paradigm of educational theory bearing a strong relationship to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and distancing itself expressly from the humanities educational theory and empirical educational theory. In distinction to these latter paradigms, critical educational theory stresses the historical and social character of education and the necessity of orienting education to a critical theory of society, science and the subject. Despite a general orientation to the fundamental ideas of critical theory, critical educational theory does not represent a self-contained paradigm. This is due to the fact that critical educational theory initially was conceived as a negation of traditional theory. Its task was the critique of bourgeois society and its scientific industry. Critical educational theory was not interested in developing a "positive" theory of its own that would itself become an object of its own critique. Despite this limitation, the task of critical theory in educational theory was to guide and change educational praxis. And here educational theory had to go beyond the Frankfurt School; it had to restructure the material content at hand in the subdisciplines of educational theory and to create conscious educational contexts with the aid of other social sciences. In judging the value of critical educational theory, emphasis was placed upon the contribution it made as a praxis oriented theory for educational praxis and for the praxis of persons active in education. The critique contained in critical educational theory must, therefore, also be applied to critical theory itself so that it becomes self-reflective. The elaboration of this assessment led to an increase in behavior research in educational theory.

Already in the thirties Horkheimer had developed his critique

of the objectivistic self-misunderstanding of bourgeois science. Critique is intended to help understand the world as a product of work and to recognize bourgeois society as the result of the division of labor and of a specific structure of production in whose framework the principle of exchange has a fundamental significance. In addition, Horkheimer and Adorno have shown that the enlightenment could no longer be simply understood as a linear increase in freedom, since the process of enlightenment gave rise to many side effects which threatened to turn the enlightenment into its opposite. "Even myth is enlightenment, and enlightenment can strike back in the form of myth." Later critical theory turns against the "fury of identification" in the positive sciences in the interest of the "difference between the conceptual and non-conceptual in the object itself" (Adorno). Habermas distinguishes numerous cognitive interests in the sciences which correspond with one another: the "technical cognitive interest" that aims at the most possibly complete mastery of its objects; the "practical cognitive interest" that is oriented towards an understanding of the central questions of life; and the emancipatory cognitive interest that is primarily concerned with dismantling control over people. And finally, Marcuse propagates that it is not the task of theory or of philosophical thought - and here they encounter their limitations - to attain happiness and to "furnish the new society", but rather the task lies in "the free labor of the freed individual." Marcuse thus sees the task of reason in the drafting of such a society prior to its realization with the help of fantasy.

In the course of history critical reason has developed a number of basic concepts. These basic concepts are of central importance to the understanding of critical theory and its affects. Among them we find the following concepts: enlightenment, emancipation, reification, critique, society, and the theory-praxis relationship.

Educational Knowledge

Our examination of the development of educational science into a complex, heterogeneous scientific discipline has made it clear that each of the paradigms described above remains valid only within

itself. No one paradigm can be replaced by another. This fact, which only slowly gained recognition, is today undisputable. The relativization of claims to scientific validity that went with this recognition has led to a radical scientific pluralism. This epistemological pluralism finds adequate expression in the concept of "educational knowledge" that comprises very divergent forms of knowledge. The concept of "educational knowledge" was made possible by the discussions in which once again the significance of the various paradigms for the development of educational theory was considered. In these discussions the positions during the sixties, seventies and eighties were taken up once again, but with less of an attempt to defend one's own position and criticize others; interest was more directed towards a detailed understanding of the various positions. The question of the consequences of this discussion for future development in educational theory was also raised.

At the same time, further intensive epistemological questions were considered in the wake of the paradigm discussion. Thus system-theories have played a large provocative role for some years. Even the impulses stemming from the discussion surrounding the unfortunately titled concept of "postmodernism" gained influence upon educational theory. In accordance with the developments in other humanities, reconsideration was given to the question of anthropology which, in the sixties, had played an important role in educational theory prior to the spread of the paradigm discussion.

The tendency of scientific advancement raised the diversity of the discussion and led finally, at the beginning of the nineties, to the concept of "educational knowledge" as a reference point for future epistemological developments. With this reference point the diversity becomes programmatic for forms of knowledge and symbolic manifestations. Science is from then on possible only in the plural form. The distinctiveness of forms of knowledge is stressed, forms whose acceptance makes possible the sanctioning of not only scientific, but also literary and practical knowledge as educational knowledge. This development leads to mixed forms of educational knowledge which are an expression of the fact that the normative instance of science is seemingly hopelessly entangled in the diversity of institutional references, social experiences

and now historic points of validation from which it in the past was so sublimely removed. There is no ideal way of producing and using educational knowledge that would suddenly compensate for all mistakes and offer only advantages.

Ever since the theoretical "anything goes" (Feyerabend) signaled the programmatic end of the absolute claim to validity of a scientific paradigm, ever since the end of "large stories" (Lyotard) in which the direction of social and individual development was determined, and ever since the acceptance of a radical pluralism, the epistemological situation of educational theory has been changed recently by the concept of "educational knowledge" and by the idea of the principle value-equivalence of various forms of knowledge. Following the intense discussion over different paradigms and over the establishment of a concept of educational knowledge, isolated attempts to revive the anthropologic mode of observation are currently underway. This revival of anthropology is, however, taking place in changed social and epistemological conditions. In many branches of the human sciences today anthropological themes and questions have become more significant. The reason for this growth in significance lies in the epistemological situation of the human sciences which have lost their secure frames of reference; in these human sciences the "anthropological turn" promises new points of reference and new orientations.

References

- Wulf, Christoph: Paradigms of Educational Theory. In: Stephan Sting/Christoph Wulf (Eds.): Education in a Period of Social Upheaval. Educational Theories and Concepts in Central East Europe, Münster 1994.
- Wulf, Christoph (Ed.): Einführung in die pädagogische Anthropologie, Weinheim, Basel 1994.
- Wulf, Christoph: Theorien und Konzepte der Erziehungswissenschaft, München,⁵ 1992.

Paradigms in Educational Research:

Complementarity or Unity?

Broadly speaking, there are three possible ways of conceptualizing educational research, each based on different assumptions, values and human interests. Habermas (1971) calls these: (1) the "empirical-analytic sciences"; (2) the "historical-hermeneutic sciences"; and (3) the "critical sciences". In Thomas Kuhn's sense the concept paradigm refers to the commonality of approach of a group of researchers in such a way that they can be regarded as approaching educational research from the same perspective. This does not necessarily imply complete unity of thought. Researchers working within the context of a given paradigm may have different standpoints, but they do have an underlying unity in terms of basic epistemological, ideological and methodological commitments which distinguish them from other researchers in different paradigms. These paradigms typically reflect a choice between realism and nominalism (ontology), positivism and anti-positivism (epistemology), determinism and voluntarism (human nature), nomothetic and ideographic (methodology).

The empirical-analytic sciences paradigm is based on instrumental values (means-end rationality) and "technical control" (Habermas, 1971). The purpose of science within this paradigm is analytic, disinterested and imposes a distinction between theory and practice, value and fact. Social and educational research employing the empirical-analytic paradigm adopts methods of the natural, social and behavioral sciences (experimental and quantitative), objective forms of knowledge (nomothetic-propositional), deterministic assumptions of human nature (reification, i.e., where human beings function as objects), and the "moulding" and "social engineering" metaphors as the main social and educational values. The historical-hermeneutic sciences paradigm is based on

the value of open dialogue and a "practical" cognitive interest in providing conditions for communication, understanding and intersubjectivity (see Habermas, 1971; Popkewitz, 1984). Although interpretivism escapes from reductionism, it commits the researcher to a form of relativism in that it provides no space for an external criticism of the social order (Howe, 1992). In this sense, this model is conservative because, by confining itself to the insider's perspective, it systematically ignores the possible structures of conflict within society (Fay, 1987) to which only researchers (outsiders) may be privy (Howe, 1992). This paradigm adopts historical/interpretive research methods (qualitative, ethnographic and interactionistic), subjective/ideographic forms of knowledge and the "whole-person-growth" metaphor as the main social and educational value.

The alternative to positivistic technical control (e.g., functionalist-structuralist) and interpretivist facilitation, is the critical science paradigm. The critical inquiry purports to advance a sense of action-orienting mutual understanding (Harre, 1981) which can be achieved through a form of horizontal dialogical intercommunication in Freire's terms, where people are engaged on a joint, critical search (Randall and Southgate, 1981). That is a form of cooperative interactive inquiry where criticism and self-criticism as well as full and meaningful participation is ensured to all interest groups in research (Heron, 1981; Rowan, 1981). This is close to what Reason and Rowan (1981) refer to as "feedback loops" and "recycling analysis" and to what Makrakis (1988) refers to as "participant verification". That is going back to the subjects with tentative results of the inquiry and refining them in the light of their reactions. In the critical sciences paradigm, knowledge and interest, value and fact, object and subject are not perceived as divorced from each other. The critical paradigm adopts critical social science research methods (emancipatory, conscientized, participatory and action-oriented), dialectical forms of knowledge (self-reflective/understanding), the "rational self-clarity" and "collective autonomy", and the "empowerment" metaphors as the main social and educational values.

These three paradigms are discussed as reflecting distinct sets of assumptions, values and interests; some claim that such

demarcations cannot be sustained, at least in terms of three separate paradigms (Keeves, 1987; 1988). It has also been claimed that the nature of Habermasian cognitive interests and their epistemological status cannot be justified (Lakomski, 1988). Others argue that the purpose and the objectives of given research inquiry determine the strategy of paradigm to be adopted (Husen, 1988). Others, departing from a non-foundational and coherentist theory of knowledge, advance the "unity thesis" (Walker and Evers, 1988; Walker, 1991; Evers, 1991). Coherentists deny epistemological diversity which inevitably leads to knowledge partition, and research incomparability.

Clearly, some views expressed in the three paradigms examined may be correct, and they say something important about world reality. Indeed, in practice sharp distinctions between rival paradigms are not always very clear, and they are usually complementary to one another. The complementarity or compatibility of research paradigms assumes that certain features from all the three paradigms can be borrowed. For example, compatibility can borrow from the empirical-analytic science paradigm the notion that things are structurally and causally interrelated; from interpretivism the intentional explanations of social structures and normative conception of social science; and from critical sciences the dialectical interplay of subject and object. Accordingly, it is possible for all three paradigms discussed here to co-exist, each of them focusing on aspects of reality that seem to complement rather than exclude each other.

References

- Evers, C. 1991. Towards a Coherent Theory of Validity. *International Journal of Educational Research*. Vol.15, pp. 521-535.
- Fay, B. 1987. *Critical Social Science: Liberation and its Limits*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. 1971. *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Harre, R. 1981. *The Positivist-Empiricist Approach and its Al-*

- ternative, in: P. Reason and J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. Bath: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Heron, J. 1981. A Philosophical Basis for a New Paradigm, in: P. Reason and J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. Bath: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Howe, K. 1992. Getting over the Quantitative-Qualitative Debate? *American Journal of Education*. Vol.100, Nr.2, pp. 236-256.
- Husen, T. 1988. Research Paradigms in Education, in: J. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement: An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 17-20.
- Keeves, J.P. 1988. Social Theory and Educational Research, in: J. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement: An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 20-27.
- Keeves, J. 1987. The Unity of Educational Research. Paper for a Seminar on Paradigms in Educational Research: One, Two, Many or None? Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm.
- Kuhn, T. 1970. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd Ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakomski, G. 1988. Critical Theory and Educational Research, in: J. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement: An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Makrakis, V. 1988. Computers in School Education. *Studies in Comparative and International Education*, No.11, Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm.
- Popkewitz, T. 1984. *Paradigm and Ideology in Educational Research*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Randall, R. and Southgate, J. 1981. Doing Dialogical Research, in: P. Reason and J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. Bath: John Wiley & Sons

Ltd.

- Reason, P. and Rowan, J. 1981. Issues of Validity in New Paradigm Research, in: P. Reason and J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. Bath: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Rowan, J. 1981. A Dialectical Paradigm for Research, in: P. Reason and J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research*. Bath: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Walker, J. 1991. Coherence and Reduction: Implications for Educational Research. *International Journal of Educational Research*. Vol.15, pp. 505-520.
- Walker, J. and Evers, C. 1988. The Epistemological Unity of Educational Research, in: J. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement: An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, pp. 28-36.

Democratic vs. Scientific and Expert Legitimation of Educational Decisions

Difficulties of democratization of education seem to be not so much technological but rather fundamental. There are some contradictory notions in our minds striving simultaneously to democratization on the one hand and the exact natural- scientific or expert way of legitimation of educational decisions on the other.

The search for the "right education" started by Plato long ago, under the influence of Enlightenment philosophy it turned into the positivistic or natural-scientific legitimation of education in all its aspects -- connected to knowledge, man and society.

A major paradigmatic feature of the whole Enlightenment educational thinking that influenced modern education was following the true nature of things. The imagination of the true nature of things which was the constituent part of Platonian philosophy became one of the foundations of positivism. The difference is that for the positivistic approach, the nature of things should be discovered by scientific observation instead of philosophical speculation. There is no place for subjective personal interpretation or schematization of the world. Human freedom and will are dissolved into the natural laws that govern the inorganic and organic realms of existence, on the one hand, and those that rule social processes, on the other.

Scientific legitimation of education, according to the Newtonian paradigm, tried to overcome the contingencies of human perspectives and to establish a firm order in accordance to the laws of nature.

In this way, all social decisions must be legitimated by objective procedures. The teacher's role is thus reduced to the drawing of inferences from any set of research conclusions for what they ought to do in the classroom.

However, as Berlin, Schwab, Carr and Kemmis, and Rorty showed, it is logically impossible to infer answers to practical questions from answers to theoretical questions about what is actually the case in any given situation.

The purely scientific legitimation of the process of education and its aims is, in a way, undemocratic. It ignores the fact that different teachers and educators are guided by different paradigms to consider educational phenomena. Research results obtained within a given research paradigm which would be incompatible with those phenomenologically represented by teachers could be interpreted as imposition from outside. It is quite apparent that the main attraction of the positivistic approach, namely its claim to rescue educational theory from conflicts based on incompatible values and beliefs, is achieved only because such conflicts are supposed through an indoctrination of values and ideology that the dominant scientific paradigm prescribes.

Carr concluded that the common characteristic of modern research which followed the instrumental rationality is that reason is deprived of any significant role in the formulation of human purposes or social ends; reason has become an instrument for the effective pursuit of preestablished goals; human reason has lost its critical thrust; judgment and deliberation have been replaced by calculation and technique, and reflective thought has been supplanted by a rigid conformity to methodical rules.

Throughout history, the dominating notions about institutional education could be summarized under one denominator -- that of the "right education", meaning that education is supposed to be legitimated by some impersonal, undebatable criteria. Education is legitimated and educational aims are established mainly from three sources -- the nature of knowledge, the nature of society, and human nature. The Platonian as well as the positivistic paradigms tried to find the basis for legitimation of education in some objective, impersonal, ahistorical criteria.

Rorty claims that we are the heirs of the objectivist tradition, which centers around the assumption that we must distance ourselves from our community.

The entire objectivistic tradition could be summarized in the following way. There is the notion of ultimate knowledge which is acquired by mirroring the true ideas or world around us, by

transparent, clear language making knowledge unconflicting, separated from the subjective interests of the learners. The society is dominantly viewed through the "organism" metaphor where every part of the organism (institutions and individuals) should play its prefixed, correct role in the service of the whole. For Plato's just state there was substituted, by Comte and Spencer, that evolving by objective laws, independently of human will, maintaining a relatively stable order or moving towards a higher order. Education is seen as preparing people for certain roles or role expectations, as socializing people into a prefixed order created outside of themselves. Human nature is seen as a teleological unfolding by a divine plan in the Platonian paradigm, or as unfolding due to objective natural laws according to Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and even Piaget. These natural laws have often been assumed (especially by Comte) to influence the human mind in the same way as natural processes. Human nature is connected with Nature that acts as a universal directing power shaping the fates of people, or with nature as a prefixed property of the material world.

The dominating sources of educational legitimation - the "nature of society", the "human nature", the "nature of knowledge" - represent the reified view to an individual, without any serious attention to the problem of personal meaning. It is equally true about the dominant "organism" metaphor when dealing with the social bond problems, the "nature" or "growth" metaphors describing the development of man, or the "mirror" or "conduit" metaphors for illuminating man's epistemic contact with the world. All of them contain some foundationalism that leaves it to experts to make rational decisions about curriculum planning or establishing educational aims.

None of the paradigmatic notions about knowledge, man and his development, and society leaves any considerable place for democratic negotiations and will-formation. Thus, I would conclude that we follow two contradictory intentions - that of democratization of education and scientific legitimation of scientific decisions.

The democratic approach to legitimation of educational aims has been supported by the revision of major metaphors describing all the three sources of legitimation of education -

knowledge, society and man.

The constructivistic view of knowledge and learning rejects the view of absorption or internalization of ready-made knowledge under conscious control. The understanding of a message is supposed to be connected to personal meaning which has no inevitability of absorbing ready-made true knowledge structures. Instead of the "conduit" metaphor for describing learning, the "construction" metaphor is seen as more appropriate. It allows everyone to hold his own paradigm to derive his own naive theories about phenomena under consideration. In this way the main style of school instruction -- "to give the right answers to the right questions" - is seriously questioned. Questions of motivational and personal meaning would become more serious than direct transmission of ready-made knowledge atoms.

Fritzman and Apple, approaching the issue from different angles, concluded that our curriculum is too "plain" and strives to prepare people for a frictionless society; it does not reflect any real conflicts in scientific and social thinking. This motive is firmly presented already in the Kuhnian concept of the paradigm. The second basis of legitimation of education, man, or more exactly, human nature was also profoundly reinterpreted already by Dewey and from him onwards. The "growth" metaphor that for Rousseau and even for Piaget designated a kind of closed and teleological process of unfolding towards a definite terminus has been criticized by various authors for not expressing the inevitable nomothetical process, but is significantly influenced by cultural-historical environment and contains unpredictable, transformative changes. The unfolding of human nature is also influenced by the self-determination of the individual. It is not justified to derive the aims of education directly from some prefixed description of human nature but by communicatively arranged negotiations involving some unpredictability and indeterminacy.

Fritzman concluded that to speak about socialization, it is necessary to determine what society is or what it will be. There are no automatic and homogenous answers to this question. Any definite answer involves a danger of becoming terroristic against some persons or interest groups.

The interpretive approach and the critical theory of Habermas consider the view of society as a "biological organism" having ob-

jective needs fulfilled by its different parts (institutions and individuals through their role activity) as inadequate, or at least, as one-sided. The issue of institutional functions is not the issue of discovering objective laws directing social processes independently of human will, it is an issue of political will-formation. In the same way, it is possible to argue against ready-made roles in society, independently of people interpreting these roles and creating new ones. The vision of school as a "factory", based on the prefixed "efficiency" model, is not justified on the background of the democratic ideal of participation.

Thus, real democratization of education on all its levels -- classroom, school, regional, municipal, state -- presupposes considerable paradigmatic shift in our understanding of knowledge, society and man.

Dieter Geulen (Berlin)

The Idealistic Bias in Educational Programs

Many people believe that educational institutions more or less educate the individuals moving through them so that they attain the educational goals laid down in explicitly stated educational programs and curricula. It appears, however, that the actual learning processes which take place in educational institutions are only minimally a result of explicitly stated educational programs and depend on so many complex external social and internal psychological conditions which make predictions difficult. Socialization processes do take place in educational institutions, but not the ones intended.

The difference between intention and actual results can be demonstrated by many examples. Physical punishment, for instance, does not lead to the desired understanding of moral principles, but rather to some kind of avoidance behavior and to identification with the aggressive model. Socialization in the family does not only - as many functionalist theoreticians believed - lead to individuals well adjusted to society. And as research about the "hidden curriculum" in the school (Jackson 1968) has shown, the real conditions which dominate in everyday instruction actually lead to learning processes which are not intended in the curriculum.

The reason for this difference is to be seen in the fact that the conditions of human socialization and development are very complex, and values, norms, and educational programs play a rather minor and still uncertain role. In contrast to early socialization research that favored monocausal models of socialization (e.g., parental behavior) we actually find a structure which consists of several parallel chains and trees which interact on different levels with each other. A child usually lives with the family, plays with peers, attends school, goes on trips, etc. Only a part of his socialization takes place in educational institutions; or,

in other words, the effect of society's educational institutions is limited, because these only represent a part of the everyday reality important for the socialization of the child. We refer to this situation as the *problem of limitation of educational institutions*.

It is clear that values, norms, and programs do not automatically become reality just because they have been established. Often goals are vague, unrealistic, or incompatible. Usually programs emphasize goals without mentioning the methods necessary for actually attaining them. Such goal-method relations cannot, however, be determined by political declaration, but only by sound empirical research. On the other hand, the reality of educational institutions as experienced by individuals, and which influences their socialization, is dependent on a number of other factors, primarily economic conditions, which do not have anything to do with educational values and programs. Simply the fact that socialization takes place in an institution, severed from home and work, and is carried out by a small number of professionally trained individuals according to certain methods, is mainly the result of economic conditions. Educational institutions are ultimately subject to the rules of the administration game, which as we all know follows its own powerful logic which is, however, hardly conducive to and is often incompatible with educational goals. As we can see, educational institutions are enmeshed in a rather complicated pattern of conditions, which may neither be deducted from educational programs nor have any systematical relation to such, but are random. Educational programs run into a second structural problem which I term the *problem of contingency*.

We will now direct our attention to the *internal psychological conditions* of human socialization. The final result of socialization is not only dependent on external reality, but also how this reality is perceived and internally processed by the individual. Since internal conditions are in turn very complex and interact in a multitude of ways with external factors, the variance of possible results of socialization is elevated or, looked at in another way, the prognostic relevance of idealistic programs is reduced again.

Let us begin with the fact that the same external stimulus, for example, parental behavior, can have quite different effects on fur-

ther development: it may reinforce an already existent personality characteristic or further differentiate an existing schema, it may elicit a reaction formation, thus leading to repression in a psychoanalytical sense, it may serve as a catalyst to new insights, or it may possibly be the pivotal experience of a radical biographical personality change, or may have no relevance for socialization at all.

In the second step of our analysis we will now introduce the temporal dimension. In contrast to former assumptions of socialization research that socialization is completed in early childhood, it is presently assumed that socialization occurs during the entire life span. For example, familial socialization is followed by socialization in school and so on. We should not assume that these temporally sequential effects in the subject simply represent independently accumulated events, but that they *interact* with each other within the subject. The processing of later events is dependent on already existing structures, and the effects of earlier events are modified by later experiences. For educational institutions this first means that their actual impact on subjects is dependent on the earlier and individual experiences of students, and, therefore, unclear. Second, their effect on later personality development cannot be unequivocally predicted, because this depends on future events. A chemistry professor cannot predict if a student will later use his knowledge to build bombs. Here we encounter a structural problem that I would like to refer to as the *problem of longitudinal interaction effects*.

If the effect of a certain event is dependent on its sequential position in the life experience of a particular individual then a certain event can only have similar effects on individuals whose previous socialization has been comparable. Pragmatically, we can assume that this would only be individuals of the same age. Such an aggregate is termed "generation", or more technically expressed, a "cohort". In the case of individuals belonging to different age cohorts, the same event would be processed differently and lead to different results. So the *same* school which led to certain effects in the first cohort can have quite different effects on subsequent cohorts. School reform measures which may have been valid for fathers may no longer be valid when their children enter the same system. This problem encountered in educational institutions is

one I refer to as the *problem of historical change in sociocultural parameters of socialization*.

If educational institutions are not able to achieve the intended end result, they can at least contribute to establishing optimal preconditions for the further socialization of individuals. But even this more modest aim can only be attained when the milieu of educational institutions is not the victim of random, contingent impacts, but is organized according to principles which have been established from systematic socialization research.

References

- Becker, W.C., Consequences of Different Kinds of Parental Discipline. In Hoffman, M.L. & Hoffman, L.W. (eds.), *Review of Child Development Research*, Vol. 1, New York: Russell Sage, 1964.
- Bertram, H., *Sozialstruktur und Sozialisation*, Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1981.
- Geulen, D./Hurrelmann, K., Zur Programmatik einer umfassenden Sozialisationstheorie. In Hurrelmann, K. & Ulich, D. (eds.), *Handbuch der Sozialisationsforschung*, Weinheim: Beltz, 1980.
- Geulen, D., Die historische Entwicklung sozialisationstheoretischer Ansätze. In Hurrelmann, K. & Ulich, D. (eds.), *Neues Handbuch der Sozialisationsforschung*, Weinheim: Beltz, 1991, S. 22-53.
- Jackson, P., *Life in Classrooms*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
- Lindesmith, A.R./Strauss, A., A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings. *American Sociological Review* 15, 1950, 587-600.
- Merton, R.K., Manifest and Latent Functions. In Merton, R.K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

Elena Besozzi (Bari)

Social Change and Patterns of Socialization

In the light of social and cultural transformations there are now clear indications that the study of socialization needs to be reestablished.

The viewpoint which I will be discussing may be summed up as follows. Both, in theoretical terms and on an empirical level, socialization can be seen as communication. Thus, the process of socialization is involved in what has been called "the communicative turning-point". This model of socialization can be seen in 'communicative' terms when compared to the classical and traditional model, which instead places the stress on integration. The movement that takes place can, then, be defined as a movement from an integrationist model to a communicative model.

To be able to deal with this movement in an exhaustive fashion, we will need to use the classical or traditional model of socialization as a point of reference.

The traditional or classical model of socialization can be defined as an integrationist model. In this context, the process of socialization is seen as a means of integrating the subject into the social group to which he belongs. From the point of view of society, then, it is to be seen in functional and normative terms, while from the point of view of the subject it is to be seen in adaptive terms.

The integrationist model of socialization starts to break down, however, because of certain objections which arise from within it. Durkheim and Parsons look on modern society in terms of differentiation and specialization. Both of these take place under the aegis of the functional integration of subsystems. No provision is made for group or class conflict; rather, stress is laid on conflict among individuals, which is designed to allow certain individuals to rise to the highest positions within the social system.

As we know, Marxist theorists of social and cultural reproduc-

tion highlight determinism and social conditioning, class rule and the existence of a predominant culture, and socialization as a means of reproducing the social strata which are already in existence. As far as this conflictualist analysis of socialization and its opposition to the integrationist model is concerned, it is worthwhile emphasizing the way in which it works to erode the integrationist model. It does so particularly by adopting the ideas of conflict and class struggle, which are clearly a different way of looking upon social differentiation.

Social transformations are important in describing the emergent model of socialization.

a) In Western societies, tendencies toward social differentiation are becoming stronger and stronger. In a more strictly socio-cultural context, it is possible to detect a conflictual kind of pluralism. This means that we are being faced with a number of different ways of seeing the world and working out reality, a multiplicity of languages, codes, images and meanings, and individuals who occupy a number of different positions and belong to a number of different levels.

b) Closely linked to social and cultural pluralism, indeed at the very basis of it, is the progressive weakening of an exhaustive, single-sided explanation of reality and existence. This process of weakening basically affects the center of values and norms.

c) A third aspect of the contemporary social condition is related to the excess of possibilities, which is closely linked to social differentiation. This excess is to be found in both the material sphere and in immaterial and symbolic spheres.

d) Another important factor is the changes that are taking place due to new electric/electronic technologies. These are becoming widespread in every area of human activity, accentuating the processes of differentiation and increasing the possibility of acquiring knowledge.

e) Finally, we can point out how the process of individualization has come about in contemporary society. This was noted by Durkheim, who emphasized the appearance of a new type of psychic life and the increasingly clear emergence of individual differences.

This situation and the changes that are taking place within it have a number of implications for socialization. Above all, how-

ever, they mean that the traditional model, which we have here called integrationist, will have to be revised.

There are two points which need to be stressed when describing the emergent model of socialization. The first is the theme of the micro-macro dialectic, and the second is the theme of the 'communicative turning-point'.

The micro-macro dialectic allows us to describe the weakening of the classical model, which is centered on the analysis of social action in terms of a means-ends rationale. This weakening occurs by way of the symmetry between the individual and society.

What links all of the most recent approaches together is the refusal of, or lack of faith in, the possibility of referring to basic values or a society which is postulated by a center, or hierarchically organized around a center from which everything radiates outward.

If values, knowledge and meaning are not given, then they have to be discovered and constructed. In the various approaches it is possible to see the stress being laid on the constructive, interactive aspects of reality, meaning and identity. Hence the need for a communicative basis upon which to establish knowledge.

At this point, we can make a rough outline (albeit a provisory one) of the emergent model of socialization which we can define as the communicative model. This model can now be compared to the classical model. The movement from one model to another can be shown with reference to a number of different aspects which relate to the basis of the models themselves.

Integrationist model

- based on norms
- value/knowledge link
- inner-direction
- conformity
- 'strong' identity
- transmission
- dominant culture
- continuity among the agents

Communicative model

- based on cognition
- emphasis on knowledge
- outer direction
- negotiation
- 'weak' identity
- mediation
- cultural pluralism
- discontinuity among the agents

These are linked to the way that socialization takes place and its results, to the actors themselves and to the various agents through which socialization occurs.

The two models are clearly opposed to one another. The way that each of them looks upon the subject's situation and destiny is obviously very different. The communicative model of socialization sees the situation of the subject in terms of an individual path, with all the qualities of exploration, searching, construction, and negotiation that this entails. It is an important change and is an expression of the rich variety of possibilities and options, life chances, and individual and social creativity that are available. But it brings with it a whole series of question marks. Above all, the problem of the construction of social identity and community attachment remains open.

References

- Berger P., Luckmann T. (1966): *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Doubleday & Co.
- Bruner J. (1986): *Actual Minds, Possible Words*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Collins R. (1977): *Some Comparative Principles of Educational Stratification*. Harvard Educational Review.
- Durkheim E. (1967): *De la Division du Travail social* (1893). Paris: PUF.
- Eisenstadt S.N. (1964): Institutionalization and Change. *American Sociological Review*, XXIX, 2.
- Goffman E. (1959): *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday & Co.
- Liotard J.F. (1979): *La Condition Postmoderne*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
- Luhman N. (1981): *Wie ist soziale Ordnung möglich?* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Merton R.K. (1968): *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New

York: The Free Press.

Parsons T. (1951): *The Social System*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

(1955): *Family, Socialization and the Interaction Process*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Riesman D. (1950): *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shils E. (1961): *Centre and Periphery*. London.

Weber M. (1964): *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1921). Köln: Kiepenheuer und Witsch.

Fathers' Importance for their Children

An enormously important part of childrens' development is constituted by their sex role development. A child's gender influences and is influenced by the entire social development. One might even say that childrens' gender development is one of the main areas when considering the social settings of upbringing. The actual development as well as possible development is thus of great importance to social scientists.

In the last decades many countries have seen changes in the relationships of fathers to their children. In most cases this means that fathers are living closer to their children than previous generations of fathers.

Changes in the relationship of fathers to their children are to a certain extent reflected in various theories of developmental psychology. However, for various reasons some theories are more persistent than people's views in real life. This means that arguments can still be heard in favor of theories which are actually obsolete and, in fact, merely preserve outmoded attitudes. To put it bluntly, certain "old" theories continue to dominate, and surprisingly, today's debate is almost identical to that of the 1970s.

From the beginning of the 20th century one predominant idea has pervaded scientific theories concerning child development, i.e., the idea of the mother's superiority. To have a good life with optimum development children must live close to their mothers, it is said. The mother's presence is the best precondition for the child's development. Scientists have accepted this and based their work on this premise, rather than proving its sustainability.

This idea remained unchallenged right up to the 1970s, as if it had been scientifically documented. Very few argued that it was just an idea.

However, during the 1970s both the normative aspect of the idea and previous research were challenged (Schaffer, 1971; Rut-

ter, 1972; Haavind, 1973; Jalmert, 1979).

The theory, and varieties thereof, which was criticized at the time but which continued to dominate the scientific field in Europe is, of course, the so-called attachment theory. Building on Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical theory (Freud, 1949) several researchers (e.g., Spitz, 1950; Bowlby, 1958; Mahler, 1968; Winnicott, 1964) have based their theories on the concept of the mother's superiority.

This concept or idea can also be formulated in terms of suppositions. I have previously (Jalmert, 1979) described the underlying idea as consisting of two suppositions:

- *Since a woman and her child belong together biologically, they also belong together psychologically in a special way.*
- *Since women have always looked after children, they should continue to do so.*

These two suppositions pervade the "attachment theory".

In the last ten to fifteen years scientists have embarked on a more active study of the father-child relationship, which has also increased criticism of the attachment theory (see e.g., Lewis, 1982; Sommer, 1984; Haavind, 1987; Phoenix & Woollett, 1991; Tizard, 1991). However, the so-called attachment theory is undoubtedly that used by most scientists. One reason could, of course, be that it is considered the best theory available. Or perhaps no other theory has reached so wide an audience. The question is whether there are any alternatives.

In my view there is an alternative. The similar theories formulated by Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976) and Nancy Chodorow (1978) are identical to the attachment theories in many respects, but without the determinism. In a way their theory provides a better description of today's situation and at the same time suggests a future development giving fathers a much larger and more important role in their children's lives.

Both Dinnerstein and Chodorow base their theories on the actual situation today where both girls and boys spend their first years very close to their mothers. This does not mean that it has to be or should be so. It is merely a statement of a fact which applies to most children.

In the early period of a child's life its mother represents everything the child needs: food, warmth, love and other feelings. In

short, she is everything the child needs. From the child's point of view the child and its mother constitute a whole; the child cannot see itself as separated from its mother. Dinnerstein's and Chodorow's assumption that the child sees its mother as the person it loves most in the world is fully justified.

In this early period it is difficult to believe that girls' and boys' conception of themselves should differ. We will never know how they regard themselves, so we assume that their views are the same.

Eventually the child becomes aware of/begins to realize that its mother also has a life "outside" the child, that she has a life of her own, with her own wishes, which are sometimes in direct conflict with the child's.

In the eyes of the child the mother changes from being the most loved person in the world to taking up a double role. A role which is also infused with conflict for the child. The mother becomes the most loved person in the world and at the same time the most threatening/dangerous person.

This conflict - and it is indeed a conflict in the most profound psychological sense to see one and the same person as both the most loved and the most feared - is tackled in completely different ways by girls and boys. The solution of this conflict, of course, depends primarily on how the child is treated by people close to it. I will, however, not go further into this, but state that girls and boys find different solutions to the conflict.

A girl who sees/realizes her points of likeness with her mother will try to keep close to her mother and imitate her. In a way she continues her close relationship with her mother. This relationship is already established when the girl becomes closer to her father, and it can be said that her relationship with her father is superimposed on her relationship with her mother.

When a boy discovers that he is different from his mother and that he resembles his father, he is forced to deny or quell his love for his mother. He is forced to define his own limits in order to solve the conflict between the two images of his mother - loving and threatening. He has to strengthen his masculinity, and he does so by imitating his father and adjusting to the man's world, while suppressing his relationship with his mother.

This separation from the mother has many effects on the boy's

later development. It is, however, interesting to note that some researchers have a slightly different view of what the boy actually separates from. Bergman (1993) says:

"Note that the separation is not from 'the mother' as traditional theories have described it, sometimes in excitable terms. It is a separation from a mutually empathic relationship that happens to be with the mother; actually from a completely relational way of being." (p. 26)

The fact that many fathers are absent does not change this picture. Most children's lives include adult men who are close enough for the children to realize that men are different from women. Even if this image becomes stereotyped and/or blurred, the children will still regard women and men as different.

To continue our description of the boy, it could be said that since his father is not particularly close to him, he will experience and define masculinity as everything his mother does not stand for. Thus masculinity will have no substance of its own - it becomes the negation of femininity.

With the separation from his mother as the starting point, and underlined by several other factors during his development, the boy will regard himself as separate and autonomous and having well-defined limits. In other words, the boy sees himself as independent.

The drawback may be that his detachment from his mother can lead to the boy developing a fear of entering into close relationships. Not necessarily to the extent that he is unable to handle a close relationship, but rather that he develops a fear of entering into such relationships.

This extreme picture requires an explanation, as it is deliberately exaggerated. The framework is set by describing the extremes of development. The idea is that most people will be well within these extremes and that we all have fragments, elements and features from this period. However, it does not imply that women and men are thus completely different!

In extreme cases a girl will experience the direct opposite effect of the solution to the conflict described. By staying in close contact with her mother, a girl will not develop any fear of such relationships. She will not become afraid of closeness and not feel threatened by such relationships. The drawback for the girl is that

she may develop a fear of separation. In slightly different terms, girls - and women - find it difficult to see themselves as detached and independent, since they do not become separated from their mothers. Dependency, for better and for worse, could be said to characterize girls' relationships.

As will be clear to all, the point of a developmental description such as this one is that it does not even hint that the development of one gender should be better or more refined in any way than that of the other. Instead it describes and accounts for the many differences between the two genders in society of today. This theory also shows how this gender system repeats itself. As long as the father and the mother maintain the same approaches to their children, the children's notion of gender will remain the same.

As Dinnerstein and Chodorow point out, such change in present-day society would require that fathers assume greater responsibility for their children's lives by spending more time with them. If fathers were to stay close to their children from an early age and follow them while they are growing up - which includes spending more time with them - this would certainly imply dramatic changes for the children.

As most people know, Sweden has a parental leave insurance scheme which allows mothers and fathers to stay at home with their child, although not at the same time - during the child's first year with nearly full compensation for the loss of income. Although this system is very interesting since it allows fathers to stay at home for a longer period than is allowed in any other country, I will not go further into this due to lack of time but just state that there is an increasing number of Swedish fathers who are using the scheme. So one conclusion may be that, given the opportunity, real life fathers will act in a more relational way towards their children than the traditional, dominating theories have stated.

In certain cases the following effects of the greater involvement of fathers in their children's lives are identical for girls and boys. Nevertheless, I have chosen to describe them separately in order to shed more light on these effects.

Benefits for Boys

In general, it could be said that if both girls and boys have close relationships with both their mother and father in their early years, they are better able to develop and expand their "horizons" than if they had had a close relationship with only one parent. Of course, the same applies to adults - their horizons can also be expanded.

For boys closeness with both parents can develop their ability to live in close relationships with others, so that they do not develop any evident fear of this. Boys will generally find it easier to relate to other people.

By not breaking off their relationships with their mothers so drastically, but keeping them simultaneously with their relationships with their fathers, boys do not need to define their difference from women by keeping their distance. If masculinity is no longer defined as the negation of femininity, there is no reason for such distance.

Greater closeness to others, and the actions and reactions of both fathers and mothers towards their children, could make boys more aware of the signals so that they become more attentive to other people's expressions of their feelings. In simple terms, it may be easier for boys to show their feelings.

Another benefit would be that the access to both genders' behavioral norms would mean that boys do not have to compare themselves to other boys and men all the time. The norms for their actions would thus not be defined only by the male gender.

Benefits for Girls

In addition to some of the above benefits which apply to both boys and girls, there are other benefits for girls.

If fathers are present in the girls' lives at an early stage, with greater involvement, the girls will probably find it easier to regard themselves as separate, independent and autonomous individuals who will become less dependent. Girls as well as boys

could change between dependency and independence without excessively overburdening either.

Fathers are also a good influence on girls in another respect, i.e., as role models, which has not been acknowledged so far. It is often said that fathers serve an extremely important purpose as role models for their sons. This is probably correct, but its implications should be considered carefully.

It is often said that sons need male role models with whom they can identify. However, this is not necessarily only for the good. To identify with someone means becoming as identical to the model as possible. Since it is to be hoped that fatherhood is constantly developing, it is perhaps not a good idea to copy the "old" father role.

Of course, role models are important, but the assumption of the father as a role model implies a certain degree of conservatism. There appears to be a definite image of a father, probably based on the notion that fathers have always behaved and will always behave in a certain way.

It follows that a certain measure of criticism can be directed at the often carelessly presented notion that fathers are particularly important to their sons, but naturally it can also be stated that fathers are important as role models for their sons, provided that fathers try to redefine their roles in the family, as well as in society at large - and that they develop. The conclusion is that fathers are important as role models for their sons if they avoid the old-fashioned roles.

However, fathers are just as important as role models for their daughters. It is often said that women and men find it difficult to understand each other and that each is a mystery to the other. Naturally, the simple solution to this problem is that women and men associate closely with one another and thus gain experience in such relationships.

If fathers were to spend more time with their daughters and have a closer relationship with them, the girls would be likely to be able to understand men better. In addition, most fathers in our society are good fathers. We tend always to discuss incompetent (in one way or another) fathers and try to define their impact on their children's lives, easily forgetting that most fathers are wise, sensible, reasonable and love their children. They want to take re-

sponsibility for their children and ensure them a good upbringing and a good life.

It goes without saying that such fathers are good for their children and also are important in their lives, and this is certain to enable future generations of girls to understand men better. In my opinion the girls clearly benefit from close contact with their fathers.

Conclusions

As stated above, there are many positive effects on childrens' development if fathers are closer to their children than has been the case up to now. It is also very interesting to note that recent research gives evidence for such changes.

Schaffer (1990) presents a number of studies actually studying the interaction between father and child. His conclusions are that children are able to and very often form attachments to more than one person. Multiple attachments do not have any detrimental effects on the child, but instead lay the ground for a secure social development.

In a recent Swedish study, Hyvönen (1993) interviewed 100 children aged between 7 and 10. Although children at these ages may lack the ability to see alternatives to their actual life, it is noteworthy that a majority of them said that their parents were of equal importance to them. In their eyes the fathers took the same responsibility as the mothers did, and the children could not make any preferences between the parents.

It is probably fair to say that fathers today live more closely to their children than fathers did earlier. Children of today appreciate this and will gain a lot out of it. Hopefully social scientists will increase their interest in fathers as an effect of this.

References

- Bergman, S. J. (1993) Ömsesidighet i relationer en utmaning för dagens män. (Mutuality in Relationship: a Challenge for To-

- day's Men) *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 1, 22-39.
- Bowlby, J. (1958) The Nature of the Child's Tie to his Mother. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 39, 350-373.
- Chodorow, N. (1978) *The Reproduction of Mothering. Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Dinnerstein, D. (1976) *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Freud, S. (1949) *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*. New York: Norton.
- Hyvönen, U. (1993) *Om barns fadersbild*. (On Childrens' Image of the Father) Universitetet i Umeå, Inst. f. socialt arbete. (Diss.)
- Haavind, H. (1973) Myten om den gode mor. In H. Haavind et al. (Eds.) *Myten om den gode mor*. (The Myth of the Good Mother) Oslo: Pax.
- Haavind, H. (1987) *Liten og stor*. (Little and Big). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Jalmert, L. (1979) *Små barns sociala utveckling*. (The Social Development of Young Children). Stockholms universitet, Pedagogiska institutionen. (Diss.)
- Lewis, C. (1982) The Observation of Father-Infant Relationships: an "Attachment" to Outmoded Concepts. In L. McKee & M. O'Brien (Eds.) *The Father Figure*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Mahler, M. S. (1968) *On Human Symbiosis and the Vicissitudes of Individuation*. New York: IUP.
- Phoenix, A. & A. Woollett (1991) Motherhood: Social Construction, Politics and Psychology. In A. Phoenix, A. Woollett & E. Lloyd (Eds.) *Motherhood. Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*. London: SAGE.
- Rutter, M. (1972) *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Schaffer, H. R. (1971) *The Growth of Sociability*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Schaffer, H. R. (1990) *Making Decisions about Children*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sommer, D. (1984) *Når far er hjemme*. (When Daddy Stays Home) Copenhagen: Dansk psykologisk forlag.
- Spitz, R. A. (1950) Anxiety in Infancy: a Study of its Manifestations in the First Year of Life. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 31, 138-143.
- Tizard, B. (1991) Employed Mothers and the Care of Young Children. In A. Phoenix, A. Woollett & E. Lloyd (Eds.) *Motherhood. Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*. London: SAGE.
- Winnicott, D. W. (1964) *The Child, the Family and the Outside World*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Silvio Scanagatta (Padova)

The Generation Gap: Youth Culture - Teacher Culture

The process of socialization is determined by all factors that have an influence on human life; especially in complex modern societies the separation of single influencing factors is quite difficult. Observing youth culture in the post-industrial society, one can easily see the nearly infinite differences in the ways of living.

Even the relationship between the youth and adult generation has been subjected to great changes. In the 60's and 70's it was believed that the principle options for young people growing up would be those of adapting given values or of revolt; the two opportunities obviously were put in opposition and implicitly excluded other ways. Today, the multiplication of possible ways made the youth's identity a true and real patchwork, more an amalgam of differences than a uniform typology.

The Italian case shows some differences in respect to others; most evident is certainly the status of the family where a return to the large family can be ascertained. The social subject that seems to be more capable of competitiveness does not seem to be necessarily the individual but the family group, that offers to the individual many more resources than he could achieve by himself or by forming a new nucleus. The immobility of the organization is now the main characteristic that slows down changes in the school in Italy, and this makes it difficult to organize specialized training.

Another element is that there often is an excess of scholasticism that puts the individual in a condition of weakness either on the level of technical-specialized training, or on the probabilities of insertion into the workforce consistent with the object of study.

The breakdown of the myth of easy success and the exorbitant increase of strong competition which expands quickly from work to everyday life have certainly produced a vertical collapse on the residual opportunities to safeguard the symbolic significance of the school. In the 90's a sense of "importance" of a very general value remains, and in part even the necessity of certifications, that, however, has been decisively caused by the crisis.

All the results of research show, nevertheless, that the change of adolescent attitudes has been quite strong, in contrast to the situation of apparent stability of the scholastic system. But usually schooling does not give pupils or students an adequate formative structure in regard to meeting professional needs.

For this reason, probably, we have an angry reaction to the school system, developed in part by the same generation that previously had a vision of hope decisively more optimistic toward these aspects. It is easy to think that, probably, in the 80's it was the young people's euphoria to save in part the formative substratum of the school, while today criticism concerning the lack of professionalism is widespread amongst youth.

In other words, the polycentrism of socialization agencies has not taken away the central position from the school, but it seems to have placed it at the mercy of historical fluctuations, while at the same time conserving its relative importance. All the research on young people in Italy agrees with the general evaluation that the school's credibility is diminishing, while the system of values in general does not seem to have undergone substantial change, especially with respect to the evaluation of the family and friendship.

Conditions of life, value systems, associations, closeness to the marginal and deviance: the main interest here is the fact that this young generation is often defined as "floating", because it is not able to demonstrate an attitude of revolt or compliance with those who direct. In principle, youth culture is built on the attention to the search of identity that measures itself on the basis of access to consumption. Social recognition seems to be mainly dependent on this ability.

The management of one's own life is thus oriented towards an instrumental use of disposable resources, with essential consequences also on the system of values. The school does not escape this mechanism, but it pays a high price due to its scarce resources.

The value system of youth finds itself increasingly connected to the effectiveness of the results. While in the past values were estimated above all by their coherence with the shared system of belonging, today the parameters are more "technical" and include either the coherence of belonging or, increasingly often, their effectiveness in terms of success and ability of consumption.

This second aspect is becoming increasingly important for many young people; it is interesting to note that the exasperation of the competition does not change the hierarchy of values, which still, it seems, conform to the estimations and evaluations of adults.

The system of youth's values, therefore, is consumption oriented in a way that it creates a privileged means in the family relationship. The Italian youth is in a particular situation, because it is the family that supports the major part of youth consumption: this occurs during the period of study (usually based on family financial support) and even after leaving home with a new nucleus (the original family often pays for some basic needs, like house and car). Nearly half of the young people of twenty-nine years of age still live at home with their parents.

The value system is increasingly characterized by an opportunist relationship with the adults. In the past only the upper class created such strong bonds of interest between parents and children. The pact between the two generations today seems concentrated on projects of social identity, in the form of recognition of "success", which obviously is often more visible in the consumption of goods than in production of income. The only exception consists in the association's system of social solidarity; this, however, not only distinguishes part of the youth but also part of the adults. It deals with a large social area (nearly 4 million people) that initially were of a Catholic environment, but now spreading into many other situations.

These experiences become relevant factors of socialization, the subject elaborating and experimenting its own life's projects and social identity in a real environment. It happens, therefore, that the values of competition become important even in solidarity.

The ability of the young people to independently build social reality is by now consolidated by many decades in the industrial societies; the type of presence that characterizes them has for a long time been much broader than that of a passive subject of cultural transmission stimulated by adults. In this paper we cannot elaborate much on this theme, but it is increasingly evident that from the first years of life the subject finds himself always more often managing (or he is forced to manage), even if minimally, the capacity of corresponding to the requirements of everyday life.

A major difficulty and a crucial gap with the adults could be seen in the fact that they usually tend more to repeat the patterns already learnt rather than to innovate them. An adult who runs a family is obviously faced with the practical necessity to have to continually innovate the practical use of resources, but other types of adult roles still tend to reduce the change.

Among these there are obviously the teachers who always found legitimacy in the monopoly of the technical-cultural apparatus and who now find themselves in a situation in which the school's monopoly tends to decrease either on the level of the effectiveness of the organization or on that of the completeness of training.

In this cultural system, school has lost a part of its capacity to guarantee results; in Italy the gap between the school certifications and the guarantees of placement in the workforce is growing: the guarantee of exclusion (without school certification) is certain, the guarantee of inclusion (with the same school certification) is, often, only probable. The decline of wages, of the image and of the role of the teachers is parallel to the impoverishment of the importance of the school system.

Teachers are finding themselves increasingly in a situation of a social identity crisis, to which is added the tendency to

feminization and unionization, which is increasingly emphasized. The education structure has still retained the privilege of the subjective independence of individual teaching, but this is not a positive factor, because the teacher is more and more alone and cannot increase working in groups. The traditional and exclusive capacity of the teacher to transmit the cultural values and competences has become less important: this has happened for two principle reasons, the increase of socialization agencies and the uncertain availability of spending of cultural acquisition. The challenge shifts itself more and more to the management of everyday life, where the teacher is less equipped.

The relationship between young people and teachers has worsened, because society represents the uncertainty of the relationship between the effort and the results obtained. In the youth culture the school has an important and positive role, and this will continue because no other agency of socialization is able to transmit the technical and cultural capacities that permit the subject to obtain a recognized social identity and to be present in the workforce and in social relationships. But the school's crisis remains also as a fact to be acknowledged, school certification remaining further on the "*conditio sine qua non*".

When teachers, as in Italy, tend to maintain their role, closing themselves within the scholastic organization without accepting the challenges of everyday life, young people feel themselves betrayed, as if the knowledge has been offered to them, but without instructions on how to use it.

Instead the bonds between parents and children increase because of the common interest between them. The common problem-solving efforts in this case help both generations. In the case of teachers it is the contrary; there are less common interests creating "*indifference without respect*".

The feminization, unionization and the loss of social identity makes the life of the teachers more remote than that of the students. This distance was compensated in the past by the large utility of the cultural transmission, the result being a useful school

certification. Now the teachers produce little results concerning cultural transmission, and they are too weak to share everyday life.

Bibliography

- AA.VV. (1984) *Giovani oggi. Indagine Iard sulla condizione giovanile in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Cavalli A. , (1985) (a cura di) *Il tempo dei giovani*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Cavalli A., De Lillo A. (1988) *Giovani anni 80. Secondo rapporto IARD sulla condizione giovanile in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Donati P., (1988) La "famiglia prolungata" del giovane-adulto come prodotto della società complessa: verso nuove selezioni, in *La famiglia "lunga" del giovane adulto, Studi interdisciplinari sulla famiglia*, n. 7. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.
- Giovannini G. (1987) I molti tempi, luoghi, attori della formazione: una analisi del policentrismo a partire dall'offerta, in *Studi di Sociologia*, n° 1.
- Giovannini G. (1989) Processi formativi policentrici: una analisi delle trasformazioni dell'offerta, in *Becchelloni G. (a cura di), Il mutamento culturale in Italia*. Napoli: Liguori.
- Ribolzi L. , (1990) La redditività dell'istruzione: la secondaria superiore, in *R. Moscati, La sociologia dell'educazione in Italia*. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Ribolzi L., (1988) La scolarità prolungata e il suo ruolo nei modelli di vita dei giovani adulti, in *La famiglia "lunga" del giovane adulto, Studi interdisciplinari*, n. 7. Milano: Vita e Pensiero.
- Scanagatta S. (1992) Il sistema di valori di una generazione "sospesa", in *Sì, rivista di studi sociali del Veneto*, anno 4°, n° 16.
- Scanagatta S. , (1990) *Dentro il veneto, i giovani*, Padova: ARS.
- Scanagatta S., (1988) *Una generazione tra ieri e domani*, Padova: ARS.

Schizzerotto A. (1989) I rapporti tra istruzione e mobilità sociale.
in R. Moscati, *La sociologia dell'educazione in Italia*. Bologna:
Zanichelli.

Ethics and Education

Sisyphos or Why Must We Educate?

Since the fifth century B.C. men have disagreed on the good life and the possibilities of educating men for such a life. This essay will not end this two-and-a-half-thousand-year old controversy. I am simply trying to make evident that it necessary to discuss moral problems. In other words, because today we lack objective ethical values that explain with certainty what a true, good and beautiful life should be, we have to search continually for new answers to our ethical questions. We are - in the view of the history of ideas - in the situation of Socrates, who initiated the ethical reflection of morals in systematic form with his not-knowing knowledge. Men can no longer prefer something that is good in itself - because it is exactly the good itself that is doubtful. To put it more succinctly: since Kant, ethics is concerned with the human will, because the good depends on human will. Ethical thinking is now characterized by autonomy. At this point education becomes ethically relevant, because it makes an effort to form the autonomous human will. However, educators cannot take this moral responsibility on themselves.

In the following essay I do not want to pose the question of how modern pedagogical ethics are or have been founded; I do not want to ask what the problem is in these efforts. I want to inquire into the foundation of the purpose of moral education in terms of pedagogical views: what is the morality of educational science? What is the ethical framework of education? First I want to pose the question: why must we educate, and then I want try to answer this ethical question in pedagogical terms. The connection between these two questions leads us to the following paradoxical hypothesis: morality is the content, form and aim of education, but educators have enormous problems in defining

moral effects, moral education and the aim of moral education. Therefore, they must educate to "produce" morality. But if autonomy is the moral ideal of the modern world, then education is bound to be inefficient. We must educate, but we should not educate.

Why Must We Educate?

The tradition of theories of education concerning the obligation to educate provides a whole arsenal of attempted solutions and foundations to the question of ethics. I merely want to list these attempts very briefly. For example, we must educate the human child to guide it to God -- the theological view; we must educate to perfect mankind -- the civilizing aspect; we have to educate because the state and the society need democratic citizens or because the economy needs workers and consumers -- the political-social or the economic aspect; we have to educate to lead the individual to himself: the personal point of view; we have to educate because the human being is a creature of bare necessities in his early years, and, therefore, we have to help him -- an anthropological consideration; we have to educate, because as parents and adults we are under an obligation to educate children -- the ethical viewpoint:

Why Are We Unable to Educate?

There is the following paradox of education: the fact that we must educate and that we cannot educate has to be recognized at the beginning of pedagogics as a scientific discipline. And such is the paradox of moral education: we are responsible for the formation of a moral system which is characterized by autonomy based on heteronomous methods - namely education. "How will I cultivate autonomy by restraint?" Kant asks this question in his pedagogical lectures as early as the end of the eighteenth century. This educational-ethical paradox will be discussed below. However, I will not attempt to illustrate the question why we cannot educate by discussing empirical facts or general theses such as: human be-

ings cannot be educated, or education has no effect, or it cannot totally encompass the individual. I want to discuss some systematic and structural problems of theoretical educational science. I will try to give three examples of why we cannot educate - or should I say: theoretical educationalists have enormous problems in defining their aims - because we do not know a) when we should begin and end education (Schleiermacher/Rousseau); we do not know b) whether we should educate people in logical systems or morality (Kant/Herbart) and we do not know c) how moral education works (Oelkers). I will only discuss the last point below.

That moral education does not always achieve what it attempts is shown by one of history's greatest educational failures: the education of Nero by Seneca. Children grow up in a different way than parents, educationalists and teachers expect, wish or are afraid of. It often is the intention to educate that forms an obstruction to education (Diederich 1992). Education is unsure of its own intentionality and efficiency and, from a moral point of view, it is unsure of its own ethical pretensions. In general education can be seen as a medium of morality. First of all, not only non-education, but *laissez-faire* education must also justify itself. Secondly, non-education is also an attempt to provide children with moral rules (Oelkers 1992, 15, 21). Moral education is casual and accidental in its effort a) to guarantee an initiation into moral meaning and differences, b) to discover the moral principles and duties and c) to realize a public criticism by universal moral rules (Oelkers 1992, 177f.). Although moral education is casual and accidental- or perhaps just because of this-it remains, in the words of Jürgen Oelkers(1992, 188) -a "necessary activity".

Should We Educate?

The practical and theoretical fact that education is limited through the student, the educator, the educational system, through time, circumstances and intentions (Bernfeld 1981) is surpassed by the paradoxical fact that education very often makes itself impossible. The metaphor of Sisyphos describes this as fol-

lows: in his attempt to roll the "stone of education" upwards, it becomes clear that progression is connected with regression. Since Plato's parable of the cave and the "metaphor of height" associated with it, all educators seek to move the individual "upwards" towards perfection, towards mankind, towards God. Because we must educate, we cannot educate. For that reason there are times and authors who prefer another educational relationship: we can educate only if we do not have to educate (Diederich 1992). This paradoxical duality of education not only prevents the perfection of educational science, but also the moral perfection of mankind which, since Kant, has been connected with the perfection of education.

However, it seems that the paradox of this duality will be surpassed by the educational paradox which I believe I see: we must educate but we should not educate. If we could educate, we should not educate because of moral reasons. If we can achieve the intention of a specific education, understood as influence or indoctrination, or as an indirect education in the sense of Rousseau, then our education is not moral. The determination of the content as well as the form of education, and even the form of non-education, is inconsistent with the ethical ideal of autonomy. The moral idea of autonomy is contrary to education. A functioning education can only be legitimized in the Platonic State. For, if we cannot educate or, expressed more moderately: if there is always a (theoretical, a practical) non-availability, a contingency, an insecurity of education, there is also always room for moral action and decision for the student's autonomy. We cannot educate because education is always preliminary: a temporary indeterminate, but also limited in time; delegated and so heteronomous, but also directed toward autonomy; morally defined, but also morally haphazard; a cause for pain and sorrow, but also for avoiding damage and defects.

Educators must educate in order to compensate for their own inability. They must educate not for the sake of society, God nor even for the sake of the child, but for the sake of improving their own imperfection. This is their own moral attitude, their own moral framework. And this imperfection is not only moral in the form of an original sin by begetting a child as Immanuel Kant or Hans Jonas think - but first of all educational guilt.

I have said that educators must educate, not that they should educate, because they have no choice. The educator has no chance, no alternative: he must educate in order to be ethical; he must educate morally but he cannot educate morally. Because he cannot educate he will be moral. If autonomy is the moral ideal, then education will always be bound to be inefficient. If the educator wants to legitimate himself morally he must educate morally; but his education cannot be moral. Therefore, only his not-educating preserves his morality but also destroys his existence - as an educator. But why then do educators want so much to educate?

And as a final paradox - an educator takes over his tasks with pleasure, like Albert Camus (1983, 101) mentioned: We must think of Sisyphos as a happy man.

References

- Bernfeld, Siegfried: Sisyphos oder die Grenzen der Erziehung. Frankfurt/M. ⁴1981.
- Camus, Albert: Der Mythos von Sisyphos. Ein Versuch über das Absurde. Hamburg 1983.
- Diederich, Jürgen: Die Absicht zu erziehen als Störung der Erziehung. In: Luhmann Niklas & Schorr Karl Eberhard (Hg.), Zwischen Absicht und Person. Frankfurt/M. 1992, S.176-193.
- Oelkers, Jürgen: Pädagogische Ethik. München/Weinheim 1992.

Bernhard Dieckmann (Berlin)

Some Remarks on Education and Experience

The concept of a "progressive" education can be considered to be one of the essential features of pragmatic pedagogics. Two questions may be posed: What are the ideas developed by pragmatic pedagogics within the bounds of a theory of learning and practically orientated educational science? What are the main aspects of pragmatic didactics, and which effects upon European reformative endeavours towards learning by doing and learning within practical projects can be found? In order to approach these questions I would like to recapitulate some ideas of John Dewey's principal work "Experience and Education", which contents the pragmatic theory of the interrelation between unplanned and organized learning, the didactic bequest of pragmatism still being of undiminished relevance - the learning through practical projects. At last I want to examine which suggestions of Dewey's pragmatism have been assumed and developed by the theory of non-formal education. It is my conviction that the pragmatic ideas of »learning by experience« can be used to benefit educational performances beyond the institutionalized official school system.

In other words: Not to separate out a, so to speak, innocent, private and pre-school terrain from the sphere of educational purposes, but to bring together both spheres, the unorganized and the organized world of formation, should be aimed at by pedagogy.

In his work »Experience and Education«, Dewey sees »experience« closely related to intelligence and thinking. Usually, what we call experience, comprises the term of thinking. In many cases Dewey's analysis of »experience« runs parallel to his analysis of the process of thinking. Of course, the productivity of each particular experience is not the same. There are, for example, experiences remaining on the surface. It's one of the tasks of the educator or teacher to enable pupils to gain experiences resulting in

a state of mind characterized by openness to learning, growth, creative activities which would promote the faculty of having desirable further experiences. Thus, pupils are not to be left to themselves, the teacher rather has to attempt to facilitate the forming of various single experiences pupils have and learning. The process of experience, being to a large degree sequential, can be influenced and economized. Put into the appropriate sequence, a new experience not only follows obviously old ones, but transforms the disposition for experiences to come as well. This also means that any further experience will change the structure of the complete learning situation. Somebody, who learns from experience, doesn't purely prolonge a given set of knowledge and understanding; it is especially his way of asking questions that has been and will be transformed. So experience extends the context of new or future experiences. Due to the new situation, new interests, desires, and objectives are brought about. It is the »situation« itself, which gives rise to the extension of the thirst for knowledge and learning, not only the subjective predilection of the pupil or the learning aids or objects. To Dewey it seems wrong to want to improve learning within schools by leaving all to accidental moods and predilections of the children. Focusing without reservation on the »needs« of the child, supposed by modern anthropology, and his »happiness«, is - according to Dewey - as wrong as it is to believe, that improvement of learning within the framework of organized systems like schools can be achieved by only reforming the curriculum or by curriculum streamlining. All situations and arrangements of learning are to be distinguished in their character of interaction. Subjective and objective conditions have to correlate to facilitate interaction and situations where constructive experience can be realized. It is also a fault to think that it would be already sufficient to refer a learning child to future rewards. What we have to learn, must be experienced *here and now* as worth learning it, must result in immediate and present experience. That's just what a skilled teacher has to pay attention to: to be successful in the arrangement of learning-situations, in which nobody has the idea or desire to ask, *why* he has got to learn - just this and right now. The objects of »experience« are thus provided with that kind of force, that the learner is carried away beyond the actual moment. Uncon-

sciously, he takes all he is learning as important for the future. The opinion, that we are always learning only in regard of a particular object which we are just about to study, might be the most fatal of all educational mistakes. This means, a learning which comes to pass by the way - for example the formation of lasting attitudes, predelections or aversions - can be of much greater importance than a language course or the lesson in history or geography just taught. For what will count in the future are these attitudes.

The essence of these arguments is: *the most important attitude to be formed should be the desire for continuing learning*. If stimulations are diminished instead of being intensified, then we are confronted with something worse than only lack of preparation. The pupil then will be deprived of crucial parts of the capacity for learning indispensable to meet the challenges of new situations and circumstances.

The management by the teacher is to be seen as quite unobtrusive. Its effect is brought off more indirectly than directly. A favourable learning situation exists, whenever an effective regulation is founded more on the situation granting social interaction than the authority of the teacher. Nevertheless we have to repeat: There could not be a greater fault than to believe that kind of situation would appear quasi-automatically by leaving the pupil to fend for himself. Rather a thorough planning and great care is required. The deplorable state of affairs at schools is very often caused by lack of intelligence, persistence and care in the planning of the learning situation. The teacher has to estimate the abilities and needs of every single child, and at the same time provide the conditions just right to constitute the learning matter for such experiences which satisfy these needs. The planning must be both extensive and restrained, elastic and firm in order to open up a field of possible transformations of individual habits by simultaneously indicating the direction of a desirable continual development of the child's gifts and talents.

Obviously, the concept of »experience« just referred to goes together with the term of learning and even with the concept of thinking. It can be seen as a main feature of pragmatism that it tends to insert the learning matter into the given scope of experience of the pupil. Thereby it is putting an end to the traditional

separation between the alleged non-thematic life-experience, on the one hand, and reflection or thinking, on the other hand. For pragmatism, experience and thinking are parts of the same flux of behavior. Anyone who has ever learned to learn by experience will get into thinking »in a natural way«, through new experiences. At a (theoretic) stage of initial experience conceived just as action does not yet exist thinking, rather a matter of interaction of a living being with his natural and social environment. But experience is already under way to *become* thinking. Thought is the greatest achievement to be reached out by experience: Thinking is an extrem condensation of integral experience.

There is no space here to be more precise about the didactic and methodical implications of this pragmatistical effort in favour of »experience«. But we should not forget and have to make clear the enormous difficulties having stood in the way of the educational revaluation of experience in the course of the history of occidental thinking. Since Aristotle, the »mere experience« was suspected of being an inferior knowledge, not comparable with an understanding or knowledge existing independently from any practice and proceeding as mere theory. While for the Aristotelian philosophy experience was only a means, or a tool, pragmatism sided with anyone believing experience to be capable of continuation of Enlightenment. That's the new feature: to give inspiration to knowledge by means of active experience, thus considering learning processes motivated by this kind of experience to lead to better educational results.

Bernard Kruithof (Amsterdam)

The Civilizing Offensive and the Protection of Children in the Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century

Introduction: Private initiatives to ameliorate education in the eighteenth century

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch Republic was best known for its economic impoverishment and a lack of morale and public spirit. Something had to be done about this, though plans for improving the situation of the common people were pointing in different directions.

For some, lack of religion was the main hindrance for welfare. Small wonder, people no longer adhering to the old calvinistic ways, God himself sent plagues upon the people. Scores of tracts and sermons emphasized this idea; nothing could go better if the people did not put their own vanity aside and turned - or better, returned - to God.

Others looked forward to more and better organized work-houses so as to let people know that if they were lagging behind in economic activity, they could no longer trust the public alms system to support them. Lasting success was due to the Society for the Public Welfare, which turned to education in trying to realize its goals: moral betterment of the Dutch and not only of the bourgeois, but also of the laboring classes and the deserving poor. A *civilizing offensive* went on its way, which gathered momentum in the first decades of the nineteenth century. At first - that is, in the years of the French occupying the Dutch republic - one of its main tasks was to advise the Dutch government on the best way to create a national system of primary schools. This resulted in the School Law of 1806, which did create a more or less unified

national system, including an Inspectorate. But the Society regarded its plan to educate the whole of society, not only the children, of paramount importance. The issuing of hundreds of pamphlets, the founding of libraries, schools, reading rooms, and the organizing of public lectures were intended to create a virtuous nation.

In the nineteenth century the Society attracted a membership of no less than fifteen thousand, the whole of the population counting about 3.5 to 4 million.

The Civilizing Offensive

This emphasis on educating all members of the society was the center of the attack on manners perceived to be distasteful, uncivilized and unhealthy. The main problem was not poverty alone, but health and especially knowledge of a regulated and hygienic life. Lacking in the most elementary insight in the relationship between success in life and a virtuous and healthy lifestyle, it was small wonder that the lower classes -- and not only these -- fared so badly.

In one of the prizewinning pamphlets of the Society ('t Nut', as it was called) issued in 1795, doctors and clergymen were mentioned as the kind of people who were to be treated with awe and reverence: the one was responsible for the soul, the other for the body.¹ The key role of clergymen diminished, however, in the nineteenth century, while the doctors took over. Virtue was not only deduced from religious principles, but also from medical reasoning. And having done this, lower class habits seemed even more repulsive: idleness and carelessness seemed to be everywhere, bad for the soul, but even worse for the body.² And wrong habits seemed to be everywhere; looking closely, not only the less well-to-do were infected, but their better-off countrymen

1 J. van Ouwerkerk de Vries, *De brave huisvader en moeder in het gemeen burgerlijk leven* (1795) 269.

2 Cf. Rineke van Daalen, 'Tot behoud van de gezondheid. Leefregeles en een sociaal programma op wetenschappelijke basis', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 17/1 (1990) 47-73.

were no less inclined to unhealthy and not very virtuous habits than the poorer people. The cult of domesticity, preached from the end of the eighteenth century on, like the poetesses Wolf and Deken did in their *Patriotic Verses*, was enthusiastically picked up by the Society for the Public Welfare. Just as in hospitals, patients should be cured in isolation from the unhealthy environment, children should grow up in healthiness and virtue in the isolation of familial hearths and homes. Doctors did not limit their activities to the treatment of those who were ill; they were convinced that more could be gained by prevention. Therefore, a flood of books was published about the upbringing of children; hygienic and moral improvement could be reached by catching them young. Self-control and self-restraint were to be promoted by the parents, and they were the ones to provide their children with a good example.

This is the pedagogical climate in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century: keen on virtuous behavior, educators were trusting that a well chosen word and some good books could do a lot in improving children and at the same time society as a whole. Virtue and religion were important, and religion was seen as something supportive of morals. Fanatic evangelicals were regarded as people who were likely to spoil the harmony in society, and this kind of people were not very high in esteem.

Child Protection Movement

In the nineteenth century, the national government was responsible for education in a limited way. Local and municipal school boards organized public schools, which most of the children from the age of six or seven years on visited; but the children were not forced to go to school; they did so voluntarily. When they stayed at home, nobody bothered about it. National laws forbade child labor, but law enforcement was rather lax. And those were the main doings of national government with regard to children.

Nevertheless, interest in the welfare of children was steadily growing in the nineteenth century, and one of the examples of this phenomenon can be found in the activities of child savers. The more children went to school on a regular basis, the more

children were not seen as sources of unrest and of hooliganism. The more education grew in importance, the more parents who seemed to be lacking in their proper upbringing of children were seen as a problem.

In the second half of the century an archipelago of correctional institutions spread all over Holland. The initiative was as a rule taken by individuals who were motivated by religious inspiration. No supervision, governmental inspection, or whatsoever impeded their existence. But, on the other hand, funds were constantly scarce. Often the clothes of the children in the homes and institutions were ragged, and there were far too many children, and far too little persons nurturing them. The pedagogical climate was harsh, and sometimes the children were beaten.

In the meantime, a general feeling among the public came into existence, a feeling of unrest: a rise in juvenile delinquency was observed, and in the nineties something close to a moral panic came into being. Time for action had come; until then, the law had only few measures to separate children and adults. Young criminals were viewed as criminals, hardly as children. The Dutch association of lawyers spent its yearly meeting in 1894 in discussing the problem of the law and the criminality of children.

A couple of strands came together in the nineties. On the one hand, representatives of the older 'civilizing offensive', which was scientific, not religiously inspired, and who were politically liberal spoke out for more research into what could be done to better the situation of children, especially of the poorer classes, in line with their old idea that improvement could be reached by an improved education.

On the other hand, Christian philanthropists also were convinced that something ought to be done. In their opinion, the root of the evil was the simple fact that people were sinners, inclined to do things against the will of God, and that was the heart of the matter. But, being that as it was, things should and could be bettered by trying to improve the situation for the children.

Juvenile delinquency was redefined at the end of the nineteenth century: instead of a problem of criminality, it came increasingly to be seen as the problem of a lack of proper education. Parents were simply not able to handle their children so as to

avoid their going on the wrong path. And to improve that situation, there was an important ally: the Christian philanthropists, who were already busy in organizing a whole system of institutions. They were vehemently opposed to the idea that the state or the government could be an educator. Education, in their opinion, was literally soaked with religious norms and values; the state could be no more than neutral in a country where Jews, Protestants, and Catholics were all living together, being the same sort of citizens. The state could not be entrusted with the difficult task of raising children. Only Christian philanthropists could do so, but the state should be willing to subsidize their enterprise.

And this was exactly what happened. In 1901, the Dutch Parliament voted unanimously in favor of a new law protecting children against their parents. All agreed that juvenile delinquency was no more, nor less, than a question of upbringing, an educational problem, to be solved by more and better care for children. Protestants could agree on that, because their idea about the sinful nature of man was not contradicted, and their institutions were to be paid for by the state in the near future. Private enterprise as far as norms and values were concerned, public assistance where it came to money: everybody agreed on the fact that this was the best solution available.

Conclusion

We very often have a one track process in mind when we think of something very loosely called: 'modernization'. Part of this container concept is being connected to processes of: conscious and psychological types of upbringing; secularization; a decreasing role of religion in everyday life; rationalization. And to some extent we can find just that in the nineteenth century in the Netherlands, where virtue was being promoted in this so-called 'civilizing offensive' and where stricter forms of religion were regarded as outdated.

The very same age, however, saw a re-awakening of orthodoxy, perhaps a bit comparable to the present day rise of all kinds of fundamentalist religions in the East as well as in the West.

Initially inimical toward each other, the one ridiculing the

other, when dealing with educational problems some uneasy alliance could be struck. Orthodox, absolutely anti-modern Protestants, were taking all kinds of initiatives to better the situation of uncared for children. Modern, progressive liberals were as unhappy about increasing child delinquency, and they realized themselves that perhaps religion as a medicine would not be harmful, and, seeing all kinds of homes already having been found in the second half of the century, decided the government could do no better than subsidizing these homes with ample grants. In an indirect way, both had their way: the forces of progress helped combat juvenile delinquency; the religious forces kept to their faith and the state did not have to intervene in an active way, but could keep in the background.

This system has been used also in the struggle between public and religiously inclined schools: the state pays for all schools, without enforcing a specific religious system. But here we come upon a new and even more complicated problem. My conclusion is that there is no such thing as a unilinear process of modernization. What, after all, is so modern about a system where religion is very important - as it used to be the case in Dutch child protection. Or, to put it another way, why is that not modern, given the fact that it is undeniably a feature of our time. Perhaps we should alter a bit the way we think about modernity.

References

- Rineke van Daalen, 'Tot behoud van de gezondheid. Leefregels en een sociaal programma op wetenschappelijke basis', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 17/1 (1990) 47-73.
- J.J.H. Dekker, *Straffen, redden en opvoeden*. Assen, 1985.
- Bernard Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd in domineesland. Nederlandse protestanten en opvoeding zeventiende tot twintigste eeuw*. Groningen, 1990.
- J. van Ouwerkerk de Vries, *De brave huisvader en moeder in het gemeen burgerlijk leven*. Amsterdam, 1795.
- F.B. Smith, *The People's Health 1830-1910*. London, 1979.

Richard Aldrich (London)

Joseph Payne: An International Educationist

Joseph Payne was born in 1808 in Bury St. Edmunds in the county of Suffolk, in eastern England. His beginnings were humble, his origins obscure. It appears that he was largely self-taught, but he was an avid seeker after knowledge, and while in his teens became a teacher at a boys' private school in south London, a school which catered principally for the sons of local tradespeople. Payne might have remained a worthy but humble schoolteacher until his dying day, had he not in 1830 written a 56-page pamphlet entitled, *A Compendious Exposition of the Principles and Practice of Professor Jacotot's System of Education*. This pamphlet was the means whereby Payne made an instant transition from a mere assistant in an unfashionable private school to a fashionable youthful celebrity. He took a post as private tutor to the children of David and Elizabeth Fletcher, and in 1837 Payne and Fletcher opened the Denmark Hill Grammar School. In 1845 Payne, his wife Eliza and their three young children, moved to Leatherhead in Surrey, where they founded the Mansion Grammar School. Both Denmark Hill and the Mansion were to rank amongst the leading boys' private schools of the nineteenth century.

In 1863 Joseph Payne retired from school teaching and moved back to London. He had already published two very successful school text books and now had the opportunity to read, write and travel, and to play a leading role in several educational societies. For example, he served as a member of the Council of the Social Science Association, as chairman of the Philological Society, as chairman of the Women's Education Union, as Vice-President of the Scholastic Registration Association, and as Vice-President of the College of Preceptors. In 1873, in spite of his lack of any formal educational qualifications, the College appointed him first Professor of the Science and Art of Education, the first pro-

fessorial appointment in education in Britain.

Payne was a fierce critic of many elements in English society and in English education. He attacked the inefficiency and corruption of its government and of its state church, and educational divisions based upon class, gender and religion. He deplored the ineffectiveness of the boys' public schools, the pretensions of the National Society for Educating the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, the sterility of the Revised Code of 1862 and the system of Payment by Results, and the lack of a proper training and professional status for schoolteachers. But though a powerful critic, the main tenor of Payne's writings and of his teachings, as of his life as a whole, was a positive one - an unquestioning belief in the potential and power of education. He was a true child of the Enlightenment, and until his death in 1876 campaigned vigorously for an enlightened society based upon an enlightened education.

Payne's rationale and structures for the new world of education which he envisaged drew heavily upon the realities and aspirations of education in the United States. He saw the United States as a land of political and religious liberty, as a society in which education was not merely a means of producing better subjects, but of forming better citizens. Payne was not unaware of the many deficiencies in American education, and believed that in terms of sheer efficiency there was much to be learned from the operation of systems in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland. But he praised the powerful educational spirit of the United States, a spirit which found expression in the appropriation of public land for educational purposes, and in the expenditure of more public money on education in a single state such as New York or Pennsylvania, than in the whole of England and Wales. He applauded the many private donations to education and noted the proliferation of informal educational agencies: evening schools, Sunday schools, literary institutions, libraries and newspapers. Another feature of the American educational scene to attract Payne's approval was the provision for girls and women, both in co-educational schools and colleges, and in all-female colleges such as Vassar which provided greater opportunities for female professors and role models.

Though Payne derived much inspiration from the United

States, his theories about teaching, and more particularly about learning, were drawn from revolutionary educational theorists of the European continent. It was Payne's pamphlet upon Jacotot, written in 1830, which transformed his own teaching from a dull routine into an absorbing intellectual pursuit. Payne, who corresponded with Jacotot, clearly identified with the Frenchman in several ways and always referred to him as his master. Like Payne, Jacotot had preferred independent study as a boy, and, like Payne, had acquired a wide range of knowledge, from Classics to science. Payne did not subscribe to all of Jacotot's educational principles, but he did believe, with Jacotot, that God had created the human mind capable of instructing itself and that the key to knowledge was to learn some thing thoroughly and to refer other matters to it. This belief he put into practice in his own teaching. Indeed, part of the acclaim which greeted Payne's 1830 pamphlet on Jacotot may be attributed to his inclusion therein of an account of the success of his own experiments with Jacotot's methods in the south London school. Payne did not think that all pupils were equally intelligent, nor did he believe that the teacher's role was simply that of knowing a method and supplying a superior will. On the other hand, he did believe that children (and indeed adults) had a much greater capacity for learning than was generally supposed, and that one of the main reasons why educational standards were lower than they might be was that schools put too much emphasis upon teaching and not enough upon learning. Payne, like Jacotot, believed that the teacher should be the guide and friend, not the bearer of the pupil.

Details of Payne's appreciation of other European educational reformers may be found in his lectures on the history of education, the pamphlets which he wrote upon Froebel in 1874 and Pestalozzi in 1875, and in his account of a tour of German schools in the autumn of 1874, which was published posthumously in 1876. Though he had reservations about Rousseau's teaching on moral education, Payne acknowledged his insights into childhood and human nature. He firmly believed, with Rousseau, that to teach children wisely and efficiently, we must both understand the nature of children and work in harmony with that nature. Though Payne acknowledged the paradoxes, absurdities and cru-

dities of *Emile*, he also regarded it as a book which provided the deepest insights into the capabilities of the human mind, and into the ways in which that mind might be developed.

As a practical person, the founder, proprietor and headmaster of two highly successful private schools, Payne was not unaware of Pestalozzi's faults as a school manager and teacher. Nevertheless, he appreciated Pestalozzi's devotion to his charges, his concentration upon the near and the practical, and his emphasis upon the importance of the senses. He considered that Pestalozzi's approach to teaching was at the heart of his own concept of a science and art of education. But, in his more mature years, Payne's closest identification was with Froebel. Payne had a firm commitment to the importance of the early years in education, and himself frequently commended the Jesuit principle that the ablest teachers should be promoted to take charge of the youngest children. Though he had already framed his first lecture course on the science and art of education before he studied Froebel in depth, when he did so, he acknowledged that he had been throughout his unconscious disciple. Payne was a close neighbour and firm friend of Beata Doreck, and became a committee member of the Kindergarten Association and of its successor, the Froebel Society for the Promotion of the Kindergarten System.

Payne's German tour of kindergartens, primary schools, public girls' schools and schools for technical instruction of 1874 was undertaken in a spirit of true inquiry. He made certain specific criticisms: the short period of training of kindergarten teachers; the lack of gardens and living things; the absence of objects, models and pictures and over-reliance upon the various 'Gifts'; the difficulties of progression from the kindergarten to the subsequent school; the large sizes of some classes; the lack of ventilation in some classrooms; the tuneless singing of some children. On the other hand he found much to praise. In the kindergartens and primary schools all was active self-co-operation. Children worked on their own account and were interested in their tasks. In his several classroom visits Payne saw no compulsion, no instance of punishment, except on one occasion when a teacher took away a child's pencil. In a judgment which was to be echoed a century later Payne concluded that the ideal standard of English schools was the real standard of German schools. He contrasted the dull

rigour of the English elementary school, stultified by the effects of the Revised Code and Payment by Results, with the excellence of elementary teaching in such areas as Baden and Prussia, an excellence which Payne attributed to the influence of Pestalozzi's principles. Payne's chief praise, however, was reserved for Saxony, which he concluded had combined Pestalozzi's methods with those of Froebel.

As yet Joseph Payne has received little attention in the history of education, either within the United Kingdom, or more broadly. A substantial study by the author of this paper is scheduled for publication in 1994. Payne was one of nature's independents. He does not fit easily into the traditional categories of British historiography of nineteenth-century education, with its concentration upon the ancient boys' public schools such as Winchester and Eton and the medieval universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Nor does he belong to the field of mass schooling which has frequently been construed within the framework of a decline in church control and the rise of central and local governmental authority. Payne's world was the world of the true independent, of the Protestant Nonconformist, of a poor boy whose career was made in education, but in the world of private schools and private educational associations. Above all, both in his theory and in his practice, Payne was a pioneer of a science and art of education, a science and art which drew upon both American and continental European sources.

Michael Göhlich (Berlin)

Learning Landscape and Home ?

Studies of the Postmodern Classroom and its Historical Forerunners

The pedagogical environment is one of our fundamental experiences. At school age at the latest, each child in our society has to go into a specially organized environment adapted to pedagogical intentions. The pedagogical idea of humans and of the world appears in the schoolroom. The history of the schoolroom is to be interpreted as a part of our history of civilization.

As in other western societies, since the end of the 1960s a reform of the environment within the school, especially a reform of the classroom, can be observed in West German primary schools. The reformers want to disengage from the blank, empty, centralized and militarily organized classroom, which was established in the late 19th century as "modernization" opposed to the ancient school room practice and which has after-effects until today. So-called "open classrooms" began to arise and constitute a postmodern type of schoolroom.

We see four tendencies as characteristic of the reform:

1. The striving for *decentral organization* can be illustrated by a ministerial recommendation of 1980 to subdivide elementary schoolrooms with shelves into "corners" for diverse functions, which are fitted out with specific furniture, learning materials, tools, bulletin boards and so on.

2. The *simulation of the adventurous and natural incentives of the world outside the school* can be seen, for example, where trees, flowers and other plants are presented inside the classroom or where the thick slice of a trunk lies on the chair of a pupil, while the pupil himself kneels toward it and, touching it, investigates

this segment of nature.

3. The *simulation of home, familiarity and security* appears in the reading corner, which (by putting in carpets, mattresses or a couch) is organized as a so-called "cuddle-corner". It also appears in the aesthetic harmonization of the schoolroom by coloring the walls, by trees, flowers and the sun painted on the walls. A last example for the familiarizing tendency are the clotheslines, which are stretched right across some of the reorganized classrooms and which not only set free the associations "to launder - mother - at home", but also diminish the room in its third dimension (security), offers new decentralized orientation points to the glance (decentralization) and besides has an optical jungle-effect (adventure).

4. The increasing weight of *self-control and self-orientation* can be illustrated by two photographs. On one of them, next to a reading corner a big house is painted on the wall, and a large photo of each pupil looks down from a window of the painted house. On the walls of the schoolroom, where in earlier days the portraits of popes, kings, queens or current "leaders" hung, now the portraits of the children are fixed. The pupils become their own environment, in this case even normatively. In the second picture the pupils work at group tables, occupied with diverse subject matter and materials. Behind them we see the rules for the so-called "Wochenplan" (weekly plan), which describes all assignments for the current week. In this classroom the third rule for the weekly plan says: "Someone who cheats, tells a lie to himself/herself." Instead of the controlling authority of the teacher, the control now shall be shifted inside the pupil.

If we reach the turn of the century and the bipolar historic conception of today's reformers (model "reform pedagogy" versus anti-model "Wilhelminic school barrack") as a barrier of thought and if we follow the traces of the forerunners of the postmodern "open classroom" back to the Middle Ages, we see:

- that there was a pre-conscious schoolroom practice with surprising similarity to the open classroom of today
- that becoming aware of the schoolroom as an organizational problem has much to do with the conceptualization of the human being as a learning being

- that two prototypes arose of the idea of the effect of the pedagogical environment on the pupil, which was constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: The centralized schoolroom, easy for the centrally situated authority to control (Bentham's Panopticon), and the decentralized schoolroom, which simulates world, adventure and home and which furthers self-orientation, self-activity and self-control. In practice, both concepts overlap, whereby the first prototype dominates in the last third of the nineteenth century and the second prototype becomes more widespread in the last third of the twentieth century.
- that the forerunners of the postmodern open classroom generally are not ecclesiastical or state-run, but above all privately-run schools for children and youth of the privileged classes
- that one can differentiate special development phases for each of the above-mentioned four tendencies. In the following, I briefly explain these developments by interpreting selected evidences of some of the forerunners.

In regard to the history of the *decentralized schoolroom* and its seating arrangement, which to many traditionally oriented teachers of today still seems new, unknown and avantguard, we found that:

- the frontal, centralized seating arrangement appeared only at the end of the eighteenth century in elementary schoolrooms (and only becomes common after the first third of the nineteenth century).
- both the decentral seating arrangement and the combining of different subject matters in a large area have a long tradition.
- for almost every "corner" of the decentralized open classrooms of today, one finds forerunners in the history of the schoolroom since the Middle Ages.

An interesting historic example is Furttentbach's floor plan of a German school building from the year 1649. It presents no central, all-seeing lecturing desk or chair for the teacher, but a small teacher's table at the edge of the room at the entrance to the library, turned away from the pupils' tables. Eight pupils sit facing each other on each side of long tables. For reading exercises, a

corner was planned where forty nails in the ground marked the place on which the pupils stood when they were instructed in spelling. Two small pulpits in the central aisle were planned for rhetorical competitions between the pupils. On copper engravings of the 16th century one can recognize that the arithmeticians' instruction room also was not centrally arranged. The arithmetician's room lacked the lecturing desk and sometimes even any merely raised chair for the teacher. Obvious elements of the room are one or two joint tables, a modification of the Roman abacus. The focus seems not to have been placed on the teacher-pupil relationship as a speaking-listening relationship, but on the learning materials.

In regard to the schoolroom's relation to the *adventures of nature and world* outside the school, four phases or types can be distinguished:

- the schoolroom as a non-reflected part of the general or professional world (monastery school, arithmetician school, town clerk school)
- the schoolroom as a room isolated from the world (Luther)
- the schoolroom as a simulation of the world (Comenius, Francke, natural history collections)
- the schoolroom as a simulation of adventure (knight academies; Rousseau; Wolke; "Philanthropine" at Dessau and Schnepfenthal)

The historic development begins with the first named type and runs to diverse mixtures of the two last named types. In a transition period lasting from the Lutheran Reformation through the foundation of the Saxon princely schools to Comenius' concept, the expelling of the "evil" real world from the schoolroom received at least as much attention as the new simulating adoption of didactic segments of world and nature.

Wolke's plan of the "Denklehrzimmer", published in 1805, is the most convincing forerunner of the tendency to organize and furnish the schoolroom as a simulation of adventures outside the school. Wolke wants to show, in his own (translated) words, "how a lifeless room can replace the teacher" !

Wolke placed objects of natural history at the disposal of the

children, for example, different layers of earth, pictures of animals and plants, and "Naturalien", that means prepared plants and animals or special parts of them. Whether the self-active use of the natural materials left off at immediate sensual perception or if it should be continued more scientifically and experimentally, as in today's primary school science, cannot be said with certainty. The magnifying glass we see in the copper engraving of the "Denklehrzimmer" in front of some cubes speaks for such a hypothesis.

Special attention should be paid to the pedagogically planned integration of living plants and animals. Wolke's plan does not go so far as to present living plants or animals inside the room, but it brings them close to the room. For example, outside, immediately in front of one of the windows, are flower-pots. Wolke's primary reason is that the children can observe the growth and blossoming of the plants. The child at school is not seen within the outer world, but no longer conceivable without it. The relationship between school and world becomes a voyeuristic and simulating one. Earth, plants and animals are taken up onto the first floor, into the schoolroom. The schoolroom becomes a learning landscape.

In regard to the historical development of the schoolroom into a simulation of *home, familiarity and security*, we distinguish five types of schoolroom:

- the room of medieval until early modern cathedral schools as sleeping and dining room and refuge for the begging pupils and travelling scholars
- the room of early modern elementary schools as the home of the teacher
- the instruction room of the private tutor in the eighteenth century as part of the parental house, as workroom of the private tutor and as the child's playroom
- the still dominant (modern) turn-of-the-century classroom, which also excludes the private sphere of the teacher and which is, above all, a public and state room
- the postmodern open classroom as temporally-limited simulation of both the pupil's and the teacher's home

To put beds or dining tables in the classroom, was a apparently widespread custom in medieval cathedral schools. Thus Erasmus explains that the circular and terraced room of the London school at Saint Paul's prevents students from putting beds or dining tables in the corners. While pupils were already prevented from setting up beds, the teacher's bed is displayed in a very natural way in a copper engraving of a private arithmetician's schoolroom of the 16th century. Schoolroom, living room, bedroom were one large area, obviously belonging together. The private sphere of the teacher - in today's view, an aspect of familiarity - disappeared only slowly from the schoolrooms of these private schoolmasters. But at last, in the 19th century, the presence of the teacher's private sphere inside the schoolroom is considered scandalous and is pilloried in satire.

History's somersaults are indeed fascinating. What in the 19th century was taken as the height of satire, the clotheslines inside the schoolroom, is, as I noticed at the beginning, welcome in a modified way in the open classroom of our days. The same applies to the medieval schoolroom as a sleeping-place, which has now been re-established in the form of carpets, mattresses and couches in the "cuddle corner" of the postmodern classroom. The difference is that today the schoolroom is no longer the self-evident refuge it was for the medieval begging scholars nor the self-evident home it was for the arithmeticians of early modern times. Today something similar to a home is artificially produced, based on pedagogical reflections and aims. What happens in these new classrooms is the simulation of home, with the good and bad effects of any artificial product.

References

H.D.Michael Göhlich, *Die pädagogische Umgebung. Eine Geschichte des Schulraums seit dem Mittelalter*. Weinheim: Beltz 1993.

Vasilis Koulaidis (Patras)

Empirical Research Paradigms

The Case of Science Education

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to delineate the main elements of paradigms in the area of science education.

By delineating the main elements of paradigms in these areas our intention is:

a) to lay the ground for the argument that empirical research in the above mentioned area constitutes a major and consistent component in overall educational research.

b) to provide the material for a comparative study between research in science education, on the one hand, and other areas of education on the other.

The paper is organized on the following dimensions:

a) The theoretical framework.

b) The specifics: The basis of science education, mathematics education and computing in education.

c) Conclusions.

Theoretical framework

According to Thomas Kuhn any period of normal science is characterized by a paradigm. As Chalmers¹ remarks, the very

1 Chalmers, A.F. (1982), *What is this Thing called Science?*, (Open University Press), p. 91.

nature of this concept makes a precise definition elusive. In his first version of the "paradigm" Kuhn, being conscious of such elusiveness, presented two elements essential to it. According to him, a paradigm is an achievement that shares two characteristics:

- it is significant enough to attract a group of scientists away from competing modes of scientific activities.
- it is sufficiently open-ended to leave "puzzle"-solving activities for the practitioners to resolve².

It is these "puzzle" solving activities which are in a sense central to normal science³. Hacking⁴ and Losee⁵ state that puzzle-solving activities in a Kuhnian context mean those activities in which research workers try to extend proven successful techniques so as to remove gaps, problems or inconsistencies which exist in an established body of knowledge. In this sense, normal science occupies the conservative end of the spectrum in the scientific enterprise, or as Barnes puts it: "Normal science is... *a process of extending and filling out the realm of the known; it does not look for fundamental novelties*."⁶

However, as Kuhn himself concedes in the "Postscript", describing paradigms in such a way introduces a circularity with a number of difficulties. This is because "*a paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share and conversely a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm*".⁷

To remove the "vicious" aspects of this circularity, Kuhn elaborates further the notion of paradigm. Thus, he introduces a distinction between the use of a paradigm in a broad and in a narrow sense. In a broad sense, a paradigm is a "*disciplinary matrix*" or "*an*

2 Kuhn, T.S. (1970), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, (Chicago University Press), p. 10.

3 Hacking, I. (1983), *Representing and Intervening* (Cambridge University Press), p. 7.

4 Hacking, I. (1981), *Lakatos's Philosophy of Science* in I. Hacking (ed.) *Scientific Revolutions* (Oxford University Press), p.2.

5 Losee, J. (1980), *A Historical Introduction to the Philosophy of Science*, (Oxford University Press), p. 204.

6 Barnes, B. (1982), *T.S. Kuhn and Social Science*, (The Macmillan Press), p. 46.

7 Kuhn, T.S. (1970), p. 176.

entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so forth, shared by members of a given community."⁸ For instance, members of a scientific community may share a belief in the existence of certain theoretical entities, e.g., fields, genes. Furthermore, these scientists may be in agreement as to which types of reasoning or investigation are important. All these constitute parts of a paradigm in a broad sense. Finally, it should be noted that a paradigm in a broad sense includes one or more paradigms in the narrow sense.⁹

In the narrow sense, a paradigm is an exemplar. It aids the scientist confronted with a problem within normal science to deal with it in the same way as a problem already tackled: "*Having seen the resemblance, grasped the analogy between two or more distinct problems, one can interrelate symbols and attach them to nature in ways that have proved effective before.*"¹⁰

The specifics: The basis for the paradigmatic constitution of science education

Arguably, the publications in the relevant journals are a good indicator of the direction of the empirical research. In the following Table 1, the main categories of empirical studies in the area of science education are presented. For the construction of this table (both in the sense of categories and in the sense of corresponding frequencies) the publications in the *International Journal of Science Education* have been taken into account.

It should be noted that categories 3 and 4 are closely related. Thus, it is rather clear that in the area of science education philosophy and history of science, teaching strategies and children's ideas and reasoning constitute the main themes of interests of the empirical research. It should also be stressed that the investigations of children's ideas are usually based on a phenomenological approach, which is philosophical in character. Its origins can be traced back to Husserl and Schütz.

8 Ibid., cited by J. Losee (1980), p. 206.

9 Ibid. p. 43 and Chalmers, A.F. (1982), pp. 90-91 and Losee, J. (1980), p. 207.

10 Kuhn, T.S. (1970), p. 189.

Table 1: A taxonomy of empirical studies in science education.

Category	Frequency
1. children's ideas, misconceptions	35
2. teaching strategies	24
3. reasoning, logic	17
4. philosophy, history of science	16
5. comparative	11
6. evaluation	8
7. gender/equal opportunities	7
8. teachers training, attitudes	7
9. curricula	6

It can be argued, recalling that the distinction between the paradigm of science education in the broad sense consists of three main dimensions: the philosophical, the sociological and the paradigm-artefact, i.e., the paradigm in the narrow sense.

The consensus of researchers on the phenomenological approach characterizes the philosophical dimension of the paradigm. The creation of separate departments of science education in the universities for the training of new members of the relevant scientific community, the existence of specialized journals e.g., *International Journal of Science Education*, *Science Education*, *Studies in Science Education*, *Science and Education* as well as specialized meetings, congresses, conferences (fora of the relevant scientific debates) are major elements of the sociological dimension of the paradigm.

The paradigm in the narrow sense, i.e., the paradigm-artefact is mainly expressed by focusing on the investigation of children's

ideas and the corresponding philosophical background - the "objects" of research, as well as the methodological tools and the methods for analyzing the data, which are acceptable for such investigations, i.e., structured and free interviews, exploratory data analysis.

Some conclusions and ideas for further consideration

- a) The paradigmatic constitution of science education is well defined. Thus, science education can be safely considered as a separate, autonomous and well-organized field of educational research.
- b) There is no indication that there are substantial differences in research orientation in the field of science education between Europe and North America.
- c) Fruitful comparisons can be made between science education on the one hand and environmental education as well as mathematics education on the other. This cross-fertilization could reveal not only some similarities in the paradigmatic constitution of these three areas (epistemological level), but could also show convergence on the substantive level, e.g., findings, conclusions.
- d) Finally, an analysis of the epistemological basis of science education (and possibly environmental education and mathematics education) could indicate that research difficulties as well as research dissemination shortcomings can be solved by moving from the empirico-analytical tradition of the above fields to a more hermeneutical approach.

Andy Green (London)

Core Skills, Participation and Progression in Post-compulsory Education and Training in England and France

Concern about the effectiveness of post-compulsory education and training (PCET) has been growing in recent years, both in Britain and internationally. Heightened economic competition and the development of new technologies are leading to increasing demands on ET systems in all developed countries to raise levels of knowledge, skill and competence in their work forces. Human resources are now widely recognised to be a key element in the success of both service and manufacturing industries and countries that lack well educated and skilled employees are often deemed to lack competitive advantage (Porter, 1990). At the same time public aspirations for higher levels of education and training have risen across the globe. Economic and social pressures such as these have led governments in many countries to review and reform their systems of ET.

In France and the UK governments have faced similar problems in PCET and have set themselves similar objectives in reforming them. In the early 1970s post-compulsory education in both countries consisted primarily of academic courses for a relatively small elite. Since then governments in both countries have undertaken major reforms aimed at increasing participation and attainment in PCET through providing new high-status vocational routes which would be more suitable for the needs and aptitudes of the majority of the age group. However, despite these similar overall objectives, the strategies adopted and the outcomes achieved have been quite different. Generally speaking, France has adopted a more 'integrated' approach, inserting the new vocational courses and qualifications into an existing framework of

academic courses and qualifications (Wolf, 1992; Tanguy, 1991). In England and Wales, the strategy has been for a differentiated approach; the upgrading of vocational qualifications has been attempted by enhancing separate vocational tracks (Young, 1991). The outcomes of the two systems also show important differences. Rates of participation, progression and qualification amongst 16-19 year olds are significantly higher in France than in England (see below).

In France, the government has embarked on a well-publicized policy for increasing the levels of qualifications amongst its young people, aiming to boost their participation on *baccalauréat* (level IV) courses to 80 per cent by the end of the century. This follows two decades of reforms in upper secondary schooling which have attempted to increase participation and achievement in PCET by creating new institutions, curriculum pathways and qualifications for vocational education. In order to give prestige to the new vocational pathways and to promote parity of esteem between them and the academic pathways, the strategy has been to insert them within an expanded framework of *lycées* and *baccalauréats*. Overall, the tendency has been to create an increasingly integrated upper secondary system (Tanguy, 1991).

What appears to be distinctive about this system is that it incorporates different pathways within a single integrated framework which is designed to facilitate progression (Wolf, 1992). All curricula are designed by the Ministry of Education which receives advice on vocational standards by various consultative committees involving employers, trades union representatives and vocational teachers (*Commissions Professionnels Consultatives* or CPCs). This relatively centralized system of standard setting and curriculum planning is used to ensure coherence between different courses and levels and thus to enhance potential for transfer and progression. Thus each BEP course relates to a larger group of CAP courses, and each *baccalauréat professionnel* course is designed to follow on from a number of BEP courses. All courses have a substantial component of general education, much of which is common across courses. This facilitates transfer between *baccalauréat* courses and between different vocational courses. Methods of assessment, which generally involve a combination of coursework and written examination, are similar across all

courses, and there is an integrated system of certificates which are all validated by the central state and which form a well-understood hierarchy (Wolf, 1992). Within the *baccalauréat* framework all awards confer in principle the right of entry to higher education to bacheliers from every course.

What unites the various academic and vocational courses in France is the fact that they all follow an educational logic. The great stress placed on the acquisition of the *culture générale* in France extends to all vocational courses, and they therefore share with the academic courses the emphasis on broad general education. In each type of course general subjects, such as French, mathematics, science and foreign languages, are taught as separate subjects according to clearly specified standards and by teachers who specialize in those areas. General subjects are assessed separately, and certain standards must be attained by students in order to gain their diplomas (Wolf, 1992). Although subjects like mathematics and French are taught and assessed as separate subjects according to a curriculum and standards which are largely common across courses, research has suggested that teachers modify their approach to some extent with different courses so that the general subject is related to the vocational area and its applications explored (Wolf, 1993).

As with the French qualification reforms, the recent English reforms have been instigated with the explicit objective of creating high status vocational awards which will have parity of esteem with existing academic awards and thus increase participation, progression and achievement in Post-16 ET (DES 1991). The NCVQ is currently responsible for creating a national framework of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs) at 5 levels which relate to the existing hierarchy of academic qualifications. Like the French reforms they effectively create three pathways through PCET: the academic ('A' and 'AS' levels), the general vocational (GNVQs), and the narrow or occupationally-specific vocational (NVQs). There has also been an expressed intention (DES, 1991) to increase the possibilities of combining different areas of study and thus creating a more integrated system. Thus, level three GNVQs have been designed so that they may be taken alongside an 'A' level or some NVQ units and level two GNVQs

have been designed to be combined with a small number of GCSEs.

However, the system created by recent reform in England and Wales differs in significant respects from that in France. The three tracks in England and Wales are far more differentiated and separate than those in France, and the system as a whole is less integrated. Unlike in France, where there is one central body which sets standards for all awards and which issues certificates, in England and Wales these responsibilities are divided between a host of different bodies. GCSEs and 'A' levels are awarded by a multiplicity of different independent awarding bodies whose work is overseen by the Schools Examinations and Assessment Council (soon to be merged with NCC to form SCAA). Vocational certificates are awarded by over three hundred different independent bodies who must work to specified criteria if their awards are to be recognized as GNVQs and NVQs and thus eligible to be taken by students in schools and colleges. Standards for NVQs are determined by some 160 Industrial Lead bodies, composed primarily of representatives from different occupations and industrial sectors. These are translated by the NCVQ into specific competence criteria. Attainment criteria for GNVQs are determined by the NCVQ.

The results of this dispersal of control over standards and qualifications in England and Wales can be seen in the relative lack of relation between different courses and qualifications. Curricula are specified in quite different ways for different types of course: 'A' levels have syllabuses; NVQs have competence criteria and GNVQs have attainment criteria. There is no core of general education or core skills which is common across different courses at different levels. Forms of assessment also differ radically from one type of course to another. GCSEs and 'A' levels are now assessed mainly through written examinations; NVQs are assessed through observation of performance in real work situations; and GNVQs are assessed by a combination of course work and written tests. Teaching methods also differ widely across different types of course.

England also differs significantly from France in the place it assigns to core skills and general education in different types of course. GCSE and 'A' level courses are elective and, therefore, in-

volve no compulsory component of general education except what is entailed in each individual subject. Although the NCC was charged with defining and specifying compulsory core skills for 'A' level students, this has not come to fruition. NVQs do not specify core skills as discrete criteria, and they are thus only assessed in as much as they are integral to the particular work related competencies which apply for each NVQ. GNVQs include some core skills units (application of number, communications and IT) for the purposes of assessment. However, the principle adopted by NCVQ is that these core skills should be embedded in the vocational units rather than taught separately. General education, in the broader sense which applies in France, is only included in the new vocational qualifications in units which are designated as optional.

There are also significant differences in outcomes in the two systems. Rates of participation, progression and qualification in post-compulsory education and training in France currently exceed those in England by a significant margin, despite dramatic recent increases in 'staying on' in England. In 1990 in France over 96 per cent of 16 year olds and 77 per cent of 18 year olds were in full-time education or training in a *lycée* or apprentice centre (CFA) (Notes d'Information, 92.16). In 1992, the numbers gaining a *baccalauréat* (level 1V in France) were equal to 51 per cent of a typical year cohort (Note d'Information 93.22). Expressed as a proportion of those embarking on upper secondary education and training, and excluding the small numbers gaining other qualifications like the BTS, this represented a rate of progression to level 1V qualifications of 52 per cent.

By comparison in England in 1992/3 the estimated proportions enrolled in full and part-time post-compulsory education were considerably lower: 80 per cent at 16 and 46 per cent at 18 (DFE Statistical Bulletin 16/93). So also were rates of progression and qualification. In 1991/2 around 22 per cent of 19 year olds in England had achieved 2 'A' levels (or their A/S equivalent); a further 8 per cent a BTEC National Diploma; and some 6 per cent a BTEC National Certificate (DFE Statistical Bulletin 15/93). Some 36 percent of the English cohort were thus achieving UK level 3 qualifications at a time when 51 per cent in France were achieving at their (*baccalauréat*) level IV. This represents a progression rate

to level 3 qualifications of 45 per cent, compared with 53 per cent in France.

References

- Ainley, P. and Corney, M., *Training for the Future: The Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission*, 1990.
- DFE, *Statistical Bulletin*, 15/93, HMSO, 1993.
- DFE, *Statistical Bulletin*, 16/93, 1993.
- Green, A. D., *Education and State Formation*, Macmillan, 1990 .
- Green, A. D. and Steedman, H., *Educational Provision, Educational Attainment and the Needs of Industry*: NIESR, Report no. 5, 1993.
- Ministry of Education and Culture, *Note d'Information* 93/12, 1993.
- Ministry of Education and Culture, *Note d'Information* 93/22, 1993.
- Porter, M., *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, 1990.
- Tanguy, L., *Quelle Formation Pour les Ouvriers et les Employés de France*, Paris, La Documentation Francaise, 1991.
- Wolf, A., *Mathematics for Vocational Students in France and England: Contrasting Provision and Consequences*, NIESR Discussion paper no, 23, 1992.

Education and Educational Science

in a Period of Social Transition

The Present and Future of Education in East Central Europe

The events which took place in East Central Europe in 1989, two centuries after the French Revolution, did more than merely terminate communism in Europe; they also challenged social science. Not only communism died in East Central Europe, but the possibility of an alternative project of society as well. The attempt to implement an all-embracing social theory (Marxism-Leninism) failed, ironically by its own criteria of rationality, equality and justice. 'Real socialism' was not rational, equal or just. Now we should ask ourselves what the role of social sciences in society must be. Once more we are facing a situation in which an old way of social thinking no longer applies, or at least requires a re-evaluation.

This immense task is not the sole responsibility of social scientists in post-communist countries. It must be a joint effort of academics both inside and outside these countries. This joint undertaking was one of the main aims of the research project out of which our paper resulted. One of our main tasks is to rediscover the differences between the societies in East Central Europe. Communist societies resembled each other in their confessions of faith, but not in practice. Of course, communist countries shared many common characteristics and are, as post-communist countries, facing many similar problems. But inherent in approaches based on general notions and global concepts such as 'communism' and 'capitalism', is the assumption that they work the same way in all societies. The homogenizing pressure of the Soviet hegemony and communism, however, had different effects in societies with different historical traditions. Similar problems may find different solutions, whether the societies are called post-communist or capitalist. Rather than focusing attention on global

factors that characterize societies at large, in our study we tried to center on specific characteristics within societies, without losing sight of the commonalities.

This process of 'rediscovery' has two aspects. First, a study of the historical heritage is necessary to understand the communist period. Second, we must not overlook the differences in recent developments. The pattern of the revolutions in East Central Europe reveal many similarities, and the events are very closely linked. However, here again national variations and the specific institutional arrangements are too important to be left aside. Apart from this 'rediscovery', we have to realise that in the West things have changed, too. The large options and solutions which characterized the after-war period are no longer current.

Until now, no one really knows how to write the history of the fall of communism, because no one knew how to write the history of the regimes while the communist party was still in power. Despite all difficulties in explaining why communism collapsed in 1989, there is much agreement on the factors that contributed to the fall of communism. Since it is not our main aim to analyse the fall of communism, we shall discuss them only briefly. First of all we make a distinction between external and internal factors. One of the external factors is the role of the Soviet Union. One of the most important internal reasons why the system collapsed is the loss of political legitimacy. Every state - whether it is a democracy or dictatorship - is held together by some kind of non-rational solidarity. It is this basis that Weber called its legitimacy: a belief that the state is valid and powerful. This solidarity was certainly lacking in East Central Europe. The second important factor was the economic decay. The third important factor was the notion of a civil society. One of the main aims of communism was to transform man and society. This aim implicated the redefinition of the relationship between state and society, and especially the creation of new social relationships. This meant, in the first place, the eradication of pluralism and the introduction of the unitary principle in all strands of social and cultural life. It is not difficult to provide a list of institutions, value systems and traditions that were wiped out. In the 70s relatively small numbers of intellectuals developed the notion of a civil society again. The basic idea was that people can and should

try to live as much as possible outside the official structures and patterns sponsored by the communist authorities. As this civil society grew, the power of the state would weaken. The arguments for a civil society had a widespread appeal, while the organizations of dissidents remained small and suffered from disappointments sometimes. But their presence showed the deep malaise communist society was in.

The central objective of our project was to understand education reforms under radical new circumstances, and to do so on an international, comparative basis. In our paper we characterized briefly these 'radical new circumstances': that of democracy and a market economy. After discussing these new circumstances, we focused on educational change and reform. What exactly are educational change and reform? We pointed out that the model and criteria of 'reforms', as developed in the West, are primarily based on the principles of 'democratic pluralism'. In this vision pluralism is seen as a conflict between permanent interest groups. The purpose is to get the government to act in a certain direction as the 'vector-sum' of 'balance-of-power'. The government acts as a sort of middleman, absorbing directions and responding to shifts in pressure.

The problem in East Central Europe is that this 'ideal state' does not (yet) exist: new actors and contexts are still being created. The development of a more open and competitive society, with increased spheres of autonomy and freer associations between individuals in forming groups, is in full swing. To name three important contextual factors: (1) the need for the new governments to consolidate their power; (2) the persistent traditions of educational institutions in the region; and (3) the educational crisis and priorities that this region shares with much of the West. First, at the moment the new governments in Central Eastern Europe are looking for a performance legitimacy. This means that educational policies are subordinate to the economic and political priorities of the new governments. Second, it is important to realise, as we already mentioned, that certain traditions are limiting the 'freedom to choose' its own organizational forms. Educational organizations are likely to be rewarded with both economic resources and legitimation for adopting and maintaining structures and processes that the wider political environment con-

siders to be appropriate. Third, there are some global trends that affect education in East and West. The educational sectors of the West and East were not distinct in terms of their educational concerns but mostly through the procedures by which problems were handled.

In sum, we have the impression that the changes of educational policy in Hungary seem to be less distinctly related to the actual fall of the communist system. An incremental process seems to characterize the 'Hungarian way' with the landmark of the 1985 Education Act. On the one hand, we see a low erosion of a centralized policy, especially in the field of curriculum making, on the other hand, a certain nostalgia for the pre-communist centralized education system of the Habsburg empire. The same kind of paradox can be seen in today's political life: On the one hand, a conservative government mistrusting the teaching profession and educational experts and on the other hand, a liberal opposition relying heavily on educational experts who are very keen on modern Western ideas of efficiency (rather than equality).

In Czechoslovakia the idea of a collective responsibility for education for all is still very strong. Although independent educational interest groups proposed some important changes of the relationship between the state and institutions and actors, the government's policy is rather restricted and hesitant. There seems to be much dissatisfaction with the teaching profession and training of teachers, while the country is lacking educational leadership on all levels. Without this leadership it is obvious that no reform initiatives will take place or, when proposed, will be implemented.

In Poland the central authorities seem to be the main initiators of educational changes. At the same time the 'underground movement' came to the front and took shape as a whole network of independent schools with interesting alternatives in the field of the curriculum and didactics. This fact and the economic constraints feed the fear that the public system will deteriorate further. There seems to be a 'decentralization of poverty'. The very much desired re-training of teachers is too expensive. Teachers as a professional group have not been particularly active in the reform. There seems to be much tension between teachers and the authorities, for instance, on the question of reintroducing religion

as a subject.

The change of political system has certainly shaken the education systems and policies in East Central Europe. However, we can conclude that the elimination of totalitarian aspects of the system is not the same as building up a well-functioning democratic system. There are certainly dangers. However, the direction in which East Central Europe will move not only depends on the policies taking shape in the countries of that region, but also on the attitudes of politicians and scholars in other parts of Europe. That makes co-operation and mutual aid so indispensable.

Peter Hübner (Berlin)

Continuity and Change in the School System of the United Germany

The school system has also been directly affected by economic and political upheavals in East Germany. Since it remains a state school system, through political decisions and the institutionalization of new legal norms, which are restructuring its organization as well as its pedagogic content, it will be affected by administrative state action. Since this state action basically follows the legal norms of the West German school system, one can say that - like other areas of state regulated action - through inclusion the East German school system will adapt to the West German school system.

What are now the characteristics of this inclusion procedure, and which structural changes - as well as changes in its content - are affected by this? Before this question can be answered, one must first make clear once and for all which structural similarities and similarities of content exist between the West and East German school systems, and which structural distinctive features of the East German school system have been affected by this inclusion process. Both school systems are state school systems. The state bears the responsibility for the process of school education and rearing. Structure and content are not left to social forces, but are determined by state action. The teachers in both systems are state employees, and the training is standardized by the state. Access to the profession is controlled by a monopoly through state exams. Careers in education in this school system are standardized legally; curricula are the result of state decision making. Under the East German school system this was treated somewhat differently. The East German school system was structured vertically. Within the framework of a central-state control system, the East German school system had the function

of an authoritarian ideological homogenization of the population with the aid of a materialistic ideology. The West German school system, on the contrary, is instead determined by the pluralization of values and the universal validity of social rules of procedure, and must be based on consensus.

While the East German school system was integrated into central state planning and characterized above all through the close coupling of the economy and school education, the school system in West Germany is marked by its detachment from the work market. This is extremely significant, since on the one hand the East German school system was hindered from expansion, and individual education careers were subordinate to the primacy of planned social economic needs, while in the West German school system participation in educational school opportunities determines individual educational motivation and educational capability. Consequently, the pressure on the individualization and differentiation of the school educational and training process is very strong here. The right to individual education affected the school system and its structure. However, there are also considerable differences in the definition of the teaching profession. The East German teachers have more a technical instrumental interpretation of their professional action, while the West German teachers have rather a communicative interactive definition of this profession. Because of these differences, which many scholars view as a modernization deficit of the East German school system, the problem arises that in this adaptation process, the East German school system must be assimilated: it must be adjusted to the federal structure of the political system. The result is that it must contain a horizontal structure. Moreover, the concrete structural organization is dependent on the educational political forces in the new federal states. None of these states have, however, got past building gymnasiums, (which allows creating the secondary school level). In this way the East German school system is losing its comprehensive state uniformity. The relationship between the economy and the school system has also been dismantled in the new states. The legally standardized free approach to educational careers has led to a considerable expansion of higher education. The pressure on the differentiation of school offerings will increase through the individualization of educational requirements.

The system is losing its ideological homogenized function; the curricula and educational programs must change precisely at this point. The view of the teaching profession and the orientation of the pedagogic action must develop in the direction of a communicative interactive, professional trade.

The changing of the entire functional connections of school and society is leading to substantial demands and accomplishments in adaptation and can take care of only very long-term social processes. These processes are, therefore, on the side of individuals, teachers, parents and pupils, with an extreme devaluation of the social and educational experience which existed up until now. The adaption to the newly created school structure requires orientation results which can not be overestimated. The school structure can be rebuilt relatively easily and quickly, and this has actually occurred. The curricula and educational programs can be rewritten quite easily and a corresponding production of textbooks be set in operation. It is, however, much more difficult and time consuming to adapt the actual scholarly curriculum of these new teaching and training processes. The devaluation of the older experience, the creation of a new orientation, above all, however, the integration of individual motives, requirements and interests with the new institutional regulations is a complex socio-psychic process which will not occur smoothly and without conflict. In such situations of quick and far-reaching reconstruction, individuals as well as institutions will react through self-stabilization, since at first they will hold onto the old routines of their profession. They attempt, thereby, to maintain the experience in which they have lived until now. Due to the fact that the processes of reconstruction of the school are mainly bureaucratically imposed, they will be experienced as alien, and the reaction, therefore, will be a stubbornness exhibited in the form of resistance or avoidance.

References

Tillmann, K.J.: Staatlicher Zusammenbruch und schulischer Wandel. Schultheoretische Reflexionen zum deutsch-deutschen

- Einigungsprozeß. Collapse of the State and Change in the School System. Theoretical Educational Reflections on the German-German unification Process, in: *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik/Journal for Pedagogy*. 30. Supplement 1993; pp. 29-36.
- Wiegmann, U.: SED-Führung - Administration - Erziehungswissenschaftliche Zentrale. Zur Entwicklung der Machtverhältnisse im Volksbildungsbereich der DDR an der Schwelle zur "entwickelten (real) sozialistischen Gesellschaft" /SED-Guide-Administration-Education-Science Headquarters. On the Development of a Balance of Power in the Field of Education in the DDR on the Threshold to "developed (real) social society, in: *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*. 30. Supplement 1993; pp. 75-88.
- Joas, H./Kohli, M. (Ed.): *Der Zusammenbruch der DDR /The Collapse of the DDR*/Frankfurt 1993.
- Budde, H./Klemm, K.: Äußere Schulentwicklung in den neuen Ländern: Perspektiven und Gefährdungen. The External School Development in the New Federal States: Perspectives and Dangers. In Rolff, H.-G./Bauer, K.-O. et al. (ed.): *Jahrbuch der Schulentwicklung /Yearbook of School Development*, Vol 7: Daten, Beispiele und Perspektiven/ Examples and Perspectives. Weinheim/München, 1992.
- Waterkamp, D.: School in the DDR - A Balance. In Rolff, H.-G./Bauer, K.-O. (ed.): *Jahrbuch der Schulentwicklung /Yearbook of School Development*, Vol 6.: Daten, Beispiele und Perspektiven /Dates, Examples and Perspectives. Weinheim/München, 1990; pp. 105-122.
- Klemm, K./Böttcher, W./Weegen, M.: Educational Planning in the New Federal States. Developmental Trends, Perspectives and Comparisons. Weinheim/München 1992.

The Vision of Education in the Czech Republic

Education is considered in relation to its main targets: to economic, political and social progress, to health and environmental protection, to education of children, and to a life style in leisure time.

The leading principles are the following:

- education should be a locomotive of social movement;
- one of the main priorities of society is to establish sufficient educational opportunities;
- the balance between equity and quality of education is the crucial point of educational policy;
- combination of common education and diversity of educational opportunities should be the leading principle in a school system.

The Role of Education in Society

Immediately after the revolution in 1989, education has not been a priority in the programs of the political parties. It has been in the shadow of political, economic and security problems. Consequently, the remedial function of education prevails, stressing its immediate effects. On the other hand, last year it started to attract more attention by the politicians. The historical and comparative views provide enough evidence that education has contributed substantially to economic and social development in the Czech nation.

It is possible to forecast a rapid development of vocational education in the short perspective and of general secondary and higher education in the long strategic perspective.

The Equity and Quality of Education

These two aspects have been struggling for a long time for social prestige and financial resources as a repercussion of broader social events. Equal claims on education are a part of general human rights. Their implementation is based, first of all, on biological and psychological assumptions for successful study and calls for educational measures to diminish handicaps of children at the very beginning of their school attendance.

Secondly, equal rights for education were politically reduced in the past by the Nazi regime when it rejected higher education for Czechs and Jews, and later when the communist regime discriminated against political non-conformists. The good financial conditions of free university study and accommodations covered by the government expressed a political privilege for university students. Now equal opportunity to education is provided irrespective of nationality, race, political opinions, religion, or sex. But two restrictions have developed. The lack of schools necessitates selective entrance examinations, and severe financial stress will face those who do get accepted. Because of limited and decreasing resources from the state, a question arises: Who should cover the costs of preschool education, of upper secondary and of university education - the state, students, families, or employers? If we answer that the future profit should be the main criterion here, then we can expect that costs will be divided among all these groups. First steps have been taken in this direction.

The third balance between quality and equity concerns pedagogy: conceptions of curricula, organization of teaching and learning, common education competing with streaming, setting and free elective subjects.

On the basis of the analysis of the present state, factors, and trends, it is possible to expect that systems of high quality, of selective education, and of equitable, non selective education will exist side by side along parallel lines, but not in isolation.

This double aim of education is - or can be - ensured by

- kindergartens supporting a good start for school education;
- comprehensive schools and an increasing number of schools with different entrance requirements and with different aims

- for both gifted and disadvantaged children;
- scholarships, a voucher system and cheap loans for all students willing and able to study;
- opening more ways to higher education;
- development of non-university education;
- integration of non-standard students, e.g., dyslectics, dysgraphics, and physically handicapped with other children whenever it is reasonable and profitable for all youth.

In summary the relation between quality and equity of education does not mean controversy; the solution does not accept one particular extreme. Both aims can be reached together.

School Administration and Management

The principles of control and administration of educational institutions have been changing since the revolution 1989; thus, schools face the following trends and problems:

- schools and other educational institutions, namely universities, have gradually increased their independence from central bodies and at the same time their responsibilities for free decision making;
- some competencies - rights and accountabilities - were shifted to lower stages of administration;
- the nature of control and administration is more connected with personal responsibilities and less anonymous than under the centralized system;
- the role of information systems of schools and its computerization is increasing;
- requirements of relationships have surfaced between schools and their partners - local authorities, parents, organizations of adults and youth, sponsors;
- the increasing impact of a market economy upon education may be in conflict with some educational aims and will result in an examination of the philosophy of educational institutions.

Most of these changes are starting to happen. The process involves

contradictions between new tendencies and the old centralized system of school administration and management that was fully established and retained financial and information power. It was easier for non-creative employees because of the call for lower responsibility, which created only an illusion of stability. The way toward a democratic system is difficult, but possible. It necessitates legislation and affects the political powers and goals of teachers as professionals.

Youths at Risk of the Period of Transformation

It is now time to implement Article 29d of the Convention of the Rights of the Child. State parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.

This declaration is closely related to the children's life style and as well as to their rights to good health: both physical and mental health.

It is widely recognized that the health of Hungarians is poor and getting worse, with male life expectancy falling in recent years. The age standardized mortality rate is now almost 50% higher than in many Western European countries, even though the rates were almost the same in the 1960s. Life expectancy has increased only very slightly, from 68.8 in 1970 to 69.6 in 1990, in comparison with increases of 4-5 years in Western Europe. The infant mortality rate is almost twice that seen in Western Europe.

Since the 1980s several attempts have been made to explain the factors leading to this poor health status in Hungary.

In the last decade a number of experiences and scientific findings indicated that the state of health and the biological development of the Hungarian youth is not without problems; in fact, undesirable phenomena have multiplied. These have appeared in the area of mortality and morbidity, in physical development and physical strength. More and more signs have pointed to the probability that the life style of a significant and increasing segment of youth are capable of satisfying the demands of a healthy way of life to an increasingly less extent. It has also become clear that institutions responsible for the increase of the cultural level, health education, preparation for a healthy life style and health protec-

tion of youth - due to various reasons - have not fulfilled these functions effectively. We are now witnesses to the spread of disturbances concerning the social integration of youth. A significant number and rate of alcoholism, as well as attempted and committed suicide are found in the younger generations. In certain circles drug addiction and "inhaling of glue" have spread.

We are particularly concerned about the fact that psychosomatic symptoms are registered at a very early age, and the majority of pupils are both emotionally and intellectually injured. As prevention can be really effective with younger generations, making use of institutional interventional methods, significant attention has been paid to it.

In this paper this multiple problem will be characterized by one aspect: the situation of health education in the schools.

The system of health and public education has the main role in influencing health behavior. The content analysis of school and medical documents and empirical studies of its function indicate serious problems. The cooperation of the above mentioned organizations in influencing health culture has not been realized even on the level of documents. This has left its marks on practice as well. Therefore, health information and changes in attitude occur essentially independently from the organizations; they occur in accordance with the value orientation mediated by the family. Thus, the health and public educational systems strengthen those differences in health culture which, in terms of treating health as a value, exist between various social groups. However, not only their relationship with each other is problematic, but within one's own system a vacuum can be found between declared goals and their practical realization. It might be concluded that health and public education cannot fulfil the role assigned to them in developing health culture. Thus, it is those who find themselves in a disadvantageous position who have not, even in their immediate family, acquired the necessary skills for leading a healthy life.

The analysis of the empirical research data showed quite clearly that differences along the indicators of social stratification can be discovered not only in relation to health as a value, but also in a healthy life style. Groups of children can be differentiated on the basis of attitudes, if sex, age and the mother's education are all taken into consideration. It can be demonstrated

which group would require the strategy of intervention, and in which groups the socialization toward health culture and a healthy life style should be strengthened. If we compare this with the formerly mentioned lack of institutional mediation, it becomes obvious that the children of those strata profit from the socialization to health culture who, due to their family influence, are in an otherwise advantageous situation. This same process, on the other hand, makes the effects of institutional mediation useless in the disadvantaged social strata. We can see, on the other hand, that in both systems the mediation of a healthy life style, restricted to physical health, becomes dominant. Mental hygiene issues are thus pushed aside, then disappear. The originally widely interpreted concept of a healthy life style has been destroyed. The cultivation of one aspect of it is the task of health authorities, while the other part belongs to the school system. Important analyses have also demonstrated that the system of public education has no concept in regard to the content of health; therefore, the mediation through various subjects will be necessarily one-sided and fragmented. All this results in the inability of institutional mediation to do anything, even in its declared task, to minimize the disturbances of social accommodation. The cooperation of the two systems in the mediation of health culture is merely a theoretical construction.

According to the results of our empirical research in 1986, it became evident that the groups of children had different views on health, on a healthy life style as a function of their social background. When we established the direction for our further investigation we based it on the relationship between the dominant nature of the environmental factor latently determining health behavior, the quality of interpersonal relations and other dimensions of the concept of health (movement, nutrition, hygienic habits).

We assumed that the basic correlation, the statistical probability that the children of more educated social groups would be healthier as grown-ups than those of less or uneducated parents and would somewhat "verify" mortality and morbidity rates, was too general for further research. To provide institutions with operational research findings, we must explore more finely calculated correlations.

This required us to formulate our proposition in a different way. In our research on the health behavior of the age group of 14-18, we wanted to know why children with similar attitudes but different cultural backgrounds would fall into the same group. What is it that provokes similar behavior despite social-demographic differences?

In my lecture I will report on some experiences concerning mental health. Since in interpreting our former research the environmental factors acquired significant importance, we have grouped the items of the questionnaire we were going to use in our current research around this issue. We studied the social network of young people between 14 and 18, the quantity and quality of their interpersonal relations. We tried to find out what they thought of their own ability to endure conflict and tension. We looked for relationships between children's social and intellectual burdens and their behavioral responses. We also examined whether the compensatory forms, the protective systems were of a constructive or destructive character.

The main findings of the survey showed that health behavior has the closest relation to the social network, with interpersonal relations. These interpersonal relations determine health behavior either directly or indirectly. With positive relations good health, a healthy life style become constructive elements in the person's value system. A "negative protective net" or lack of contacts involve behavior leading to substitute behavior.

It has been proved that unequal burdens produce protective systems which are divided according to social differences. Protection is not the greatest where social burden or hazards are the greatest. Thus, instead of neutralizing each other, the two types of inequality will increase. Man, however, strives for balance. Either consciously or unconsciously he will seek compensatory solutions. But the compensations will differ fundamentally, depending on whether they are constructive or destructive. In this respect the social field is of significant importance. Obviously inner support will only develop within a supportive social force. As far as institutions, in terms of their intervention and formative roles are concerned, we have arrived at the following conclusions.

When influencing health behavior, institutions have not really been able to cope with cultural differences. Our present research

has revealed the transmissional mechanism through which institutional intervention and formation of health behavior can be conceived. This mechanism involves the study of social relations and their subsequent orientation by pedagogical and psychological methods. Further research is needed to decide and to prove whether institutions which actively form a positive interpersonal network are able to affect groups towards preventive health protection, towards a constructive compensation, or whether this institutional possibility is available only to individuals.

The question is not theoretical. Increasing social burdens cannot be placed on families any longer. To discover and to try out adequate methods and techniques of institutional care calls for further theoretical and empirical research.

Let me mention some findings, results of a cross-national survey among 12-16 year school children. This survey has been repeated at four-year intervals. There are fifteen countries taking part in the survey.

1. Hungarian pupils have lower self-esteem than pupils from other countries. These countries were West European and Canadian.

2. International comparison shows that Hungarian pupils spend more time on doing homework than others.

3. Compared to the international data the increase in the rate of smoking adolescents is the most significant in Hungary: boys aged 15 smoke six times as much, girls aged 15 smoke fourteen times as much as at the age of 13. According to international comparison, we are the second after Finland considering the frequency of daily and weekly smoking.

4. Frequent alcohol consumption is five times as much in the case of boys, seven times as much in that of girls as they grow up.

5. The reported health and well-being of Hungarian pupils are worse than others; they enjoy themselves less than others.

Correlation between risk-taking behaviors and different components of well-being are quite clear: regular drinking, smoking, and drunkenness go together with frequent psychosomatic symptoms and sleeping problems, and the reported emotional factor, health status, happiness, and fitness show an adverse tendency.

The slogan of the Finnish Mental Health Society says:

"Everybody has a right to mental health". Let us add to this that this right will only be of any use if society feels it mandatory to make provisions for the acquisition of means by which these rights can be exercised by the most underprivileged people as well.

The sad conclusion of our investigation was that to be and stay healthy depends rather on the place the individual has in the social network than on the interference of social powers through the system of institutions. But without a healthy generation no social program can be realized. Research data indicate clearly that the principle "education to become healthy" valid for everybody operates unmistakably by selective mechanisms. Children of parents with considerable cultural capital will prosper, adapt themselves to changing conditions more easily, while chances of others for survival as "achievers" are less and less.

Our findings may constitute an incentive towards working out a plan of action in which the dimensions of health and their relation to the sociocultural background would be considered.

References

- Füzesi, Zs./ Meleg, Cs.: Social Factors in the Health of the Hungarian Youth. In: Economy and Society in Hungary. Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences. Department of Sociology 1986. 203-221. Editors: Rudolf Andorka and László Bertalan.
- Gazs, F.: Megújuló egyenlenségek. Renewing inequalities. Kossuth, 1988. 5-24, 49-65.
- Losonczi: Betegség és társadalmi ártalom. Disease and social damage. Magyar Tudomány, 1987.9.
- Meleg, Cs.: Attitude to Health--Thinking About It - Pedagogical Review, Hungary, 1988. 117-122.
- Tahin, T.: Characteristics of the Health State of Adolescents - The Role of Social Factors in the Shaping of Physical and Mental Health. In: Hungarian Adolescents in the 80s, Kossuth, 1984. 119-147.

Students' Perception of the Effects of Social Transition

The sudden collapse of the ideological-political system and the following peaceful social transition yielded a unique context of development and socialization for the adolescents in Hungary in the early 1990s. The values and attitudes required by a multi-party parliamentary democracy and a market economy were just the opposite of those proposed by the one-party political system and the centrally planned economic system. A series of investigations were launched in 1990 to study adolescents' perceptions of the changes around them and their attitudes toward the possible effects of the transitional process.

In the early stages of the research it seemed clear that after years of limited freedom, the majority of adolescents would value the principles of a democratic society. At the same time, however, it was also foreseen that transformation of the political, social, and economic system would be a long and difficult process with many painful side effects. From the perspective of the future of a pluralistic society and a market economy, it seemed crucial to further study how today's adolescents would cope with the difficulties of the years of transition, how the short-term troubles would affect their long-term commitments to the democratization process. Thus, it was decided to replicate the data collection in normal times with the same or similar questions to track the changes in students' attitudes.

Some preliminary results of the first data collection were already presented at other conferences (Flanagan, Csapó, and Rékasi, 1991; Csapó, 1991a, 1991b). This paper focuses on the analysis of the second survey, on the changes of students' attitudes, and shows examples of further and deeper analyses.

In the spring of 1990, around the time of the first free parliamentary elections, a representative sample (N=250) of eleventh grade high school students from Szeged (one of the major cities of

Hungary) were given a questionnaire. Their mothers were asked the identical questions. The data collection was repeated three years later (spring 1993) with students of the same age and attending the same high schools (N=400).

The main part of the questionnaire consisted of two sets of questions: (1) how some features of life in general will change and (2) how strongly they agreed with some anticipated changes in the educational system caused by the political shift. The questions were answered on a five-point scale. The second questionnaire was basically the same, only the wording of some questions was modified, taking into account the different time perspectives. (Students had to express their opinions about life standards of the year 1992 retrospectively in 1993, which was a future point of time in 1990. Certain processes that were only anticipated in 1990 were already in progress in 1993.)

The mean of the rank numbers of the students' responses for the questions concerning the changes in the everyday life is depicted in Fig. 1. (After the recent political changes, how the constraints of everyday life; the chances of finding a job; the possibilities of earning money will change? Much less=1, less=2, same=3, more=4, much more=5.) In 1990, students thought these changes would have little, but a positive effect on the everyday constraints and earning money, but they felt that there would be less opportunity for finding employment. In 1993 they were more pessimistic in each aspect of life. The most significant decrease in their expectations was in the case of earning money.

The data indicated that students in 1990 were still enthusiastic concerning changes in the educational system: they supported every anticipated change. (Will people be better motivated to learn? Much less=1, ..., much better=5. The state ideology comes to an end; it will be possible to establish private schools; the state control over schools is decreasing; schools can choose their own teaching material; and the role of churches is growing. Strongly disagree=1, ..., strongly agree=5.)

Figure 1: Students' opinion about social changes

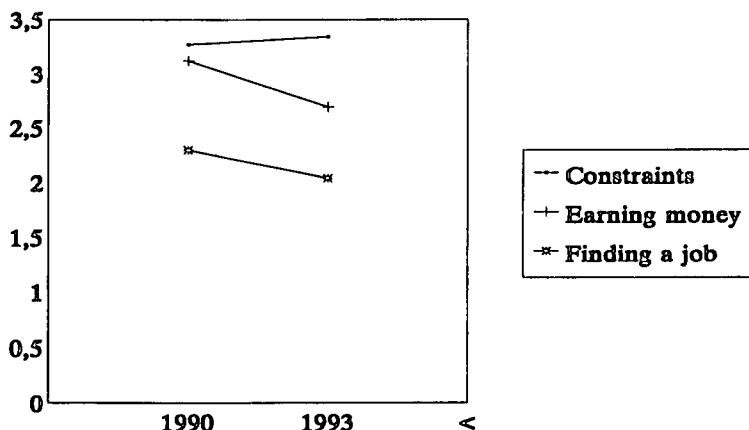
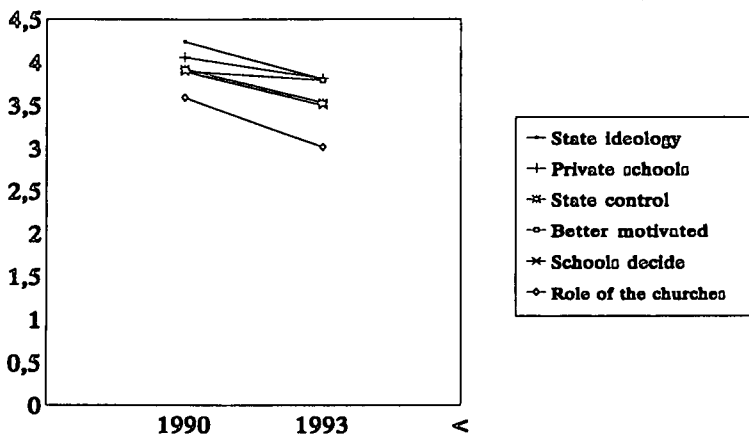


Figure 2: Students' opinion about the changes in the school system



In 1993 they were less supportive in these questions; however, they still tend to agree with the new trends. (The means are above 3.) In 1993, the students were less enthusiastic in agreeing with the

decreasing state control in education or with the growing freedom of schools in selecting teaching material. The most significant difference between the 1990 and 1993 sample was found in the attitude towards churches: in 1993 students indicated much less support for the increasing role of churches in education than the 1990 sample indicated.

Students' views on changes in the standard of living are depicted in Fig. 3, as well as the opinion of mothers asked in 1990. (Compared with 1989, how the life standards changed/will change by ...? Much worse=1, ..., much better=5.) In 1990, both students and their mothers hoped that after a short term decline, the life standard would soon improve. However, in the short term, mothers were more pessimistic, while their long-term prediction was the same as their children's. In 1993, students were more pessimistic. They thought that the decreasing life standard would improve only after a longer period of time.

Figure 3: Students' opinion about the changes of life standards

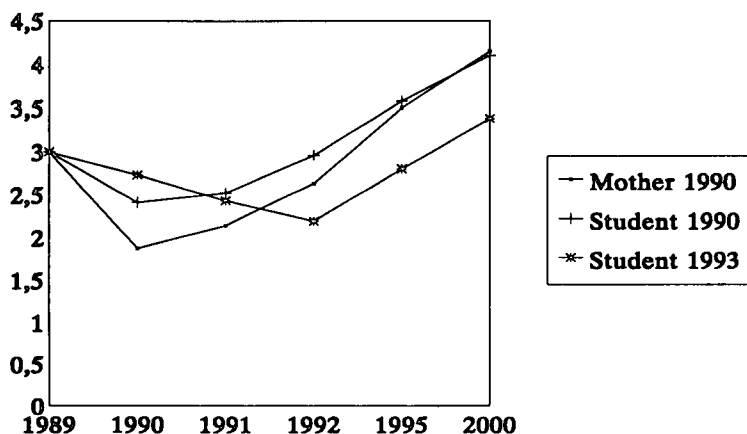
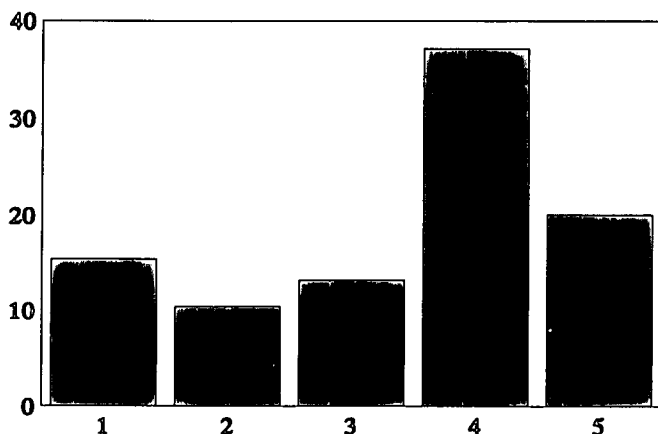


Figure 4: Compared with 1989, how the life standards will change by 2000?

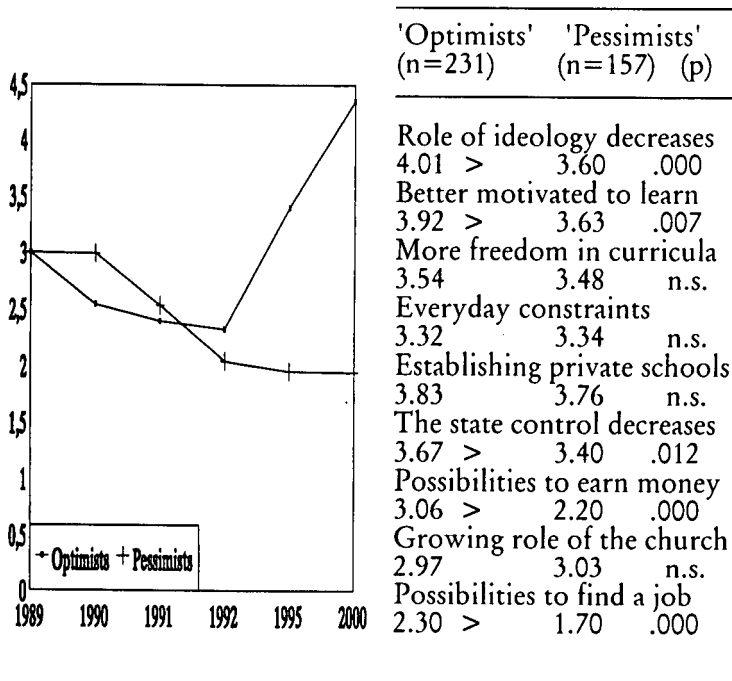


In most cases, the students' opinion were polarized. Behind the means there were a large variety of views: different students had different opinions about the same situation. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the responses of the 1993 sample for the question "Compared with 1989, how the standard of living will change by 2000?". On the bases of this distribution, we can distinguish two different types of students: (1) those who thought that the living standards will be better or much better by 2000, and (2) those who thought that the life standards will be the same or worse. Let us call the first group "long term optimists" and the second one "long term pessimists". We can assume that the long-term predictions were not much affected by the actual situation and circumstances. Thus, we can form the hypothesis that the long-term expectations depended on students' general views on the transitional process.

Figure 5 shows that these two groups of students really had different opinions about changes in the standard of living, not only for the future, but also about its past level. The figures in the Table indicate further differences of the two groups. Those who saw the future negatively did not appreciate that the role of the

ideology and state control of schools decreased; they did not believe that people would be better motivated to learn; furthermore, they thought that there would be less possibility to earn money and find employment.

Figure 5: "Optimists" and "Pessimists" about the changes of life standards



The results suggested that the first years of the new political system did not fulfill many Hungarian adolescents' expectations. Their pessimism and disillusionment negatively impact their socialization and their adaptation to the new economic and political environment. Those students considered the actual difficulties as inherent attributes or at least long-term characteristics of the new political order. Another group of students associated the difficulties with the transitional years. They were the supporters of reforms and believed in the long-term improvement of life stan-

dards. Fortunately, in 1993 this group formed the majority.

References

- Flanagan, C., Csapó, B. and Rékasi, J. (1991). Social Change in Hungary: Perceptions of Adolescents, Parents and Teachers. Paper presented in the symposium "Socio-Political Change and the Future of Youth: Reports from Central Europe", 11th Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development, 3-7 July, 1991, Minneapolis, USA.
- Csapó, B. (1991a). Social Change and the View of Students on Life Perspectives. Poster presented in the poster workshop "Youth and Social Change: European and North American Perspectives", 11th Biennial Meetings of the ISSBD, 3-7 July, 1991.
- Csapó, B. (1991b). Students' Opinion about the Changes in the Educational System. Paper presented in the symposium "Youth and Social Change II: European Perspectives", 11th Biennial Meetings of ISSBD, 3-7 July, 1991.

Erzsébet Golnhofer (Budapest)

Theoretical Attempts of Modernizing Hungarian Education between 1945 and 1948

Environment of My Research

Since the Second World War, the history of education in Hungary has investigated educational issues from ideological and political aspects. This approach is associated with external, namely *political pressure on the educational experts* in different ways. This pressure prevailed over the research on educational trends, in particular the research on educational tendencies between 1945 and 1948 in Hungary. This brief period in the history of Hungary was still non-socialistic, but after 1948, under state socialism, the political leaders thought that becoming aware of the educational theory and practice of this period would lead to a relaxation of the belief in socialistic ideas or would crush the monopoly of socialistic educational thought among teachers.

The external pressure changed or rather eased up step by step mainly in the late 1980s and *disappeared* fully with the change of the political system. *Today*, in a free pluralistic society we can examine the history of education in Hungary from professional aspects.

The Aims of My Research

Going beyond the non-scholarly approach, I attempted to reveal *the trends of educational thinking in Hungary between 1945 and 1948*. For reconstructing these educational concepts, I have described the theoretical trends in education as well as their institu-

tionalization, the aims, structure, curriculum, teaching and learning strategies in institutional education.

At the end of 1944 a new situation existed in Hungary. The old structure of political power collapsed, a new political state was formed and a new *democratic society* emerged, and the possibility of a democratic society looked real. This political and social situation *challenged educational experts*. In response to this position they focused on the possibilities of modernizing education in Hungary.

In my research I examined the following issues:

- what educational thoughts, trends survived and were revived after 1945;
- how educational concepts effecting institutional education were formed between 1945 and 1948;
- whether we can define these educational developments as an evolution within the country's scientific life or as the effects of outside events in politics;
- whether these movements can be viewed as a change of the educational paradigm in Hungary.

Sources and Methods of Research

I attempted to reveal not only the concepts and ideas of some outstanding educational experts, but the attitude of educational public opinion as well. My interest focused on how teachers and educational politicians were thinking about the questions of modernizing institutional education. To discover these issues I used *educational journals and newspapers* as sources. I could not do archival research, because the archival sources of this period were destroyed in 1956.

The methods applied were historical *qualitative analysis* and *content analysis*.

Some Results of the Research

In 1945 the educational experts in the pedagogical literature em-

phasized that the new democratic society required new educational theories and practices, but the improvement in the new could not mean a total break in the educational tendencies which had been present before 1945. *It was not necessarily a radical break;* for, after 1945 the previous experts working in the field of education and Hungarian education had democratic and useful traditions in educational theory and practice.

Earlier, on the basis of comprehensive international knowledge, several kinds of educational ideas influenced the Hungarian science of education: advanced herbartism, not only in an extreme form, education of culture founded on Spranger, nation-education based on humanism and the social pedagogy of Natorp, different trends of child-centred education and many kinds of eclectic theories concerning practical issues of education.

In my research, in contrast to the former experts' reports of state socialism, it has become clear that *1945 was not a sharp turning point in the field of education in Hungary.*

After 1945 the above mentioned pluralistic educational world was reborn comprising the surviving child-centered, religious, nation-centered and emerging socialistic educational ideas. But the *continuity involved certain interruptions.* The reviving public concepts changed slightly; they also reflected the spirit of democracy and/or modernization. The experts remaining faithful to their professional conceptions undertook service to the democratic society, and on the basis of this aspect they rethought the function, the structure, the aims of the Hungarian educational system as well as the interpretation of education, teaching and learning.

The regeneration of the pluralistic educational world was marked and helped by many types of revived educational organizations, institutions, associations, newspapers, journals, etc. The institutions of child psychology were very important, because they took it upon themselves to examine the Hungarian children's characteristics, which was very useful.

The operation of schools was to enable individual and group development for children, to popularize the psychological view of teaching and learning.

The special emphasis on the democratic society and modernization in educational theory determined the improvement of

schools as well.

But the continuity did not get across entirely. Which thoughts, ideas turned into determinative factor in educational life? *Not all former educational trends received equal possibilities for revival* from 1945 to 1948.

In 1945/46 all the above mentioned ideas had an equal chance to influence theoretical educational issues as well as school life.

In 1946/47 a shift towards child-centred ideas could be traced.

In 1947/48 we can observe the ousting of non-socialistic educational trends from professional life under the political changes.

Just then *the child-centred ideas and the progressive education movement* that was active in the U.S. from the 1920s to the mid-1950s run like a red thread through the period under discussion. The educational experts, with great pleasure in the exploration, turned toward those educational concepts and movements which paid attention to the needs of children and placed the self-actualized persons in the centre of education.

The teachers and researchers were strongly interested in the French, Swiss and American educational thinking, especially the ideas of Freinet, Claparede, Piaget and Dewey. What was stressed was that the Hungarian educational trends *had to solve philosophical and/or deductive education's problems*. The experts started to use the results of empirical research for the reorganization of school life. This aspect served as a basis for the nationwide reform of education, e.g., establishment of the eight-grade "general school", and as a basic point of departure for an important Hungarian conception, Ferenc Mérei's "pedagogical realism".

Until 1947/48 certain continuity and interruption has been the same in Hungarian educational thinking and practice. After 1948 a radical break was evident.

The hopeful development in educational theory and practice was interrupted by radical political change, by the strong pressure of the communist power on the educational situation. *Non-socialistic educational tendencies became undesirable, in fact, hostile ideas* and their representatives were considered as the enemy.

The effects of outside *political events forced the formation of the so-called socialistic science of education and its monopolistic position*. As a consequence of this change *the Hungarian science of education lost its professional nature* for a certain period of time.

Palmira Juceviciene (Kaunas)

**From Pedagogy to Educational Science,
from Western Europe to Lithuania and
from Lithuania to Western Europe**

The science of education as a forrunner of social development has its own history full of changes, determined by different causes. Technology and economics caused the appearing of post industrial society that had impact on the development of educational science. What are the specific features of that development in Western Europe? What lies at the basis of contemporary educational science? What is its object? In which way did the development of Western European scientific thought effect the Middle and the Eastern European countries, isolated for many years by the "iron curtain"? Evidently, no strict generalization is possible speaking about the post socialist countries in this respect. In spite of the politics pursued by the "strong center", every country had its own specific features. How did the educational science develop in Lithuania, the country that strived to keep to the European cultural traditions, but had been for fifty years part of the Soviet Union, a huge and closed socio-political macrosystem?

For a long time in Lithuania there has been a strong interest in the research and practice of education. The concept of the science of education has been in the center of very intense scientific discussions. The perception of the concept, especially as related to the shift in understanding of the object of scientific inquiry, was always more dynamic than changes in terminology. It is natural that a concept differing in scope is usually defined by one and the same term. When the quantity exceeds the "critical point", the need emerges to review the term itself.

Lithuania as well as other European countries has deep rooted

traditions of pedagogy as the science of education. The term came into usage in the eighteenth century. Scientists thought the term derived from the Greek "paidagogike", meaning the art of educating. Other scientists pointed out a nominal, more pragmatic and not so elevated original meaning: "pais, paidos" meaning "child, children", and "again" meaning "to lead". Ancient Greeks termed the slave taking a child to school "paidagogos". It is not fortuitous that these two meanings appeared. In some sense they denote the boundaries of the science: the outlook descending from "paidagogos" lays stress on pedagogy with a focus on the education of youth; "paidagogike" can be more widely interpreted as it does not denote any age limit. It can not be claimed, however, that the perception of the science gradually changed in relationship to its expanding boundaries.

The eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant, (1790) who had great impact on the research and practice of education in Lithuania, considered pedagogy to be the art and science of educating not only children but adults as well. The Russian classic of pedagogy, K. Usinsky, (1987) who had a certain influence on the development of scientific thought in Lithuania, supported a broad view of the concept. He pointed out that "pedagogy, having a very broad basis, narrows to a peak... For this reason pedagogical considerations often seem strange and without any rational background for professors who had not been involved in psychology and pedagogy".

The quotation points to yet another problem that is still of the utmost importance: that of professionalism in educating, directly influencing the boundaries set for the science of education as well as creating a new term. Not everyone occupied in educating has a special pedagogical training, though cases of their successful achievements have been observed. It is common that they consider themselves to possess the professional competence to influence the science, and especially the developing of terminology. This may evidently be explained by the difficulty in distinguishing between the art and science of educating as, for example, in management and the other sciences dealing with personality development.

The twentieth-century Lithuanian classic of pedagogy, S. Salkauskis, (1936) tried to distinguish between the two concepts

and suggested the term "pedagogika" in Lithuanian, meaning theory and research of education, and "pedagogija" in Lithuanian, meaning the practice of educating. Salkauskis defined the terms of education used in Lithuanian language and the most widely spread terms used in Western European languages. According to Salkauskis, the term "pedagogika" corresponds to French "science de l'éducation" and German "Erziehungswissenschaft". Salkauskis thought that the French "éducation" and German "Erziehung" correspond to the Lithuanian concept "ugdymas".

What was progressive in the scientific thought of Lithuania between the First and Second World Wars was a systematic approach to pedagogy. J. Miciulis (1933) defined pedagogy as the theory of education and explained it as the systematic arrangement of educational training and rules governing teaching. The systems of pedagogical science as well as the questions of pedagogy and sciences related to it were analyzed in this period.

During the years of the Soviet regime the research and practice of education was under the strong influence of Moscow. It formed the discrepancy in development of the field in Lithuania and the Western world. This influence will probably be the object of wide scientific investigation. This study does not aim at a detailed analysis of the problem.

In discussing the terminology of the science of education, it is important to note that though lacking contacts with Western experience, Lithuanian scientists maintained the traditional outlook characteristic of the period of the independent Lithuania. According to this outlook, pedagogy was considered to be the science of the educational process, investigating the purposeful and planned common (educator and student) activity directed towards the personality of the latter. (Jovaisa, L. and Vaitkevicius, J., 1987; Bitinas, B., Rajeckas, V., Vaitkevicius, J., Bajoriunas, Z., 1981), while the typical Soviet perception of education was more narrow: that of fostering youth (Belorusev and Resheten, 1986), or one direction pedagogical influence on the student.

However, in Lithuania as well as in other countries having fallen under the strict supervision of Moscow, science and research had rigid boundaries limiting the research field to the investigation of the educational process. It is true that a certain discussion within these boundaries was possible. The discussions

were fostered by even the small amount of information from the West that managed to reach the Lithuanian scientists through informal contacts and through international organizations. The information concerning UNESCO's (1965) statement was extremely important. It claimed that the level and speed of modern science, technology and methodological development required life-long education. Therefore, the need for permanent education clearly and conclusively broadened the boundaries of the field through continuing education. Adult education was more and more often the focus of attention, primarily aiming at further training. The Estonian scientists (Conference "Methods of Further Training", 1986) were the first to officially discuss the notion of andragogy. They stressed particularly the importance of adult education in the science and practice of education. Andragogy, though assumed to be a branch of pedagogy, forced the scientists to arrive at a broader understanding of educational science that most probably was reaching "the critical point". The necessity of the term covering the new, broader notion became clear. It was also important that adult education denied the authoritarian approach in education and required nontraditional means and forms of instruction. As a result of the need to consider the methods of interactive teaching, educational technologies emerged.

The year 1990 is marked in Lithuania's history as the year of re-establishment of independence. This year brought significant transformations in educational theory to Lithuania. The object of educational science reached its "critical point", and this served as a prerequisite for the appearance of a new term. The main reason for its appearance was the increased interest of the Lithuanian society and scientists in the educational system's organizational aspects. Lithuania now governed what had previously belonged to the "central authorities". It is relevant to point out that Lithuanian scientists did not wait for an official occasion; they started taking control of the situation before the state's independence was re-established. In 1989, Dr. M. Luksiene and her scientific group announced the National School Conception.

Lithuanian education faced several problems. In different spheres of educational reform - from science to practice - lack of competence became evident. There were attempts to prove that

pedagogical researchers of the Soviet period were no longer competent. But the problem turned out to have much deeper roots.

As mentioned above, the science of pedagogy had been limited only to the investigation of the pedagogical process. As if there had been an explosion, the boundaries of educational science expanded to educational system research integrating various aspects - those of philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, management, economics and other. It would not be correct to assume that the educational science underwent only quantitative changes (up to the level of educational systems).

It was a great qualitative change that can be described as integration of pedagogy and the other sciences.

Prof. L. Jovaisa (1993) suggested the term "edukologija" to define the research object with this new quality. He formed the term from Latin "educare" meaning "lead to another place, lead higher"; "educatio" meaning "education, training" and Greek "logos" meaning "science, idea, word". The Lithuanian term "edukologija" corresponds to English "educational science". How is the term to be perceived? As early as 1979 the International Dictionary of Education described education broadly as "the total processes developing human ability and behavior" (p.112). We hold to the concept of educational science (or "edukologija" - the synonymous Lithuanian term) as academic study of educating and self-education of a person and group, as well as organizing educational systems.

Of course, it is an integrated science, embracing such a huge branch as pedagogy, which deals with pedagogical process research in different aspects and has its sub-branches: general pedagogy, didactics, preschool pedagogy, school pedagogy, special pedagogy, etc.

But in addition to conceiving pedagogy as a science of the education of young people and self-education, andragogy, educational technologies, management of education, comparative education and other educational sciences are very important.

The classification of educational science is not the aim of this study, but in the future it might be reasonable to compare the different West and East European scientists' points of view.

Conclusion

Educational science is a science which has taken on new qualities, having pedagogy at its basis, and which is broadly and deeply integrated with other sciences (primarily with other social sciences and especially with cultural anthropology, sociology and management). The enormous amount of branches of educational science and the integration with other sciences clearly mark the necessity of new competence enabling research in the science.

The development of the concept of educational science in Lithuania had certain distinctive features, but under favorable circumstances it reached the same point as in Western Europe.

Educational research projects as well as study programs are needed in order to be in time to help Lithuania and other Central and East European countries train qualified researchers and other specialists in education, who would master the modern knowledge of educational science. The most effective step could become the project within the TEMPUS program suggested by NESAS (Network of Educational Science, Amsterdam).

Education in Lithuania - An Object of Reform

Since the restoration of statehood on March 2, 1991, education has been viewed as a priority in the development of Lithuania's new economic and public life. Shifts have to be introduced into the principles according to which the educational system is run as well as into the contents and structure of education. During the fifty years of the Soviet regime the Lithuanian school was deprived of the majority of its national traditions that had been so efficient in the pre-war Lithuanian school. Therefore, under the new socio-economic conditions a necessity arose to review the education policy before World War II adapting it to the demands of modern society as well as to the new status of Lithuania as a member of the community of European states.

The greatest difficulty in this historical period of the nation's development lies in changing the public mentality, in making the people realize the basic values of democracy, in acquiring new political and economic literacy, maturity of spiritual culture. Such ethical transformations can largely be put into effect by reforming the educational system, for education is the foundation of reforms in social life.

The educational reform in Lithuania has been in progress for over five years now. The key guidelines of this reform are outlined in *The Conception of Educational Reform* worked out by the strategic group of the Educational Reform and approved by the college of the Ministry of Culture and Education of Lithuania in October 1992 [1]. The Reform was started during the initial years of Sąjūdis and since then has undergone several stages. During the first stage the conception of the national school and the theoretical foundations of the school reform were drawn up. The second stage mainly consisted in the reorganization of the structure of vocational and higher education. Changes were introduced into the system of educational administration, both central and local. In the third, current stage, the uniform and permanent Lithuanian system of education is being developed. It covers both formal and

informal education as well as the dense network of state and non-state educational institutions. The fourth stage is intended for checking and generalization of the Reform's results, for the updating of the structure, programmes and textbooks.

The implementation of the school reform, however, is not a smooth and successful process. It is hindered by two major factors. One of them, as mentioned above, is conservative public mentality, affected by fifty years of communism which damaged both the individual's knowledge and his intellectual skills. The present unstable economic situation and high polarity of the population's political ideals tell very acutely on the sphere of education. The school is suffering from conservatism that is still deep-rooted in some teachers and wants to return. Innovation in many cases bears a cosmetic, structural character. The critics of the school reform in the post-communist countries mention the absence of several major ingredients: what needs to be changed, a definition of what must be removed and the transition from the former to the latter. Education, in their opinion, ought to be based on a clear idea of the future.

The second, and as we see it, the chief obstacle in the process of educational reform, is the difficult economic situation that affects all walks of life, including education. In spite of the fact that the share of education in the general budget of the country has been growing during the recent years, school teachers are suffering from gross underpayment. A teacher's wages are, moreover, below average and make just about a half that of a civil servant. The school is being abandoned by those teachers whose qualification is in great demand elsewhere, such as foreign languages and informatics. The percentage of male teachers, in particular at secondary schools, is very low - just about 3-4%. The poverty of teachers and the average material supply of schools caused a wave of teachers' strikes that swept Lithuania in late spring 1992.

The demands by teachers to improve their living standards were heard in the Lithuanian Seimas, which issued a general statement that under the present economic decline, good conditions have not been created for normal education in Lithuania and for the Reform's continuation. The statement contained an evaluation of the situation in the Lithuanian school - it was

assessed as both the only place in the society to preserve stability and as the oasis of stagnation, an epitome of controversy between idealism and materialism.

Since the education system is generally financed from the state budget, the number of students at higher educational institutions is regulated according to the financial possibilities rather than the actual demand for specialists, including teachers. During the years 1992-93, the number of students at the Lithuanian institutions of higher learning decreased by 9% (compared with 1991-92) and at present is under 60 000.

A large boost to the furthering of the educational reform in Lithuania is rendered by numerous international funds, programs and organizations, among them the Soros Fund, the British Council, Open Lithuania Fund, the Nordic-Baltic Scholarship Programme etc. A large number of teachers join their partners in Lithuania, helping the latter to update their teaching methods in conformity with foreign standards.

An increasing role in the modernization of education is devoted to the teaching of foreign languages. They have to be studied as a means of communication with the rest of the world, of exchanging information and cultural values. Under the present conditions it is recommended that the instruction in the first foreign language should be started no earlier than in the 4th form of the primary school. Foreign languages are chosen according to the possibilities of a school or the parents' wish, yet priority ought to be given to the languages of the closest neighbours (Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, German). However, in reality most pupils and their parents choose English as their first foreign language. Instruction in the second foreign language should begin in the 6th form. All foreign language teaching should be continued till school leaving. The number of lessons should be no less than three a week. Classes are divided into groups of thirteen to fourteen pupils[2]. Ways have to be sought for encouraging the graduates of foreign language faculties to take up a teacher's work. The present low standards of teaching foreign languages are largely due to the shortage of qualified teachers.

By way of summary, it is necessary to state that the progress of our society is closely related to the effectiveness of the implementation of the educational reform.

References

Conception of Education in Lithuania. Vilnius, 1993. (in Lithuanian).

A. Stasiulevičiūtė et al.: Which Direction? - In: Guidelines of Educational Reform in Lithuania . Vilnius, State Publishing Centre, 1993, pp. 208-216.

Democratization of the Educational System in Latvia

The first Latvian schools are dated back to the second half of the sixteenth century. Until the end of the nineteenth century Latvians were mostly receivers of education, not the organizers. Nevertheless, the main source of knowledge was Latvian folk songs. Through folk songs people recovered their lost past, restored their dignity and strengthened their sense of self-respect.

One of the greatest legacies that the nineteenth century left to the Baltics was in recognizing the tree of Indo-European languages originating from a common proto-language, thus upgrading the Baltic languages which formed a branch of this tree. No longer was Latvian just the means of communication of a low peasant folk. Thus, the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the Latvian people transformed from a largely illiterate folk into a literate society with an educated stratum. Throughout several centuries the language of instruction in schools was German and Russian. Even by the turn of the twentieth century, Latvian was neither the language of formal education nor the prestige language among the educated classes.

It was only seventy-five years ago, on November 18, 1918 that an independent and democratic state -- the Republic of Latvia -- was declared, that actually for the first time meant freedom for the Latvian nation. Five years later the Constitution (*Satversme*) was signed, where the main principles of the education system were determined. Unfortunately, the Republic of Latvia did not last long. For about fifty years our country was part of the former USSR, and only since August 1991 did we make efforts to revise our educational system in terms of democracy.

The Education Act, which was adopted in June, 1993, states the main principles and features of education in the Republic of Latvia:

- Citizens of the Republic of Latvia have equal rights to educa-

tion regardless of their social, economic situation, race, nationality, sex, participation in political or religious organizations, occupation and place of residence,

- Education and upbringing are part of human nature,
- The main aim of education is to provide conditions for the development of human mental, physical and professional faculties,
- The Latvian language is a compulsory subject in all educational establishments. Minorities have the right to education in their native tongue. The state provides conditions for realizing this right.
- Schooling is compulsory from 6-7 to 15 years of age, or to the completion of the ninth grade,
- Universities and academies are independent higher educational establishments with their own charter.

The creation of a democratic educational system should be viewed in a more general context. A first prerequisite to democratize the educational system is *political stability*. By no means is it possible to speak about it within the last several years, and the same uncertainty still remains. Latvia is not a homogeneous country; therefore, due to differences in origin and language there are unfortunately possibilities for conflicts.

An additional factor of importance is the growth of *material prosperity*. However, this is by no means relevant to education and the majority of inhabitants. The situation is as follows: the Gross National Product has decreased, many industries do not function, and, consequently, there is almost no money in the States' budget for schooling. The same refers to standards of *social welfare*.

In spite of these very serious difficulties, there is a strong belief that first and foremost educational reform must concentrate not on external matters, but on the *internal work of the school*: the conditions for learning, the design of the learning process, the teaching and learning environment.

Compulsory schooling today ends at the age of 15 instead of 18 as it had previously. On the one hand, this gives students more possibilities for their own choice of how to organize their future, but it is obvious that not everybody is ready for this in-

dependence and very often does not know how and where to proceed. At the same time, for those who are willing and capable of studying in secondary or vocational schools, this opportunity is provided. Moreover, today there are different types of upper secondary schools: gymnasiums, lyceums, colleges, etc. After graduating from one of these establishments successfully, students may enter a university or academy. There are ten of them which are owned by the State and some private ones. This is definitely a very new tendency in our country.

Recent studies in the U.S. have demonstrated that what makes a good teacher is not good methods or knowledge, but the beliefs teachers hold about students, themselves, their goals, purposes and teaching tasks. As regards this aspect, the majority of teachers in Latvia today face tremendous difficulties in defining their own goals and goals of the school for which they are working. Moreover, all of them stand for the democratization of schools, but at the same time avoid becoming the initiators of change. Changing people's beliefs is seldom accomplished by decisions on a high level. On the contrary, changing beliefs requires creating conditions rather than imposing reform. Firstly, these changes should be reflected in the aims of the schools, namely, these aims should be turned towards a more egalitarian society.

Having investigated this aspect, we can point out several *aims* mentioned by teachers and principles:

- to promote self-actualization, effective development and moral formation,
- to develop an ability to take up initiative,
- to develop an ability to cooperate with others,
- to develop an ability to analyse, make judgements without instruction,
- to develop the necessity for social solidarity and general welfare.

It is easy to come to a conclusion that these aims strongly stress personal motives of the student and individualized teaching.

Another factor implying democratization of schooling is the *role of school members*: administrators, teachers, students and parents. If the organizational structure of schools can become less bureaucratic, if teachers can expand their organizational role be-

yond the classroom to participate in organizational and educational decisions to strengthen their influence on decisions within the school, if students can find some meaning for their being at school and if parents and community can be encouraged to participate in a constructive way in the life of school then, surely, we could have a school which is to be called a democratic establishment. Up to now, students are motivated by factors external to the learning process such as grades, promotions, admissions, or more advanced programs and diplomas, and the teacher determines which students will succeed and receive the highest awards and which will not.

This is definitely the problem of how students feel at school, what its psychological climate is like, how it corresponds to the needs of students, if they are able to participate in the shaping of school activities. The first step made in our schools is *free choice of study programs* in the upper secondary schools. This obviously intends to create *inner motivation* formulated on the basis of the needs of each student and leading to curiosity. But, unfortunately, practice proves that early specialization often leads to dissatisfaction in a few years. Secondly, discovery and exploration of new ways of seeing and thinking in *interaction between teachers and students*. In terms of lessons, it concentrates on the virtue of knowing the right answer. The teacher should be aware that knowing the *right answer* requires no decisions, carries no risks, makes no demands. Much more important is to give students an opportunity to demonstrate ways of finding the answer.

Students should have experience in not taking all things for granted. On the contrary, they should have the possibility to reflect on common practices, to operate in a spirit of innovation and renewal. This belief should be the state of mind of every teacher, every student, every parent. For the time being this phenomenon is quite rare; most often both on the part of students and teachers we meet lack of interest and indifference.

Efforts at reforms must be based on ideas that are important to those who carry them out. Otherwise if reforms are imposed without acceptance or commitment by those who must implement them, they are determined to failure. As A. Diesterweg said in 1865: "The school is worth precisely what the teacher is worth", and for this reason an improvement in teacher education

is a first step in any educational reform and in the path towards democracy.

We have distinguished several criteria for democratic school that have been worked out as a result of observation and experiment in a number of secondary schools in Latvia:

- stimulating the feeling of affiliation,
- promoting cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual respect,
- searching for common goals,
- stimulating firmness,
- admitting mistakes, possibility for improvement,
- offering encouragement,
- sharing responsibility,
- promoting unity.

Humanitarian Aspects in Higher Education in Latvia

The aim of educational humanitarization is to provide pedagogical conditions for total human development, self-development and social responsibility.

Education is hereditary, the maintenance and further development of culture and sciences. It is important to prepare people to be able to overcome current problems on their own and to prepare more efficiently for tomorrow, to control their emotions, to develop a personality with moral ideals in the context of humanity.

Our study provides some ideas of how corporate strategies have evolved. First one must develop certain skills in order to understand oneself and lead a decent life. Some of the aims served by educational humanitarization is that everybody would be able to maintain a certain balance, be happy, have a clear purpose, be self-aware, possess understanding, be able to express himself, preserve control.

There are many levels in the relations between strategy and educational aims. A common response to these challenges is to inquire what one is doing and to clarify how the activities related to the organization of education are processing. The development paths of education are at the core of the inquiry. It describes how education has changed over the course of time and casts light on what high schools have done to maintain their identity in the process. This study is based on observations of evaluation and practice in Latvian high schools over a period of five years.

In Latvian education there is a tendency for learning concerned with human culture. The aim of this chapter is to show the tendency of the formation and development of personality as a mental authority, retaining the authority of the inner world, of the personality, and securing the heredity of social values and ideals, their maintenance and developmental rules.

The topicality of humanitarian education in the current period is determined by social, psychological and pedagogical circumstances. Society in this period needs personalities that can inspire, enrapture and work creatively in various professions.

In the epoch of market economy, money has diminished the value of spirituality; in relations between people, very often a deficit of the spiritual is evident. More and more often in Latvian society situations can be observed in which people are irresponsible in their behavior. There is a lack of willingness to devote their lives on behalf of future generations. This could be the result of a lack of freedom for many long years, and the consequences can be observed in various areas of life as well as in the sphere of education.

The humanitarization of education through learning how to obtain knowledge about oneself should be a way out of this situation. Educational psychology should be employed in the formation of new relations among persons and through the realization of the model of social responsibility. The model of social responsibility cannot be an abstract one. In its formation a actual psychodiagnostic information should be used, and on the basis of this an education of spiritual content should be created. The humanities cannot be taught either in six or twelve or eighteen years. An educational system working on a continual basis without interruption is required. The content of education must be created on the principles of pedagogy and psychology. It should arouse the need in the personality for learning the humanities. It is the practical expression of humanitarization of education. Unfortunately, when one becomes acquainted with education's day-to-day activities, one sees that the new conception of education applies only to the systematic genetic ground for forming the content, and generally it uses only the latest achievements of scientific disciplines and it does not take into account the psychodiagnostic informative material on the personality. In the center of development of educational content should be man, the qualities of his personality, and not the professional knowledge and practical skills of studies.

The model of personality includes not only the professional level, but the action of personality in all spheres of live. The requirements of the model of a specialist isolated from concrete live

action situations become abstract, loose the quality of personal integrity, because each individual can realize its intellectual potential in a different way, depending on life style, individual motivation, orientation of values, and level of individual creative capabilities. The creation of the specialist model in the pedagogical process, disregarding social-physiological factors, can effect personality formation negatively. The results of investigations carried out in academic groups at Latvia University by the psychodiagnostic method of self-evaluation worked out in Stettin University (Poland) enables one to make the following conclusions:

1. There is a motivated necessity for the humanitarization of education. In Latvia its realization is directly dependent upon the content of education and study.

2. For the humanitarization of the content of studies and education, psychodiagnostics is needed. For this purpose a psychodiagnostic information center for education establishments must be formed.

3. The development of personality and the integrity of professional activities in the context of studies have not been sufficiently elaborated in their theoretical and methodological aspects. A very important issue is to diagnose the individual capabilities of the student and use of this information in development in the context of education, integrating the action of the personality and professional functions.

4. The information characterizing the activity of the personality must be correlated to the lifestyle of this personality, the motives of life, orientation of values, the genetic heredity and other factors prior to integrating it into the context of studies.

5. The information of psychodiagnostics in the pedagogical process should be used not in an abstract way but as a base of cognition with a feedback effect towards self-control, self-regulation, self-development, orientation of values.

The developmental process of a human being continues for his entire lifetime. It is a self-organizing system, the struggle of differences between the known and unknown, between what is gained and what is intended. Moreover, intellectual values are also changing and developing, becoming more and more democratic, and

functional spheres tend to become more algorithmic. It is determined and led by struggle, by contractions in all its multifacetedness: the organized and the unorganized; the necessary and the accidental, the systematic and the chaotic, and others.

The struggle of contrasts goes on in each individual person, but not in a similar way. The process is not standardized. Therefore, education and the directions of cultural development must be based on philosophical principles outside of secular values, the motivation being human love and individuality. Such a small state as Latvia alone lacks the power to escape from this chaos and to create harmony. Therefore, we should enter the world, searching for people with similar opinions and endeavour to balance our mental needs.

Simultaneously, we should strive to keep the unique characteristics of our particular Latvian features, the inheritance of folklore and spiritual values, to find an optimum ratio between oneself and belonging to the world in one's national consciousness. We hope to be as great as our will.

The main principles can be summarized:

- development and activity of human intellect are dependent on content of the pedagogical process,
- the potential of humanity is based on a humanistic education,
- the function of humanitarian education is to develop creative abilities,
- human behavior is adequate to the orientation of values, everybody must develop private and social aims,
- cognate learning is a condition of consciousness, the putting into effect of a developmental emotive status.

A humanitarian education requires individual self-independence, self-consciousness as the subject of self-action, renewal of human wealth via the self, via the individual, via the social environment.

Democracy in Education

Estonian educational reform that began in 1987 with the Congress of Estonian educationists declared the need to change our curricula to be more compatible with the child's needs and interests. Science-centered curricula have been claimed to deepen the motivational deficit of learning. Instead of subject-centered and society-centered curriculum, it has been proposed to create a child-centered curriculum. In the *Main Principles of Public Education in Estonia* (1989) the Estonian educational curriculum was criticized for a reverse logic - the achievements of science had been enumerated, whereas the broader social and meaning context of scientific activities as well as the ways of resolving scientific problems were not explained or opened to the learner. This kind of critique significantly revived uncritically the old popular slogan of child-centeredness. In many ways it is a revolt against outside pressure on learners which is incompatible with their intrinsic interest or motivation. From the three main principles of educational reform in Estonia - democratization, humanization and setting a high value on education, it is humanization that directly emphasizes that the learner is given a content of education based on his inner motivation, thereby escaping from the monopoly of science-centred education.

The recognition of the controversy between science-centeredness and child-centeredness had already developed during the last decades when the declarations of the need to substitute the science-centered approach by the child-centered approach was often stated. Various strains of free schooling or alternative schooling often seem to represent a way out of outside pressure, often represented as the very negation of it, excluding every extrinsic prescription of learning.

Since 1987 a number of articles in Estonian newspapers and

journals has been published describing and criticizing the educational situation in Estonia. In the first years of educational reform, criticism of previous ways of teaching and learning had been quite harsh, with the focus of many authors being the necessity to change the attitudes of teachers and educationists principally, to create an educational system that is more human, personality- and child-centered. The low motivation of children to learning has been critically discussed, as well as the decline of pupils' interest in school in the first two-three years of their school-age, and the anxiety of children in school. Instead of being a place of enjoyable learning and experiencing, school has been destroying the inner activity and creativity of children. One of the reasons is the curriculum, which is overloaded with atomistic scientific knowledge. The result of an inhuman, alienated, authoritarian school system was the repugnance of children to teaching and learning and, at last, to the entire school as an institution.

Some years later, after the period of criticism, the activities striving for educational innovation developed in three main directions: firstly, to more generalized statements about fundamental and paradigmatical problems, secondly, proposals to improve the teaching in state schools, emphasizing integrated curricula and personality-centeredness (for example, using methods of the Estonian educational theorist and schoolmaster, a representative of child-centered education - Johannes Käis), and, thirdly, the movement of free or alternative schools, including a large number of writings about school-diversity and different approaches to schooling and to the child.

In the free school movement of all various types the Waldorf-schools have been the most successful in Estonia. In 1993 five Waldorf-schools have been established, and there has been an attempt to realize some other alternative pedagogical conceptions and methods of alternative schooling in our schools as well: Freinet-pedagogy, catholic pedagogy, active learning methods.

All these schools, differing from each other conceptually and methodically, have one similar feature: they pay more attention to the child, his inner development, the child's needs and interests, his rights to be a personality with his own uniqueness - usually far more than it had been accepted in our state schools during

the last decades.

Taba (1902-1967), an Estonian educationist who for a long time worked in America under the supervision of Kilpatrick, Dewey and Tyler, argued against one-sided thinking, where the child has been opposed to subject matter and society and where he has been viewed as the sole basis of educational planning and the justification of educational decisions.

"Child-centered, society-centered, and subject-centered curricula are vying with each other as the exclusive approaches to the entire curriculum. An emphasis on a single basis, such as the content, the needs of society, or the needs of the learner, have produced an unnecessary versus thinking with its infortunate juxtaposition of considerations that should be combined into one comprehensive curriculum theory; interest vs. subject matter; life-centeredness vs. subject-centeredness; method vs. content; emotional development vs. intellectual growth; basic skills vs. the growth of the whole child and so on." (Taba, 1962)

According to Taba, students are to be involved in inter-thematic planning, whereas curriculum essentials have to be carefully pre-planned ahead.

"...it is possible to 'fix' the essential things to be learned and allow the details through which to learn them to be determined by student interests, thus providing for both." (Taba, 1962)

It would be the only way to retain simultaneously the continuity of learning and providing a higher motivation of learning. At the same time, Taba considers the problem of a student's interests as one of the most misunderstood questions in educational theory. She rejected following student's momentary interests as the basis of curriculum planning.

One of the directions of resolving the controversy between child-centered, subject-centered and society-centered approaches is to look for the complementary or integrated approach which departs from a versus or one-sided emphasis on one of the three sources of educational planning - society, knowledge and man (Kreitzberg, 1993). Child-centeredness is relevant as a slogan that pays attention to the need for balancing the education centered around the ready-made subject matter and so to speak societal needs with considerations stemming from the child's interests. As the sole basis of educational planning it is irrelevant and unrealiz-

able.

A complementary approach to the child's subject matter and society needs considerable further explication. The most visionary direction of thinking could be curriculum planning. The involvement of students depends, however, very much on their competence to make a choice while understanding the possible personal consequences of the choices. On the other hand, teachers should be trained for curriculum design, for democratic decision-making. That is the general nature of the problems we have to approach in the nearest future.

Every innovational project in education involves changes in the teacher's role. The teachers should not be only transmitters of truths and knowledge, they should participate in decision-making in education, too. In curriculum design - up to now it was the task of experts - the teachers as real actors in the educational field should participate as well. Up to now, the teacher has been viewed as the transmitter of some prefixed message expressed in the curriculum. In the democratizing process of education, teachers and pupils should have the possibility of participating in curriculum design.

According to curriculum design there are two possibilities - to leave it to some experts with their own preferences and values or to leave it open to its shaping by real actors in the educational field - by teachers and pupils. A general participative attitude would be the main shift in the teacher's role.

1. The teacher's role should be changed from the transmitter of truth and knowledge into the intermediary of cultural and personal meaning. The deficit of meaning of school learning which is moulded into the prefixed structure and some possible interpretations of the world is one of the main problems of learning.
2. In the process of education, democratic education involves some indeterminism. The teacher's activity cannot be concerned as an effective pursuit of certain aims and ends.
3. Up until now, the teacher's role has been reduced to the fulfiller of objective societal tasks. Teachers have no chance to establish what the content, or the tasks to follow, should be. They should become active figures in shaping the educational policy on all its levels.

4. Teacher education cannot be regarded as the acquiring of educational technology excluding one's own self-determination. Teacher education should help to find one's own paradigm of viewing the whole process of education, one's life philosophy as well as one's concrete professional tasks.

References

- Kreitzberg, P. (1993). *The Legitimation of Educational Aims: Paradigms and Metaphors*. Lund.
- Taba, H. (1962). *Curriculum Development. Theory and Practice*. New York: Marcourt, Brace and World.

**The Teacher as an Agent
of Change**

Henrietta Schwartz (San Francisco)

The Four Paradoxes of Teacher Education

As a prelude to international cooperation and cross-national programs in teacher education, typically with local and state licensed programs with many regional constraints, there must be some conversation about how the eternal and universal paradoxes in all teacher preparation programs are going to be addressed by those who are cooperating. The way in which these paradoxes or dilemmas are temporarily resolved will influence: (1) the structural arrangements of a program or research effort; (2) the assumed basic model of socialization through education, (3) the modalities for the preparation of teachers and other educational professionals, (4) the role of parents and community in professional preparation, and, ultimately, (5) the assessment of the outcomes of schooling.

There are four such dilemmas. These are questions to be asked and issues with value, moral, and cultural implications which must be temporarily settled before planning and doing projects and programs. The Chinese say one sees what is behind one's eyes; Native-Americans express this perspective by saying "you must walk in another's moccasins for a mile to understand where another is coming from, going to, and why and how important it is to get there." It is in this spirit that these four questions or paradoxes are presented:

Who Owns the Child?

Is the child the property of the nuclear family, the extended family, the church, the state, or the school? How long does an entity own the child until they start school, leave home, get a job? Africans say that it takes a whole village to raise a child; so, who is responsible for remediation if the child misbehaves? The Amer-

ican tradition of *in parentis loco* maintains that the school owns the child during the time that the child is obliged to attend school by laws mandating compulsory education. The answers to the questions of ownership and length of time of ownership have policy implications concerning the starting and completion ages for compulsory schooling, the treatment of children when in school, the moral obligations for preparation for citizenship, learning religion, and student outcomes. The answers to these questions influence what kind of state supported schools a state has -- single sex schools, integrated schools, thematic schools for gifted or handicapped children, etc. The answer to the question of who owns, and, thereby, has control of, the child identifies the entity which becomes the primary unit of analysis for research in socialization practices, language acquisition, cognitive processing, etc. As we have seen, just recently in Eastern Europe the changes in culture, government, economy, and technology can influence the answers to these questions.

Do We Teach the Child or the Curriculum?

Is the answer to this question a staged response? When do we shift from the primary emphasis on reaching the child to imparting the content of the curriculum? Do we look at Piaget's stages of development, Vygotsky's zones of proximate development, or Bruner's structure of the discipline as we plan a school program? Do we concentrate on the development of the child in kindergarten through third grade, and then in the fourth grade switch focus to the content of the geography, math, or language lesson? This is the practice in most American schools, and, typically, there is a dramatic drop in the learning outcomes as measured by standardized tests from grades three to four. What do we do with the education of the volatile pre-adolescent coping with changing emotions, physical changes, and self-realization crises? What do we do to protect, preserve, and promote that touch of Mozart in every child?

Is Teaching and Teacher Preparation an Art or a Science?

If you believe that teaching is an art form and teachers are artists, then attention must be paid to isolate critical qualities which the excellent artist brings to the classroom and to incorporate them into the selection model. This view assumes that teachers are "naturals" -- born and not made. If, on the other hand, one assumes that there is an educational science, that there is a body of knowledge, skills, and relationships which can be codified, practiced, and learned, then attention should be given to the elements of the teacher training curriculum which produce expert practitioners across programs and cultures. Educational scientists maintain that improvements in the teacher preparation curriculum will produce better teachers; the philosopher Gilbert Heighth says no, teachers are born, not made, and that we should select the best and the brightest and turn them loose; Gage says that teaching is an instrumental art, and that one needs certain natural traits, but must learn the craft of teaching. The answers to this question influence the way in which we select, train, and evaluate teachers and design and implement preparation programs.

Shall the Curriculum be Standardized or Individualized? Shall Assessment of the Outcomes of the Curriculum and Teaching be Standardized or Individualized?

The answers to this dilemma have implications for the structure of schooling, access to the system, particularly of higher education, and whether in America equity or excellence are national expectations for schooling. The answers to these questions determine the relative importance of standardized test scores over individual performances in evaluative situations and can influence the movement through the educational system. If the curriculum is standardized, then the language of instruction is uniform, and the assumptions about what constitutes "an educated person" reflect mainstream values and thinking. If the individual is valued for what he or she can do, then the outcome standards must be infinitely variable.

Preliminary discussions about each of the four dilemmas should be held before we embark on specific international cooperative efforts with the understanding that the discussions must be ongoing. The hope is that educational scientists, researchers, and teacher trainers will not assume an either/or position on the four paradoxes, but, rather, assume a both/and approach and find ways to make seemingly disparate points of view operational. This requires an analysis and appreciation of the cultural and national differences among partners and the willingness to build on common elements among programs and invent new universal techniques to train teachers for a global society and intercultural communication.

This conference presents many points of view about how to train the "competent" teacher. Perhaps we can find rational and scientific ways to approach international cooperation and replicate programs across the Atlantic which will model themselves after the very successful Erasmus and Tempus programs. These discussions need to continue before we begin large scale programs and run into regional, national, cultural, and philosophical differences which we do not understand, have not provided for, and cause us to resort to inappropriate labels.

Teacher Education and Teachers' Work: Trends and Contradictions in the European Community Context

Teacher Education: "Universitization" and Professionalism

One of the most serious questions currently raised in all member states of the European Community concerns teachers. Studies commissioned by the Commission of the European Communities assume that "improvement in the quality of education depends first and foremost on the teachers and their professional competence" (Blackburn, V., et al., 1987: 14). The importance of this assumption is emerging very clearly in all member states, and it is reflected in various reforms concerning teacher education and in-service training of teachers. In most of these reforms teachers are asked to become the agents of educational and social change by undertaking new responsibilities. The teaching force, extremely diverse in training, recruitment, professional status, and autonomy is facing new expectations and changes.

Each member state has its own teacher education system which is unique as a result of particular cultural, social and historical background. It is possible, however, to discern some very common trends and developments which are explicable by common influences and common challenges to which they have responded (Ryba, R., 1992). For the purposes of this analysis it seems useful to consider those issues and trends which have their origin in developments of the past two decades, as they continue to exist even to the present day affecting teachers' work at school. It should be emphasized, however, that seen in a context of an ongoing process of change, the picture of teacher training in Europe remains very complex. At one extreme, for example, we

might place Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, where a closer relationship between teacher education and university institutions is established. At the other extreme, in England and Wales, the government seems determined to move in the opposite direction by proposing a substantial increase in the amount of time spent in schools for most teacher training courses. In a recent comparative study, Pascal, Ch. and Bertram, A. (1993: 32) argue that "Colleagues in other European countries express surprise that we in England are embarked upon such radical changes to the existing structure, when they are working hard to emulate what we are about to dismantle". But developments in England and Wales are an exception, and their implementation is at an early stage. The vast majority of school teachers who will be in service during the first two decades of the next century will not be affected by these developments. The case of the Dutch education system is developed on similar grounds if we take into account that the universities are involved in only a small part of the education of teachers (Wubbels, Th., 1992).

The principal common themes and trends found in the development of teacher education systems in European Community Countries over the last two decades are: expansion, democratization and modernization (Idenburg, Ph., 1972). All countries in Europe, though varying in timing, have introduced radical reforms in teacher education as a response to a social and economic demand for education. In terms of both quantity and quality this has meant a structural expansion which is reflected in the creation of new teacher training institutions, introduction of new methods of recruitment, reforms of the content and methods of teacher training, the elevation of all teacher training to the tertiary (university) level, the increase in the length of the training, etc. All teachers, from nursery school teachers to upper secondary school teachers, receive their initial training at the post-secondary level, often in specialist university-level institutions. The "universitization" of teacher education is presented as part of the strategy to empower teachers in order to take control over their work and their own professional development.

The different approaches to teacher education which have been developed over the years actually represent different notions of

professionalism. The dominant model of teacher education is organized on the implicit theory of immediate integration: The university or the institute provides the theories, the methods and the skills; schools provide the classroom, curriculum and pupils; the student teacher provides the individual effort; all of which combine to produce the finished product of professional teacher. Self-contained classrooms suggest autonomy for teachers. University qualifications imply expertise. New models of management ostensibly allow for new forms of teacher participation in the decision making. As a result teaching is portrayed as emerging as a dignified professional career with progression and promotion steps. The teacher is no longer expected to be an agent who implements the policies of others. The teacher is considered able to stand back and see his or her own classroom activities in perspective. Of course, while the reform's rhetoric supports improvement in teacher education, the restructuring prompted by reform efforts in fact reduces teacher education to training by stressing the technical aspects of teaching. As a result, teachers may be more skilled in pedagogical practice, but they are unable to analyze the institution of education itself (Hartley, D., 1985).

All these developments, trends and measures have been to a great extent associated with a particular rhetoric about teaching and professionalism, about raising pay and respect, about higher standards of entry to teaching, about codification of a knowledge base for teaching, about teacher development and empowerment, about enhancing teachers' autonomy and the like. Teacher professionalism and the professionalization of teaching are now firmly installed in the rhetoric of educational debates and educational policy. All these amount to the so-called autonomous professional paradigm, according to which teachers would use their own professional training, experience and judgments and would largely control both the process and the product of their activities.

Teachers' Work: They do not have to be teachers in order to teach

Drawing on the literature of the labor process of teaching and teachers' work it is important to raise a series of questions about why the reality of many teachers' actual working conditions bear little resemblance to the rhetoric of professional status (Apple, M., 1988; Ozga, J., 1988). The ultimate irony is that while teachers are being sold the idea that their professional status has been upgraded by virtue of their initial training, they are also being asked to work in classrooms which are becoming ever more controlled. Reductive accountability, teacher appraisal schemes, standardization, rationalization, intensification, technicization of teaching, fragmentation, separation of conception from execution, and the like are the tendencies in many countries. That is, teacher professional training has become relatively inconsequential in terms of the organization of the instructional process.

Teachers are subject to greater control, to greater governmental intervention, and to depowering tendencies of management. Although some aspects of curriculum planning appear formally more democratic, there are many factors that make such choices nearly meaningless. Tendencies for strict accountability systems and testing, for systems management, for mandated curricular content and objectives are becoming clear. Increasingly, teaching methods, textbooks, tests and the like are being taken out of the hands of the teachers who must put them into practice. Not only do teachers lose control over classroom planning decisions, but they are assessed, judged and compared by criteria set elsewhere.

Teachers tend to lose control over the process and product of their activity, that is, they have become alienated. Teachers, however, who are largely alienated from the instructional process are manipulated by appropriate extrinsic rewards or forced by the structure of school organization and standard operating procedures. Professionalism as an ideology has been used by administrators and the state in their efforts to deskill and control teachers, just as it sometimes has been used by teachers to acquire greater status, rewards and autonomy.

The strategies in the current educational reforms and their

rhetoric represent a fundamental contradiction: they call for teachers to be more responsible and competent while defining strategies that would make them less competent; they are professionally trained just at the moment when there is less for them to decide, judge and control.

The implicit argument in this paper is that the move towards more professionalization of teaching and tighter definition of teachers' work can be viewed in the light of broader structural adjustments and institutional contexts in the twelve member states of the European Community. In line with the imperative of accumulation, schools are called to take a "share" of the cuts, and teachers are asked to work harder and to better effect. In line with the other main structural imperative, the reproduction of social relations, educational administration intervenes in order to determine the particular kind of knowledge, skill and dispositions required of workforce. Under these conditions, teachers need to be viewed as active participants in a reproductive process, who in some ways accommodate themselves to the status quo and in other ways resist the role they are expected to perform.

The ideology of professionalism distracts teachers from recognizing current tendencies in the organization of their work. It is, therefore, important to clarify the conflicting and contradictory nature of this ideology. For teachers this is, of course, necessary if their teaching is to afford opportunities for their development.

Teacher education which encourages the ideology of professionalism is to be challenged. The belief that imparting specialized "expert" knowledge will itself enable teachers to exercise greater initiative is mistaken. Instead, we need a plan for teacher education that stresses reflection about the social and political context of schooling. The central axis is to engage teachers in the study of the academic culture of teaching and to enable them to analyze the imperatives of their work with a commitment to more democratic educational control, collective involvement and social justice. In a time when education in Europe is undergoing a process of reconstruction, teachers do construct their own active responses. This is of no small importance. Teachers once again are faced with new challenges. The most important of all is the internationalization of education and the rapidly changing European scene with the vision of the "Europe of the Europeans".

References

- Apple, M. (1988), *Teachers and Texts*. New York: Routledge.
- Blackburn, V. & Moisan, C., *The In-Service Training of Teachers in the Twelve Member States of the European Community*. Commission of the European Communities, Maastricht.
- Hartley, D. (1985), *Bureaucracy and Professionalism: The New 'Hidden Curriculum' for Teachers in Scotland*, In: *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 11, 2, 107-119.
- Idenburg, Ph. (1972), *Presidential Address, 5th CESE Conference*, In: Ryba, R. & Holmer, B. (Eds.), *Teacher Education*. Sweden: CESE / National Board of Education.
- Italian Eurydice Unit (1991), *Initial Teacher Training in the Member States of the European Community*. European Unit of Eurydice.
- Ozga, J. (Ed.), (1988), *Schoolwork: Approaches to the Labour Process of Teaching*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Pascal, Ch. & Bertram, A. (1993), *The Education of Young Children and Their Teachers in Europe*, In: *European Early Childhood Research Journal*, 1, 2, 27-38.
- Ryba, R. (1992), *Common Trends in Teacher Education in European Countries*, In: *Compare*, 22, 1, 25-39.
- Wubbels, Th. (1992), *Teacher Education and the Universities in The Netherlands*, In: *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 15, 3, 157-170.

What Teacher Education for Integration of Europe?

We are accustomed to changes in the world; however, the processes of change connected with the creation of the new integrated Europe are of a new quality and have far-reaching consequences for human life. These changes require societies of the integrating continent to acquire new forms of behavior, new ways of learning and evaluation.

On the threshold of the new reality we can see that without specially designed educational programs the integrating Europe cannot be truly European. The market ideology generating changes creates a reality that is not entirely European and often totally alien to Europeans. Hence the responsible and intellectually advanced thinking of the new Europe is concentrating on education, and particularly on the education of teachers.

My speech will concern two closely connected subjects:

- the necessity of realizing new phenomena, new areas of exploration created as a result of changes in the social political map of the old continent, and
- pointing to their implications for teachers training.

New Areas of Exploration

One of these areas is the existential situation of the younger generation. A characteristic feature is the phenomenon of the growing contradiction between increasing subjectivity caused by education and objectivity as the effect of a lack of possibilities for making decisions. Young people are in an economical harness; the world is increasingly closing before them. The situation leads to the phenomenon of a "demographic proletariat" - the subject of radical social change. It is necessary to answer the question of whether we will be able to use the energy of young people con-

structively.

The grave problem of intercultural differences is another feature of our times. The long period of separation forced the two parts of Europe to speak different tongues. It is difficult to communicate.

A new problem also important for education is the "unfreezing" of the phenomenon of nationalism. Most nationalistic movements today do not have any political program apart from demands for tribal independence, without any vision of the future. An example is the situation in Yugoslavia.

Another phenomenon creating an educational context is the deepening crisis of ideas and meaning - a general lack of any common "vision of the world" integrating nations. It is a particular area of educational concern.

Another no less important area determining new tasks for education is the expansion of the phenomenon of monetarism and the pre-eminence of material values in the evaluation of a human being, and on the other hand the growing problem of the "dying out" of work and evident pauperization of the unemployed. It creates a psychologically complex situation of human operation. It is a source of social pathology, particularly among young people.

There is also the question of how to educate teachers so as to enable them to face the complex and difficult situation of the integratal Europe.

The diverse and complicated situation requires a plenipotentary teacher who must regain his lost position based on a specific moral strength.

What kind of education can make a teacher plenipotentary?

1. First of all it is an education which among its tasks has as its aim the shaping of the autonomous identity of a teacher. It is a personal feature, which is the basis for undertaking actions in one's own name and on one's own account, and what is very important, with a deep feeling of personal responsibility. A teacher thus "armed" becomes resistant to manipulations, measures and evaluations imposed by the politicized world. An autonomous teacher will respect the subject needs of his pupils; he will refrain from actions aiming at the conventionalization of behavior, sub-

mission and conformability.

2. Moreover, it is an education in which one learns to think and function, having in mind not the national interest of the state but the interest of the world. It is an education creating the feeling of planetary integrity and a kind of responsibility shared by everybody for everything. That everything turns out to be the real environment of our common existence. A radioactive leakage from a nuclear power plant - no matter where it happens - concerns us all and is a source of biological fear and threat.

3. What is more, the training of teachers for the new tasks requires a verification of theoretical assumptions. The cognitive approach should not be only based on a single mode of pedagogy but many trends of contemporary pedagogy. A critical analysis of the multiplicity of modern theoretical attitudes of global pedagogy can provide the basis for a many-sided interpretation of pedagogical phenomena and, thus, for more conscious functioning.

4. Moreover, the education of teachers for new tasks is an education that teaches critical thinking. To make a teacher able to protect himself from the unifying pressure of mass culture and to prepare his pupils for defending their own identity, he has to be equipped with criteria of critical analysis of the imposing world of mass media. Critical thinking requires notional education. Hence, it is so important to provide contemporary super-validating of theoretical education of a teacher and also the development of competence for philosophical thinking. A teacher so prepared is an effective dam for the objectivite processes of the human being.

An inert objective teacher will not act for promoting independent thinking of his pupils; on the contrary, he creates obedience and subjection to a dominating ideology.

At the end of this study there are some reflections which arise when we consider the educational implications of the process of the European integration.

1. At the time of intensive discussion on the integration of Europe it is necessary to have in mind that the integration process of the Old Continent (and thus the integration of the world) is not an invention of recent years. This process has been going on for a

long time and has been proceeding:

at first thanks to the scientific and technical civilization created right in Europe, the civilization which has become the common civilization of the world and

secondly thanks to European culture, which integrates many different often contradictory values into a whole.

Due to its openness, the European culture is a culture of European humanism. It is a dynamic value of this culture having an extraordinary integration power. At the same time, it is the educational capital of this culture, of which, I think, education systems of the world which are becoming integrated should make better use.

2. Education for a Europe becoming integrated and, in consequence, for the integrated world, is an education which is able to disclose the horizon of the human world and the horizon of the human family from the local situation of any school.

When we consider such education, we can be concerned about the fact that processes of European integration are not being carried out together with more significant intellectual and philosophical tension; no important cognitive trends are becoming crystallized.

In modern considerations of the future, we know more what we want to avoid than what we want to create, and hence there is more significant focusing on overcoming the past than on creating the future. Maybe this is a hallmark of the "spiritual situation" of post-modernism.

Post-modernism questions categories of "a whole" in favor of the pluralistic multitude; it does not perceive what is important and creative in the fundamentalism of basic and common values, but in the intensive process of small initiatives arising from the ranks.

Education for Democracy in Search of New Values in Teachers Education

In the processes of social and cultural transformation taking place currently, so full of unrest, negation and searching, authoritarian concepts of education are being undermined. Many educational myths, appearances, insinuations and implications are now subject to reconsideration and judgement.

A new fetish of *market-oriented* consciousness, with its emphasis on competition and struggle for personal success, has encountered a troublesome enemy, mainly the idea of humanism, deeply rooted in the traditional ethos of a teacher.

The younger generation observes the chaos in adult society and seeks to satisfy its basic developmental needs in various social groups, most often outside education and school. These have for a long time past lost their spontaneity and naturalness.

Questions arise which are particularly important for the future strategies of educational activities, mainly:

To what sort of future can a teacher contribute? Will it be characterized by a growing egoism and the struggle for power and leadership?

Can education have any positive influence on human development? Can it break the vicious circle of human axiological deficiency?

To what values in teacher training can we relate? Which direction should the restructuring of the theory training of the contemporary teacher follow?

I wish to present some of my own reflections and considerations. They are grouped into two main problem areas. The first group refers to the so-called change of the teacher's *linguistic* code, both speaking and expressing himself in the process of education. The second group of problems concerns *Refusal to accept*

scientific dogma, which is the necessary condition for teaching competence. This competence is based on the ability to formulate existential and philosophical questions.

The Change of Linguistic Code

Language is believed to set limits to the subjective understanding of the world. We think the way we speak, and the conceptual categories we use define the most general ontological perspective. Our thoughts operate within these boundaries. The subject itself is, in a way, a new language, which, once having appeared in the world, is forced to say *something*, has some history and makes some sense. Moreover, the words at some time are an expression of people's thoughts, feelings, values, exchange and coexistence. *This word* is rooted in the intentions, gestures, modulation and tone of voice of the teachers, and professional activity. Yet it is not a simple reference to the meanings previously assigned by other people. As a matter of fact, it refers to the meanings which arise and are created in the mind of the active subject, according to his own individual logic and point of view.

As teachers we deliver our own language and own image of the world to others, because we are, in fact, unable to transmit anything else. As students, in turn, we create our world and express ourselves through *language*, otherwise we would not be able to live. Creating one's own world is affected by the other's word. This word is powerful; it can awake thoughts, inspire intellectual activity, introduce new, unknown meanings, due to which we can get closer to the speaker of the word.

We are surrounded by language in all branches of knowledge. But each generation creates its own self-expression, which is set in a concrete and historical context.

In the educational process the scientific *language* of the teacher is mainly related to the intellectual capacity of the subject. Yet this language does not always correspond with symptoms, gestures, demonstrations and attempts to establish contact.

We do not understand the statements expressed through the rhythms of rock music, the language of graffiti on walls in every European city or the unconventional life-styles of young people,

their rebellion movements subdued but by no means inactive. These are the forms of expression which refer to a different linguistic code. It is the language of existential and communal needs. But the teacher's overall professional education is not yet familiar with this language.

We comply with scientific rules, in other words, we follow the methodological orientation in the theoretical training of teachers. In practice, though, using a metaphor, we more often change poets into cold businessmen and transport Alice from her Wonderland to "Bankland".

Refusal to Accept Scientific Dogma

Socially established scientific prestige allows the teacher whose educational theory it is to expect that he will perform his tasks successfully provided he acts according to the rules of this theory. Yet, in most cases educational practice does not confirm these expectations. This has led the scientists to focus on the following problems.

Firstly, education only partially comprises paraxiological activities; i.e., the ones whose good performance is based on routine and methodological teaching skills.

Secondly, science's function is in its very being dangerous, as it may turn the subject into an object (according to its rule: to recognize, to predict, to conquer) and make it an instrument in the accomplishment of educational tasks.

Thirdly, limiting the teachers' functions to their correct performance deprives the educational process of its essential quality, mainly the interpersonal encounter in which one subject can develop and listen to what his partner has to say, and what he himself can say.

Another problem has appeared. It is related to teaching competence and training. For these, however, *refusal* to accept scientific dogma becomes useful to what values one has, and has a stimulating effect.

We can assume that teaching competence in formulating philosophical and existential questions such as: what for?, on behalf of what?, according to what values and for what reasons? becomes

very important in education.

Only then is it possible to ask about what to do and how to get it done. The teacher's real sensitivity and intellectual capacity are best expressed in his way of asking questions and his attempts to search for his own answers.

The value of teacher training is not based on *certainty*. On the contrary, it is *openness* that encourages one to look for one's own attitude towards reality and learn individually how *to be a teacher* in one's own individual way.

Teacher Training Reform in Hungary

The society in Hungary is undergoing significant changes today. As a result of the change in the political regime, old structures have been destroyed and all the changes are permeating the operational mechanism. In shaping the future, *priority should be given* to education and especially teacher training.

Both government and democratic public opinion have recognized the fundamental role of educational policy and teacher training in providing the necessary intellectual capacity indispensable for the country's welfare. All this is reflected in the draft acts of public and higher education which have already been passed.

This presentation concentrates on the *problem of teacher education*.

It also deals with the various reform attempts of the 1970's whose fulfilment could be hardly possible at that time. It was only the change of the political system which opened up the road for a consistent analysis of previous training traditions and also the close observation of the results in other European countries.

General Tendencies

In the 1950's the intensive industrialization required a short term extension of higher education, but ever since the planned economy prescribed rigid quantitative frameworks also for this sector of education. As a consequence, student figures first stagnated, then declined. Nowadays there is still a significant shortfall if compared to the numbers in the developed countries.

The structure of higher education also needs reforming. Fortunately, the over-exaggerated technical and agricultural training was normalized by the 1980's, so the *ratio of training for the humanities has turned more favourable*. Training experts for the special purposes of cultural services has started to increase. An institutional background for training welfare officers and social

workers has also been established.

Building up the vertical structure of teacher education is an important task. The so-called post-secondary/ semi-university forms are gradually spreading, the weight of undergraduate training is growing and training is slowly being integrated on the graduate level. In this way the training of specialized educators and Ph.D. students can be established.

The break-away from the disunited structure of higher education is also on its way. Regional university federations ("universitas") have been formed. With the cooperation of training institutions and research centres, teacher training can also be organized on a higher level.

Paradigm Shift of Teacher Education

Modernizing the training process needs a more flexible, simpler training structure. The number of options within the curricula has been raised accordingly. In general, the portion of practical training has improved. The introduction of novel work forms is also spreading. This, of course, depends largely on the material circumstances and the qualification of the teaching staff.

After the change of the political system the deductive, one-sided structure of the theory of education could no longer be sustained, and a more *practical*, more *personality-oriented approach* moved into the centre of attention. This has resulted in the old subject-centred training being replaced by the so-called *functional* training. The first appearances of this approach can be traced back as far as 1975. (See the works of E.E. Zibolen.) The *third* significant trend of change originates in the growing importance of *communicative social psychology*. (B. Buda 1986.) Based on the above mentioned facts, one can state that in the operation of departments of teacher training new contents began to dominate which will become influential in making the training itself more effective.

Some Experiences of the Pécs Experiment

At the Janus Pannonius University of Pécs, a unified/ undivided model of teacher training was established in 1982, wherein no distinction was made between the training of primary school upper level teachers and secondary school teachers. *The analysis presents the most important results of the experiment and also basic problems as follows:*

1. We wanted to combine the best traditions of college-level teacher training with the efforts toward scientific training at the university.

2. Small-group education played a primary role in the experiment. We prepared a tutorial system to follow and continually support students' development.

3. In order to encourage independent study students took a reduced number of compulsory classes of 25-26 hours a week. The examination period was reduced to the minimum; continuous study became emphasized.

4. In the schedule of subjects, according to the needs of teacher training, those of interdisciplinary and auxiliary sciences prevailed. Scientific issues of mediation, syllabus conveyance played a greater role.

5. The experiment was basically concerned about the development of continuing graduate and scientific training. Modernized training of special educators has been launched and retraining became widespread. This process was favourably influenced and reinforced by the establishment of international relations. In the mid-80's, the synergy of the leading professors was still at work. Later, after having the experimental projects accepted, departments were characterized by their independent, paralleling project work. Thus, team-work to support teacher training stopped.

Unfortunately *the subject system and the actual field of basic pedagogical training could not be renewed*. Due to constant modifications and financial problems the experimental project could not be fully evaluated. The practice-centred subject system of pedagogy of the early 80's remained, therefore, only an idea. This project as a concurrent model of teacher training is still regarded as feasible and suitable for piloting.

This tri-levelled and simultaneously feasible model (theoretical subjects, team-work skills improvement, school and institutional practices) provides equal roles for the instructors of practice, the educators or psychologists controlling skills improvement, and the faculty giving lectures or seminars. In this way, the process of teacher education can be strictly connected to school, and can be implemented in a self-experienced, self-improving setting, while theoretical-scientific fundamentals are also provided.

In our opinion, if adequate acquisition of the teaching profession expertise fails to be assured, reorganization of preparing institutions, urging paradigm shift and more effective training will prove to be worthless. In the present period this is important because, as I mentioned earlier, the reorganisation of teacher training colleges and the generalization of the unified training model is *still in the implementation phase.*

State and Institutional Guarantees of the Reform

Today teacher training institutions can define their training curriculum and the contents independently. There is no more central control and there are no longer any prescribed curricula for higher education. The fact, however, that this new type of operational discipline has just been launched, that traditional habits and reflexes still go on working, keep causing difficulties. In many cases local conflicts or distortions may influence decisions of public importance. This is why the rapid acceptance of the Act of Higher Education has been so much facilitated by the experts. Following nationwide political and professional discussions, necessary central regulations can be formed, such as degree requirements, output regulations /examinations, planning and financing of higher education, legal supervision, statement of coordination and management.

European Integration

In the period between the two world wars cooperation among

European countries used to be closer in the field of teacher education. The break became visible in 1948 and worked as a decisive factor for many years. Only at the end of the 1960's did it become possible for Western influence to gradually infiltrate. But closer contacts did not begin to grow prior to the beginning of the 90's. Thus the projects facilitating integration (ERASMUS, TEMPUS, WORLD BANK) play a very important role.

The process of change can only be effective if we can be realistic in evaluating our own past and at the same time implement the experiences gained in other countries. Catching up does not simply mean the adaptation of successful training models from more developed countries. We have to adapt the variations which promise the most fruitful results in our situation. We need to make joint efforts in finding better solutions in the future. The pedagogical topics we can mention are the matters of global education and the cooperation among different cultures.

References

- P. Batelaan and Jagdish S. Gudara (1993): Cultural Diversity and Promotion of Values through Education. *European Journal of Intercultural Studies*. V.3.N. 2/3. 61-81.
- Buda, B. (1986): A személyiségfejlődés és a nevelés szociálpszichológiája Tankönyvkiadó, 247.
- Ladnyi, A. (1990): Felsőoktatásunk európai felzárkózásáról. *Pedagógiai Szemle*, 5.sz. 403-411.
- Törvényjavaslat a felsőoktatásról (1992) Magyar Felsőoktatás, MKM, Budapest, 6.sz. 1-27.
- Vastagh, Z. Pedagógiai tárgyak a kísérleti tanárképzésben *Pedagógusképzés*, 1.sz. 58-83.
- Zibolen, E. /1975/: A felsőoktatás új útjai. In: Bevezetés a felsőoktatásba, FPK, Bp.

The Role of Feedback in the Change of Teaching Behavior

The psychological essence of teaching activities is a communication process whose effectiveness is the main factor in satisfaction of the students. Students always have different opinions in connection with the teaching methods of their teachers, and these act as facilitating or withdrawing factors concerning the curriculum. Collection and systematic analysis of these opinions and attitudes may provide important information and help for staff in improving their teaching activities, making visible the actual difficulties and contradictions in education. With the aim of facilitating this feedback, we have constructed a questionnaire-based investigation-system in the last fifteen years in our university.

The first part of this system deals with the personal effectiveness of teachers. In medical education, this problem is particularly emphasized, because medical teachers have not studied pedagogy. They begin their educational work instinctively, generally by modelling their previous teachers' behavior. Even for experienced medical teachers the only feedback is the examination; otherwise they work in a vacuum. Because of the lack of feedback in the medical teacher's work, the routine, stereotype features become constant; there are few motivating factors for changing or improving of teaching. This problem has been made more difficult by the over-emphasis on research and curing problems in the medical teacher's job. Thus, the dissonance continually increases between the teacher and the student, education and research, curing and education.

The aim of our experiment was to break this cycle by introducing our questionnaire-type feedback system. The basic idea of feedback was established methodically by Tuckman in 1976 with the aim of collecting information about the common activity of

teachers and their students. In 1977, after having some "brainstorming" sessions with a group of students and teachers, we developed two different questionnaires in the same semantic differential form as Tuckman's. The questionnaire "Mirror for Lectures" consists of twenty-eight adjective pairs, within five dimensions: didacticity, organization, creativity, dynamism and warmth and acceptance. Questionnaire "Mirror for Tutorials" consists of thirty-six scales and seven dimensions: didacticity, creativity, dynamism, organization, warmth and acceptance, accuracy and importance. The reliability and validity of the questionnaires were established according to the international mathematical statistical standards of test analysis with SPSS software. The "Mirror" feedback system has been used for ten years in the University Medical School of Pcs, and today it is in regular use: every lecturer and tutor gets his or her "Mirror" in every second year. Each student is to fill in the questionnaires at the end of semester. After this period the students will have to be able to characterize their teacher's behavior correctly and thoughtfully. After receiving the results, departments are asked to organize a discussion on the feedback in order to clarify all the possible problems with the teaching staff and to give help to each other to change any inappropriate behavior. The teachers, who accept the feedback and realize its importance to improve their teaching abilities and are open to develop their behavior, can change and correct their teaching methods.

On the usage of "Mirror", I want to stress that the results of questionnaires should not be used as administrative assessments, but solely as a help for teachers for evaluation of his/her own behavior. In the beginning we had some problems with receiving feedback by some teachers. One has to accept the fact that feedback may create stress, and the greater the difference between the teacher's self-image and the image given by students, the greater is the stress. It happened frequently that teachers did not take the feedback seriously, or sometimes there were some projections or insinuations. The only solution to this are discussions with colleagues who can help in seeking new patterns of behavior, and this is our main reason why we facilitate departmental discussions on feedback. On the basis of the results of the last fifteen years of using "Mirror" system, it can be ascertained that we have achieved

our aim: the consciousness of the teaching work can be increased by receiving detailed and permanent feedback, and that the image of the ideal, effective teacher may be achieved through self-education, conscious preparation and group-discussion.

The second part of our feedback system refers to the educational process as a whole. In every 4-5 years, students fill in a questionnaire where they express their opinions from different points of view about education. They evaluate the effectiveness of the education in general and in detail, specific to each discipline. We ask the opinions of the students about the lectures, how understandable, interesting, well-documented, informative and useful they were. Students evaluate the practices, books, handouts, examinations, and the student-teacher relationship, too.

In the educational process it often happens that the students have to be convinced to accept the aims of teachers about their goals and objectives. In such circumstances, the Delphi method is a very useful tool to measure the effectiveness of social influence. At the time when medical psychology was introduced into the medical curriculum, we applied this method to help develop an agreement with the aims of teaching medical psychology. According to our experience, the Delphi method seems to be a very useful tool in the educational process, when the teachers realize some resistance among their students to the acceptance of their subject and their aims. We want to emphasize that contradictions and conflicts may be present between the teachers and students. I may add, it is a physiological phenomenon. What is very important is to accept and realize these conflicts and to look for methods to resolve and to cope with them. The Delphi method is a possibility in such situations.

As the result of the twenty years' activities at the Center for Medical Education, we may say that a good co-operation has been developed between the medical teachers and the educational experts of the Center for Medical Education. One very important sign of this co-operation was the organization of teachers' training courses with one year duration. In these courses there were lectures on the psychological aspects of education, like person-perception, group-dynamics, psychological problems of leadership, methods of stress-management, etc. In practice the medical teachers gave case studies of their educational difficulties. We intro-

duced the so-called microteaching methods, too, where some lectures were videotaped and discussed. At the end of the course, the candidates prepared a "masterpiece" on a special topic (video film, tape-slide teaching program, multiple choice test-booklet, curriculum-planning, etc.).

At the beginning of our work, our aim was to bridge the gap which existed in medical education, where the medical teachers were experts in the field of medicine, but they were still amateurs in education. The first step was to help the medical teachers realize that they needed help in their educational approach, and after they had realized the necessity of this help, we had to offer assistance: personal feedback, feedback of the whole educational process, or the Delphi method to help solve their conflicts in medical education. In conclusion, let me add that the first step, making medical doctors realize that they need help in the educational field, was our hardest task.

References

- Cyphert, F.R., Gant W.L.: The Delphi Technique: a Tool for Collecting Opinions in Teacher Education, *Journal of Teacher Education* 21, 417-425. (1970).
- Koczan, A., Tigyi, A.: Feedback Systems in Medical Education, Annual Conference of AMEE/AMDE, Budapest, Hungary, (1990).
- Tuckman, B.W.: Feedback and the Change Process, *Phi Delta Kappan* 57, 341-344, (1976).
- Tuckman, B.W.: The Tuckman Teacher Feedback Form (TTFF), *Journal of Educational Measurement* 13, 233-237, (1976).

Applied Linguistics and Teacher Education

The Educational Context

The subject area of language and communication seems to be one of the central fields within the educational pattern in the framework of the changes in Central and Eastern Europe.

The reform movements are of two types: bottom-up and top-down. In the first category we may mention fields like head start and a large variety of extra-curricular activities, where the real impetus for development came directly from the parents and children. Teachers have also largely contributed to the reforms by introducing several experiments in content-based language education (leading to different sorts of bilingual schooling) and also by insisting on the use and adaptation of up-to-date course materials. These trends have changed the monolithic centralized system of public education in Hungary.

The top-down reforms came about with the introduction of a relatively free choice in the offer of foreign languages to replace the system of the mandatory teaching of Russian at all levels of education. In Hungary this happened in 1989, a year before the overall changes.

The other important trend was the introduction of a certain freedom in creating, introducing or adapting language curricula.

The two directions in reform movements partially, sometimes totally overlap, thus producing a real driving force for the whole of education. This two-way mobility necessarily leads to a "Europeanization" of language education and also a break-away from rigid monolingual educational systems.

The real question is, then, whether the teachers themselves are able to fulfill all the requirements brought about by these funda-

mental changes and whether teacher education can grow up to the demands of a society of the future.

The Situation in Teacher Education

One-third of the school curriculum in Hungary is devoted to languages: native language, second language and foreign languages.

Primary school teachers usually receive a complex training where language and communication are present: (a) as a training of the communication skills of the future teacher; (b) as the teaching of the grammar; (c) and as the teaching of methodology.

The education of secondary school teachers is usually organized according to subject matter; the native language is a component within "Language and Literature" of the given language. The older the pupils become the more literature they receive.

The same organizational discipline is valid for the training of foreign language teachers, with a greater emphasis on the language part which is mostly communication in the given idiom. In Central Europe there are very few programs for the training of teachers of a second language.

In this type of language teacher education there is a dichotomy: the major part of the program is devoted to academic disciplines (e.g., literary history, grammar), and a much smaller part is left for teacher training. The smaller part left for teacher training is usually divided into a course of methodology preparing classroom activity and the practice of classroom activity itself.

Future language teachers also take part in a "general" teacher training consisting of subjects from the field of psychology and "pedagogy". Within this "general" training they share classes with future teachers of other subjects.

This is a costly, inefficient structure where the preparation for the teacher profession is merely a *by-product* of the academic training.

There are, of course, some other models as well. A more efficient training model can be found in the education of primary level teachers.

Why Applied Linguistics?

Very few disciplines are able to embrace their own level of application. Only some could do it, e.g., sociology, psychology and perhaps some others. Language sciences (including language communication) can certainly do it. Communication is the key term: a considerable part of education is in fact "communication".

Applied linguistics is an interdisciplinary field with a communicative aspect. Applied linguistics is a complex inter-discipline for solving practical problems connected with language. It is a *bridge* between any language problem or task and research.

Applied linguistics includes educational branches promoting the teaching of foreign languages, a second language and also the native language, and a great many other branches which also may be useful for education. (ca. 70 % of the papers had educational purposes or consequences in the program of the AILA World Congress held in Amsterdam in August of 1993.)

Applied linguists are a somewhat new type of linguists: a dynamic, task- oriented, creative type of R & D (research and development) specialists.

Applied Linguistics versus the Old Way in the Training of Language Teachers

Educational applied linguistics has absorbed many educational sciences: curriculum theory, measuring and evaluation, educational theory, educational technology, and also new communicatively founded classroom techniques became its chapters. Educational applied linguists are more sensitive to language issues which represent the heart of language teaching problems.

The main difference can be best stated in the diversity of goals. Most language teacher education models aim at training classroom teachers who will implement higher level prescriptions. They are prepared for this task through special methodology.

Applied linguists, on the other hand, are prepared for broader activity: analyzing the factors of the teaching task, experimenting through larger or smaller models, finding a solution, introducing

it as an innovation, and repeating this in a new cycle.

Educational applied linguists are creative according to their education and their orientation. They are agents of change.

The Training of Language Teachers and/or Applied Linguists

Our aim is to train teachers of foreign languages, teachers of a second language (for the "national minorities"), and a new type of native language teachers.

Educational applied linguistics could be a framework for language teacher education where the problems of academic knowledge, communication skills and preparation for a teaching career are alloyed in a task-oriented way.

The framework requires at least one course where applied linguistics is introduced and some other seminars where applied linguistics is being taught "in vivo". This is more practical and theoretically better founded than the usual methodology. (The introductory course can be planned jointly for all kinds of future language teachers, but the seminars are better kept apart.)

It is also important to have some *lege artis* trained applied linguists. An applied linguistics program could offer different degrees. In Pécs, we are now preparing three M.A. programs: (a) applied linguistics in foreign language teaching; (b) applied linguistics in the teaching of Hungarian as a native language; (c) and applied linguistics in the teaching of Hungarian as a foreign language. The three programs are largely interconnected, and they are attached to the teacher education program.

In our applied linguistics programs we have opted for the parallel model of teacher education: future teachers should be motivated for the profession as early as possible. We start it in the second semester of the first year by an introductory course, and the regular programs start in the second year.

It is, of course, desirable that *each language teacher* should get some training in educational applied linguistics.

Conclusion and Suggestions

The reform of teacher education in our days is most feasible in a broad interdisciplinary approach. The training of language teachers with the help of applied linguistics is a part of teacher education, but it may be transferred to other parts of the system.

In a teacher training college the framework (or a department) of applied linguistics can take over most of the tasks of language teacher education.

In more complex - university type - schools, applied linguistics should be offered to each future language teacher, and there should be a special degree in applied linguistics. Applied linguistics programs could contribute to the preparation of "trainers of the trainers". A separate department would be an asset in such an institution, too.

In an educational faculty or teacher training college it may happen that entire departments are *de facto* applied linguistics departments without bearing that name.

References

- Radnai, Zsófia. The Contribution of Applied Linguistics within Longitudinal Language Teaching Projects: a Hungarian Model. in: *International Symposium on Applied Linguistics and Language Learning and Teaching: Present Trends and Future Prospects*. GALA: Thessaloniki, 1988. pp. 50-51.
- Szépe, György. On the Training of Language Teachers. In: *International Symposium on Applied Linguistics and Language Learning and Teaching: Present Trends and Future Prospects*. GALA: Thessaloniki, 1988. pp. 56-58.
- Szépe, György & József Andor. The Training of Mother Tongue Teachers Who Will Be At The Same Time Applied Linguists. in: *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 106-117 (1986).
- Szépe, György & Zsófia Radnai. How Can the Requirements in

Language Teaching be Transposed into the Education of Future Language Teachers? in: Ed. by S. Efstathiadis. *Symposium [on] Initial and In-Service Foreign Language Teachers Education [within the] 9th World Congress of Applied Linguistics*. GALA: Thessaloniki, 1991. pp. 23-27.

Jack R. Fraenkel (San Francisco)

Characteristics and Behaviors of Effective Social Studies Teachers

In what ways do effective teachers differ from those who are ineffective? Do they actually teach differently than their less-effective counterparts; that is, do they employ different kinds of behaviors with students? Do they possess certain characteristics that ineffective teachers do not? When I was a high school social studies teacher back in the late 1960's, I thought that the kind of students or the subject one taught might be a determining factor in how one taught. This is not to say that teachers who teach different subjects or students of widely differing abilities do not teach their subjects and students in different ways. They do. But effective teachers appear to behave and teach in remarkably similar ways, regardless of where, what, or who they teach.

Since the Fall semester of 1991, I have begun to document and describe the behaviors and activities of students and teachers in several social studies classrooms in a large urban school district on the west coast of the United States. I have also made similar observations in classrooms in selected cities in Australia, New Zealand, Germany, and Poland. What I observed in these other countries has served to corroborate what I observed in schools in the United States and has served to reinforce my conclusions.

Methodology

Each semester I have observed at least four classes twice per week over a three-month period in several high schools (grades 9-12) in the San Francisco Bay Area. I interviewed the teachers and some students in these classes. The high schools in which I observed differed considerably in a number of ways, but here I shall de-

scribe only two in detail since they are typical of the two main types of schools in which I made my observations. My intent was, and continues to be, twofold: (a) to gain an impression of what happens on a regular basis in these classrooms; and (b) to document how effective and non-effective teachers in these classrooms differ.

In each of the classes I observed, I kept a daily log in which I recorded the comments and described the behaviors of both students and teachers. I also prepared flow-charts, time and motion logs, tally sheets, sociograms, and/or rating scales to document what is happening in these classrooms. I administered a questionnaire at the end of the semester to all students in each class, asking about various activities such as weekly discussions of current events. In addition, I conducted in-depth interviews with each teacher and some students as a follow-up to the questionnaires. I asked:

For teachers - What expectations do you have for your students? What, for you, constitutes good or effective teaching? What, for you, constitutes poor or ineffective teaching? Do you teach the students in honors classes any differently than you do students in non-honors classes? If so, how? How would you characterize today's students? How do you feel about teaching after all these years?

For students: - Do you like social studies? Why or why not? How would you define a good social studies teacher? How would you define a poor social studies teacher? Would you like to be a social studies teacher yourself? Why or why not?

To summarize:

Both teachers and students were observed to identify the teachers' style of teaching; to record the sorts of comments the teachers made to students and vice versa; to record remarks that occurred among students; and to chart the nature and frequency of various classroom activities. All observation periods were approximately 45 minutes in length and comprised the entire class.

All teachers were interviewed at length about their philosophy of teaching; the expectations they had for their students; their teaching style; the image they had of themselves as a teacher; how they thought they were perceived by students; the image they had of students; and what they would change about themselves if they

could.

Students were interviewed to determine the perceptions of their teacher; what they believed their teacher did well; their perception of the teacher's shortcomings; and what they liked and disliked about their social studies class, and why. The purpose of the interviews was also to check my perceptions of what I observed the teachers doing against their own and their students' perceptions of what was happening in class.

Documents (lesson plans, tests, teacher's notes, student notebooks, written assignments, products such as maps, etc.) were examined to assess the relationship, or lack thereof, between the teacher's assignments and his/her lesson and course objectives.

The responses of the students and teachers to the questionnaires and during the interviews, the contents of my notes, and the data I collected by means of the other instruments mentioned earlier were summarized, categorized, and analyzed on a more or less continuous basis. Although the sample of classes I observed to date has been small, it includes students and teachers from five different countries, with similar results being observed in each country. Accordingly, I have formed some tentative conclusions about what constitutes effective social studies teaching at the high school level and what effective social studies teachers do that ineffective ones do not.

Similarities and Differences

The schools I observed were all situated on the outskirts of large cities, had fairly large student bodies, contained students in all four of the grades 9-12, had identical requirements for graduation, offered a wide variety of elective courses, and possessed a core of experienced teachers who had been teaching on the average for 20 years or more.

The composition of the social studies classes in these schools was also similar in several respects. The average class size was somewhere between 30 and 35 students per class. The teachers were predominantly older males who had been teaching for some time. The size, layout, and contents of the rooms where instruction was given were essentially the same. The intra-school aver-

age GPAs of the students were very similar, although the inter-school average GPA of the students differed considerably.

The schools differed markedly in the percentage of different ethnic groups that made up the student body; for example, the ethnic group with the largest percentage of students in one school was Chinese, which comprised slightly more than 42 percent of all students attending the school, whereas the largest ethnic group attending another school is black, comprising slightly more than 23 percent of all students attending that school.

A second notable difference between the schools was their overall ambience; for example, as I entered and walked around one school, I was struck by the seriousness of purpose that seemed to permeate the atmosphere. Students were sitting on the floor outside of their classrooms reading their textbooks. The library was full. Classrooms were quiet. The movement of students between classes when the periods changed was very orderly. The halls, the classrooms, and the restrooms were clean. There was very little paper or waste in the courtyards, the halls, or the classrooms.

On the other hand, when I entered a second school, I was immediately struck by how noisy it was. The halls were crowded with boisterous students jostling, talking, and moving, not reading their assignments nor preparing for classes. The library was half empty. The students in many classrooms were very noisy, talking, but not about their lessons. Furthermore, the place was very dirty. I got the feeling that the students and teachers lacked pride in their school. I often felt uncomfortable entering this school.

Classes in these schools also differed in several respects. The average GPA of one class was 3.5, while it was 2.8 in a similar class in another school. The gender and ethnic composition of the students varied in different classes, as did the age, ethnicity, gender, and style of the teachers. The classes met at different times during the day. The teachers had different instructional objectives, used different textbooks, had different sorts and amounts of supplementary materials available, gave different types and amounts of homework, engaged students in different kinds of activities, and taught different subjects.

Conclusion

None of the following is probably surprising in that most of the information collected on these teachers tends to validate some of the commonly held perceptions of what constitutes effective teaching. It is not surprising that effective teachers have a sense of humor, can explain ideas clearly, encourage participation, maintain an orderly classroom, or are fair in their dealings with students. However, some of my findings raise issues that are not commonly considered in the dialogue on effective teaching. Five of these in particular deserve a word or two because they describe characteristics or required skills not normally sought after or taught in teacher training programs.

First is the extent to which the effective teachers encouraged students to take public risks by discussing their mistakes and/or confusion with the entire class.

Second, the effective teachers were willing to establish personal contact with their students. They deliberately sought eye contact, learned their students' names early in the semester, discussed their own life experiences and related anecdotes about their own lives, brought in pictures of their families, told jokes on occasion, and let students know that they were available for one-to-one interviews. All frequently shared their personal views and feelings about topics and issues with students.

Third, the effective teachers placed considerable emphasis on bringing to light the thought processes engaged in by students, not only by emphasizing the importance of product, but also by stressing the importance of process; that is, how one thinks. Many continually encouraged students to explore their own thought processes.

Fourth, the effective teachers consciously arranged for frequent social interaction among students through small group assignments that required a cooperative effort. Many had ongoing discussion groups to which students were assigned and with which they worked on a regular basis. Several changed the composition of the groups frequently to broaden the circle of acquaintances with which students would interact. Almost all commented in the interviews that they viewed social interaction as a main goal of instruction.

Lastly, the effective teachers quickly and deliberately attended to non-verbal cues as indicators of confusion and/or anxiety, and reacted accordingly by providing further or different explanations, alternative assignments, and so forth.

Some of these characteristics or behaviors require skills and abilities not normally expected of high school teachers. Encouraging students to take public risks requires a teacher experienced in handling potentially awkward situations. Helping students explore their thinking processes requires a skill that cannot be acquired without experience, practice, and, probably, training. Realizing that one can teach too much requires a sense of what is essential, along with the ability to refrain from telling all one knows about a topic. Going out of one's way to establish personal contact with students requires a willingness to do so. Teaching students to look for relationships and connections requires a style that many teachers have not previously been exposed to, and for which few models can be found.

The sample upon which the aforementioned observations are based is fairly small ($n=20$ classes), and so I make no claim that what I am finding will also be found in other schools in this or in any other school district. Nevertheless, similar behaviors and characteristics were observed in social studies classrooms in five different countries. Should my findings be born out by subsequent research with many more social studies classes, in other schools, and in other countries, this would seem to have considerable import for social studies education. If good teaching does indeed transcend schools, subjects, and students, and if, indeed, there are a certain set of core behaviors, characteristics, skills, and abilities that effective teachers possess, we need to concentrate on ways of helping teachers in training acquire these characteristics, behaviors, skills, and abilities. On the one hand, this may well require us to change how we train future teachers, or, on the other hand, it may even require us to be far more careful about who we encourage to become teachers in the first place. Not everyone, it now seems apparent, can teach effectively. We should help those who have the potential to do so.

Cognitive Psychology and Instructional Systems Theory

An American Perspective and Theoretical Interpretations

The instructional systems movement, since its inception in the 1950's, was founded upon behaviorist principles, particularly under the notion that all learning can be explained by the development of associative linkages between stimuli and responses. The instruction that resulted from this theoretical approach was primarily limited to the development of learning that could be observed and measured. Thus, only that instruction that can be verified by a change in observable behavior is valued under this theory of instructional design.

Typically, the heuristic process that still guides instructional design within this movement is an integration of a generic systems model with behaviorist constructs superimposed as the major conceptual framework. Andrews and Goodson (1980) examined some 40 models of instructional design and found common system-bound procedural steps that all models could easily be summarized as a metaprocedure of *analysis* (what is the instructional problem or need), *design and development* (choosing appropriate instructional strategies and media), and *evaluation* (did instruction solve the problem or need). Thus, an empirically based model based loosely upon the decision steps of "what is the problem, what are possible solutions to the problem, try and evaluate the solution," under a systems rubric of input, output and feedback loops, is united with such behaviorist constructs as behavioral objectives, assessment of performance outcomes, and empirical evaluation of instructional effectiveness (Smith, P.L. & Ragan, 1993).

In the most influential text in instructional design, *The Systematic Design of Instruction*, the authors continue to acknowledge their debt to behaviorism:

"The systems approach model ... has been most heavily influenced by the work of Robert Gagne, Leslie Briggs, Robert Mager, Robert Glaser, and Lee Cronbach. It is a *behaviorally oriented* model stressing the identification of skills students need to learn, and the collection of data from students to revise instruction." (Dick, W. & Carey, L., 1990, p. iii. Emphasis added.)

Behaviorism, while it presently has been discarded as a major American school of psychology (see Gardner, 1985, for a brief discussion of the demise of behaviorism), continues to be the foundation of the instructional systems movement. It is not totally clear why; nor have there been many research attempts of much merit to define what the exact effectiveness of behaviorally oriented instructional design means.

There also seems to be no critical attempt to evaluate instructional design based on behaviorism in light of complex learning, text comprehension, language learning, novel behavior, and creativity. In a review of types of learning or behavior (Epstein, 1986), the most vexing problem identified for behaviorism is to account complex everyday human behavior, including novel learning: "Humans and other organisms do things they have never done before and, occasionally, things no member of their species has ever done before" (Epstein, 1986, p.91).

In summary, one gains a clear sense in reviewing instructional design texts that there is very little serious investigation of behaviorist assumptions within mainstream models. Additionally, there is little or no theoretical discussion of how the instructional systems movement must invent new models for instructional design. The three fundamental constructs that still govern design view learning as change of behavior or performance, and instruction as the vehicle for behavioral change, and make such design steps as behavioral objectives, performance measurement, and empirical verification the foundations of their models. It is still reasonable and accurate to conclude that the American emphasis in instructional design adheres to behaviorist constructs.

Kaare Skagen (Tromsø)

Supervision Theory in Teacher Education

A Comparative Study

Introduction

This paper is a part of a thesis that examines the theory and practice of educational supervision in teacher education. The thesis is comparative as it uses materials from teacher education in Germany and Norway. The paper limits itself to an analysis of the theoretical perspectives and concepts within educational supervision.

The paper argues that educational supervision (or mentoring, which is increasingly being employed as a term in Great Britain) must be seen as a didactical activity deserving the same attention as teaching. Teacher educators should plan their mentoring sessions with students reflecting on goals, methods, content and evaluation just as they plan their teaching. Because educational supervision is a didactical activity, it can also be analyzed and understood by examining what values and concepts influence the theory and practice in different traditions.

A research interest in educational supervision is supported both by educational theory as well as by empirical evidence on mentors' functions in teacher education. John Dewey argues that students must and cannot be taught, but initiated into the tradition of work: "The customs, methods, and working standards of the calling constitute a 'tradition', and ...initiation into the tradition is the means by which the powers of learners are released and directed" (Dewey, 1974, p. 151). Educational research has identified the mentor as a "significant other" in the socialization pro-

cesses of student teachers (Zeichner, 1986, p. 274). In spite of this fact, empirical research is scarce in Germany as well as in Norway in this field. The existence of school-based teacher education also indicates influential roles for mentors and teacher trainers that actually perform mentoring (Fachleiter in Germany).

The Concept of Educational Supervision

The function of supervisors is first to be found in American social institutions and schools in the end of the last century. The term supervision, meaning a distinct type of pedagogical activity, was developed within the framework of social work in the 1930s. Today supervision is practised in many fields of professional education and as a method for on-the-job training. The rather extensive literature on educational supervision justifies speaking of a separate field within curriculum theory, but supervision is practised in several fields, and there are different perspectives and models.

Practical supervision includes a variety of different modes, ranging from instructive, directive to reflective models. Instructive supervision is practised in the traditional relationship between apprentices and masters of crafts, and focuses predominantly on correction of behaviour. Reflective supervision sets out to inspire to self-reflection on professional action which is held as vital to improve professional competence. Between these two extremes both theories and mentors seem to combine different perspectives and models in their work. A situational attitude is frequently to be found among mentors; they seek methods and models that function in their work, and hence they tend to be eclectic towards theories on educational supervision.

Educational Supervision in Germany

In Germany educational supervision first was introduced in the in-service-training of social workers. Theory and models were inspired from the USA, and the dominating fields of application

still are social work and psychotherapy. There are examples of educational supervision in teacher education and in-service-training of teachers, but this is not applied systematically. An interesting development project in Frankfurt has introduced supervision into adult education, both in the training of tutors in this field as well as in the teaching of adults in literacy programmes.

Theory in educational supervision in Germany is dominated by psychology. It is difficult to single out one school as more influential than others. It, nevertheless, seems that the concept of client-centered psychotherapy and student-centered teaching is accepted in most theories.

Educational Supervision in Norway

In Norway the concept of educational supervision as a separate pedagogical activity was developed in the 1960s. The theoretical development was from this point on closely connected with teacher education, but theory also exists within the education of social workers, nurses and doctors. The emphasis was in teacher education, and thus represents a contrast to the German development. In the 1970's theory was strongly influenced by American psychotherapy, in particular Carl Rogers' theories. In the 1980's supervision theory became a new and more theoretically solid basis, and today rests on mainly three pillars: Habermas' theory of communicative action, a differentiated concept of knowledge and theories on the nature of professional action.

Conclusion

Educational supervision theory in Germany is in its initial phase in regard to teacher education. Better theoretical insights in this field, including a systematic education of mentors, probably could contribute to a renewal of the supervisory practices in teacher education. In the Norwegian tradition there is an ambiguity in relation to the evaluation of practical teaching. Influenced by the concept of self-evaluation from American humanistic psy-

chology, some theorists want to exclude evaluation of student teachers' behaviour, and exclusively use students' thinking as criteria. This could potentially lead to a weakening of the traditional strong ties between educational supervision and professional action. This paper argues that the identity of educational supervision as a separate field of professional action and knowledge very much lies in its closeness to professional practice. The paper hence sees this tendency as a departure from the roots of supervision theory that makes the distinctions between teaching and mentoring unclear.

References

- Dewey, John (1974): *John Dewey on Education: Selected Writings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schön, Donald (1988): *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*. San Francisco.
- Zeichner, Kenneth (1986): "Lehrersozialisation und Lehrerausbildung" in: *Bildung und Erziehung*, Heft 3/1986.

Wiel Veugelers (Amsterdam)

Value Education Related to Labor

In the present study, teachers have been asked what their goals are with regard to the development of values related to labor in their students. It shows which values related to labor teachers wish to develop in their students: which labor identity they want to construct in their students. The study focuses on the role of teachers in education. It is an investigation of values regarding labor conveyed by teachers to their students in the Netherlands (Veugelers, 1993). Our research population consists, therefore, of teachers who are engaged in that particular educational sector in which the task structure has been reshaped in favor of the socio-economic task, namely the sector educating 15 to 18-year-old students. The Dutch education system makes a distinction between general secondary education and senior secondary vocational education at the level of the mentioned age category. Both types of education have been included in this research.

Value Stimulation

When speaking about the role of education with respect to the development of values, most people use the concept of 'transfer of values'. According to this concept, education should transmit values to students, thus suggesting that values can be passed on. But both constructive psychology (Prawatt, 1992) and critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1989) show that teachers cannot transfer values to their students, because students construct their own concepts of significance and develop their own values. Teachers, however, can encourage students to develop certain values. They can try to influence the development of certain values by their students. Therefore, we have introduced here the concept of 'value stimulation'. Teachers can be asked which values they want

to develop in their students, which values they propagate by means of didactic materials and educational behavior.

'Value stimulation' refers to a practice used by teachers in order to stimulate the development of specific values in their students. All throughout their teaching activities they express values. A teacher chooses didactic materials in which certain values are built in and, in guiding his students, he expresses these values. Students can accept these values, reject them or transform them. Students must take position with respect to the values stimulated by teachers, a position that is influenced by the unequal power relations between teacher and students in an educational setting. The stimulation in developing specific values occurs in a power relation dominated by the teacher.

Social-normative Qualifications

The above mentioned educational tasks of 'personal development', 'socio-cultural education', and 'socio-economic preparation' can be distinguished only analytically; in educational practice these tasks go together. The preparation of students for labor goes mainly together with their preparation for society. By preparing students for labor a contribution is also made to their personal development.

In preparing students for labor, teachers want to develop a qualification for labor. Concerning the required qualifications for labor, a distinction can be made between technical-instrumental and social-normative qualifications (Van Hoof and Dronkers, 1980). Social-normative qualifications are the values and habits people need for labor. Hurrelmann (1975) divides the social-normative qualification for labor in social-regulative, motivational-normative and politico-normative elements. In this study, the motivational-normative and politico-normative elements have been distinguished in the following themes: 'motives in occupational choice', 'social organization of labor' (division of labor and unemployment), 'labor relations', and 'relations between education and labor'. A social-normative qualification for labor can be aimed at personal adaptation, personal emancipation and collective emancipation.

Research Design

The curriculum of a certain type of school comprises different subjects. Teachers who teach these subjects may have different opinions with regard to the values they wish to stimulate in their students. Teachers do not only differ from each other in point of school type and subject but also in point of personal characteristics such as experience, gender and age. School culture, specific educational views, assessment of didactic materials and school denomination may also influence the aims of the teachers. In this study, we have investigated the relationship between school type, school subject and teachers' personal characteristics, on the one hand, and the importance teachers attach to different aims in the field of values related to labor, on the other hand.

The research instrument was a written questionnaire in which teachers had to indicate on an interval scale how much importance they attached to each of the specified goals and how much attention they paid to each particular goal. Furthermore, they had to answer why they had chosen these goals. The questionnaire was sent to a random sample of secondary schools and to the commercial sectors of institutions for vocational training. The school subjects comprised economics and practical subjects, social studies and career counselling. The TDM-method of Dillman (1978) was used for data collection. The questionnaire was sent to 694 teachers, of which 415 (60%) responded. The statistical analyses used here are cluster analysis and analysis of variance (ONEWAY and ANOVA).

Some Results

Developmental process

The social-normative qualification for labor that all teachers in the investigated schools wish to give to their students can be summarized as the development of an individual who character-

izes the transition from education to labor as follows: one's own effort, initiative and attitude determine one's school and professional career. One should attempt to achieve one's prospects and personal interests in choosing a certain occupation. One should also endeavour, as much as possible, to achieve an equal division of labor. Unemployment is mostly caused by social factors and not by personal ones. Showing a positive attitude with respect to entrepreneurship (industrial initiative) is also very important. One should not only stand up for oneself in one's work environment but he/she should also be able to adjust to the prevailing labor relations.

'Citizenship' with respect to labor

The Dutch government, like other governments in most countries, wishes a reinforcement of the educational task and an improvement of the tie-up between education and labor. These initiatives could, certainly in combination with each other, lead to an increase of the importance teachers attach to the development of values with regard to labor in their students.

A social-normative qualification for labor can be seen as 'citizenship' with respect to labor. The concept of citizenship implies, according to us, not only passive participation in society but can also be related to further democratization of the community and increasing the number of possibilities for social participation (Giroux, 1989). Just like in the community, in the field of labor one can also speak of active participation and of increasing the number of possibilities for participation in labor (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). By preparing students for labor, education can also contribute to increasing the number of possibilities students have in deciding on their occupational career (Simon, Dippro and Schenke, 1991).

Results in our study show that 'work education' means for teachers in the Netherlands not only adapting to labor and labor relations, but also stimulating personal and collective emancipation with regard to labor. One may speak of stimulating the creation of an active 'citizenship' for labor.

Different school subjects

This 'citizenship' for labor is not only a task for teachers of social studies, although they attach most importance to the development of values with regard to labor. Our study also shows that this pedagogical task is not only meant for teachers of social studies, but also for teachers of economics and for career counselors. It is good that this pedagogical task is not reduced to one subject, it shows that also the content of other subjects can be made more context-based, here the context of society. As expected, teachers in vocational education find the stimulation of values with regard to labor important but as our study shows, 'work education' is not only a task for vocational education but also for general education.

School culture and the changing role of teachers

In the near future, the Dutch schools should be able to offer a more concrete interpretation of their 'mission' and curriculum in the framework of greater autonomy. The influence of the school culture will increase. Therefore, teachers might become less free to determine the values they wish to develop in their students. The choice of values could become a part of completing the specific identity and stressing the distinctive features of the school. In restructuring schools, the identity of the school will receive more attention, but this will diminish the range of possibilities of teachers in giving their own interpretation to the curriculum.

Teachers must reinforce their pedagogical task which should also include the field of labor. But there are more changes in educational goals that influence the task of teachers: they have to guide their students in the process of learning and also develop certain skills in their students. The contribution of the teachers as regards content appears to diminish (Apple, 1986). More attention given to the pedagogical task of education should, however, lead to more possibilities for teachers of laying their own emphases with regard to content in educational practice and of having a dialogue with their students.

Teacher as participant and supervisor

In the interaction between values in the classroom, teachers play both the part of supervisor and participant. Teachers bring in their own contribution as regards content. But because of their pedagogical authority, their contribution is not equal to that of the students (Lisman, 1991). Teachers have a greater influence on the curriculum. Teachers' values are comprised, among other things, in educational matters and in the pedagogical relation that constitutes education. As we have seen, teachers cannot be neutral with respect to expressing values in their teaching. Value stimulation is part of their profession. Therefore, it is better to be conscious of which values teachers want to develop in their students. For teachers, this means that they have to make explicit what values are part of their 'pedagogical content knowledge'. In reflecting on their teaching, teachers must not only reflect on their interaction with their students but also on the values that govern their teaching (Beyer and Zeichner, 1987).

Frank McLaughlin (San Francisco)

Survey of Education and Human Services Credential

Recipients: 1990-1992

A recent emerging phenomenon in the United States is the systematic solicitation of evaluation from graduates and the employers of graduates from professional schools, including schools of education. In contrast to a number of European education systems which are centralized, the training, supervision credentialing and licensing of school teachers, special education specialists and counselors are functions administered by each of the fifty states in the United States. The state of California has a vigorous bicameral legislature which mandates requirements for the preparation and credentialing of elementary, secondary, and special education teachers and counselors.

Graduates of teacher preparation educational programs and their employers are viewed from the contemporary cultural perspective as the customers served by institutions of higher education. Consequently, the numerous national, regional, and state professional accreditation associations and societies also mandate that systematic evaluations must be gathered on a periodic basis from both graduates and the employers of those graduates in order to assess whether the educational programs are doing the job they purport to do: prepare competent educators for a culturally and linguistically diverse population in the state of California.

In response to these mandated state department of education and voluntary accreditation authorities, the School of Education at San Francisco State University (SFSU) conducted a follow-up survey of recipients of ten different credentials who graduated between 1990 and 1992 and surveyed their employers as well.

The Study

The survey consisted of instruments in which two questionnaires were sent to each credential graduate and one questionnaire was sent to each respondent's employer. The survey primarily used a 5-point Likert scale with a range from Excellent (5), Good (4), Fair (3), Marginal (2), and Poor (1).

The Mailing

Each credential recipient was sent a cover letter, a School of Education Survey, a credential specific survey, and a return postage-paid envelope. Approximately two weeks later, a second wave of identical mailings was sent to those who had not responded to the first. Finally, a postcard reminder was sent to those who had still not responded. Upon return of the questionnaires and identification of the respondent's current supervisor, employer questionnaires were mailed to the supervisor along with a cover letter and a return postage-paid envelope. Postcard reminders were then sent as a follow-up. Of the 1,413 graduates on the survey mailing list, 537 (38%) responded. Of the 237 employer surveys distributed, 107 (45%) were returned.

The Results

Approximately 80% of those credential recipients who responded to the survey indicated that: they are currently employed in their area of preparation; the SFSU credential programs did prepare them for their current positions; and they would recommend the SFSU programs.

Of the nine aspects of professional preparation surveyed, students regarded student teaching and field practica as the best. Those aspects which were rated by students as being less than fair include M.A. degree advising and the University Placement Office (which is now called the Career Center); the latter was rated close to

marginal. With the exception of student teaching, which received a mean score of 4.06, all of the aspects surveyed received a less than "good" rating, with scores lying below 4.00.

Roughly 75% of those surveyed indicated that they were regular teachers working in the public school system. The overwhelming majority of respondents (87%) were working in the San Francisco Bay Area, 72% of which were doing so full-time.

The demographic information indicated that about 41% of the sample were between 20-29 years old, while the 30-39 year old age group accounted for 32%. Exactly 75% of the sample was female. At least eight of every ten students identified themselves as "White/Caucasian", while each of the traditionally under-represented groups accounted for only 2% or less of the sample. The notable exception to this was the 8% of the sample that identified themselves as Asian.

Responses are summarized to the four study questions:

1. *"Are the skills being developed and the knowledge imparted by the program relevant to the realities of the work place?"*

While discrepancies among programs existed, the survey data indicated that the majority did a fair to good job (3 to 4 on the 5-point Likert scale) of developing skills and imparting knowledge relevant to work place realities. The Visually Impaired credential program did a good to excellent job in this area.

2. *"Are the graduates of the credential programs securing employment in the credential area in which they have been trained?"*

A large majority (80.3%) of graduates were currently working in the credential area in which they had been trained. Clinical Rehabilitative Services Credential graduates and Visually Impaired Credential graduates had all been employed in their area of preparation. Approximately half of those from the Educational Administration and Reading and Language Arts Credential programs had been employed in the credential area where training was received.

3. *"What is the overall perception of the quality of the programs as evaluated by the graduates? by their employers?"*

Approximately 80-85% of the graduates indicated that San

Francisco State University credential programs had prepared them for their current position and that they would recommend the programs. All respondents from the Pupil Personnel Services program and the Visually Impaired program said they believed that their credential program had prepared them for their current position. Mean scores from the employer surveys overwhelmingly indicated that employees who had graduated from the San Francisco State University credential programs were well-trained. The four questions of skill/knowledge relevance, professional performance, ethical behavior, and professional responsibility each had mean scores higher than 4.5 on the 5-point Likert scale.

4. "Are there any recommendations for change to improve program quality?"

Mean scores from the professional preparation and university services questions indicated that M.A. degree advising and the Career Center (formerly the University Placement Office) were in need of improvement, receiving a less than fair rating. In particular, graduates of the multiple and single subject credential programs gave the lowest scores in these areas. Graduates rated the student teaching part of the program as good. Overall, however, the average mean score for questions relating to program quality was less than 4.0 ("good" on the Likert scale), possibly indicating that improvements should be made in all areas. In particular, graduates wanted less theoretical emphasis and greater weight placed on classroom management skills directed toward teaching culturally and linguistically diverse student groups in both elementary and secondary schools in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area.

Éva Balázs (Budapest)

Needs for and Forms of Educational Management

Training in Hungary

Precedents

The precedents of the project started in 1991, when fifteen Hungarian school leaders received a two-months in-service school management training in Amsterdam. In 1992, Hungary - among two other East European countries - got a chance to improve its school management system under the patronage of NESA. The main goal of the new program was to improve the establishment of a new infrastructure for the school management system in Hungary. As a part of the program, a survey was planned and carried out among Hungarian school directors.

The goal of the survey was to assess the interviewees' opinions and needs for a school management system and school manager training, and to provide an overview of the interviewees' attitudes concerning the field, both in broader and concrete aspects.

A Hungarian-wide sample was taken with a 20% proportional representation by the types of schools, of settlements (city or villages, developed or rural area) and of interviewees' job (director or vice-director). Nearly 1000 questionnaires could be evaluated among the 1600 ones that were sent out. The procedure of the survey was an investigation carried out with a questionnaire by mail.

Some Aspect of Hungarian Educational Policy Background

The Hungarian school system traditionally was a centralized one. However, before the political transition period in Hungary, some steps of decentralization occurred in education. The main stage was the Educational Act of 1985, which declared more autonomy for schools. The transition of the Hungarian political system and the new system of self-governing of settlements which gave the ownership of schools to local self-governing bodies have provided real possibilities for autonomy.¹

In the same period, financial shortage, political debates and professional uncertainties created confusion in Hungarian education. Therefore, it is a real question for debate whether the option of the present school directors concerning, e.g., school leadership, should be directed towards decentralization and competition or re-centralization and "law and order".² This summer a new Educational Act was adopted which, allowing open points and debates for both politicians and professionals, declares school management and training as necessary, and thus, the opinions and demands concerning these issues are also important for setting up a new school management training system in Hungary.

The Most Relevant Findings of the Survey

The personal opinions about school leadership show a flexible and open readiness towards both the theme of school management and school management training. This is a topic which seems to be extremely important for the innovation of Hungarian public education in the interviewees opinion.

School directorship is considered an important job. This job is deemed a distinguished profession, both concerning the content and the essence of it, and, a kind of profession which can be and should be learnt.

1 Halasz, G.: The Policy of School Autonomy and the Reform of Educational Administration: Hungarian Changes in an East European Perspective. *International Review of Education*. Vol 39. No 6. Nov. 1993.

2 OECD country report, 1993.

School leadership can be learnt best in everyday practice in the opinion of the directors, but the overwhelming majority of the sample think school leadership training also to be essential in the form of both post-graduate education and a type of in-service training.

Directors or persons intending to apply for this job should acquire school manager skills. The sample agrees with introducing a regulation which should require both some re-training and some renovation or up-dating of school director skills for the directors not yet having special school management qualification.

As for the interviewees general opinion about what the school leadership training system in Hungary should be like, we received a picture of a fairly pluralistic system. Regarding the domination of the state and/or the market in the regulation of educational management, the directors opinion was based on the market regulation in the operation, and a loose regulation on the criteria or outputs. The system neither should be a centralized one nor should it be supervised centrally and hierarchically. This opinion, reflecting some disappointment, was even stronger regarding the actual and practical agent of the state, the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education. On the other hand, the Ministry is accepted as a provider of school management training institutes and/or the organizer of such courses, among other possible agents such as school managers, higher education and County Pedagogical Institutions which are acceptable, but not in taking a definitive role. It shows the interviewees pragmatism as far as educational policy is concerned.

The opinion about the possible role of higher education in school management training is quite diversified, and it reflects some debate about the quality of the universities and teacher training colleges at which they previously studied.

In the country-wide range of the opinions, only private firms offering school management training courses were considered desirable in taking a greater role in school director training. Because the existence of the market in the field of management training in Hungary in general (mostly in economic areas) is a fact by now, the possible enlargement of this area with educational school management training agencies is positive in the interviewees opinions. But general management training firms and institutions

do not seem to be acceptable to our directors. This shows that school directors who did not state a 'pedagogic-like' character in other cases in the survey consider school management skills rather different from those of the managers working in other fields.

More traditional opinions concerning the school management system than the survey shows occurred, in general, in the opinions of secondary grammar school directors of the highest status in Budapest and in lower vocational schools who could accept more participation of the state or ministry.

As to the structure of a new training model, the interviewees think of a practice-based and management-oriented syllabus. The most important subjects in it are economy, organization and law. Communication is also important for the majority. Psychology-centered subjects are of second priority, as are also important subjects or themes and some subjects in connection with human resources, mostly problem solving and handling HR matters. It is rather interesting, and this shows a feeling of dis- or misunderstanding of school management activities, that Hungarian school directors do not think marketing to be important at the moment. Those subjects were considered more important which had already had 'concrete' relevance in the last several years -- those which they had already encountered, with which they had already dealt, the importance of which they had recognized. The more traditional and pedagogical-centered subjects are less popular and are thought to be rather superfluous according to the directors asked.

The courses the interviewees outlined generally should consist of more parts, be organized within one school year, take place partly during work time, partly in the evenings or on weekends.

Distance learning does not seem to be a good form for school management for school directors in Hungary today. To form an opinion about these findings, we think that it is important to mention the anonymity of distance learning felt mostly in the rural areas - it does not indicate traditionalism. Distance learning means mainly learning cognitively, with no practice and learning skills -- that is why it is less acceptable for practice-oriented needs.

The interviewees do not think the skills and knowledge gained

in a course should be provided only for school directors. More than half think it would be useful for people working in local authorities also to attend such courses. Representatives of the ministry or any office of the state could be trained as school managers, too. In their answers the directors acknowledge that they would find it acceptable if any members of their school staff or an ordinary school teacher would study in a school management training course. (The first leaders are more and the deputies are less open in this theme.) This finding indicates that the 'knowledge' of a management training course is not a kind of knowledge which is good or useful to keep in the interviewees mind, but to use it as the same frame and language, and, both 'up' and 'down' in professional communication. Their approach and attitude is fairly democratic: based not on the feeling of and demonstration of superiority, but on communication.

The former experience of school management training is fairly wide among the interviewees. It was obtained from basically Hungarian institutes, from mostly the county pedagogical institutes and the ministry. A considerable part of the sample was trained within the previous five years, after the implementation of the 1985 Educational Act, which intended to improve everyday practice. The interviewees deem the courses they attended more or less useful, with the only complaint being about theory-orientation. In the majority's opinion the results of the former courses had some serviceability to the director's work.

The readiness to take part in school management training courses is fairly high in the sample; more than 60 % of the interviewees think they would take part in a future course under any circumstances and nearly 20% if some specific conditions, e.g., payment or free time are provided. Most of the interviewees are willing to take part in a future training of a high quality, providing their own personal financial contribution as well.

Briefly summarizing the findings as far as this presentation is concerned, the most relevant result is to ascertain the directors reply to the question: decentralization and market or centralization and strict regulation. As we have seen, the overwhelming reply is the

first choice.

The Present State and Perspectives of Innovation in Educational Management in Hungary

The chances for innovation in the educational field are not independent of political events. Because of political discussion, and being in touch also with educational politics, it is still unknown whether any kind of education can be regulated by different agents and not by the state, and in this case, will market relations be allowed in education or regulation in other terms. As to the precedents of the demand for competence in school directorship, the 1985 law prescribed the agreement of the teaching staff for appointing somebody as director. Until now, local authorities have had the unlimited right to this. On the other hand, there has been and there is no formal prescription for the qualifications of school leadership - apart from the teaching qualification itself - so participation in school leadership training can be taken into account as an investment of a marketing character. The nature of this process is a complex problem and can be hardly yet known exactly, but the fact itself can be readily accepted as far as educationalists are concerned.

It is also open at present as to what school management training system will be like: a centralized model can be introduced, a pluralistic training system can unfold or a mixture of the two approaches will function. The fact itself, that more kinds of training models are working in different kinds of institutions and more kinds of training have been accepted by school directors and teachers by now, is irreversible.

The present forms of school leadership training are mainly based on Regional or County Pedagogical Institutions, and - to a lower extent - on higher education. Generally, those universities are dealing with school management training courses which had previously done so. The courses partly have similar syllabi and organizational forms as before, but some developments have taken place in subject and content, although mostly on the surface.

It is probably of interest that school leadership training provides a rather significant proportion of management training. Based on data about management training firms from the International Information Center for Management Training in Budapest, there are about 100 institutions dealing with "general" management training in Hungary. For recording data about school management training, we organized a data collection concerning those institutions that deal with this. We sent a questionnaire to County Pedagogical Institutes, universities, teacher training colleges and management firms and companies that we knew about. Among the thirteen replying dealing with school management, there are eight Regional or County Pedagogical Institutes, three universities and two private firms. Moreover, we know about school management programs or courses also held in most of other County Pedagogical Institutes which had not replied; thus, school management training proves to be practiced widely in Hungary, and it indicates new claims and challenges for both school leaders and professionals.

We are not pessimistic concerning the chances of operating a modern and efficient infrastructure with many programs. Just to provide a general description of this would require another lecture, so only two points can be mentioned. School management is the field which is an extremely good "tool" for innovation in education, "from head to toe" and "from toe to head", impressing all the agents, from the educational administration to parents. That is why its influence has been withdrawn. A further point of view is that it is still one of the less ambiguous points of the educational field in Hungary. Compared with other issues in public education, it has not been a strong point for hardly anybody, so it can be set up by a broader consensus than other issues in education. Therefore, it has an extra relevance for the process of educational policy-making.

The survey we carried out can provide a contribution toward innovation in school management system. The experience of the survey is utilized in giving information to educational administration for decision-making, both on the central and local level. The findings can help in the field of coordination, supporting systems and the organization of school management training models. For

educational professionals our findings can improve knowledge on organizational research and development as well as the education of leadership. Besides, the results will be taken into consideration for the introduction and marketing of the new modular program for school management training which is being prepared by Hungarian experts and with the help of Dutch colleagues as the main part of an international collaboration. Concerning this program, our view is that it is considered as "only" one - though as one of an excellent quality in the authors' view - among other programs, as an element of a new developing, pluralistic infrastructure and system in Hungary.³

3 Karstanje P.: Implementing National Infrastructures for School Management Programs. Educational Management across Europe. Academisch Boeken Centrum, ABC De Lier, 1993.

Jan Solfronk (Praha)

The Study of School Management at the Pedagogical Faculty of Charles University in Prague

Introduction

In the Czech Republic, a process of transforming the educational and school system is under way. The success of this process depends not only on a thoroughly developed concept, on good legislation and democratic principles, but also on those persons who are the actual implementors of that transformation, i.e., primarily the teachers, headmasters and decision makers in education in general.

For this reason, in the last few years we have posed some basic questions that must be answered:

1. Are leading officials in the school system well prepared for their task? Are their qualifications adequate? According to the new demands made on headmasters, we had to reply in the negative. The democratic way of life gives headmasters greater autonomy in decision making, but at the same time it increases their responsibility in such spheres as economics and human resources management, etc. The new status of our state and private schools alike and their increasing autonomy has confronted headmasters with a number of problems they had never had to deal with before.

2. Is the contemporary manner of training educational personnel adequate? In recent years, the profession of headmaster was conceived as an office, not as a specialized profession. This question also had to be answered in the negative. We felt that it was essen-

tial to conceive the position of headmaster as a specific profession, which calls for specific training.

3. How can the Pedagogical Faculty help in training headmasters and leading officials in education? Should our Faculty concern itself with this problem?

We felt that yes, the Pedagogical Faculty, dealing not only with training future teachers, but also with general matters of education, should concern itself with this matter, and that it was sufficiently competent to do so.

The answers to the above questions are the reason that provided the impetus to the Pedagogical Faculty in Prague to set up a specialized university course which we call "School Management".

In my brief presentation, I should like to describe the concept of this course and the experience gained in the first year of that course.

The School Management Course at the Pedagogical Faculty

School management is conceived as an interdisciplinary subject concerned with matters of management and organization, comprising six main fields:

- control by legislation
- economic management
- leadership
- educational control
- information science and school information systems
- general science of management and organization.

These six basic fields are supplemented by a number of optional courses and exercises, teaching more detailed knowledge and skills in each of the main subjects. The course includes six semesters and a final dissertation which students prepare during the 7th and 8th semester. The course is designed for top personnel in education, who hold management positions or are training for such.

Our original proposition was to train management personnel on four levels:

1. medium level managers
2. headmasters of schools and educational institutions
3. inspectors
4. top management

At present, the Faculty's capacity allows the training primarily of management personnel on the second and partly also the third level, i.e., it is for headmasters and inspectors. In the next few years we shall attempt to devise courses also for the first and fourth level.

Besides these types of external, in-service studies we are experimentally verifying a full-time course of school management for students of pedagogics as one of their teacher specializations. Both types of courses were first started in the school-year 1992/1993. A description of their curriculum would exceed the scope of this presentation. However, I should like to mention some of the experience we gained in the first year of teaching the course.

Experience with the School Management Course

a) The reflective nature of the course.

In the course of the first study year we applied the usual forms of university study - lectures, seminars, exercises. However, very soon it was found that our students compared the knowledge obtained with their practical experience and had a tendency to evaluate it by its usefulness for their daily work. This convinced us that it would be necessary to ascertain currently the views and attitudes of the students and to make greater use of the technique of case studies and problem-solving. For this reason, we used questionnaires and surveys as well as informal consultations concerning the inclusion of further training methods.

Also, it was found that the form of external study was not quite satisfactory, because the brief time available prevented a broader use of active methods of instruction, i.e., debate, team work, exchange of experience, etc. The question arises whether it would not be better to try another form of study, e.g., an intensive full-time course covering a shorter period of time. However, the present economic situation of our faculties and schools does not

permit us to experiment with this type of course.

b) Change of approach. Flexible study courses.

At the beginning of the course, we inquired as to the needs of applicants and their study requirements. On the whole, it was natural that the overwhelming majority of students (headmasters and inspectors) wished above all to supplement and extend their education in the sphere of economic management and legislative problems of the school system. This was due to the changes in our educational system, increased responsibility for the economic management of schools, the lack of funds and changing legislation. But in the course of study a substantial shift in the students' attitude occurred. The survey made at the end of the school year revealed that headmasters consider the most important feature of their work the management of human resources, and for this reason they asked for the course to include further subjects falling under the heading psychology of management or, in general, leadership. Subjects suggested by respondents included:

- how to get to know and evaluate people
- communication between superiors and subordinates
- how to conduct interviews
- conflicts and how to resolve them
- personal features of a successful headmaster and similar themes.

Thus it was found that the entire course should, to a certain extent, assume students' changing attitudes to theoretical disciplines, that these should be foreseen and be included, with adequate expertise, into the whole concept of the course.

It is a requirement which one might describe as the principle of the flexibility of the course on school management.

c) Specifics of running a school. Research as part of the course.

School management is not and cannot be a simple application of the principles of management and organization to the area of schools and other educational institutions. By its purpose, organization, staffing and material equipment, a school constitutes a very specific and autonomous social community. Its management is also specific and different from managing other social formations. One of the findings of the first year of the course was that

little was known about its specifics, and that in the coming years it would be essential to orient research in that direction. In this context, it might be of interest to hear some of the views of our headmaster-students when asked in the survey how they saw the specifics of managing a school. I have selected some frequently recurring and sometimes surprising answers.

(Simplified version of replies).

The specifics of running a school are due to:

1. The overwhelming number of female teachers, i.e., that the headmaster (headmistress) has to be responsible for a mostly female staff.
2. The headmaster, apart from his management function, having to play numerous other roles: official, educator, specialist, diplomat and moral example.
3. Subordinates (teachers, mostly female) displaying certain features of professional deformation - i.e., they tend to act in a manner similar to that of their students and to adopt their negative as well as positive qualities.

These important ideas allow us to conclude that the school management course should be in the nature of a search, based on pedagogical, psychological and social research.

The first study year was not based on such a concept.

However, I do feel that the specifics of university training in school management should be studies based on research. This principle is the third important conclusion drawn from our experience to date.

Conclusion

The first year of the course on school management which has just been completed and the experience gained from it does not provide sufficient evidence for unequivocal conclusions. However, it is felt that it fully justified the view that such study should be conceived as a university course, and that this field of study should be in the competence of the pedagogical faculties.

Jiri Kotásek (Praha)

Major Trends of Higher Education Renewal in the Czech Republic

Higher Education Depression Before 1989

During the post-war period in former Czechoslovakia the development of HE can be described as an exercise on the limitation of traditional academic freedom. HE-institutions were increasingly deprived of their right to operate in an autonomous manner by the Communist Party's rigid system of centralized education and ideological oppression. One of the most remarkable features was periodically repeated personnel screening following critical political events (1948-1953, 1957-1958, 1969-1973). Each of these personnel shocks, when a number of usually the most outstanding personalities - teachers and students - were forced to leave their positions, traumatized the spirit and ethics of the academic community and brought about decline of their quality.

The rise and development of the Academies of Sciences according to the Soviet model led to the establishment of new - more and more isolated from universities - research centres and workplaces which were more preferred and more attractive for creative personalities than the universities. However, the core of the educational and research potential at HE-institutions has been preserved (mainly in natural sciences, medicine and some field of technology). The Czechoslovak HE lagged behind the advanced countries by the amount of trained population at the level of post-secondary education. No change of the HE-system occurred, either in centralistic organization or in structure. The mechanism functioning in the political, economic and social spheres did not stimulate the economic subjects to exploit and evaluate education

or qualification.

Teaching, research and information services were considerably separated from world's progress especially in the humanities and the social sciences.

Main Changes in Higher Education since 1989

Czechoslovak universities represented an appreciable force in the political upheaval that took place in November 1989. As early as in the very first days of the process of political change the HE-institutions gained considerable independence in relation to the state. Universities and their faculties elected academic officials (rectors, deans and other senior executives), thus changing nearly 90 per cent of them and introduced the practice of admitting applicants to professional posts by selection based on publicly advertised competitions. There are estimations that 30-40 per cent of the HE-staff has been replaced.

The new HE-Act of May 1990 has codified the basic academic rights and freedoms. Unlike the previous Acts, this one enables universities to decide on their own internal structure and on the fields of study, content and organization of studies, filling of directive posts at universities and their faculties, numbers and criteria for the admission of students, awarding academic degrees and nominating professors and deciding on the distribution of the financial resources. According to the Act, the newly-constituted bodies competent to decide upon these issues are the elected Academic Senates representing teachers, researchers and students. They are responsible for the election of rectors and deans. Other important bodies functioning at HE-institutions are Scientific Councils, whose members are appointed by the rectors or deans, subject to the consent by the appropriate academic senates. They are responsible for decisions concerning teaching, research and nomination of professors. The role of the Ministry of Education has been reduced to the creation of necessary conditions, the co-ordination of the activities, the distribution of the state's financial resources earmarked for the educational system, and to the registration of the statutes of HE-institutions.

New national bodies established are the Accreditation Board

and the Council of HE-institutions. The former is an advisory body of the Czech government. Its members are prominent experts from HE-institutions as well as from the Academy of Sciences or from research institutes. The main purpose of the board is to advise government authorities on the establishment, fusion, division and abolition of HE-institutions and faculties. The Board started to propose ministerial decisions concerning centres for postgraduate studies in different disciplines. It also has the responsibility of evaluation procedures toward university faculties. The Council of HE-institutions consists of elected representatives of the Academic Senates of the universities and their faculties. They are entitled to be consulted on all matters concerning financing, drafting legislation and other issues of major importance to HE. The existence of the Council proved the usefulness of a "HE-Parliament" functioning as an advisory body to the Ministry of Education.

Current Problems and Prospects

The relatively limited attention now being paid to the development of HE by the government is not only due to the present critical shortage of funds, but it is also caused by the fact that the HE sector is not considered to be of primary importance for the economic development. However, under present circumstances of the transformation of a centrally planned economy into a market economy with private ownership, it is difficult to prove the ability of HE-institutions to contribute to economic development.

After the separation of the Czech and the Slovak Republics the HE-systems of both independent States suffer the following diseases:

- HE-budgets are so extremely low that the majority of the universities is not able to survive until the end of the year. There are some additional funds expected for this and possibly next year. However, according to the Minister's statement, there is no time for development, but only for survival. The drafting of the strategic, long-term development plans has been postponed to the future.

- Some political forces in the Czech coalition government

would like to strengthen the power of the ministry. The passed amendment of the HE-Act in the Czech Republic enables the intervention of the Minister into personnel policies of the universities. This is a decision aimed against the autonomy of the universities. However, it is necessary to find an optimum balance between the decentralized administration of the system and the regulation of its development by the state.

- Only one half of applicants for admission to HE-institution are admitted. Only 12% of the eighteen year olds in the Czech Republic are becoming university students. The constraints caused by university premises and budgets stop the quantitative growth of HE-institutions. There are some positive examples of diversification of studies at universities, a growing number of short-cycle studies, and a step-by-step transformation of a small number of secondary technical schools into non-university HE-institutions.

- There are many positive examples of curriculum changes in important fields of study and growing international contacts as well. Some faculties like law, economics, foreign languages and informatics are afraid of a brain-drain into more lucrative jobs. Competition among faculties endangers especially faculties of education being under severe attack by traditional faculties and students expecting better professional training for teaching.

Recent Change in Nordic Higher Education

Abstract

The Nordic countries have a lot in common historically, culturally and linguistically. They have a common labor market and strong cooperation in many areas. Higher education is a part of their large public sectors. Thus, a comparative study of the changing "Nordic model" of higher education could enhance our understanding of policy change, differences and similarities of goals and implementation strategies.

Background

The first universities in the Nordic countries were those of Uppsala, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark, founded in 1477 and 1479 respectively. The Academy of Åbo, the first university of Finland, was founded in 1640, when Finland was a part of Sweden. In 1828 the university was moved to Helsinki as the Imperial Alexander University. The University of Lund, Sweden, was established in 1666 and the University of Oslo, Norway, in 1811.

It was not until the 20th century that new universities were established, although many professional schools predate this expansion. The majority of those schools have now been incorporated into universities. The large institutional expansion began in the 1960's in all the Nordic countries. The number of institutions has more than doubled since 1960. The former concentration of higher education centers in capitals and major cities has now been replaced by a tightly woven network of hundreds of universities

and other institutions of higher education all over the region.

The Nordic countries define universities in different ways. In Sweden, all post-secondary education belongs to the higher education system, whereas Denmark has a more narrow definition, which includes only institutions with both teaching and research as well as post-graduate study programs for the doctoral degree. Norway and Finland are somewhere in between these extremes.

Financing

Universities and other institutions of higher education in the Nordic countries are state-financed and state-regulated institutions. Annual parliamentary appropriations make up the major part of the university funding. A growing share of the total resources emanates from other sources, such as the research councils and industry. Universities, in general, have no income from student fees.

Higher Education in the Welfare Society

Innovation and the ability to adapt are important factors in the efforts to preserve and further develop the Nordic welfare societies. This requires high quality research and higher education. Nationally, therefore, these areas have been given high priority. Increasing demands for change and increased public spending efficiency have been incentives in implementing research and educational activities in an international perspective. Educational change in a country is to an increasing extent a result of tight links to world society. The intensity of world pressure towards standardization has increased over time. Scientific paradigms, for example the human capital view, and popular ideas have, once again, raised the interest in education, particularly higher education, which is viewed as instrumental for the development of the individual and society.

Market Orientation and Decentralization

Trends towards market orientation, deregulation and increased institutional autonomy seem to be present in all the four Nordic countries included in this study, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, regardless of parliamentary composition, economic situation, and political identity of the Minister of Education. Decentralization of decisions to the institutional level has been coupled with pressures for accountability and the development of new schemes for evaluation and quality assessment.

A modern university of reasonable international standing performs a whole set of functions, where research and graduate study emerge as central. Faculty members feel that both activities are integral parts of the academic profession.

Universities have to carry out many conflicting functions in contemporary society, i.e.

- provide undergraduate education
- search for new knowledge
- train new researchers
- participate in official consultations and contracted research
- offer programs of retraining and competence development.

All these tasks are not easy to combine.

In Europe, in contrast to the United States, market forces have had a fairly limited influence on the development of education. At present, however, market ideology is spreading and is of importance for many changes in higher education. This ideology is characterized by competition between institutions within and between countries through increased sensitivity to consumer demands (students, governments, industry, research contractors, etc.) and competition for government and external funding.

"Nordic Model"

In Sweden, like in Denmark, Finland and Norway, the higher education model is influenced by a powerful nation-state where regional policy considerations and the social thesis of equal educa-

tional opportunity have played an important role.

The higher education systems of the Nordic countries have been:

- 1) small in size, creating restricted markets
- 2) strictly centralized as to control of resources
- 3) institutionally uniform, with no recognized hierarchy
- 4) non-competitive with respect to markets, students, or business, only in terms of State-controlled resources
- 5) weak in institutional initiative, since strict centralization inhibits the taking of initiatives, reorganization within the universities and the development of an entrepreneurial spirit.

During the 1980's there has been a switch which involves preparing the universities for the pursuit of national welfare and competitiveness on international markets, partly in cooperation with business and industry. Enterprise culture is encouraged and management by result and managerialism are familiar terms.

Competition between universities had, where it existed, operated within the same State system. Without a private sector of higher education the "market" was limited. Consumer demand did not play an important role in the development of higher education. The impact that could be noted was indirect, via political pressures and interests operating through the State.

A more market oriented system and partial dismantling of State control could cause some problems in countries with small populations. Radical deregulation might create a situation where only a few universities in attractive areas would survive.

The "Nordic model" has so far assumed that the people's elected representatives would better govern higher education than the market, but this is now changing.

Autonomy and Accountability

Autonomy, applied to higher education, concerns the relative ability of a single institution to govern itself without any outside control. Autonomy can be granted by law or through the financing system. Government reports show that the autonomy of higher education institutions has increased, although the extent of

this autonomy differs because of differences at the outset. Governments everywhere want more value for their money and in various ways require individual institutions to be accountable for funds. This gives university administrators an increased role.

Economics of Education

Since the 1960's we have experienced economic thinking in education expressed in terms like manpower planning, human capital and rates of return to education. Education has been regarded as the most important element of individual careers and in the economic growth of a country. Recent legislation and regulations in the Nordic countries clearly reflect this view together with attempts to adjust higher education to the needs of the market.

David Hartley (Dundee)

Contradictions in Scottish Education Policy:

Signs of the Times?

By the early 80's, the broad strategy of the Conservative government's campaign in Britain was becoming clear. The market was to be set free, sweeping aside the Keynesian interventionists. In order to ensure that the correct "raw material" would be supplied to the newly-deregulated economy, the product of the schools would have to be changed. The percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) to be spent on the welfare state was set to fall. Education was not spared. From a high of 5.2 percent of GDP in 1970-71, expenditure on education was to peak in 1975-76 at 6.6 percent, thereafter falling to 4.8 percent in 1990-91. What was to be spent would be subjected to cost-benefit analysis, thereby ensuring value for money for the taxpayer. Gradually, new metaphors began to structure our thinking about education. A corporate patois emerged. The "management team" had arrived. The political question which government faced was how to justify this reduction in expenditure at a time when people's expectations of the welfare state had yet to be curbed. In its quest to legitimate these expenditure cuts, the government gradually began to infuse its rhetoric with terms such as "choice", "ownership" and "partnership". The message was contradictory: central control, but local ownership. This "ownership" and "partnership" operates at a number of levels: the parent, the teacher and the school. But this apparent devolution of powers is framed by the state's strategy for education.

Parents: Central Control and Devolved Ownership

A central condition for achieving a market in education is to re-

define the parent as a consumer, and to re-define the school as a business within a competitive environment. The policy of parental involvement and ownership has gone through three phases since 1980: parental choice of a state school; school boards; and self-governing schools. However, in spite of the government's good intentions, Scottish parents have been notably reluctant to choose schools and, even less so, to become involved in the running of them: about ninety percent of parents have been content to send their children to their local school; about two-thirds of schools have no school board; and none has opted out of local government control. There may be many reasons for this, but it will not have gone unnoticed by parents that the Scottish Office still retains control over curriculum, testing and funding. Apart from opting to become a self-governing school, few important powers are held by Scottish school boards.

Teachers: Central Control and Devolved Ownership

Teachers have been much maligned of late, as have Her Majesty's Inspectorate and teacher trainers. Since the publication in Scotland of the *Primary Memorandum* (Scottish Education Department, 1965), there has been broad agreement among teachers, teacher trainers and the Inspectorate that primary education should be based on child-centred principles. However, whilst teachers agreed with the rhetoric of child-centred education, they did little to practise it. Even so, by 1988 the government had decided that even the rhetoric bothered them, and they endeavoured to silence it, substituting a scarcely-disguised managerialist quality-control vocabulary, advocating national testing and the closer prescription of the curriculum, backed up by legislation in England and Wales, but 'only' threatened in Scotland. Just as curricular control remained with the government, so too did national testing. But much more "ownership" of these tests rests with the teacher in Scotland than in England. In their original formulation, in 1987, the proposals envisaged for Scotland were not dissimilar to those in England. Since then, the Scottish Office has had to deal with concerted opposition from parents, the teacher unions and Labour-controlled regional education authorities. When the

Scottish national tests were first run, in 1990-91, over two-thirds of the parents withdrew their children from them. In response, a new "confirmatory threshold testing" arrangement was introduced. This means that the national tests will be given by teachers in order to confirm their own internal assessments of the children. If the tests do indeed confirm these assessments, then the parents will be so advised; if not, they will not be advised. In sum, teachers must give the national tests to children in reading, writing and mathematics about "3 or 4 times in the primary school, and once or twice in the secondary school [...]. The teachers will decide when, but not whether, pupils will be tested". Given the government's control of the curriculum and national testing, all that remains under the "ownership" of the teachers is the pedagogy which will achieve the government's strategies for curriculum and assessment.

The contradiction between central control and local ownership also operates under the teacher appraisal scheme. Teacher appraisal arose out of policy on staff development. For staff development to be valid, it was necessary to identify the needs of the individual professional teacher. The appraisal scheme purported to do this. Having been appraised, the teacher would produce a set of targets toward which to aspire, and, in order to achieve them, the teacher would draw up (and "own") his or her "action plan". However, whilst teachers "own" their action plans, they have no say in the very categories according to which they will be appraised. The appraisal scheme is herarchical, not collegial, and all appraisal schemes must be approved by the government. To use the government's phrase, there will be "an appropriate sense of ownership", not real ownership.

In sum, all this points to an emerging isomorphism in the management of control: parents may choose a school and take part in the running of it, but this must be within the limits of curriculum, testing and funding defined by central government; teachers "own" their pedagogy and appraisal, but both are set within the constraints of national curricular guidelines and testing (in the case of pedagogy), or within national guidelines (for appraisal); and whilst schools will soon self-manage the spending of their budgets, the basis of this budget will turn predominantly on the school's ability to attract pupils, a condition set by the central

government. So much for the mixed messages in contemporary education policy, but what is the reason for them?

Contradictions in Education Policy: Signs of the Times?

In the management of parents, teachers and schools, the government has deployed the slogans of choice, partnership and ownership. These resonate with the consumerist culture of post-modernism and with the tenets of democracy, thereby lending them legitimacy. But this "ownership", these "choices" refer only to tactics. It is pseudo-ownership and pseudo-partnership. There remains a clear asymmetry of power in favour of the government. Strategy remains in its hands. Government-defined performance criteria, checklists and monitoring all function together in order to ascertain that the "devolved" tactics meet the strategic targets of officialdom. Here, therefore, are the mixed messages of the new management of education. In their totality they comprise an emerging structural isomorphism in the management of consent at all levels of education. At one and the same time, the cultural and the economic realms of the emerging postmodern condition are apparently reconciled. That is, the legitimacy rhetoric of ownership, choice and diversity accords with the consumerist *culture* of an emerging postmodernism, but the close specification of both educational targets and funding derives from the government's quest to prune its expenditure on the welfare state during a period of fiscal overload.

Media in Education:

New Tasks, New Perspectives

Phillip Drummond (London)

Media Based Education in Europe

The new Europe provides a complex home for the development of Media Based Education. At the economic level, the reshaping centres on the consolidation of a single European market, with the prospect of a common currency and with increased commercial trans-border flow. This economic union is seen, in some quarters, as bolstering a currently fragmented set of European economies against the might of North American and, increasingly, Oriental financial muscle. The political and ideological ramifications of this union are less easily traced, but one important dynamic is provided, at the Eastern frontiers, by the de-communisation of the former Eastern bloc and its gradual amalgamation into the parliamentary-democratic protocols of its central European neighbours: the new Germany is the test-case for this process of reintegration.

In this context Europe can be identified, firstly, against 'the other'. That is to say, it can be contrasted against an external sphere typified by the crisis-ridden capitalism of the United States, the emergent technological supremacy of the Orient, the agonising reconstruction of the former Soviet bloc, the struggles over nationalism and religion in the former Yugoslavia, and the growing demands of an African/Arab world for whom Europe is an early and a vital port of call in a now urgent movement of migration between global blocs at critically different stages of development. These represent massive social, political, and economic pressures against which the newly federalised and only partly cohesive European sphere gathers its own identities together in difference. The pressures regularly move in contradictory directions. A federalising Europe sees, eastwards, the impoverished former Soviet bloc struggling to mark out national and ethnic distinctions, and frankly calling on western economic aid and expertise; the former colonialists (notably Britain and France) - ideologi-

cally still geared, at many levels, to visions of former empire - are now revisited by increasing numbers of their former colonial subjects. Questions of race, ethnicity, and citizenship are thus high on the new political agendas.

Where media are concerned, the Europeanisation of the mass media industries is itself a complex process, set against historic patterns of domination and exploitation. Cinema, for example, is likely to continue for some considerable time to be dominated by the output of the Hollywood system, with its unparalleled economic resources and long expertise in international diffusion. Television, too, may well be partly dominated by American product, although here there are further-reaching alterations at local levels of distribution. Here, the new technology of satellite distribution, coupled with the deregulation of television within certain European nation-states, heralds the beginning of newly complicated processes of transmission and exchange within the various satellite footprints. Important ramifications flow from this fact alone in respect of national sovereignty, ownership and control of the trans-border flow of information, and the constitution/interpellation, already commented upon, of the new TV spectator, 'exposed' to Europe and yet evermore confined within domestic space. What, then, should Media Based Education be doing within this new scenario?

Here we witness changes, too, in underlying forms of political conceptualisation. The collapse of the former Soviet bloc removes from the main current agenda historic oppositional frameworks contrasting capitalist and communist visions of the social. In their place, with even 'socialism' no longer current parlance in a number of left political parties, a new negotiation of the international market is in train. It is a negotiation which is nuanced rather than fundamentally reinterpreted by the persuasions of political and ideological Belief. The new de-binarised drama is in this sense less to do with the end of ideology *per se* than with the need to address the ideological features of the capitalist democracies with every greater clarity 'from within'.

Powerful, too, at a different level than the economic, are various questions of identity. Firstly in this context, 'culture' can refer to collective activity and identity in the wider public sphere. It can be linked to state and nationhood in terms of 'national cul-

ture', where a whole series of actions and behaviours builds a habitus of cultural mythologies so brilliantly explored by Barthes, for France, as long ago as the 1950s. If the culture of nationhood is a powerful generality which acts as an umbrella for the movements and affiliations of citizenship, 'culture' can also mean localised and differentiated behaviours at the micro level. As with the national, these may have powerful or weak ideological and political dimensions.

We might summarise them as, in turn, subcultures of the alternative - subcultures of preference, prolongations of the famous 'alternative society' models of the 1960s - or subcultures of opposition, of insubordination. Youth culture, as it developed in relation to the social invention of 'the teenager' from the late 1950s onwards, embodied these two differing dimensions. Youth culture marked itself out by various forms of difference: age, material focus, aesthetics, different visions of the national/international. Within these forms of difference, however, youth culture was in turn further divided in political terms. On the one hand, many of its public manifestations threatened the traditional fixities of the dominant culture. At the same time, those same challenges were frequently the material of commercial exploitation via dominant media forms themselves. The Hollywood youth picture, and, more obviously, post-1960s popular music, offer classic instances of these ambiguities at work.

Three prospects for Media Based Education seem useful to this author. The first of these is a paradigmatic model committed to what I would call intensive specialisation. By this I understand a co-operative model intent upon improving particular specialisations within European Media Based Education, probably on 'specialism-by-specialism' approach, taking expertise where found and sharing in the deepening of the paradigm for research. Here we might note, for example, in the immediate context, certain interests what I might call advanced Educational Technology; common interests in notions of media literacy; certain strengths in computer science and informatics; and commitments to cultural analysis of media texts and forms. This multi-focused outlook adds to the variety and breadth of our approach, but some paradigmatic deepening is likely to be necessary in future extensions of the project.

A second approach involves closer attention to the Europeanity of the varied disciplines which we individually include within our own professional and institutional definitions of Media Based Education. This means a number of things, not all of them entirely clear at the time of writing. It means, for example, the dimension of reciprocity and reflexivity. By these terms we denote the need to inscribe Europeanity within new media curricula as a context for understandings of the national and international. In the era of 1992, for example, 'British' cinema can no longer be understood in isolation from the cinematic reorganisation of continental Europe in the context of the single market; the reunification of German media will reflect a great deal upon the issues affecting developmental levels within national broadcasting systems, and so on.

A further version of this approach will stress totality. It does not require collusion with the phantasm of a 'United States of Europe' to perceive that the proposed re-balancing of national/super-national identities will reposition the ethos of media systems within European nation-states, irrespective of the imperialising tendencies of technologically-driven trans-national broadcasting imperatives. Whereas the reciprocity/reflexivity posture suggested 'learning about' or 'learning from' the experiences of adjacent nation-states more fully, the 'totality' thesis proposes a recasting of nationally specific issues within a new holistic framework. To give a concrete example, whereas the reciprocity/reflexivity model has given rise to a new European dimension within my own primarily Anglo-centric Masters Programme in Media at the University of London, the globality concern corresponds to our shared interest in a new kind of pan-European Masters Media programme as a key target for future ERASMUS developments.

A third approach will aim for reciprocity/reflexivity, and a degree of globality, by specifying these ambitions at agreed thematic levels. This approach will require paradigmatic 'slices' through European media to establish common and significant intellectual and political thematics. These thematic may reside at the levels of institutional and economic analysis in relation to the changing infrastructures of the European media institutions, but it is more likely that in the first instance they will be found at

more empirical representational levels as new kinds of social imagery circulates within the bloc, responding to the underlying dramas of fragmentation and reconstitution. I will merely open the door to speculation on these projects by suggesting, in an entirely traditional spirit, that the thematics of nation, race, class, and gender are likely to provide powerful templates for new studies in European media representation in the coming period.

A final dimension to our thinking about the development of European Media Based Education must be, it seems to me, a continuing stress on the general relationships between theory and practice in the subject. We want, of course, a discipline which is alive to the intellectual and academic challenges of sister-disciplines and of the academic sphere at large. This is, for us, I am convinced, one fundamentally serious application of the linkage between theory and practice. But there are also other ways of extending this connection. One important practical dimension of Media Based Education activity is its generalisability through the educational system. Whilst we ourselves are largely active within the smaller world of Higher Education, what is taught and learned in this part of the academy should have important ramifications elsewhere in the curriculum. In Britain we are fortunate to see developments in university-level Media Based Education widely replicated in Primary and Secondary Education, which is not generally the case in continental Europe. This should, in my view, remain a key item for our agenda, focused through linkages with other sectors of education, probably the teacher training system.

A second area for practice will be within the extra-curricular sphere, sometimes referred to as 'Extra-Mural Studies' or, more generally, in terms of the concept of 'permanent education'. This may well include traditionally conceived programmes of academic media study, but it is likely to range more widely still. This is the area where we may look to broader links with other kinds of educational activity or cultural activism in the media sphere, and in direct relationship not only with the world of education but with the media institutions themselves. In Britain, with whose history I am most familiar, I associate these activities with a series of diverse bodies, usually existing outside the walls of the academy, whose members have striven to combine

academic and ideological activity within the politics of media culture. This represents a call for an academically sophisticated and socially active Media Based Education, committed to creative interventions in public forms of media and unafraid to mobilise its intellectual muscle in the rough-and-tumble of everyday social debate about the media.

Birgitta Qvarsell (Stockholm)

Young People and New Media

Reflections and Questions

The focus of this article is on changes in childhood and youth culture that are due to new media regarded as tools and developmental tasks in the life-worlds of young people. A child perspective on these changes and a semiotic view on visual literacy is suggested, aiming at a media educology applicable to an analysis of the common-sense world of children and youth.

The public debate on media impact on children and youth is varied and interesting in many ways. Is television for better or for worse? Can one judge in terms of goodness or badness? What conceptions of children and their developmental possibilities are expressed in discussions about media influences on children?

These questions and the discussions actualize the general problem of how media affect people, with special focus on whether children and youth are specially vulnerable. The debate often deals with what measures should, or could, be taken by the community in order to protect, prohibit and promote certain trends, and how one can influence the socialization process of young people.

This public debate generates questions concerning what we know about children and media, especially the "goods" and "bads" when it comes to effects.

What Do We Know?

Researchers within the area of child development, childhood culture and youth culture are often asked about what measures can be taken in order to prevent children from getting harmed by the media. A reply to all questions concerning child socialization and

mental affliction is: "It all depends". Avoidance of creating a problem of childhood, as a developmental phase, is a more appropriate way to act. Looking at and taking care of its possibilities, would be a better measure to take. We cannot answer in terms of good or bad, harmful or useful in general. The picture is always more complex and complicated, and that is why it is interesting to go further into the area of childhood, youth and new media, and to ask research questions about the conditions of socialization and human development. "It all depends" is a common answer by researchers, but, nevertheless, it is an important reply to accept and to follow-up.

Papert (1980 and 1988), regarded as a promotor of computers for school use, stresses the need for a theoretical approach to how new technologies and media are appropriated by children. Knowledge is not transmitted but constructed, and the important task for adults is to give the child a greater sense of empowerment. Learning does not imply teaching. This, he notes, is a matter not of technocentrism or scientism, but a matter of *educology*.

Effects or Meanings in the Arena of New Media Culture?

Childhood culture as content and form for school age children often concerns new technological media and their contents. We know that childrens' play may be inspired by the media world and its narratives. This world of media may thus become incorporated by the children, being at the same time fascinating and understood.

Peer culture has lately been recognized as important, for instance by Corsaro & Rizzo (1990). Peer-relations as well as media seem to be so important for childrens' socialization today that one may use the concept of *developmental task* (see, for instance, Havighurst, 1953) to fully understand this influencing force.

That media really can be conceived of as a culturally related developmental task in the lives of modern Swedish children is a quite reasonable vision. Not that media, e. g., video and tele, are passively consumed by children or that children are unconsciously being affected by them. Rather that the modern society's signs and expressions, viewed as signs in a semiotic sense, become

evocative tasks which children and youths have to tackle and cope with - as a developmental task.

Lauterbach (1988) discusses such questions, focusing on computers. The new literacy concepts that are needed are within the realm of computers, as well as the area of graphic arts and pictures instead of letters. What kind of literacy may be needed in the future? What are the relationships between different kinds of literacy?

A Culture in Change

Norms and values which are prevalent in different subcultures often function as a basis for the reception of news. Childrens' and adolescents', use of technology for leisure may be studied as social and cultural activities. We know that childhood culture tends to become more and more organized, that public care is intensified, and at the same time the commercial cultural sector seems to regard children as consumers of their products. School children are consumers of textbooks, often also computer programmes, with adults' intent to help. Leisure and school time are increasingly becoming technified. This leads us to the questions of what new impulses from outside are to be considered. Inglis (1990) reminds us of C. S. Peirce's efforts to create a theory of how all signs come to mean something to the human mind. Following Peirce, Eco (1976) developed his theory of semiotics and codes, studying how the semiotic code works. In Inglis' discussion on what could constitute a media theory, he makes use of anthropologist Clifford Geertz' (1975, p. 448) definition of culture as "an ensemble of stories we tell ourselves about ourselves" (Inglis, p. 174) and he gives an interesting proposal of how a media theory could be defined: "Media theory is a critical narrative about the many narratives that compose a culture." (ibid, p. 179) Inglis also discusses the concepts of Literate, Oral and Electronic cultures, claiming that there is a scientific need to reconstruct the frames of mind that are peculiar to those societies where oral, written or electronic communication dominate.

Research Questions

To understand in more depth the relationship between children's learning processes and experiential development on the one hand, and information technology and new media on the other, it is necessary to develop new kinds of theories for the field of *media based education*, for instance a theory of media *educology*, to follow Papert (1988).

Gibson's concept of *affordance* (Gibson, 1979), constructed from the verb *afford*, may be used to point out environmental meaningful possibilities. LeVine (1982) has tried to apply the concept of *affordance* in anthropology, and Reed (1993) has developed the concept of *affordance* in a more educational (or *educological*) fashion, relating it to Vygotskys' thoughts on "zone of proximal development".

Masterman (1993) compares the development of semiotics with the concurrent development of ideology concerning conceptions of media impact. He concludes that the phenomenon of media in society and media education that became a necessary part of the school system involved a revaluation of what knowledge is and how it is produced.

This leads us to some more specific questions about the whole area of media education as a scientific task:

1. Can we see in modern childhood culture something equal to Turkles' (1984) "evocative objects"? Can we see tendencies toward a change of childhood culture into collective developmental tasks?
2. What meanings may emerge and be constructed by children in their encounters with the new technologies? Simulating complex events may alter the quality of direct and indirect experiences. How will the relation between direct and indirect experiences come to be perceived and handled by children from their perspectives?
3. The fact that information may be forwarded and processed very quickly may also change the forms and patterns of learning. Kolb (1984) studies the learning process and its relation to experiences. He stresses the importance of a certain relationship, in time and reflective possibilities, between what is perceived and what is cognized in order to grasp and to understand a certain phe-

nomenon. What will happen with the necessary relation between perceiving and understanding?

4. The locus-of-control problem may be interesting to analyse closer. Will the new media, including computers, change childrens' approaches to the question of who or what controls whom and what?

Thus, there are some important topics to work with, fascinating questions to ask concerning the new medias risks and possibilities, viewed from the perspectives of children. At the same time, however, we must be aware of the possibility that what we think we know, when we use terms as techno kids, new youth, new learning modes, a new childhood culture, etc., may become reduced to phenomena of the structural map of the world, while reality and its actors may show us a rather undramatic assimilation of the new, in natural processes and actions.

How to Study the Topics

In Garfinkels' (1984) presentation of ethnomethodology, the common sense actions through which people create and maintain their life-worlds are identical with their strivings to get these joint worlds manageable. How these necessary joint tasks and living conditions are created by people may be the topic of linguistic analyses. Heiders' (1958) so-called common-sense or naive psychology of human interactions makes use of everyday language and concepts, such as "perceive", "belong to", "want", "can" and "cause" - expressions of human interactions in different "life-spaces". In order to study the relations between actors around the new technologies and media, such emic concepts may be used. The cultural study approach of symbolic interactionism (see Denzin, 1992), focusing the interpersonal events and interpretations, following Meads' and Blumers' tradition to modern researchers approaches, is a feasible starting point.

When it comes to interpersonal as well as intrapersonal aspects of the new media and children, the necessity to study the phenomena from the perspectives of the children is obvious. There is a tendency to discuss media when it comes to children and

adolescents in psychological terms, and in a way that leads to closed explanations, related to theoretical constructions that are not open for new knowledge and interpretations. If we have the aim of gaining knowledge on how children conceive and use the new media, empirical findings must be based on data that express childrens' own formulations of their experiences, apprehensions and perceptions that have been transformed to conceptions.

The child perspective is very compatible with a semiotic view of the literacy and competence phenomena under study. This double-focus approach may open new perspectives on media based education in childhood and youth culture, *an educology of media* that challenges the conception that learning needs teaching. It will also challenge the view of the child as a psychological object *affected by* media impact.

References

- Corsaro, W. A. & Rizzo, T. A. (1990) An Interpretive Approach to Childhood Socialization. In *American Sociological Review*, 55, 3, 466-468.
- Denzin, N. K. (1992) *Symbolic Interactionism and Cultural Studies. The Politics of Interpretation*. Cambridge, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Eco, U. (1976) *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Garfinkel, H. (1984) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Geertz, C. (1975) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Hutchinson
- Gibson, J. J. (1979) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Boston: Houghton.
- Havighurst, R. (1953) *Human Development and Education*. New York: Longman.
- Heider, F. (1958) *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*. London: Wiley.

- Inglis, F. (1990) *Media Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kolb, D. (1984) *Experiential Learning. Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Lauterbach, R. (1988) New Meanings of Literacy. In Sendov, B & Stanchev, I (eds) (1988) *Children in the Information Age. Opportunities for Creativity, Innovation and New Activities*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- LeVine, R. (1982) Culture, Context and the Concept of Development. Commentary. In Collins, W. A.: *The Concept of Development. The Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology*, 15. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Masterman, L. (1993) The Media Education Revolution. In *Canadian Journal of Educational Communication*, 22, 1, 16-34.
- Papert, S. (1980) *Mindstorms. Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas*. New York: Basic Books.
- Papert, S. (1988) A Critique of Technocentrism in Thinking about the School of the Future. In Sendov, B. & Stanchev, I. (eds) (1988) *Children in the Information Age. Opportunities for Creativity, Innovation and New Activities*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Reed, E. S. (1993) The Intention to Use a Specific Affordance: A Conceptual Framework for Psychology. In Wozniak, R. H. & Fischer, K. W. (eds): *Development in Context. Acting and Thinking in Specific Environments*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Turkle, S. (1984) *The Second Self. Computers and the Human Spirit*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Professional Communication Skills Training with Video Feedback

The mode of training in question is employed within a curriculum of master degree general pedagogics studies at Warsaw University as a forty hours optional workshop for students taking specialization either in elementary education or community work. The latter specialisation is meant to prepare students for work in youth care, community based social work, and in various social education agencies.

The Training's Aim and its Theoretical Assumptions

The main assumptions underlying our approach to this training are: (1) the teachers as well as community workers are potential agents of the democratisation process our society is undergoing; (2) traditional "one way teacher to learners" pattern of communication still prevailing in both teachers' training and educational practice is not conducive in this respect. Since the strategic aim for educators' education is to prepare them for the roles of democratic process facilitators - our program is meant to prepare students for effective operation within multidirectional patterns of communication. In order to pursue this aim we have adopted the social skills concept (Argyle, 1991) which is widely used as a base for conceptualization of social skills training method (e.g., Wilkinson, Canter, 1992; Ellis, Whitinington, 1983).

We understand social skills as those individual behaviors which facilitate an individual's effectivity in his or her functioning in a group and which are rewarded by the group. In our understanding of social skills we agree with Wilkinson and Canter, who write: " Communication with others involves both

giving messages to another person and receiving and interpreting messages from him. It is a continuous two-way process in which the response also acts as a feedback as to the effect of the message. The interaction will depend not only on the goals and messages a person wishes to convey, but on the situation he is in, his own personality, past experiences, what he observes of the other person and the consequent impression he forms of him. The communication itself involves the verbal or semantic content of speech, the words and sentences used and, equally important, the nonverbal aspects of the interaction such as posture, use of eyes, tone of voice and facial expression. Verbal and nonverbal behaviour are therefore the means by which people communicate with others and they constitute the basic elements of social skills." (1982, p. 3)

Following such a concept we assume, then, that each educator, no matter what her or his job assignment is, should be trained in *communication skills* as expressiveness, explaining, using effective concluding procedures, listening, using non-verbal communication, giving and receiving feedback, public speaking.

We do not think, however, that the list of educators' professional skills is to be limited only to those described above. Having in mind the aim of training, we think that in this training also the skills specific for democratic leadership should be included, namely: *motivational skills* as encouraging people's involvement and participation, employing reinforcement, accepting people's feelings and contributions and *group work skills* as problem-solving, encouraging individual participation and independent thinking, stimulating creativity, solving in-group conflicts, facilitating interactions in groups, displaying people-oriented behaviour.

Such a typology of skills does not mean that we consider communication skills as different from other social skills. On the contrary. Communication is a necessary tool for social functioning in general. It should be also obvious that all types of skills we have listed here remain in mutual relationships, and some of them even overlap each other.

Methodological Approach to the Training and its Content

The prevailing method of social skills training is a group learning method. As Percival and Ellington (1988) write: "If desired outcomes include the development of (for example) oral communication skills, interpersonal skills, decision-making skills, critical thinking skills, and certain attitudinal traits deemed to be appropriate, then group learning techniques may be more suitable for teaching towards such outcomes than the various mass instructional and individualized learning methods." (p. 99)

Within this training modality the main technique of learning process employed in social skills training is a simulation understood as working model of reality. Educational simulations are simplified or intentionally reshaped representations of reality which allow trainees to exercise and develop their abilities for functioning in real life situations.

In our mode of training we use simulation exercises to provide students with the possibility to try out their social skills in four fields of learning experience relevant to teachers' and/or community workers' professional activities: functioning in public situations; face to face interactions; leadership in task groups; participation in group problem-solving. The training is formatted into five-day residential workshops for a group of around eighteen participants with a sequence of exercises which are aimed of the development of the skills in question.

The basic units for training projects based on this mode are the exercises which always follow the same procedure: (1) *The instruction stage*. The trainees are instructed for the tasks and process of given exercise; (2) *The task attainment stage*. The trainees work in groups or individually according to instruction; (3) *The task demonstration stage*. The results of the previous stage are shown to all training's participants. (4) *The feedback stage*. The trainer facilitates a general discussion about the results of work. The criteria for assessment of exercise results are agreed upon in relation to the task exercised.

This model of training demands a procedure we could call "the training loop". The stages (2) to (4) are to be repeated by trainees until satisfactory results are achieved.

The Model of Training Effectiveness Question

We are aware of some critique of a skills training model which is called in literature "the microteaching" and was introduced to teachers' education in the late sixties (Allen, Ryan, 1969; Badzig, 1972; Banasiak, 1975; Brown, 1975). The main point of this critique seems to be a claim that such training imposes on students a false notion of standard behavioral patterns for professional communication which are sometime called "micro skills". It is argued that in this kind of approach the fact is overlooked that each teaching situation has its unique social and psychological factors which call for individualised responses on the teacher's side (McIntyre, 1983; Szmagalski, 1990).

In our model we have taken into account such arguments by designing exercise program around the cognitive approach of handling of typical professional situations the students can encounter in their future practice. They are directed to manage with their individual strengths and deficiencies to work out their responses to these situations rather than reproduce some prescribed behavioral patterns. In order to provide students with an opportunity for the integration of trained skills we have included into our program a day-long group exercise "The Filmmakers". The workshop participants are divided into teams of four to five and given a task to produce a short video film according to a form and content of their free choice. There is no need to point out here all opportunities to use a whole variety of communication skills in a group way to complete such a task.

The assumption about teaching effectiveness of simulative methods of training is based on transfer theory. According to this theory a change in the ability to perform a certain act occurs as a direct consequence of having performed another act relevant to it (G.M. Haslerud, 1972, p. 15; W. Szwczuk, 1979, pp. 306-307). There are, however, some reservations toward this theory. It seems that the transfer is not a universal mechanism which helps generalise any practical experience. Seagoe's (1970) summary of educational circumstances which are propitious for transfer suggests the following stipulations:

- (1) A specific response already learned is applied to a new

situation,

- (2) A generalisation already learned applies in a new situation,
- (3) Teaching for transfer is purposeful and explicit,
- (4) Original teaching is effective,
- (5) Time between original training and transfer is relatively short.

In creating our training programs we try to comply with these stipulations, however, except for positions 3 and 4, it is a difficult task to achieve in the university setting. Not having as broad access to the practice as would be needed to reinforce the effects of transfer phenomenon in our teaching, we have built into the program appropriate sequences of training situations which have to serve as a surrogate for the practice.

Evaluation of the Program

It has to be acknowledged, that there are inherent difficulties in the reliable evaluation of the effectiveness of training where social skills are concerned. Actual performance in the area of social functioning, teachers' work included, depends on many external as well as internal factors, not only on good or bad command of appropriate skills. Moreover, the effectiveness of such training can be confirmed in real life situations by researching effects of communication processes the training graduates will be involved in. There is no need here to discuss all the difficulties of the research one would encounter, especially operating from the position of a university teacher. Nevertheless, we can examine some effects of skills training on a base of students' self-assessment and the students to trainer feedback. In our program we use a simple assessment questionnaire asking for anonymous response to following questions:

1. What benefits have you gained for yourself from participation in this workshop?
2. What did you not like in this workshop?
3. What did you like in this workshop?

It should be underlined here that evaluation is an integral part of the program and is conducted during the workshop closing ses-

sion. In addition to the questionnaire, there is a structured panel discussion. All the workshop participants take part in a draw for membership in two competing teams. These are called "the scoffers" and "the flatterers", and they are supposed to prepare their entries and subsequently to start general evaluative discussion by pointing out negative and positive sides of the program. At the end of the session anonymous answers to the questionnaire are read by the trainer in front of the whole group. The workshop procedure does not allow trainers to make any debriefing remarks to these answers in order to leave a final word to the program consumers.

The content analysis of material gathered with the questionnaire (altogether ninety-four completed questionnaires collected in effect of six workshops to date) shows positive responses with a median of ninety-four per cent for one workshop. Students report their acceptance of workshop content and the method employed. They appreciate positive changes in their own and their colleagues' functioning, attributing this to the workshop. There is unanimous highly positive evaluation of the exercise called "The Filmmakers". This is explained not only by the thrill of the creative adventure of "film making" but because the exercise is experienced as increasing awareness of group processes and of students' own functioning in their teams. It should be finally noted that students also appreciate the workshop's input into their preparation for the prospective teacher trainers' role some of them may assume in their professional career. The majority of them see the workshop as a good lesson on the real life application of professional skills training technique.

References

- Allen D., Ryan K. (1969), *Microteaching*. Reading, Mass: Addison - Wesley.
- Argyle M. (1991), *Psychologia stosunków międzyludzkich* (original title: *The Psychology of Interpersonal Behaviour*), Warszawa: PWN.
- Brown G.A. (1975), *Microteaching*. in Chanan G., Delmont S. ed-

- itors, (1975) *Frontiers of Classroom Research*. National Foundation for Educational Research.
- Ellis R., Whitinington D., (eds) (1983), *New Directions in Social Skills Training*. New York: Methuen.
- Haslerud G.M. (1972) *Transfer, Memory and Creativity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McIntyre D. (1983), Social Skills Training for Teaching: A Cognitive Perspective. (in Ellis, Whitinington, 1983)
- Percival F., Ellington H. (1988), *A Handbook of Educational Technology*. London: Kogan Page/ New York: Nichols Publishing Comp.
- Seagoe M.V (1970), *The Learning Process and School Practice*. Scranton, PA: Candler.
- Wilkinson J., Canter S. (1982), *Social Skills Training Manual. Assessment, Programme Design and Management of Training*. Wiley and Sons.

Jan Skłodowski (Warsaw)

Computers and Informatics in Educational Theory and Practice

The history of technical media in education is rather long, and our experience in school practice in this matter, we must admit, quite rich. But - and this is the main focus of this article - we are not sure if students and teachers are really satisfied with this technical aid, although the theory suggests remarkable success in all fields of their employment.

The computer and its technical environment represent only a part of this vast theoretical and practical problem of technical media in education (the simple technical equipment, film, TV close circuit and so on), but this part, due to its special, individual characteristics, constitute "an independent world", and its influence upon our life, as well as upon school theory and practice, is enormous. Evidently, this is the beginning of the age of computers, and the particular characteristics are: universality of application, "intelligence" and friendliness in use for a variety of age levels, and an individual approach to the student personality.

We can find that pedagogy in highly developed countries is more pragmatic than in countries economically weak, where this branch of science exhibits a tendency to be more theoretical. In the first case - the school prepares a student for a new, modern model of life based on strong technology. In the second - the school realizes theoretical research and formulates postulates for the future. It is clear that both attitudes are not suggested. Pragmatism takes away humane qualities from society, especially in our age of a crisis in basic values, and weakens the creative function of pedagogy. On the other hand, a theoretical approach and an overly intensive focus on research is very remote from the actual reality of school life. Therefore, choice and compromise become a necessity. But the question is - which key must be applied

in this choice? Pedagogy has a similar problem in the introduction of information theory and computers in schools. In their opinion, the main goal is to make learning and the teaching process most effective and, as a result of lessons in information theory, to prepare students to function in an information theory centered civilization.

In terms of this, in preparation for school practice and its appropriate realization, it is very often forgotten that the application of computers for educational purposes is related to the following question: is it only a new tool to make the didactic process more efficient or does it also provide "something more" for not only the development of the logical and heuristic thinking process in resolving problems, but also for personal creativity and even for human relation.

It is also forgotten, just in its application in school, that the problem of the computer in education must be analyzed on three levels:

- teaching of information theory,
- use of microcomputers in the didactics of particular school subjects,
- teacher education.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to discuss questions of the hardware, software and teachware in these matters.

It is not yet evident that not only the technical equipment, but appropriate hardware is barely a first step toward the problem. Even if the hardware is secured, the question of a well prepared teacher - in information theory or in the use of a computer during his lesson - is always open.

The school cannot dream about a good specialist-information expert with a university diploma, because it is not able to pay him according to his qualifications. In fact, teachers of information theory are very often "normal teachers" of mathematics, physics, sometimes of languages, who are trained especially for this new or additional extra work. It demands time and a good training program; it is not cheap and easy to realize in a short time - it means a period of two-three years. Teachers, in their opinion, are ready to complete their education in this area and consider this undertaking very useful for their professional activity.

The next question is the corresponding software, also very expensive and difficult to prepare. In recent years of very rapid progress in all sciences and disciplines, the software ought to be redeveloped very often, and this is not easy in practice. The school (or teacher) also ought to have a large stock of relative information programs. In theory, the teacher could elaborate some software for the requirements of his subject. But in practice, it takes him too much time after his normal duties. And another question - this software, to be prepared on the professional level, must be developed or based on consultation with a psychologist and tested before being introduced into didactics.

The role of computers in modern pedagogy has not yet been precisely defined - not only generally but also in specialist periodicals. Of course, we have been discussing two fields of their application: information theory and computer aided teaching. Theoreticians think that these two questions are of equal status and practical importance. But in reality, thanks to the observation of school practice during the last few years, it is clear that only the introduction of information theory to the school program can constitute a real practical problem with possibilities for development in the future.

On the other hand, computer aided teaching is more a wish than a real possibility. First of all, every school subject to be realized in this way requires many special computer programs - expensive and often not very well adaptable and "flexible" for particular needs. Teachers, even optimists in this activity, are conscious that it is not easy to apply this to every subject - for example, even in the exact sciences: mathematics - more theoretical, and physics - more practical. In professional subjects it is more evident, but practical, personal activity is the most important. Teachers are conscious that the same effectiveness can be obtained with simpler media (films, slides, and so on), and that a modern school is not a school with a computer, but with an appropriate methodology and strategy in its application for didactic needs - it means, with a good teachware. They are conscious that computers can be and must be only one of numerous technical media introduced into the educational area. In practice, only 5% - 10% of teachers are really interested in the introduction of this tool into their lessons.

Teachers have noticed the same psychological and sociological observations in the field of the introduction of computers into school practice. In most of the analyzed cases, they think that this technical medium disturbs the establishment of a direct personal contact among students and between students and teachers, and can even destroy it when the work with computers is too engaging. Real pedagogical success is not only an efficient didactics but also, or above all, a cultivation of the outlook and philosophy of life, personal attitude, character and fundamental values of our civilization, which is possible to form only in real human interaction.

A Proposal of an Analysis Methodology for the Information Contained in a Picture

The questions addressed in this paper are different aspects related to research on iconic language. Within this field we have the term "iconic literacy", which could be defined as image conception, in the sense of characterizing the image as a language that can communicate thoughts, concepts and ideas to an audience. Regarding these last points, there are different focuses that affect image comprehension, image use and image teaching in instruction contexts. From the definition of what a picture is, it is possible to develop explanations about how pictures are processed, how they are articulated into language, how pictures are used in the production of material and how we can teach the understanding and use of pictures.

Moreover, enough research has been done in this field to allow us to affirm that pictures, for example, are defined as sensorial experiences constructed from memory. In these experiences a person looks for similarities between external regularities and internal cognitive structures (cf., Fleming, 1977; Neisser, 1967; Winn, 1980; Kosslyn, 1980; Gombrich, 1972). A typical feature of image language is the similarity between what is represented and the reference object, a similarity regarding the relative size, perspective, identity cues, visual shape, etc. In another way, the differences between visual language and other types of languages with respect to their semantic and syntactical dimensions have been sufficiently contrasted (Cassidy and Knowlton, 1983; Gropper, 1963). This last aspect would be useful for defining more specifically what the task of iconic literacy with students in the instruction process is, and if this iconic literacy should be considered an important goal of teaching. Likewise, this difference with respect to some characteristics also seems to indicate the adaptation of different lan-

guages to different tasks and the need for general training in the abilities included within the domain of the languages which have allowed human beings to communicate their thoughts and ideas across human history (Eisner, 1982).

Following this line of development, we proposed to work on the analysis of the referential information contained in a picture which we would then use in an experimental design with five work groups at the end of the research. The first task proposed was to try to systematize and collect in a pattern the information transmitted by a picture in order to decide which of the information received was being used or not by children of about 10-12 years old. As a starting point we took the work of Pine and Bieger (1980), where they attempted to specify in comparable terms the semantic context of texts and pictures used to guide the assembly of a small hand cart. First of all, they designed the written instructions, and subsequently a graphic art expert reproduced them in pictures. After that, the texts and their equivalent pictures were revised to ensure respect for their semantic redundancy.

Once both types of instructions (iconic and verbal) had been elaborated, they were analyzed according to an adaptation of the discourse analysis model proposed by Frederiksen (1975). The iconic stimuli were presented to a volunteer group who gave written descriptions of each picture. These descriptions were codified with the same system. From there, each result was compared and the relevant changes were made in order to equalize completely the information presented in the written form and the iconic one.

In our case we developed a similar process to verify whether the information transmitted by an iconic code could be systematized by Meyer's proposed analysis for expository texts (1975, 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1985). Our working hypothesis assumed that because of the high level of picture concretion we were going to use, the descriptions made from it would be equally concrete, as well as the final description from which it would be reproduced visually. This concretion, together with the supposed relationship between verbal and iconic thought pointed out by Paivio (1971, 1975, 1978, 1983), allowed us to assume that the content analysis method for the information in the picture

would be correct and that the reproductions of the picture would thus reflect its principal referents as well as the relationships among them (Nugent, 1982). To confirm all of these points, a sequence of stages was developed, which constituted the stages of our investigation and were the following:

1. Written descriptions of the picture.
2. Analysis and codification of the descriptions into semantic networks.
3. Development of a semantic network synthesis and the corresponding descriptive text.
4. Visual reproduction of the text and information contrast.

Finally, among the conclusions of our work, we would like to emphasize the following points:

- The difficulty of expressing - in a written verbal language - the spatial relationships that were shown in the image, together with aspects such as placement, position and distribution of objects.
- There are some equivalences between verbal and iconic languages, because most of the information that was transmitted by the picture was also expressed in verbal form.
- The suitability of the information analysis methodology of pictures only when it is possible to express this information in verbal terms. But this does not absolutely guarantee that all the information of a picture can be verbally collected. Moreover, it is very difficult to express information about the affective aspects of a picture in a verbal language.

References

- Cassady, M.F./ Knowlton, J.Q. (1983): "Visual literacy: A failed metaphor?", *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 31 (2), 67-90.
- Eisner, E.W. (1987): *Procesos cognitivos y curriculum*, Barcelona: Martínez Roca.
- Fleming, M.L. (1977): "The picture in your mind", *Audiovisual Communication Review*, 25, 43-62.

- Frederiksen, C.H. (1975): "Representing logical and semantic structure of knowledge acquired from discourse", *Cognitive Psychology*, 7, 371-458.
- Gombrich, E. (1972): "The visual image", *Scientific American*, 227 (3), 82-96.
- Gropper, G.L. (1963): "Why is a picture worth a thousand words?", *Audiovisual Communication Review*, 11 (4), 75-95.
- Kosslyn, S.M. (1980): *Image and mind*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Meyer, B.J.F. (1975): *The organization of prose and its effects on memory*, Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- (1980): "Use of the top-level structure in text: Key for reading comprehension of ninth-grade students", *Reading Research Quarterly*, 16, 72-103.
- (1981a): *Prose analysis: Procedures, purposes and problems* (Prose Learning series N° 11), Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, Department of Educational Psychology.
- (1981b): "Basic research on prose comprehension: A critical review: in Fisher, D. F. y Peters, C.W. (eds): *Comprehension and the competent reader: Inter-specialty perspectives*, New York: Praeger.
- (1985): "Prose analysis: Purposes, procedures and problems" in Britton, B. K. y Black, J. B. (eds): *Understanding expository text*, Hillsdale, New Jersey, LEA, 11-34 and 269-305.
- Neisser, U. (1967): *Cognitive psychology*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Nugent, G. C. (1982): "Pictures, audio and print: Symbolic representation and effect on learning", *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 30 (3), 163-174.
- Paivio, A. (1971): *Imagery and verbal processes*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- (1975): "Perceptual comparisons through the mind's eye", *Memory and Cognition*, 3, 635-647.
- (1978): "A dual coding approach to perception and cognition" in

- Pick, H. L./ Saltzman, E. (eds): Modes of perceiving and processing information, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 39-51.
- (1983): "The empirical case for dual coding" in Yuille, J. C. (ed): Imagery, memory and cognition, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 307-332.
- Pine, C.K./ Bieger, G.R. (1980): "Methodological issues in research involving pictures and texts", ERIC Document, ED 192 261.
- Winn, W. (1980): "Visual information processing: a pragmatic approach to the "imagery question", Educational Communication and Technology Journal, 28 (2), 120-133.

Media Based Education in Japan

Abstract

Educational activity started with the educational tasks that made use of reading and memorization exercises based on textbooks. The shift from classical approaches to realistic approaches in enabling education in Japan to acquire a human character became possible through the introduction of media-based education. In order to understand more about media-based education in Japan, this paper deals with the following nine major aspects, to wit: a) verbalization; b) objects and illustrations; c) audio-visual-movement; d) audio-visual-instruction; e) broadcasting education through TV; f) cognitive strategies in learning; g) educational technology; h) computer-based learning; and i) lifelong education and the use of educational media.

Verbalization

During the medieval period in Japan, people believed that the cultivation of intellectual virtue is accomplished through permanent studies that constituted the intellectual inheritance. This virtue is embodied in the great books of the Eastern World that cover every department of knowledge by disciplining the mind and developing the logical faculties. The cultural tradition was based on perennial truth. The method of teaching was commonly based on reading, summarizing, and disciplining of the intellect. It is mainly known as constituting the verbalization method. There were no audio-visual devices in this period. There was no equip-

ment with associated materials which make use of the presentation of audio-visual communication. Instructions were presented by media mainly associated with textbooks.

Objects and Illustrations

At the beginning, the "Government Order of Education" that was promulgated in 1872 made possible the establishment of the first public educational system in Japan. This system was the foundation of the modernization of education in this country. There were great changes in the educational programs and policies.

Japanese educators introduced the work of Johann Comenius and Johann Pestalozzi. Comenius proposed that the child initially learns about things through his senses and, therefore, real objects and illustrations should be used to supplement oral and written instruction. The illustrated textbook, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (The Visual World in Pictures), became valuable to Japanese educators. Johann Pestalozzi posited that worlds have meaning in relation to concrete objects, and, therefore, learning should proceed from the concrete to the abstract. He advocated learning through the senses. Japanese teachers developed the instructional approach known as object teaching, which became popular in Japan. The method reached the height of its popularity during the 1870's.

Audio-Visual Movement

Approximately during the 1900's, many Japanese textbooks and teaching methods were improved to enable motivating and arousing the interest of children to think through the use of pictures and illustrations that are presented beautifully and many visual charts. Study prints were also used throughout the country, particularly in the elementary schools. In the 1920's and 30's, radio broadcasting, phonograph and motion pictures, which are intended to produce sounds that could help foster the growing of interest and serve to expand the focus of the movement from visual instruction to audio-visual instruction were common.

Visual charts as a form of instructional materials also became common in schools.

Audio-Visual Instruction Theory

After World War II, the organization of Japanese education shifted to a democratic basis. Education in Japan aimed at the full development of the personality, striving for the rearing of people sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual values, respect labor, have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

John Dewey's philosophy became very popular in Japan. Dewey's definition of thinking was the scientific method applied to all human problems, ranging from the simple problem of daily living to complex social problems and abstract intellectual problems. According to Dewey, a worthwhile activity gave the child a chance to formulate and test solutions to problems, to practice the thinking process. The educational projects required thinking as well as doing.

In the field of visual instruction theory, the Japanese people, including many educators, stated that the value of audio-visual material was a function of this degree of realism. They presented a hierarchy of media ranging from those that could only present concepts in an abstract fashion to those that allow for very concrete presentation. In 1946, Edgar Dale first elaborated upon these ideas when he developed his famous "Cone of Experiences." Dale's book, entitled *Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching*, was translated into Japanese in 1950. He visited Japan in 1956. He delivered lectures in twelve large cities in Japan. Even today educators in Japan know his idea on cone of experiences as shown below.

Verbal Symbols

Visual Symbol

Recordings, Radio

Still Pictures

Motion Pictures

Television

Exhibits

Field Trips

Demonstrations

Dramatized Experiences

Contrived Experiences

Direct, Purposeful Experiences

Many teachers know that part of the value of audiovisual materials lies in their ability to present concepts in a concrete manner.

Broadcasting Education through T.V.

During the 1950's there was a tremendous growth in the use of instructional television. The most important factor to affect the audio-visual movement was the great interest in T.V. as the medium for delivering instruction. Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) has devoted one television channel for education for the whole day. Educational broadcasting became very popular and was seen as quick and efficient in expressing means of satisfying the nation's instructional needs. Every week we have a program of language, math, social studies, science, foreign language, home economics, physical education, music, extracurricular activities, and moral education.

The Japan Association of Broadcasting Education Study was first established in 1955. Every year since, including the present, annual teachers conferences are held enabling the conglomeration of 10,000 teachers from the kindergarten level to the university of

researchers related to broadcast education.

Some educators became interested in the theory or model of communication. The models focused on the communication process, a process involving a sender and a receiver of a message, and a channel or medium through which that message is sent. Some other educators are interested in the learning process after watching T.V. programs, teaching strategy that includes questions, presentation, group discussion, criticism, comments, explanations, nominations, critical investigations, suggestions, admiration, scolding, etc. and learning processes that include focusing experiences, sensory experiences, data-gathering, processing experiences, conceptualizing, confrontation, experiences, asking, evaluation of learning, and summarizing learning. Kindergarten, elementary and secondary school teachers reported their research every year on child learning through broadcasting to analyze the following: a. readiness and development levels; b. motivation, drives, needs and interest; c. self-concepts, aspirations and goal setting; d. process of reconstructing experiences into knowledge skills, values, and attitudes; e. possibilities and nature of behavior and skill modifications; f. the process of cognition and affection developed; g. affect environment on competence and creativity of students; h. development and attitude on problem solving skills, and information processing; and i. development of sensitivity, creativity and decision making.

Cognitive Strategies in Learning

A prominent feature of research on learning is the idea that among the processes available to the learners are processes of control that can manage thinking, learning, and remembering. These controlled processes are engaged by acquired procedures which are called cognitive strategies.

When learners acquire new cognitive strategies of these thought processes, they can reasonably be engaged in editing and regulating their performance and in learning to learn to the extent that such a strategy can become and remain as capabilities in long-term memories. They can contribute substantially to the learners intelligent performance. Cognitive strategies can be em-

ployed successfully by learners to control and modify incoming information. Problem solving activities of a child can be analyzed to determine the presence and the use of cognitive strategies. In science and mathematics, problems of a social nature, the learners use cognitive strategies with content more specific to problems at hand and performance reconstructing cognitive system of individuals. Knowledge restructuring and process ability interplay in problem solving. Sometimes it is useful to use the concept of schema. The schema is a modifiable information structure that represents knowledge that was based on experience. The interrelationship between objects, situations, events, and interpretations of events normally occur. In this sense, schemata contain prototype cognitive information about frequently experienced information. They are used to interpret new information and observations. In many situations, information and understanding of the situation requires prior knowledge. Schema theory assumes that new structures have a major function in the understanding and interpretation of new situations.

In the process of solving problems, questioning, searching for data and their meaning, collecting data for verification, drawing conclusions, and application to the concrete and events, many cognitive process skills are applied, i.e.: observing, describing, measuring, manipulating, identifying, classifying, communicating, comparing, relating, interpreting, inferring, controlling variables, formulating hypothesis, recognizing, generalizing, application, interpolating, evaluating, and evaluation of results of inquiry of the children, and to find facts, terminologies, trends, sequences, categories, criteria, principles, concepts, theories, systematized body of knowledge, and others. When we study the media education, educators can learn about the dominant conceptual units in learning theory for use in the selection of media and using media for effective use of media for cognitive growth.

Educational Technology

In the 1970's and 80's, there was an increasing movement of educational technology, when audio-visual devices became important in the systematic way of designing, practicing, and evaluating of

the total processes of teaching or learning. Educational technology presents a new approach of the field involved in the facilitating of child learning through systematic analysis in the identification of learning factors, organization and development of the process, and utilization and evaluation. By emphasizing the systems approach and individual instruction, multi-media education attempts to expand the audio-visual devices for learning, which include resources such as boards (chalk boards, bulletin boards, flannel boards, magnetic boards, music boards), optical projectors (slide, OHP, films), electronic audio machine (VTR, video-tape recorder, video discs, CATV), broadcasting (radio, T.V.), sound machine (recording, record player, school sound system), learning laboratories (LL), response analyzer, teaching machine, simulator, and computer devises (CAI, CMI). Teachers require that we plan, do, see, and improve the system of learning of courses by using the most successful ways and means of delivering learning experiences to achieve learners competence through the selection and appropriate use of the aforementioned media resources.

Educational technology suggests many tools and techniques which are useful in designing, delivering and evaluating results. In educational technology, the idea of the existence of input, process, and output is very important. These three parts are combined in a change in performance. Some examples of "inputs" are lesson plans, learners' existing goals and objectives, existing needs, entry skills, knowledge, abilities, motivation, expectations, equipments, facilities, teachers and administrators. Examples of "processes" include teaching, learning, studying, interesting, reciting, interacting, managing, presenting, testing, writing, competing and lecturing. Some examples of "output" include intellectual creativity and development, emotional, social and moral development, and physical development. In other words, the output of science and technology education can be considered to be functional in the raising of intellectual competencies and creativity, exploration of problems, improving the material and cultural conditions of people's lives, developing the production potential of the society in the full utilization of the natural and human resources, becoming an integral part of our cultural and spiritual heritage, meeting the deepest need of human nature which manifests itself as the desire

for beauty and truth. When we complete science courses, for example, we could acquire these as the major goals.

Computer-Based Learning

The use of communication technology in education is focused on means and methods to enhance the teaching process. The recent research and theory development in human learning and condition have narrowed computer application to varied uses directed to the promotion of learning rather than the improvement of teaching. The operational functions of an Intelligent Computer Assisted Instruction (ICAI) system are determined by three main components. These components include the contents or information to be learned, the instructional strategy, and a mechanism for misunderstanding of the current student state of knowledge. The student model module deals with the method of representing the student learning progress of the material to be learned. This module is used to make hypotheses about the student misconceptions and sub-optimal performance and strategies so that the tutoring model can point them out, and to indicate why they are wrong and need to suggest corrections. Because a student's state of knowledge is basically represented as a subset of an expert's knowledge base, the model is constructed by comparing the student's performance with the computer-based expert's behavior toward the same problem. Major information sources for maintaining the student model are: a) student problem-solving behavior observed by the system; b) direct questions asked of the students; c) assumptions based on the student learning experiences. It allows the students to have a one-to-one relationship with computer based experts to generate the students' own ideas and experimenting with their ideas. Coaching models of computers can help in developing diagnostic strategies to identify students' understanding of observed behavior and to identify implicit tutoring strategies for directing the tutor to say the right thing at the right time.

Various forms of media have brought about great potentiality in the development of new systems of learning for the enrichment of new individualized instruction to diversify learning opportuni-

ties and to secure learning efficiency. Many schools in Japan have introduced CAI in various ways. Pilot studies on this kind of instruction are envisioned to promote the research development and dissemination of higher quality software for classroom instruction. In the Revised Course of Study for lower secondary schools in Japan, the Ministry of Education created a subject area named "Basics for Information" within the industrial arts and homemaking and promoted computer theory and practice for use in math and science education. The Ministry of Education has been striving to provide schools with computers and to expand the in-service training of teachers with regard to information processing teaching by the use of computers.

Lifelong Education and Use of Educational Media

Today, along with the various changes in society, including an increase in leisure hours and the advancement of science and technology, the learning demands of people have become diversified and heightened. Furthermore, there is a recent increase in the public demand for lifelong learning due to a variety of factors, which include the aging of the population and increase of people's needs as a result of the reduced working hours that require various learning skills and increased people's desire to acquire knowledge as a result of the spread of information media. The home is the first place for character formation, and, therefore, parents have to play a tremendous role in the education of their children. Educational media and agencies are promoting various programs and services for parents that include the dissemination of family education materials and information based on the ability level of the children.

Media information literacy in the family and society is required to form four large aims, to wit: 1) understanding new knowledge; 2) developing the ability to think and to judge; 3) developing manipulative and communication skills; and 4) cultivating the curiosity, interest, attitude and values.

Developing literacy for the purpose of improving reading, writing, calculating, media use and information processing to solve problems is considered important. Participating in personal

and social involvement and improvement of the quality of life through media education include the following aspects: a) literacy as a tool or means of communication of learning; b) literacy as the existence of a human being: people's culture, social, and physical existence; c) literacy for individual realization. It envisions the acquisition of family learning, understanding new knowledge, science and technology, leisure hours entertainment, and religious activities; and d) literacy for social, economic, and political existence. It is geared towards vocational, technical training, citizenship development, community development, and international economic relations, justice, freedom, human rights, world peace, and international understanding.

Films, T.V., radio, and the computer as means for teaching and learning in homes and the community could foster social education or lifelong education and are considered important for media literacy improvement. In order to cope with the diversified and heightened learning needs of the Japanese people, Japan has been striving to develop and improve social education facilities such as citizens' public halls, public libraries, and museums by using media education effectively. The Ministry of Education and many higher education institutions have been endeavoring to improve the development of media education leaders by providing pre- and in-service training and strive for further improvement of the quality of media education and to activate the information flow to cultivate Japanese media literacy.

References

- Ueno, Tatsumi (ed.), *Theory of Educational Media*, Tokyo: Corell, 1991. (in Japanese)
- Arimitsu, Seitoku (ed.), *Use of Audio-visual Educational Media*, Tokyo: Japanese Audio-visual Material Center, 1992. (In Japanese)
- Takemura, Shigekazu (ed.), *Educational Technology*. Tokyo: Hukumura Shuppan, 1990. (in Japanese)

Aihara Kazukuni (Hiroshima)

Research into the Role of Images with Reference to Comparative Culture in Education

**A structural comparison of European and Japanese culture
with reference to the response to images**

Aim

This is the age of the image. Today images have penetrated what has been up to now the intellectual domain of the written word. Images are not simply substitutes for the written word but present us with new possibilities to express what words cannot. However, it can also not be denied that the visual medium does have its limitations compared to the written word.

In literary research we try to gauge the effectiveness of the whole, while bearing in mind the shortcomings of the medium of images.

Furthermore, at the same time as they have an international universality, images always have a national identity and cultural history of their own. It is from this viewpoint that I wish to do a cultural comparison of the differences and similarities between European and Japanese reactions to film and other images. In particular, I will focus on the core media images of "gestures" (or "non-verbal communication").

**Subject of Enquiry: Japanese and European University
Students**

Method.

(1) A comparison of representative love story films.

Choose a typical, representative Japanese and European love

story and do a comparative investigation of the original work as well as its film adaptation.

A concrete example would be the comparison of Kawabata Yasunari's *The Izu Dancer* and *Romeo and Juliet* by William Shakespeare. These two famous works have been made into countless films, but I will choose the best recent adaptations for my comparison.

The first approach will be to see how aspects such as nature, human beings, and historical society are portrayed. To put it simply, a comparison of the cultural similarities and differences. The second, to measure the success and limitations of the respective film adaptations.

In addition, to ascertain the responses of Japanese and European university students through questionnaires and their own written impressions. Thirdly, using these we can clarify the differences between Japanese and Europeans with regard to their reactions to images.

(2) An investigation into the images of Europe that appear in Japanese films and the images of Japan that appear in European films.

To trace the changes in the predominant images of Europe that appear in Japanese films from the Japanese viewpoint and to follow the changes in the typical images of Japan that appear in European films from the European point of view.

If we look at each country's self-image from various angles we can clarify the ways in which we exchange culture and understand cultural differences. This will broaden the path that contributes to cultural exchange in the future.

(3) To examine the intermingling of Japanese and European culture in film adaptations taken from representative authors.

For example, in Natsume Soseki's *And then* (1909) the influence of Europe on modern Japanese history is considered in depth. The use of the white lily as a symbol for love is a result of the inheritance of European culture. These two elements are also reflected in the film adaptation of *And then* by Morita Yoshimitsu. In this way we can analyze the intermingling of Eastern and Western culture through the works and respective film adaptations of representative Japanese or European authors of every nationality.

(4) To examine the problem of images in paintings.

It is well known that the paintings of the famous Dutch artist Van Gogh were influenced by Japanese Ukiyoe-prints. From the beginning, Japanese modern literature and drama also had a strong influence on the life and art of Van Gogh. The same is also more or less true for the other Post-impressionist artists. The use of these paintings for the purpose of cultural exchange and comparison illustrates the merits and demerits of images.

Fellow researchers are free to choose any of the methods listed above in which they are interested, or to suggest new ones.

In summary, I wish to contribute to the understanding of comparative culture in education by comparing and contrasting the images that appear in Europe and Japan and by looking at the ways in which people react to those images.

Effects of Videogame on Development of Computer Literacy

This study focuses on the important role of videogames in forming computer literacy. It is an attempt to examine a positive potential relationship between media literacy and videogame use.

The importance of electronic media in children's learning and development has been recognized by parents and professionals for many years. The recent progress in microelectronics technology has brought about the rapid appearance of videogame machines. In the last decade the number of videogame machines increased dramatically, and total sales of videogame machines in Japan were more than 30 million units, and now more than 25% of all Japanese families own one. The number of types of videogame software is increasing annually. It has increased from nine titles in 1983 to 557 titles in 1991. The sales of one popular game software, "Super Mario Brothers", which first appeared in 1985, amounts to 6 million units.

With the proliferation of videogames, there has been widespread speculation about their potential negative effects on children, who are the main users. Most scientific studies focused mainly on the negative effects of playing videogames.

Do the games have any positive effects? Could a player develop any skills by playing videogames? For example, do videogames play an important role in adapting to the information-oriented or new media society?

Today computers are integral to many items in our everyday environment and are widespread in home use. Most of tomorrow's jobs will require the ability to operate computers, and videogames will be most children's first experience in interacting with a computer machine.

Although most studies on videogames have pointed out the

negative effects of videogame playing on child development, the purpose of this study is to examine whether videogames have implicit possible values in forming cognitive ability in children, and to clarify how helpful playing videogames today will be for tomorrow's society. This studies includes the following subthemes:

Research Concerning Traits of "Nintendo Kids"

Videogames use by some children is more frequent than for others. What are the traits of children with heavier game playing experience (Nintendo kids) in comparison with those with less experience? This study determines whether there is a relationship between past videogame use and children's consciousness and attitudes towards media, personality, academic achievements, other forms of playing, viewing television, etc. From various points of view it compares the traits of Nintendo kids and that of others, using a questionnaire and interviewing method. In our 1992 study, we discovered that Nintendo kids between the ages of nine and thirteen are more curious than less frequent players, Nintendo kids are more likely to play outdoors and read novels, and they have more interest in computer education. These facts are in remarkable contrast to the general negative opinions, which believe that the "Nintendo kids" are addictive, autistic and problematic.

Research on the Relationship Between Past Videogame Playing Use and Cognitive Skills and Sensory-Motor Skills

Many skills are developed through videogame-playing. Videogames not only have positive effects on sensory-motor skills for eye-hand coordination, but also on cognitive skills; spatial relationships, parallel processing, serial processing, the ability to coordinate visual information coming from multiple perspectives. In our 1992 study we investigated the effects of videogame playing on reaction time in young children, as measured by the discrimination perception test with computer (Table 1). Scores

were analyzed by the analysis of variance. The group of heavier videogame players scored significantly higher than the group of less frequent players in the reaction time test ($F=8.91$, $df=2/40$, $p<.001$).

The purpose of this kind of experimental study is to determine if there is a relationship between past videogame use and development of cognitive or sensorymotor skills, and to examine the effects of videogames playing on cognitive skills development.

Table 1: Mean scores for the less frequent players, middle players and heavier players on the discrimination perception test with computer

Group Accuracy Frequency watching key Reaction Times (sec.)

Less (n=15)	12.7	11.2	1.5
Middle (n=11)	13.7	9.0	2.4
Heavier (n=15)	11.4	4.7	1.1

Contents Analysis of Videogames

The contents of games reflect the problems in Japanese culture. We analyzed violence and sex differentiation in the videogames content, and compared this to what appears in TV programs and cartoons for children.

The cover pictures of 944 game packages in the videogames shops were recorded on videotape. The characters and weapons on the covers of game packages were analyzed. The results are shown on Table 2. Male versus female figures predominated by a ratio of 4 to 1. Thirty-seven percent of males were identified as having dominant poses, while 17% females were in this classification. 325 weapons were represented on the covers, 63% of weapons were swords. This fact may be related to the Japanese tradition of the SAMURAI: these trends are also found in TV programs and cartoons in Japan. The gender of characters and violence found in the contents of videogames are related to the primary users, who are mostly males.

Table 2: Content analysis of characters and weapons on the covers of 944 videogames

Type	n	Male	Fe- male	DM	DF	FM	FF	ANM	MST	RBT	Gun	Sword	et al.
ACT	303	630	141	273	24	233	94	90	306	18	27	62	51
SPT	189	375	56	128	10	127	42	9	2	0	0	0	0
RPG	156	301	130	129	16	157	99	15	104	8	8	102	17
SLG	110	271	28	70	1	119	22	13	11	3	4	40	1
TAB	71	164	72	46	12	66	38	10	2	0	0	0	0
ADV	50	98	33	33	14	59	17	5	1	0	4	0	1
SHT	23	23	5	6	0	12	5	4	4	1	4	2	0
Oth.	42	23	20	20	4	2	10	9	8	0	1	0	1
Tot.	944	1885	485	705	81	775	327	155	438	30	48	206	71

Note: ACT = Action, SPT = Sports, RPG = Role Playing, SLG = Simulation, TAB = Table, ADV = Adventure, SHT = Shooting; DM (F) = Number of dominant males (females), FM(F) = Number of follower males (females); ANM = Animal, MON = Monster, RBT = Robot.

David J. Pucel (St. Paul)

Technological Literacy: A Critical Worldwide Literacy Requirement for All Students

The Problem

Technology and its impact are acknowledged as major concerns affecting social change and systems. "It is...commonplace that modern science and technology...are leading forces of the time..." (Rapp, 1989, p. x). Technology, defined as "the application of knowledge, tools, and skills to solve practical problems and extend human capabilities" (Johnson, 1989, p. 1), impacts everyone throughout the world. However, although most people are fascinated with technology, few have an understanding of what it is, how it evolves, or how they can participate in its development and influence its impact on society. The American Association for the Advancement of Science has charged education with not meeting its responsibilities in helping youth develop the technological literacy needed to function in a modern world.

Brockway (1989) suggests that people who cannot adequately deal with technology are "technopeasants", serfs of technology. Those who are technologically literate will have an advantage over those who are not. Sarkikoski supports this argument as follows.

"Technology has always presented two faces to society. On the one hand technological innovations have been seen to satisfy objective social needs, and technologists have been regarded as altruistic servants of society in a spirit of professionalism...On the other hand, ideologically or politically, technology has played an important role in social processes...Those who reproduce technological ideas and structures, i.e., the producers and users of technological

knowledge, also formulate patterns of social conditions and consciousness." (Sarkikoski, 1988, p. 341)

Given the pervasive impact of technology on culture, the possession of basic technological understandings and experiences are critical for all students preparing for citizenship in a technological society. Understandings and technological skills must be transmitted to students as a basis for effectively communicating in the culture and as a basis for applying technology to life and work. The challenge to the educational curriculum is to incorporate learning experiences which will help all youth and adults develop at least basic technological literacy.

What is Technological Literacy

Technological literacy will be presented as a necessary part of cultural literacy. "To be culturally literate is to possess the basic information needed to thrive in the modern world" (Hirsch, 1988, p. xiii). Most educators have defined cultural literacy in terms of verbally learned content. For example, Hirsch suggests that cultural literacy allows individuals to place events around them in context and to "go beyond a text's literal meanings to supply important implications that (are) not explicitly stated by the words of the text" (Hirsch, 1988, p. 39). Therefore, depending upon the cultural background of individuals, different people will interpret the same words differently. They will derive different meanings based on their individual past learning and experience.

A similar phenomenon is occurring in society regarding common understandings of technology. Assumptions are being made about a person's familiarization with, and ability to apply basic technology. Those assumptions affect expectations during every day communication and on the job. If citizens do not have somewhat similar basic backgrounds in fundamental technology which lead to a level of cultural technological literacy, different individuals will be at widely varied places when discussing or adapting technology related to their lives or work. This will severely hamper an individual's ability to function in a technological society. It will also hamper a society's ability to

quickly develop and adapt to technology. Without a common basic literacy regarding technology, all discussions and changes in technology must begin with the assumption people know nothing about it. On the other hand, communications about technology can be much more efficient if everyone has a common base of understandings and experiences.

A number of authors clearly differentiate the content of technology from science and social science, and they suggest that the way technological literacy is developed requires learning skills beyond those typically used in schools. Rapp (1989, p. x), a philosopher, indicates: "Clearly the structure of thinking in technological sciences, as well as the methodological principles of design and of efficient and purposeful action exhibit patterns of their own which differentiate science from technology." The American Association for the Advancement of Science Project 2061 Panel indicated technology is "different from science, whose role is understanding. Technology's role is doing, making and implementing things. The principles of science, whether discovered or not, underlie technology." (Johnson, 1989, p. 1). However, they go on to say that understanding those principles is not enough to understand and be able to apply technology.

Hubert Dreyfus from the University of California, Berkeley, and computer programmers trying to develop artificial intelligence programs concluded that humans develop almost endless amounts of knowledge which is assumed during communication, that knowledge is gained through living and experiences which go beyond the literal meaning of words. They also concluded that such knowledge is not only developed through verbal learning but sensory learning.

John Brockway (1989), an experimental psychologist, provided additional support for the need for technology education programs to be more than just programs presented through standard language-based textbooks and typical classrooms. He indicated, "thought patterns of thinkers in liberal arts colleges are distinctly different from the predominant operative thought patterns employed in major institutes of technology" (p. 1). He suggested, "that the core of the domain of liberal arts thinking is textually-based, linguistically-controlled, and delivered orally and verbally in writing" (p. 2) with no major

emphasis placed on thinking visually. In contrast, he suggested technologists' thought processes deal with images and thinking that are driven predominantly by visual processes. He points to people who read blueprints, observe radar screens, read tables, and inspect real items to determine how they work and how to repair them as all deriving knowledge in non-verbal ways.

It is becoming increasingly clear that developing a functional understanding of technology requires experiences which go beyond language-based activities typically presented in schools. Engineers, architects, skilled workers and others who apply technology have repeatedly argued that teaching people about technology must include hands-on experiences. If people are to develop basic knowledge of technology, they must also be presented experiences which will allow them to work with the tools, equipment, ideas, processes and materials of technologists. This will aid them in the development of a more complete set of learning skills based on sensory learning.

The following definition of technological literacy will be used in this paper. It was derived by reviewing the literature regarding the role of technology in society (e.g., Bailey, 1978; Rapp, 1989; Sarkikoski, 1989; Savage & Sterry, 1990) and the report of the American Association for the Advancement of Science Project 2061 Panel (Johnson, 1989).

"Technological literacy is the possession of understandings of technological evolution and innovation, and the ability to apply tools, equipment, ideas, processes and materials to the satisfactory solution of human needs" (Pucel, 1992, p. 3).

A Proposed Technological Literacy Curriculum

Given that technological literacy requires special efforts on the part of schools to develop, a model for such a curriculum will be proposed. It will be argued that technological literacy is developed through both language-based and sensory-based learning. Language-based knowledge includes understandings developed through books, lectures, discussions and other forms

of verbal interactions. Sensory-based knowledge includes understandings and abilities developed through real physical and visual interactions with the tools, equipment, ideas, process and materials of technology.

The ten categories of technology content listed below will be presented as a basis for developing technological literacy. It will be argued that the first six categories of content presented should be the primary focus of a specific technological literacy program. Although the last four categories must be addressed and reinforced in a technology education curriculum, primary responsibility for teaching that content should be the responsibility of other areas of the curriculum (e.g., science, math, social studies). It is argued that this distinction is important in the development of a technological literacy program.

Primary

1. A technological method (including the invention process)
2. common tool usage (e.g., screwdrivers, meters, vises, clamps, t-square, compass, beaker)
3. common equipment (e.g., drill press, table saw, welder, generator, robot, drafting machine, computer, balance scale)
4. basic technological processes (e.g., fastening, cutting, shaping, propagating, mixing, measuring)
5. materials (e.g., metals, plastics, wood, composites, paper, fiber, cellulose)
6. terminology (e.g., circuit, flow, kerf, voltage, bonding, adhesion, center-line, hybrid, open-system, contaminants)

Applied and Reinforced

7. environmental concerns (e.g., pollution, resource consumption, disposal)
8. social values (e.g., preserve jobs, prejudices, moral implications)
9. scientific principles (e.g., friction, electricity, leverage, nuclear energy, genetics)
10. economic factors (e.g., supply, demand, costs, benefits, return on investment).

References

- Bailey, R. L. (1978). *Disciplined creativity for engineers*. Ann Arbor, MI: Ann Arbor Science Publishers.
- Brockway, J. P. (August 11, 1989). *Technology & the liberal arts: Mixing differing thought patterns*. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, Alfred P. Sloan Liberal Arts Program.
- Caney, S. (1985). *Steven Caney's invention book*. New York, NY: Workman Publishing.
- Doster, A., III, Goodwin, J., & Ross, J. M. (Eds.). (1978). *The Smithsonian book of invention*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Edling, W. (1992). *Tech Prep/Associate Degree Program: TPAD*. Waco, TX: Center for Occupational Research and Development.
- Gray, B. (1992). Voices of change. *Vocational Education Journal*, 67(7), 23.
- Hindle, B., & Lubar, S. (1986). *Engines of change: The American Revolution, 1790-1860*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Hirsch, E. D., Jr. (1988). *Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Householder, D. (1992). *Assessing teacher education programs*. 1992 Mississippi Valley Industrial Education Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Johnson, J. (1989). *Technology: Report of the project 2061 phase I - Technology panel*. Wash., DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- Kurtz, V. R., et al. (1990, October). Special issue. *School Science and Mathematics*, 90(6), 451-574.
- Mayr, O., & Post, R. C. (Eds.) (1981). *Yankee enterprise: The rise of the American system of manufacturers*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- National Center for Improving Science Education. (1989). *Science*

and technology education for the elementary years: Framework for curriculum and instruction. Andover, MA: The Network.

Newell, M. A. (1878). *Proceedings of the American Institute of Instruction.*

Pucel, D. J. (1992). *Technology Education: A critical literacy requirement for all students.* 1992 Mississippi Valley Industrial Education Conf., Chicago, IL.

Rapp, F. (1989). General perspectives of the complexity of philosophy of technology. Paul Durbin (Ed.), *Philosophy of Technology* (p.ix-xxiv). Holland: D. Reidel.

Sarkikoski, T. (1989). Re-orientation in systems thinking?--Some remarks on the methodological and ideological traits of technological reproduction. *European Journal of Engineering Education*, 13(3), 341-348.

Savage, E., & Sterry, L. (1990). *A conceptual framework for technology education.* Reston, VA: International Technology Association.

Spady, W. G., & Marshall, K. J. (1991). Beyond traditional outcome-based education. *Educational Leadership*, 49(2), 67-72.

Strassmann, P. A. (1985). *Information Payoff.* New York: Free Press, Macmillan, Inc.

Turvey, P. (1992). *Timelines inventions: Inventors & ingenious ideas.* New York, NY: Franklin Watts.

WGBH Boston. (1992). *The machine that changed the world.* Boston, MA: WGBH Boston/BBC TV Corp. in Assoc. with NDR Hamburg, WGBH Educ. Foundation TV.

U.S. Department of Labor. (1991, June). *What work requires of schools: A SCANS report for AMERICA 2000.* Wash., DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Women Studies

Gender, Socialization and Child Development from a Constructivistic Approach.¹

Introduction

Socialization was one of the main concepts in first analysis in women's studies of the unequal relations between men and women. "Pink and Bleu" represents "the color line" in these socialization theories, and were seen as synonymous for the different and unequal treatment of boys and girls in families and schools from the moment they were laid down in bleu or pink dresses in their bleu or pink cradles.

Twenty years later socialization seems to be a forgotten concept and approach in women studies.² The shift to post-structural, post-modern and/or constructivist theories was the definitive blow for socialization as a theoretical and empirical concept, at least within women studies. In this paper we will evaluate the critique of the last ten years and focus on the consequences of this so called 'linguistic turn' in the social, historical and philosophical

- 1 This paper is an brief version of the article: Socialization, a usefull category for women studies? in: *Girls, girlhood and girls' studies in transition*, M. de Ras & M. Lunenberg (eds.) Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 1993, p. 38-53.
- 2 see for instance: Ann Oakley, *Sex, gender and society*, 1972; E.G. Belotti: *Dalla parte delle bambine*, Milaan 1973; *And Jill came tumbling after. Sexism in American Education*, J. Stacey e.a., 1974; S. Sharp, *Just like a girl. How girls learn to be women*, 1976; Dagmar Schultz, *Ein Mädchen ist fast so gut wie ein Junge, Sexismus in der Erziehung. Interviews, Berichte, Analysen*. Berling, 1980; C. Hagemann-White: *Sozialisation: weiblich - männlich?* Opladen, 1984.

sciences for socialization studies.³ Is it possible to develop a constructivist approach of socialization, of the gender-specific development of children without essentialistic, a-historical and/or general assumptions about development and growing-up? In other words, can socialization become (again) a usefull category for feminist social sciences.

Socialization Theory, Women Studies and Constructivism

The general explanation for unequal relations between men and women was searched in the sexual division of labour: house keeping and child rearing of women versus the paid-work at the labour market of men. Socialization studies explained the differences in attitudes, expectations and schoolsuccess of girls and boys by the gender-specific expectations of adults, parents and teachers, towards the upgrowing child. When in the seventies girls attended secondary and higher education in an extending measure, gender-specific socialization for girls was defined as the acceptance and internalization of the double expectation to have a (school) career and become housewife and mother, where for boys a career was still their expectation not crossed by a wish to become a father.

At the end of the seventies the socialization approach was extended by psycho-analytical theories. The persistency of gender differences, in spite of the many attempts for changing 'the pink and bleu color line', had to be explained. Gender socialization was said to be more than taking up the gender roles of society by the individual; gender was also inscribed in the psychic structures. Nancy Chodorow pointed in *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978) to psycho-analytical mechanisms of identification between mother and child in early childhood, especially the pre-oedipal period, to explain the existing gender differences.⁴ From now on

3 This doesn't mean that discourse analysis and construction theories are the only approaches within women studies and cultural studies, but the critique on socialization theories was largely inspired by those approaches. See, for instance: *Changing the subject, psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*, edited by J. Henriques, W. Hollway, C. Urwin, V. Walkerdine, Londond/New York, 1984

4 N. Chodorow: *The reproduction of mothering. Psychoanalysis and the*

sociological analyses of gender differences in socialization processes were criticized for being too general. Psychological account was asked and given for the continuation of these differences; the psychic structure of the early mother-child relation was used as an (extra) explanation of the inequality between men and women.

In these theories, as the title of Chodorow's book already shows, socialization was understood as a process of reproduction. This implied a contradiction between the starting point of the feminist program - the wish for change - and the theoretically 'proved' reproduction of unequal gender relations as an ever-lasting repetition of the same. Femininity had become almost identical with mothering and caring, and it seemed as if women were completely defined by their position in the home. Another important critique concerns the universality of the reproduction scheme. In the end, almost all behavior of girls and women, all gender inequality, seemed to be explained by 'the reproduction of mothering and sexual division of labour'. Within the feminist movement and women's studies at the end of the seventies, the reproduction of the universal and univocal meaning of gender, was criticized and more and more attention was given to the differences between women.

The same criticism was used against the concept of socialization for giving too little attention to the active participation of the individual in making his own life and environment and to the importance of the specific historical and cultural context and the change of society itself.⁵ The critique of cultural studies was extended in the eighties by post-modern theories. In these theories socialization was not only blamed as a passive and static theory, but also for its essentialistic, humanistic and a-historical assumptions. The post-modern critique focussed on the preservation of the dualism 'individual versus society'. *Changing the subject* (1984)

Sociology of Gender. Berkeley/Los Angeles (University of California), 1978.

- 5 For instance several studies of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of Birmingham, from Stuart Hall and others. Paul Willis, *Learning to labour, How working class kids get working class jobs*. Westmead (Gower) 1980. Willis proposed cultural studies as an alternative for socialization theories, by stressing the importance of change.

criticized socialization theories as being 'necessarily dualistic in concept'. They "... rely heavily on mechanisms of internalization in order to account for individual consciousness, agency, rationality and other distinctly human processes". So socialization theories are accused of their "... implicit rely on the notion of a pre-given subject".⁶

The objections against socialization theories as made in cultural studies as well as in post-modern (social) theories are extremely relevant if we remind the original feminist wish for change. On the one hand the socializing individual must not be regarded as a passive receptor of already given values etc, but as someone who has an active part in making her own life and environment. On the other hand this active individual must not be understood as already existing, as a pre-given subject, but as constructed by its environment, the discourses he or she form part of. However, neither cultural studies, nor post-modern theories (within women's studies) did see any possibilities to reformulate socialization. On the contrary, by defining the already mentioned problems as inherent to socialization, the concept itself was rejected.

Socialization and the Constructivist Paradigm

In our view this rejection may have been premature.

Socialization represents a question which has not lost its relevance in general, and for women's studies in particular. As a social structure gender difference continues with the already mentioned persistency, all kinds of changes included. One of the ways in which this is going on is through the succession of generations. This is what socialization is about. Instead of throwing away important questions about these processes because inadequate theorizing, we look for a change in the theory of socialization that will meet the critique of cultural and post-modern theories. According to us a constructivist approach of socialization processes can meet the objections as mentioned above.

By a constructivist approach we mean a philosophy of knowl-

6 *Changing the Subject*, 1984, p. 18.

edge as an approach where objects don't have a meaning of their own, but are given meaning which cannot be understood outside the specific context(s) of meaning constitution.⁷

Knowledge is a way of handling reality, not a reflection of reality.⁸ This is no question of denying reality, but of understanding reality as contextual and as determined by specific perspectives of looking at it. So in a constructivistic approach there is no ontological concept of socialization (and of development), where socialization is understood as a process that can be successful or fail.

We do not want to give an outline for a new specific theory of socialization, but propose socialization as a perspective, as a special way of looking at reality, constituted by a specific question: how do social structures continue through the succession of generations and what are the mechanisms through which gender differences continue and change at the same time. In this view gender is no longer an univocal concept. This does not mean that individuals are 'free' in creating their reality in a voluntary way. In a constructivistic analysis individuals are also seen as handling reality by giving meaning to it, but not without a specific context. As a consequence the individual, from its very beginning, must be understood as constituting her/himself in communicative practices, that is in interaction with her or his environment. No individual can be thought of without or outside any social environment.

This dynamic concept of socialization becomes possible when socialization no longer refers to the insertion of pre-existent individuals into pre-existent social structures or the other way around, but to the permanent constitution of these individuals as well as of social structures themselves. Principally, this implies change. Continuation of the social, then, has not the character of a repetition of the same (reproduction), but of evolution, or in a certain way of "re-production" as Wendy Hollway says.⁹

7 Linguistic theories (for instance: Levi-Strauss, Derrida) as well as philosophical theories (for instance: Wittgenstein).

8 R. Rorty: *Philosophy and the mirror of nature*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980.

9 Wendy Hollway, *Gender difference and the production of subjectivity*,

Socialization and Child Development

The socialization-theoretical perspective focuses on the relationship between the generations and for that reason necessarily has to do with growingup and child development. As a concept socialization refers to a specific approach and to questions about child development and growingup. In the Netherlands and in Germany socialization is distinguished from education and child-rearing.¹⁰ As far as we know such a distinction is not made in Anglo-Saxon countries. G.F. Heyting argues that from the construction paradigm point of view socialization and education must not be distinguished as separate ontological realities, but in terms of different ways of describing reality.¹¹ The concepts of socialization and child rearing do not reflect different pieces of reality, but represent different perspectives on processes of social and individual development. Heyting defines the socialization-theoretical perspective as determined by the question 'how can social structures survive the succession of generations'? From this point of view, socialization theories produce analyses in terms of effects or results. Socialization theory tries to explain the different ways social structures continue and change. Its descriptions construct 'events' that can explain social continuity. To characterize the pedagogical perspective Heyting takes up the concept of intentionality. The concept of child rearing or education is constituted by questions concerning *convictions* and goal *directedness* in human action towards children, not by

in *Changing the subject*, 1984, pp. 227-263 "My use of the hyphen is intended to signify that every practice is a production (...) Hence recurrent day to day practices and the meanings through which they acquire their effectivity may contribute to the maintenance of gender differences (...) or to its modification (...). p. 227.

- 10 As far as in the Anglo-Saxon countries the word 'education' is primarily or even solely associated with schools, it is not quite suited for our purpose. We will use the words 'education' and 'child-rearing' as synonymes, both referring to education in schools as well as outside schools: families, social work for children, nurseries, etc.
- 11 See G.F. Heyting: Pädagogische Intention und pädagogische Effektivität. Beschreibungsformen und Perspektiven der Pädagogik. In: N. Luhmann and K.E. Schorr (eds): *Zwischen Absicht und Person. Fragen an die Pädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main (Suhrkamp), 1992; pp. 125-154.

questions concerning the attainment of those aims. The fact that educators can be very satisfied with the development of 'their' children, despite the fact that it does not conform to their initially intended aims, can illustrate this. Although many educators, and there will be a significant difference here between parents and teachers, can not give a clear and well defined answer to the question why they educate as they do, they all have certain intentions. So socialization and pedagogical theories are 'handling' child development with different purposes and from different points of view.

Child development in our view is a continuous process of meaning constitution, in which an active (but not voluntary) part is played by the child itself. If we understand the process of growing up in this way, child development is no longer understood as fixed in advance; as a development along a fixed path with a pre-given outcome, both defined as universal. On the contrary, child development must be conceptualized as a process of fixation itself, that is a process in which the child is fixated as child. Here lies the reason why we keep talking about child development as something special, and not about processes of (human) change in general: the child is fixated as different from the adult. We have to do with the meanings a child is given: as a baby the child will have another meaning for us than as an adolescent, a daughter, a friend, a pupil or a subject of educational theory and research. In turn the child will understand (= give meaning to) herself as a child with all these different, contextually determined meanings.

In the last decade many (feminist) studies have analysed how this kind of developmental theories are used in a normative way, namely as a criterion to which the empirical development of children is compared.¹² Child development takes place along gender-specific lines. At the same time the meaning of gender is not fixed and given in advance, but is constituted in, amongst others, the same communicative practices as is child development itself. The differentiation of social settings in which development takes place

12 see for instance: Denise Riley, *War in the nursery, Theories of child and mother*, London, 1983.

leads to the development of different identities at the same time as well as over time in one individual. This is also true for the development of gender-identities: different social settings constitute different gender-identities. In the context of child development it is very well possible to understand the process of becoming 'woman' or 'man' not only as a dynamic, constitutive process, but also as a multiple, differentiated process of meaning constitution.

Conclusion

In this article we wanted to show that the concept of socialization can be useful for women studies. The critiques on socialization theories, as developed in the seventies and eighties, can be met from an epistemologically constructivist approach. In this approach socialization is defined as the result of a (scientific) question, namely how to explain the continuation of social structures like gender difference through the succession of generations. The question itself has not lost its relevance for women studies as far as women studies remain interested in change of actual gender differences. As we have shown, a constructivist approach gives a fundamental place to the dynamic of continuation and change in theory.

Family Work and the Educational Careers of Working Class Girls in England

The existence of various forms of children's paid employment and unpaid work in the family has been noted by many groups of concerned people: teachers, politicians, sociologists and psychologists, but few have considered, and no one has attempted fully to investigate, the effects of such work on children's educational achievement and their entry into the labour market. Nor have they looked specifically at differences between boys and girls, and by social class - which is our current concern.

For instance, a study of nearly three thousand teenagers 20 years ago in England and Wales found 80% of girls and 69% of boys aged 13-16 worked part-time (paid or unpaid), and that pupils who spend more of their out-of-school time in employment tend to be less able, less industrious and less well-behaved; they attend less regularly, play truant more frequently, are less punctual and wish to leave school at an earlier age than those who work for fewer hours or not at all (Davies 1972 p iv).

Subsequent researchers in the UK, however, even when they have been interested in young people's leisure, career 'choices' and entry into the labour market, and have drawn their samples from school records, have seldom attempted to tie together employment while at school, academic results and career choices.

MacLennan, Fitz and Sullivan's study of eleven schools in London, Luton and rural Bedfordshire for the Low Pay Unit (1985), was concerned with how many children aged 11-16 were involved in paid work and how many hours they worked, but they were not able to look at the effects of this work on the actual progress of individual children in schools. They also took what is for us too narrow a definition of what constitutes 'working', ignoring domestic work, childcare and running errands because these are not subject to legal regulation and also because they are not seen as 'real' work.

Dan Finn (1984, 1987) has provided probably the most thorough investigations to date for England of the paid and unpaid work of 15-16 year old school pupils, but his prime concern is their paid work, and he does not always differentiate unpaid work (e.g., babysitting) from leisure. He argues convincingly that employment while at school constitutes a hidden 'powerful learning experience' (Finn, 1987, p.86) and that young people's educational choices are not made in ignorance but rather on the basis of their own experiences of the class and sexual division of labour. But even he does not consider the significance of unpaid domestic labour for young men and women's academic results and career choices, though he does relate it to their school attendance.

Finally, while both historians and those concerned with contemporary 'Third World' countries have written of the economic importance of children's work to their families in industrialising societies, and the harmful consequences of such work for their schooling, such labour and its consequences is generally considered a thing of the past, even if of the relatively recent past, in the West (though cf Pahl 1984).

We believe this lack of systematic attention to the contemporary significance of young peoples' work (both paid and unpaid) may be one of the reasons why the cumulative academic, training and employment disadvantages of working class girls - how much worse they fare in relation to working class boys at 16 than do middle class girls in relation to middle class boys (King 1987) - has so far been only partly explained; and that this is part of the more general problem of the underdevelopment of theoretical questions about the articulation of gender and social class. At school most working class girls chose the wrong subjects, and then the wrong training paths, to have access to well paid jobs (even were they not also to encounter discrimination in the labour market). And they start to make these choices from an early age. Our concern is to investigate further what is happening prior to and immediately post the school leaving age to produce these gendered class differences in educational attainment and career choices, by focussing on what seems to us to have been unattended to in the past: particular material constraints within working class girls' lives. On the basis of this we hope also to contribute to important debates within sociology on the relationship between the family, labour

market and education.

Previous writers have outlined and discussed many of the (doubtless multiple) factors which contribute to the differences between boys and girls' academic attainments and job choices. For instance :

- primary socialisation: the rearing of girls develops in them a concern to be 'other-directed' and non assertive, with a desire to marry and have children, ambivalence towards ambition and individual achievement, and a tendency to attribute any success they may have to 'luck' ;

- sexuality: girls lose interest in school as they develop an interest in boys, which leads them to spend time making themselves attractive, seeking not to look too brainy, discussing dating strategies with friends, and hanging around appropriate venues rather than concentrating on their school work;

- school ethos/teacher expectations and the internal dynamics of the school and classrooms;

- the relationship between the labour market and schools; and

- the importance of ideological constructions/cultural formations.

What strikes us, however, because of our own recent work (Adkins 1992, Delphy and Leonard 1992), is researchers' interpretation of their own data. They have consistently recorded the greater family responsibilities of girls, and in particular of working class girls. For instance, in the summary of a national research initiative on 16-19 year olds it is noted that "girls [are] more likely to do the cleaning, shopping, cooking and washing up than boys, although both sexes [do] more as they got older, [while] boys [do] household repairs and [pay] bills"(Abrams). But researchers have neither commented on the very different frequency and amounts of time consumed by, for instance shopping and paying bills (cf Meissner et al 1975), nor have they seen their data in terms of differential *demands for time and energy here and now*. Rather, they have seen the significance of this adolescent division of

labour exclusively in terms of its producing in boys and girls different values and expectations about their future lives.

Our experience of working class families, which we are following up with a pilot study, suggests, however, that girls are usually required to do some housework from the age of 8 or 9, and from their early teens they do a relatively heavy load of housework, child care, and either unpaid work for family enterprises or paid part-time work (2-3 hours a day and/or most of Saturday). Their brothers do much less or nothing at home and little (if any) more paid work.

Pressure on girls is likely to be increasing rather than decreasing with current changes in family life (eg increased employment of mothers, increased single parenting, increased economic stress on parents, and decreased numbers of children/girls per household) and with changes in schooling (eg increased expectations of parental/maternal (/older sister?) involvement in learning at home and the emotional support of children, to support effective schooling) (see David 1993, quoting Ulich 1989).

This means girls are given an early training in time management, which may be why they do better when their school examinations require coursework (see Harris, Nixon and Ruddock 1993); but it can also severely compromise their 'choices'. For instance

Sandra was a white working class fifth former .. taking four CSEs. She had applied to a local college for a place on a full-time hairdressing course before she was due to leave school... and like many of her peers, she stayed with relatives ... in July for a holiday.

While [she] was away, the college wrote to her at home offering her a place, and asked her to return an acceptance form by September. [Her] mother needed her at home to look after her elder sister's 2-year-old daughter, so she intercepted the letter and kept it from Sandra until it was too late. Both her mother and sister had full-time jobs (the sister was separated from her husband) and Sandra's college place would not have brought in even a local authority grant. Only Sandra could have done the childcare, so she returned home to find she had lost her college place, and had to go on the dole.

Sandra was only able to look for a job six months later, after her mother had changed shifts at the nearby factory and was able to look after the child herself (Griffin 1985, pp 42-3).

There is also evidence that some working class girls are regularly absented from school for household and childcare commitments (Shaw 1981) and that this continues to be treated in practice as less serious than boys 'truanting' - because girls bring to school letters giving permission/ excuses from their parents; because girls' schooling is seen to matter less; and because when not in school they are not out on the street getting into trouble. It is also well established that domestic responsibilities (especially where mothers are in full-time employment) is a major cause of school drop out among poor, Chicana and Black girls in the USA (see eg Fine and Zane 1991).

There is some evidence that there are also differences in the distribution of domestic work by class and ethnic group in Britain. Griffin, for instance, found the most even distribution of housework between parents and children and fathers and mothers was in African Caribbean households; and the most marked concentration of responsibilities on the wife/mother was in white middle class households (Griffin 1985 p 39-40). Hence among the white professional middle classes in particular, whilst girls do more housework than boys, neither sex of young person does much, and (we suspect - though it needs empirical verification) never an amount likely to prejudice their academic progress.

Our own work leads us to stress not only the different amounts of time consumed by boys' and girls' tasks, but also that '*family work*' should not be delimited to housework, shopping, gardening, repairs and maintenance, and childcare, which is the basic production for self-consumption done for the head of the household by subordinates/ dependants in all households. It should be recognised to cover a much wider variety of tasks, which varies from household to household according to the needs and preferences of its head (see Delphy and Leonard 1992 *passim*). It can include, for instance:

-unpaid work for family enterprises (eg farming, small businesses, hotels and restaurants, shopkeeping, or homeworking);

-casual work such as running errands, making deliveries, answering the telephone when parents work from home but are out, and waiting in for callers;

-entertaining visitors, visiting and maintaining contact with, and sometimes physically caring for relatives, remembering birthdays and attending family reunions;

-emotional work: keeping parents company when required, supporting other family members and helping to make a caring environment in the home;

-and sometimes (despite its illegality and moral repugnance) sexual work for parents.

Girls may thus be required not only to do 'cleaning, shopping, cooking and washing up' but also to be active in childcare, the maintenance of neighbourhood and kin ties, to work in the family's market garden, and to provide love and entertainment for their mother and relatives. They are also much more likely to do sexual work (to be sexually abused) than their brothers (Kelly et al 1991). The national Initiative mentioned above (by the Economic and Social Research Council) found that after 16 unemployed girls were drawn into domestic responsibility, often impelling them to leave home, while unemployed boys became isolated by their parents' desire to get them out from under their feet. Nevertheless there was a big gap between girls and boys. Girls left home in larger numbers and earlier than boys. 38 per cent of 19 year-old girls lived away from home compared to 27 per cent of boys (Abrams/ESRC).

Other researchers have suggested that as many as four in ten of girls who leave home early, do so because of abuse (Hendessi 1992).

Despite these findings, researchers have often not questioned whether children actually do any work out of school under the age of 14 or 15. Moral panics on children's work have been around the paid employment of children under 15 - and this has (mysteriously) excluded babysitting; the principal paid work done by girls, and of course one of the principal forms of unpaid

work done by girls.

When children's unpaid work does get mentioned, it is usually seen as a minor but legitimate contribution to a collective household endeavour, and as having no major practical consequences for the young people concerned (which is also, of course, many writers' view of wives' work). The things that have been recognised to be important about family work are the attitudes to future life (e.g., Gaskell 1992) and the homemaking skills it develops (eg Jones and Wallace 1992). It is certainly never seen to have any health or educationally damaging consequences.

We would suggest, however, that far from simply preparing young people for future gender roles, their family work is quite key in constructing classed gender divisions between young people, and therefore has significant implications for understanding generational relations, divisions at school, and the transition to work and 'adulthood'. Thus, for instance, rather than seeing working class girls as making a series of 'wrong' choices through their schooling and transition from school to work, we can see that these 'choices' are limited by material constraints in their every-day lives.

Put another way, we can see that working class girls do not make their 'choices' under the same social conditions as working class boys and middle class boys *and* girls, and this is, in part, what makes them 'working class girls'.

References

- Abrams, F (1992) *Careers and Identities: adolescent attitudes to employment, training and education, their home life, leisure and politics*, Research Briefing no 4
- Adkins, L (1992) *Sexual Work and Family Production*, PhD, University of Lancaster
- David, M (1993) *Parents, Gender and Educational Reform*, Polity
- Davies, E (1972) 'Work Out of School', *Education*, 10 November
- Delphy, C and Leonard, D (1992) *Familiar Exploitation: a new*

analysis of marriage in western society, Polity Press

Finch, J (1989) *Family Obligations and Social Change*, Polity

Fine, M and Zane, N (1991) 'Bein' Wrapped Too Tight: when low income women drop out of high school', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol XIX nos 1&2, pp 77-99

Finn, D (1984) 'Leaving School and Growing Up: work experience in the juvenile labour market', in I Bates et al (eds) *Schooling for the Dole*, Macmillan

(1987) *Training Without Jobs: new deals and broken promises*, Macmillan

Gaskell, J (1992) *Gender Matters From School to Work*, Open University Press

Griffin, C (1985) *Typical Girls? Young women from school to the job market*, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Harris, S, Nixon, J and Ruddock, J (1993) 'School Work, Homework and Gender', *Gender and Education*, Vol 5 no 1, pp 3-16

Hendessi, M (1992) *4 in 10: report on young women who become homeless*, CHAR (housing campaign for single people)

Holland, J et al (1992) *The Family and Education Project Pilot Study*, Report to the HEA

Jones, G and Wallace, C (1992) *Youth, Family and Citizenship*, Open University Press

Kelly, L et al (1991) *An Exploratory Study of the Prevalence of Sexual Abuse in a Sample of 16-21 year olds*, CSAU, Polytechnic of North London

King, R (1987) 'Sex and Social Class Inequalities in Education: a reexamination', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8, pp 287-303

MacLennan, E, Fitz, J and Sullivan, J (1985) *Working Children*, Low Pay Unit, London

Mayall, B (1991) 'Researching Childcare in a Multi-Ethnic Society', *New Community*, 17 (4), pp 553-568

Meissner, M et al (1975) 'No Exit for Wives: sexual division of

labour and the cumulation of household demands in Canada',
Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12(4)

Pahl, R (1984) *Divisions of Labour*, Basil Blackwell

Shaw, J (1981) *Family, State and Compulsory Education*, Unit 13 of
The Open University course E353, Society, Education and the
State, Open University Press

Janet Ouston (London)

Women in Education Management

This paper summarises some of the main points of my conference paper. Four main issues were considered: the under-representation of women in management posts in schools in England and Wales; research on women managers outside education; the impact of local management on women's promotion; some possible approaches to management development that are 'women-friendly'. (See Ouston, 1993 for an extended discussion of these issues).

Women's Under-representation in Management Posts in Schools

In England and Wales four out of five primary school teachers are women. But men are much more likely to be Headteachers: one third of men become Heads compared to only 7% of women. In the secondary sector just under half the teachers are women, but 3% of men are Heads compared to less than 1% of women. These figures have not changed much over recent years except for a small increase in the number of co-educational secondary schools with women Heads, which has risen from 9% in 1988 to 14% in 1991. (DES, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992; DFE, 1993).

Schmuck (1986) identified three sets of concepts that have been used to explore women's under-representation in senior posts: the socialisation of women; organisational constraints on women's promotion; theories relating to gender-based careers. Spencer and Podmore (1987) expanded these to 'ten factors which contribute to the professional marginalisation of women'.

Women Managers Outside Education

Research in this area shows that women are also under-represented in senior posts outside education. The reasons proposed by researchers can be seen as falling within all three of Schmuck's concepts set out above. A review of research in this area is given in Ouston, 1993.

The Impact of Local Management of Schools

Local Management was introduced as part of the Education Reform Act, 1988 (Maclure, 1992). Schools are now funded mainly on the basis of student numbers, with all decisions about the management of staffing and resources being made at school level. Governing bodies are now legally responsible for the running of their schools. Schools are now permitted to become completely independent of their Local Authority, being funded directly by central government.

The management demands on schools have expanded rapidly. Before the 1988 Act local authorities had considerable influence over the appointment of teachers and Heads, and were responsible for paying teachers' salaries. These have now become school responsibilities. For many senior teachers this has led to a major change in their role, which is now focused on finance, marketing and personnel issues in addition to the traditional concerns of those managing education.

The move to local management may have led to the erosion of collegiality and flexibility. Jenkins (1992) suggested that the professional culture of participation in schools is being replaced by an inappropriate and out-of-date managerialism. These more competitive, entrepreneurial styles with more prescriptive approaches to the curriculum may be less attractive to women. This trend is quite opposite to that in commercial organisations where, as a result of the impact of Total Quality Management (West Burnham, 1992 and Sallis, 1993) it has been argued that organisations need to become less bureaucratic, flatter in structure, and

more flexible in their operations. Pedler, Burgoyne and Boydell (1991) concluded that effective organisations have to "continuously transform themselves in response to the needs, wishes and aspirations of people, inside and outside". To achieve this they have to be constantly learning and reflecting. This is a similar idea to that of a commitment to continuous improvement found in Total Quality Management. They suggest that more 'feminine' values are needed, moving away from leadership through control of hierarchies and towards empowerment and network structures.

Barth (1990) and Caldwell and Spinks (1992) argue that managing educational organisations has shifted from a focus on the control of staff to the empowerment of staff. This strategy is more responsive to change and maximises organisational performance. They claim that women may be better suited to lead schools in the future than men.

McLoughlin (1992) argued that business has become more feminine in recent years, and that women have become more highly valued by their peers and their managers. She claims that a cultural shift has occurred in new services and financial industries: the top 200 British companies now have 29 female directors, in 1980 there was one.

Do Women Have a Different Management Style to Men?

Most researchers report that there are differences between men and women in their management style, but that there is considerable overlap. Eagley, Karau and Johnson (1992) reported a meta-analysis of 50 studies of gender and leadership style. The main finding was that women have a more participatory, democratic style. They also reported that women are more task focused, more concerned with students and learning than men.

Hall (1993) and Shakeshaft (1993) reviewed research on women as managers in education in the UK and the USA and both argue for more research in this area.

The roles of women at work cannot be considered independently from the roles of men at work and at home. Henwood, Rimmer and Wicks (1987) reported that 73% of women in the

UK do nearly all the housework. Alban-Metcalf and West (1991) also reported that in families where both partners work most domestic tasks are done by women. McLoughlin (1992) is rather more positive. She reported that younger men are becoming less 'macho' and more concerned with the quality of life. She suggests that the decline of traditional male employment has led to men valuing women's employment more highly. But her sample was small, and she commented on the fact that many of her interviewees had divorced their traditional first husbands, and remarried men who were happy with a more equal balance of power and responsibilities within the partnership.

Will the Position of Women in Education get Better or Worse?

The new demands resulting from the Local Management of Schools may have led to more managerial styles of management, while research on the management of non-educational organisations has led to more flexible approaches. It seems likely that women will be disadvantaged by the first approach and advantaged by the second.

Newly empowered governing bodies will have a major impact on women's careers (Waring, 1992). Will they tend to appoint male Headteachers to manage the new financial responsibilities of schools? If the governing body is predominantly male and middle-aged this may lead to the recent advances made by women being halted. Stainton (1992) raises another concern about women's promotion, that male Heads will take over the 'business' of the school, leaving their women deputies to deal with teaching, pastoral and staffing issues leaving women be less well prepared for promotion to Headship?

The diminishing role and resources of local education authorities may also lead to a decline in the concern for equal opportunities for teachers and pupils. Equal opportunities advisers are no longer employed in many authorities, and their contribution to professional development programmes will be lost.

Resources for professional development are now devolved to

schools. This may lead to a decline in support for all management development and in particular to programmes for women as they may be seen as focusing on personal, rather than the professional.

How Might the Position of Women be Improved?

Why should we be concerned to improve the position of women? There are four distinct issues here: equality of opportunity; the need for 'women's talents' in the changing management environment of schools; setting role models for women teachers and students; setting role models for male teachers and students.

Action to ensure better promotion prospects for women needs to be taken in many ways: through changing attitudes and beliefs, through legislation, and through professional development programmes. The Management Development Centre's approach to 'women-friendly' programmes is explained in Gold (1993).

A recent Government Commission reported:

" (...) getting women into top jobs demands strategic planning; it does not just happen through goodwill or good intentions." (Hansard Society Commission, 1990)

References

- Alban-Metcalf, B and West, M (1991) Women managers. In Firth-Cozens, J and West, M (eds) *Women at Work*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Barth, RS (1990) *Improving Schools from Within*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Caldwell, B and Spinks (1992) *Leading the Self Managing School*. Lewes: Falmer.
- Department of Education and Science (1988, 1989, 1990, 1991) *Statistics of Education: Schools*. London: DES.
- Department of Education and Science (1992) *Statistics of Education: Teachers in Service in England and Wales, 1989 and 1990*. London: DES.

- Department for Education (1993) *School Teachers' Review Body: Second Report, February 1993*. London: HMSO.
- Eagly, A, Karau, S and Johnson, B (1992) Gender and leadership style among school principals: a meta-analysis. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 28, 1, 76-102.
- Gold, A (1993) 'Women-friendly management development programmes'. In Ouston, J (ed) *Women in Education Management*. London: Longmans.
- Hall, V (1993) Women in Educational management: a review of research in Britain. In Ouston, J (ed) *Women in Education Management*. London: Longmans.
- Hansard Society Commission (1990) *Women at the Top*. London: Hansard Society.
- Henwood, M, Rimmer, L and Wicks, M (1987) *Inside the Family: Changing Roles of Men and Women*. London: Family Policies and Study Centre.
- Jenkins, H (1992) *Getting It Right: A Handbook of Successful School Leadership*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Maclure, S (1992) *Education Re-formed*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- McLoughlin, J (1992) *Up and Running: Women in Business*. London: Virago.
- Migniuolo, F (1992) *Teacher's Careers and Equal Opportunities*. Public Finance Foundation Conference, London, January 1992.
- Ouston, J (ed) *Women in Education Management*. London: Longmans.
- Pedler, M, Burgoyne, J and Boydell, T (1991) *The Learning Company: a Strategy for Sustainable Development*. London: McGraw Hill.
- Sallis, E (1993) *Total Quality Management in Education*. London: Kogan Page.
- Schmuck, P (1986) School management and administration: an analysis by gender. In Hoyle, E and McMahon, A (eds) *The*

- World Yearbook of Education*, 1986. London: Kogan Page.
- Shakeshaft, C (1993) Women in Educational Management in the United States. In Ouston, J (ed) *Women in Education Management*. London: Longmans.
- Spencer, A and Podmore, D (1987) (eds) *In a Man's World: Essays on Women in Male-Dominated Professions*. London: Tavistock.
- Stainton, R (1992) Coming, ready or not: attitudes to LMS. *Education* 3-13, 20, 1, 14-22.
- Waring, S (1992) Women teachers' careers: do governors hold the key? *Management in Education*, 6, 4, 14-16.
- West Burnham, J (1992) *Managing Quality in Schools*. London: Longman.

Other Relevant Publications

- Aisenberg, N and Harrington, M (1988) *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Al-Khalifa, E (1989) Management by halves: women teachers and school management. In De Lyon, H and Widdowson Mignuolo, F (eds) *Women Teachers: Issues and Experiences*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Coe, T (1992) *The Key to the Men's Club: Opening the Doors to Women in Management*. London: The Institute of Management.
- Coward, R (1992) *Our Treacherous Hearts: Why Women Let Men Get Their Own Way*. London: Faber.
- Davidson, M and Cooper, C (1992) *Shattering the Glass Ceiling: The Woman Manager*. London: PCP.
- Marshall, J (1984) *Women Managers: Travellers in a Male World*. Chichester: Wiley.
- McBurney, E and Hough, J (1989) Role perceptions of female deputy heads. *Educational Management and Administration*, 17,

3, 115-118.

Ozga, J (1993) *Women in Educational Management*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Spencer, A (1987) Women in further and higher education management: forward and introduction. *Coombe Lodge Report*, 20, 3, 131-137.

Torrington, D and Weightman, J (1989) *The Reality of School Management*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Travers, C and Cooper, C (1991) Stress and status in teaching: an investigation of potential gender-related relationships. *Management Review and Abstracts*, 6, 4, 16-23.

Weightman, J (1989) Women in management. *Educational Management and Administration*, 17, 3, 119-122.

Eva Széchy (Budapest)

Antinomies in Schooling in a Changing Society

In Hungary after World War II, the emancipation of women and their broader schooling began with the development of the modernization of the country. It was the period when the basic schools (4-year and 6-year schools) of the generation growing up were transformed into 8-year schools. While before the war women acquired qualifications in vocational schools for skilled workers, in special schools and secondary schools, but in a small percentage, and they rarely had higher education qualifications, by 1990 about 10% received skilled worker qualifications, 20% received a final examination certificate at a secondary school and 7% had higher education qualifications.

While in 1949 the employment of women with earning capacity was 35% in the country, by 1990 it changed to 70%. The developmental trend concerning the educational institutions - from the point of women - appears in the following form:

In 1950, 25% of the children received a kindergarten education before beginning compulsory education; before the World War it was much less. By the end of the 80's it reached 90%; of course, it also related to girls.

After finishing the generally compulsory 8-years school, 85% of the age group continue their studies in secondary schools. The majority goes to vocational schools for skilled workers (the rate of girls is less than 10%), while the minority, about 40% of the age group, goes to a secondary school that gives a final examination certificate and makes it possible to go on for a higher education. (More than half of them go into the so-called secondary vocational schools that prepare for skilled work; the others go to a grammar school).

Both in the secondary school and higher educational institutions in our country, the girls continue their education at the same rate as the boys. So we can confirm that the emancipation of

their further learning has been realized.

The greatest problem seems that they participate at a much lesser rate in further scientific education and management education, and this means difficulties for them in obtaining a more qualified and more profitable job, in obtaining a leading position, and in professional advancement in social and public life.

This development trend that promoted the educational emancipation of women was stopped by the economical crisis which began in the middle of the 70's and which is still going on. It also puts an increasing burden on families. It makes the teaching of children more difficult, the unfavorable effects of which is imposed mostly on the continuing education of girls and women.

What are the difficulties?

- Stagnation, even recession of the social benefits in the interest of the education of children.
- Elimination of cost-free education. Already in the preceding decades in higher education institutions the system of *fee* was introduced, though with a scholarship recompensation. The fee has now been increased. In theory, education at the primary and secondary level remains cost-free, but the rise in the price of textbooks, the costs of all the supplementary educational services in practice makes not only the further training but also the basic schooling more unbearable for average families. Numerous sociological studies justify families with more children, the social and ethnical minorities living in backward situations (the village and urban proletarian, people with low wages, the lower layer of the middle class, gypsy families), who found themselves in especially difficult situations.
- A new phenomenon has appeared in Hungary as sociological and social-psychological facts, that in families the girls are traditionally pushed to the background in contrast to the older boys in terms of further learning: impoverishment, unemployment put the further learning of adult women into the background in contrast to the men of the family.
- The new educational problems that have been raised by the new social-economical situation, the drawbacks of the modern development of civilization in the field of education. Such are the followings:
- In Hungary there has been a sudden increase in the number of

divorces and one-parent families, where the burden of child-rearing is born by the single woman within increasingly difficult financial - social - cultural circumstances.

- With the spreading of poverty, family tragedies, difficult problems, the trends of deviance increases, too. Harmful passions, habits/smoking, drinking/ among girls also, crimes in the early years, prostitution, etc.
- Many new educational problems have appeared, the formation of a new ideal of the modern woman, the purpose of life and its norms, the relation of boy and girl, man and woman, a new family model and its integration into the school education. The doctrines of the rigid, traditional, comparative values and norms are in conflict with the real requirements of life. At the same time libertinism, nihilism and unstable relativism do not provide a solution.
One inevitable task in education is to develop the emancipation of women further.
- It became indispensable to help families, first of all the working mothers, parents with many children and single mothers more actively and in institutionalized form. It is important, last but not least, to preserve the stability of child-rearing allowances, even to increase them. Putting an end to the closing of creches, kindergartens, educational homes, the preservation of cost-free education until the acquisition of a first job for all.
- It is in the interests of society that within the families living in such difficult circumstances, where schooling of the girls occurs at a lesser rate, the development of their talents should not be pushed into the background; they should receive equal educational opportunities.
- It is an inevitable link in cultural development that women should occupy their place not only in the social distribution of work, but in creative work, in public life.

At the same the bearing of the burden of family life should be more just, as well as a more sound cultural education of the new generation.

1. In the kindergartens the space for children decreased by 6.328 in 1992 than it was in 1991. For this reason more than 3300 children could not get a kindergarten education. While in 1991

from the given population of children 89% went to kindergarten; now this proportion is 86%. In the day care homes of the eight-year general schools in 1989/90 almost 40% of the children participated in care, in 1991/92 their proportion was 36%. In the secondary schools in 1987/88 10.5% of the students used the student meals and daytime homes; that proportion fell to 3.6% in 1991/92. At the same time 20,2% of the secondary school students were living in boarding houses, which decreased to 17,7%.

2. In the daily faculties the proportion of women in 1987/88 was 51.7%; in 1991/92 it was 49%. In the secondary schools in the first grade the number of girls became 6% less in the last three years, while the full number of the secondary students decreased only by 2%.

Gender Images in the Greek Primary School Readers

In 1985, a new educational reform law was passed in Greece. The reform aspired to radical changes in Greek education and was aimed at creating new institutions not only in terms of the actual infrastructure of elementary schools, or the upgrading of the education of the teachers, but also at corrective modifications in the curriculum.

The following, is the section of the new law, that I would like to focus on: "The aim of the elementary education is to contribute to one multiple, harmonious and equalized development of the mental and psychosomatic aspects of the students, independent of gender and background, so that the potential for their personality development is complete and creative.

With this law the concept of gender had been introduced for the first time in Greece. It was now a legitimate principle that education ought to be the same to all students regardless of gender. It was in this spirit that the government ordered the revision of the elementary school readers, the use of which is both exclusive and compulsory in all Greek schools both public and private. In Greece all school textbooks are controlled, written and published by the Ministry of Education.

The readers are used more widely than any other textbook. Their content forms a complex network of concepts and relationships, concerned with religion, work, the family, love, marriage, the future societal roles and the underlying moral principles which support these roles. These expectations of the state are presented to the children before they have acquired even the rudiments of critical thought or judgement. The state-endorsed ideology is transformed into a code of behavior. As a consequence, these readers constitute an important source of the ideology which the state educational system seeks to transmit to Greek children.

Those entrusted with the task of revising the readers, the editors, writers and illustrators chosen by the committees of the Ministry of Education, stated that the new readers were written with the intent to apply the programmed governmental change, which stressed that "the equality of the sexes will constitute one of the basic axes of the new educational curriculum". The textbook team reported that an equalizing spirit was introduced into the stories and that they were so devised that the teacher could share his or her attention among all students equally.

My interest lay in two questions: how gender constructions are presented within the elementary school readers; and to what extent did the new readers correspond to the legislative decree providing for gender equality among schoolchildren. My research attempted an inventory and qualitative analysis of the definitions, evaluations and models rendered, in the portrayals of the two sexes in the texts of the fourteen volumes of the readers used in the four first years of Greek elementary school. The aim of the study was to investigate the gender messages and images the readers convey to young schoolchildren, to trace the ways they are constructed, and to determine which characteristics are linked with each sex independently, and which gender antithesis are assigned to the two sexes to make it clear how the readers build the social identity of each sex separately.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the party in power during the Educational Ministry's revision of the textbooks, was based on socialistic changes, some of which emphasized a pro-rural, "return to nature" ideology. Its government placed emphasis on rural needs, boosted the farmers' income, and exempted it from taxation, promoted revitalization of the villages through infrastructure projects and worked for the improvement of the material living standards of the farmers. The "good" countryside and the "bad" city images provided the ideology which presented the countryside in school books as an earthly paradise and those who returned to it or lived in it as being truly privileged.

Of the 410 texts analyzed only five of these represent an attempt to go beyond the female stereotype. The remaining texts serve the gender stereotype which will ensure the continuation of tradition.

In the arena of the family, for example, the contents not only

ignore reality, from working mothers to disabled fathers, from single parent families to children living with a relative other than their parents, but the images of reform around gender are weak and insubstantial. Nowhere is a mother depicted as returning home late from work because she had an important commitment. When the mother does have a job, her work is referred to only vaguely; her profession is never specified. On the contrary, the occupations of the fathers are always obvious and clearly described. When the texts refer to rural families, they do not describe the women's work nor does any female ever participate in any decision making. For example, no father is shown consulting his wife before he sells an animal, seeking a loan from the bank, or entering into a major purchase. Generally, nowhere does a mother have any part in decisions concerning the whole family, nowhere does she play an active role in the community, have any financial security, go to the bank to settle her accounts, or manage a business. Nowhere does she even drive a car or go to the theater. As concerns the children's roles, the boys are portrayed as acting independently and outdoors, while the girls are usually confined within the home and mainly occupied with the care of their younger siblings. Nowhere do we see a boy engage in so-called "feminine" activities, such as dancing, sewing, or expressing feelings of weakness without embarrassment. Girls are termed as polite, calm and dependent, the boys as self-reliant, brave and capable of taking initiative. By inference, disobedience is permissible only to boys. Not only are the boys encouraged, they are pressured to distinguish themselves. All the expectations of the readers fall on the boys, resulting in what may be a heavy burden. Girls are discouraged from developing their personalities; the female gender models put forward in the readers are not merely negative, they are disparaging. None of the revisions made has any relevance to aiding the child to adjust to and understand her actual environment. When the readers make reference to urban areas, there are no images of city children; when reference is made to rural areas, the images of village children are faultless and romantic. Through the readers, the young student comes to think of Greece as a mainly agricultural country with an idealized way of living. As a consequence, the Greek child from the age of six to the age of 12 is obliged to read stories that convert her social real-

ity into a myth, and she receives messages of an obsolete tradition and of gender stereotypes. She is obliged to identify herself with gender images completely outside her world and without any reflection of her real life conditions. Only very rarely, so rarely as to seem to be a token gesture to alternative life styles and attitudes, do the readers provide images that correspond to the contemporary reality. Given the complexity of the gender models to which the student is exposed daily, it is beyond doubt that the school does not have the tools with which to individualize, analyze, support, confront and interpret these models. Furthermore, the readers accept and disseminate as an indisputable fact that human beings belong to two different categories, far apart in behavior, ideology, emotional constitution, rights and obligations.

Chryssi Inglessi (Athens)

Gender Issues in Students' Counseling Center

The Case of Ioannina University, Greece

This presentation is on the intra- and interpersonal conflicts experienced by young women University students, living in a patriarchal society on its way to modernization. The conflicts arise from the "false permissiveness" -- a concept to which I will return -- surrounding the commitment to higher education and career. Such areas of activity which are now opening to women have traditionally constituted exclusively male territory.

Drawing from my experience as a clinical psychologist at the Counseling Center in the University campus of Ioannina, I conducted research on the processes of feminine identity formation in the student population. My work at the Center included the animation of student groups focused on gender issues. The outcome of this intervention, as I will try to demonstrate, shows that despite the tolerance proclaimed by society at large the areas of sexuality, higher education and career remain, at a symbolic level, forbidden for women, because they are antagonistic to the traditional imperatives of marriage and motherhood.

The Counseling Center, in its third year of operation, created a new space in the academic environment, where a different set of problems faced by the students would potentially find expression. Actually, a survey research undertaken by colleagues, as well as reports of individual cases on consultation, showed that the women's rate of 'pathology' was higher than that of the male population in so much as their experiences differed. Young women's malaise whether educational, psychological or somatic was often related to family tensions about gender-role conformity.

The findings of my recent research on adult women professionals showed that for them, in the psychic domain, self-realiza-

tion was deemed irreconcilable with internalized gender imperatives. The persistence of similar, conflictual patterns in young women students, in their late teens and early twenties, seemed unexpected given the greater freedom they enjoyed as a generation.

In order to examine these phenomena more closely, I scheduled a number of exploratory sessions at the Center focused on gender identities and the processes of change affecting them. What emerged can be summarized as a deep frustration towards families and lovers who, the women feel, seriously threaten their sense of identity. This identity enriched with new dimensions – such as less inhibited sexuality, higher education and a career– is, at the same time, constituted as oppositional to their image as mothers and wives. The young women are apprehensive of the end of their studies, as the end of a period of grace, after which, as a student put it, lurks the 'threat of the moussaka', a time consuming dish.

On the whole, the group process showed that the academic space which the women believed to be 'neutral', was on the contrary as inimical to their emancipation as the familial one. The work brought to light the deeply rooted conservatism of the male students, who, until that moment, seemed to share the belief in the inalienable right to higher education for everyone. Essentially, it gave voice to the threat which women's access to social privileges poses for the male sense of identity constructed as the natural owner of the institution. This regardless of the fact that, compared to male, female entrance and rate of performance are higher. The insights suffered at the sessions did not exhaust themselves on the discriminating practices of male colleagues. Much more important were the insights concerning the Trojan horse of gender imperatives which the women carried within themselves.

While the women blamed their families for inhibiting their future plans their discourse showed their own ambiguity towards the emerging possibilities of a new identity. Their claim to full social participation was symptomatically articulated as a refusal to be 'like the mother'. Stopping short of a positive image, their self-definition took a negative form which betrayed a host of internal conflicts and tensions.

If the every day practices reproduce and construct the sym-

bolic site of hierarchies in a given society, it seems that the 'threat of the moussaka' is still in the realm of the possible for the women university students. Otherwise a humble dish, raw or cooked, would not be perceived as threatening. The moussaka as metaphor signifies as much the principle of reality awaiting the women at the end of their studies, as their ambiguous submission to this principle.

The outcome of this intervention at the Center becomes paradigmatic of the impasses shared by most young women pursuing higher studies. At this point, the pattern should not come as a surprise since women in Greece are still reared according to the principle of gender predestination. Femininity and motherhood are the defining and structural elements of their socialization. Although proud of the achievements of their gifted daughters, the parents are ambivalent to a career that would interfere with the daughter's call of nature. When the critical moment for choosing a field of study arrived, the young women were called upon to take part in a game where parental ambiguity is not the only aggravating factor. Daughters of mothers who have had no higher education and, in most cases, whose fathers had no university degree were doubly threatened by this decision. The moment they chose a different path from the one their mother had followed, they not only left behind the world of women (and by that very act disobeyed the mother) but, by crossing over into the world of men, on a symbolic level, they accepted the threatening dimension of competing with the father.

The young women of today enlarge the traditional boundaries by pursuing higher education and professional training, but still the price they have to pay is high. Greek society debits them with a false equality of opportunities which confuses the women, trapping them into an illusion of objective freedom that masks the fundamental prohibitions, real and symbolic, befalling their gender. What I call the 'false permissiveness' of contemporary Greek society misleads women to believe that advanced education and career choices are no longer a male prerogative. However, women's efforts to design lives with enlarged boundaries are frustrated as much by external reality as by the unconscious play of indentifications and desires which construe them as feminine.

This leads to a psycho-social crisis intensified by the fact that young men, at even the highest levels of education and sophistication, seem untouched by more liberal positions on gender. The crisis finds expression in the inhibitions and psychosomatic symptoms which women attribute to personal inadequacies and, even worse, 'pathologies.' It is no wonder, then, as research at the University Center showed, that young women present a higher rate of depressive and anxiety phenomena than their male counterparts.

Within the academic environment, theoretical and political interventions are needed in order to validate and affirm the new feminine identities. By helping the women understand the complex interconnections between social and inner reality, young women will become more sensitive to the discriminatory practices which exclude, discourage or disadvantage them during their educational experience. Therefore, it is important to research further into the academic community which appears beyond any suspicion in the production of knowledge, indulging in appearing non-gendered, e.g. utopian. As an institution in patriarchal society, the male dominated greek University continues to constitute, symbolically, a space forbidden to women.

Marilyn J. Boxer (San Francisco)

Women's Studies and Feminist Goals in a 'Postfeminist' University

It is 22 years since I taught my first class in women's history and 19 years since I assumed leadership of the first women's studies program in the United States, at San Diego State University. I have seen women's studies grow from a few isolated courses -- my own in fall 1971 was labelled Interdisciplinary Studies: Women in History and covered from the Greek myths to *Sisterhood is Powerful* -- to an international movement. It is a great success story in which those of us who have given many years of our lives to it may rejoice. A quarter century after the "rebirth of feminism," feminist consciousness has seeped so deeply into the soil of American society that even women and men who reject the designation "feminist" express as their own ideas that clearly derive from the women's liberation movement. In this sense, the university today is "postfeminist." In using this word, I do not imply that feminism is dead; or that its goals have all been accomplished. I mean that feminism in its initial conception has become a point of departure and part of a more complex structure of meaning. Today I would like to review some of our progress and mention some of the problems which trouble me, as a feminist and senior administrator of a major urban university.

The women's liberation movement of the 1960s, along with the Black liberation, Chicano liberation and antiwar movements, launched both a critique of social institutions, including higher education, and a "self-help" effort. Adopting a model from feminist health groups, women undertook to create new forms of education that produced, by 1965, community-based classes on women's experiences and, by 1970, university programs in women's studies. It also led, starting in 1969, to the establishment of women's caucuses in virtually every academic discipline and to

reexamination of their content and epistemology as well as sources, methods and professional structures. Scholars and students can now study women and women's relationships in women's and/or gender studies almost everywhere. This Feminist Enlightenment pervades higher education in the United States.

A quarter century after its founding, academic women's studies continues to thrive in the United States. Despite predictions of its early death by those who considered it a fad of the 1960s or saw in its development only a feminist political agenda, women's studies today encompasses more than 600 programs and tens of thousands of courses in departments and universities of all types. Even where not labeled as women's studies (or feminist studies or gender studies), courses that focus on women's experiences, perceptions and contributions now appear "across the curriculum." Degree programs proliferate. Indiana University instituted a minor for the Ph.D. over a decade ago. Last year a Ph.D. in women's studies was instituted at Clark University in Massachusetts. Women's studies has become an integral part of the university scene; such is its success in this "post-feminist" decade.

Along the way, women's studies practitioners have learned many lessons. First, they have discovered that "self-help" is indeed an appropriate term: women must help themselves. While some men have conducted research on women, have taken or even taught women's studies classes, the vast majority of students and teachers, of research scholars and readers of scholarship about women have been and are female. The originality and profundity of the feminist critique of knowledge remains outside the interest of many (or most) male scholars.

Secondly, feminist scholars now recognize just how difficult is the task of transforming the curriculum. The more far-reaching goal of changing the structure of the university is even more elusive, even though increasing numbers of women occupy tenured faculty positions and administrative chairs. Caught up in the clockwork of male careers (to borrow a phrase from sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild), practitioners of women's studies find that essential resources and rewards follow traditional academic lines. The price of success is often a split between the academic and the activist goals of women's studies. There is little overlap between the membership of the activist National Women's

Studies Association and those leading the development of feminist scholarship. In universities where the radical transformative goals of women's studies continue to dominate, there may be little contact between the faculty of women's studies as such and other scholars engaged in reformist, mainstreaming research and teaching. Nevertheless, profound, permanent change has taken place.

It is easy to build such a case. Until our collective conscience was raised, we had no idea how much was missing from the curriculum. As the French Revolution gave birth to an entire new political vocabulary, so too, the feminist movement and women's studies. Our post-1970 vocabulary, which now pervades the language of both academia and the press includes

androcentricity	lesbian feminism
androgyny	liberal feminism
Black feminism/womanism	marital rape
Christian feminism	maternal feminism
compulsory heterosexuality	matriarchal feminism
consciousness raising	patriarchy
cultural feminism	phallocentrism
date/acquaintance rape	radical feminism
feminization of poverty	relational feminism
gender studies	reproductive freedom/choice
gender system	sexual harassment
gyn/ecology	sexual politics
homophobia	social feminism
individualistic feminism	socialist feminism
Jewish feminism	suffragism

and many other terms derived from feminist consciousness.

The obverse of the missing words about women; the unknown names; the concepts and theories distorted because built upon one-sexed databases; the narrow lenses through which scholars have observed and interpreted the world; the other side of all this is the almost infinite number of questions to be asked, sources to be discovered and examined, answers to postulate. It has surprised us all. We now know more than we could have imagined: the importance of language inclusive of women (no longer are we lost in the generic); the lives and work of the women worthies and the women warriors as well as the unknown women of all ages, races and places; the ways women have thought and acted, or for lack

of opportunity, failed to think and act; the ways in which the doubled vision of women's studies stimulates new thought and action. We now know that our task will never end: not in ten years (a guess ventured by one of the administrators at San Diego State in 1974 when I was first interviewed for -- note -- a temporary position there); not in twenty or thirty; and I expect, not as long as scholars and thinkers have a passion to interpret the world.

For the work of women's studies is an integral part of an intellectual revolution that it also helped to create. The originality and contributions of women's studies and of feminist theory are not sufficiently recognized by scholars in other fields only recently discovering what feminist scholars have said for decades (or longer) about cultures, contested codes of meaning, the relationship of language and power, and the social and political construction of the "other."

But, if women have been added to the curriculum, to what extent have they been "stirred" into it? That is, have the original goals of women's studies been achieved? If not, why not? To answer these questions, we must examine university structures, the nature of change in domains of knowledge and internal challenges to women's studies, especially those posed by women of color as well as by feminist theorists contending over definitions of basic terms and concepts, including "woman" and "women."

Some feminist scholars today see in this critique, as explicated by women of color as well as some exponents of post-structuralism/post-modernism, more a threat than a means to deeper understanding. If the only way to avoid essentialist interpretations of the term "woman" is to deny any universal female experience, then is either women's studies or feminist politics even possible? Similarly, if it is impossible to separate (let alone privilege) gender from race or class, even as a category of analysis (not as lived experience), is the hope (and power) of "sisterhood" illusory? And, if, as Val Walsh, representative to W.I.S.E. (Women's International Studies Europe) from the U.K. asserts, women's studies seeks empowerment for women, not just education about women; and if, as she believes, "empowerment involves resistance to institutionalization," can we be, she asks, "part of the [university], without being of it?" (*Wise Women's News*, no. 3,

1992)* When she says that academic feminists may be even "more at risk with women at the top," is she talking about me, a university vice president? (Alternatively, what can I, in this position, contribute?)

Looking back over almost 24 years in which I have studied and taught women's studies, in four institutions of higher education (five if I include an exchange professorship in Paris in 1980-81), I do see the problems and failures. We have not transformed the structure or value system of higher education; not even--substantially--any of the disciplines. Women are still underrepresented, when not absent, from the professorial ranks, curriculum and reading lists. Although it is slowly changing, women's studies remains overly focused on the white, middle-class Anglo-American experience; and feminism is disclaimed or attacked by many women whom we had hoped to call "sister." Virtually every problem that beset the women's liberation movement in the United States when it moved toward academia remains alive, to varying degrees in different institutions.

The original questions remain: Should the study of women be the subject of separate courses and/or departments or integrated throughout the curriculum and university structure? Should feminist scholar-teachers remain part-time, temporary, adjunct, without both obligations and perks of tenured faculty; or should they engage fully in the academic processes through which faculty share power and governance with the administration? Should feminist teachers reconstruct both classroom and course outline, eliminating the formalities of lectures, grades, seats in straight rows and anything else that smacks of hierarchy and positivism or is otherwise not conducive to "women's ways of knowing"?

Struggles to resolve these questions continue and their resolution reflects the wide variation among women and institutions that characterizes higher education in the United States. Still, I would like to call your attention to the good news. Think back twenty-some years and appreciate the length of the road--the roads--we have traveled. If we can eschew the totalizing goal (or at least the millenarian sense that makes us sometimes so impatient)

* See also Himani Bannerji et al., *Unsettling Relations: The University as a Site of Feminist Struggles* (Boston: South End Press, 1991)

along with the false universalism that once led some of us to speak as if for all women, then, I think, we can gain inspiration, and renewed commitment from our successes.

The postmodernist critique that some say undercuts feminist politics does so only if one holds a monolithic view of feminism. Recognition of differences among women destroys resistance to patriarchy only if one dons blinders against other forms of oppression. As Theresa Ebert has pointed out (*Women's Review of Books* VII, no. 4, January 1991) acknowledgement of historic specificities and differences among us can also produce "resistance postmodernism" and the recognition of multiple sites to struggle for change. Even the administrative offices of the university!

The great explosion of knowledge that has taken and is taking place means that as postmodernist criticism breaks open closed categories, knowledge about women is available to be inserted into the fissures. The empowerment of women, which surely includes the increasing attainment of doctoral degrees, means that with every new cohort of faculty, feminist scholars win appointment in the university; and whether or not actively engaged in non-academic feminism, they bring about change in the disciplines, and they reach more students. And as these faculties are increasingly diverse, what Linda Carty calls "feminist underdevelopment," referring to the study of gender without race or class analysis, will diminish. A recent issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* announced four openings in women's studies, for teacher-scholars with expertise in

- 1) "feminist theory, preferably with emphases on issues concerning women of color;"
- 2) "women's lives in Africa, Latin America and Asia;"
- 3) "U.S. minority women or women of color, or the intersection of race and gender;"
- 4) "advanced interdisciplinary theory and methods in women's studies as well as psychology and gender."

One may learn a lot from the want ads. It is clear that women's studies no longer belongs only to its founders, but to all who claim an education for and about women, to all who bring a commitment to change towards a more open, egalitarian society.

Small changes, like drops of water, can erode tough rocks.

Here is a list of institutional innovation that has taken place at my university, creditable, I believe, to feminism (if not *only* to feminism, since this campus was the birthplace of Black Studies and houses the only School of Ethnic Studies in the United States). San Francisco State University now has

- a Department of Women Studies focusing on women of color and international perspectives, offering both B.A. and M.A. in Women Studies (50 courses);
- M.A. emphasis in Gender History
- 5 faculty (US, Europe, 2 (early and late modern), Latin America, East Asian);
- Minor in Women's Health Issues (30 courses);
- Women's Center (space provided by Associated Students);
- a S.A.F.E. Place (Sexual Abuse Free Environment);
- Child Care Center;
- Family Leave Policy;
- Women's Council (composed of students, staff, faculty, administrators);
- 54% of new tenure-track faculty are women (since 1988);
- four women deans (of 8);
- five associate deans (of 9);
- women in major administrative roles include
Chief of Police,
Director of Housing,
Director of Human Resources,
Director of Academic Relations,
Director of Health Services,
Dean of Students and
one Vice President.

Compare this record to 1970! These women differ by race, sexual preference, politics. But all serve as role models and all have opportunities to insert pro-women perspectives into operations that inevitably are open to change. They may and do struggle over access to power and to resources. There is no "woman's point of view," and even sisters fight.

The struggle over the reconstruction of knowledge in the post-feminist academy remains integrally linked to the larger political world from which it sprang. That is the good news as well as the

bad news. Debates over the meanings of difference, the epistemologies of traditional disciplines, and the difficulties of enhancing diversity without division; all keep practitioners of women's studies and feminist administrators at the forefront in responding to the challenges that face higher education and society in the United States today. But slowly, the unvarying regularity of that clockwork is giving way to a new mechanism more in phase with the lives of women.

References

- Bannerji, Himani et al. *Unsettling Relations: The University as a Site of Feminist Struggles* (Boston: South End Press, 1991).
- Boxer, Marilyn J. "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the U.S.," in *Signs: A Journal of Women in Society and Culture* VII, no. 3 (Spring 1982): 661-695.
- Boxer, Marilyn J. "Women's Studies, Feminist Goals and the Science of Women," in Carol R. Pearson, Donna L. Shavlik and Judith G. Touchton (eds.) *Educating the Majority: How Women are Changing Higher Education* (ACE/Macmillan, 1989): 184-204.
- DuBois, Ellen Carol et al. *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).
- Farnham, Christie (ed.), *The Impact of Feminist Research in the Academy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- Fonow, Mary Margaret and Judith A. Cook. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship As Lived Research* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
- Harding, Sandra. *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).
- Hooks, Bell. *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981).
- Hull, Gloria T., Patricia Bell Scott and Barbara Smith (eds.) *All*

the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1992).

Minnich, Elizabeth, Jean O'Barr and Rachel Rosenfeld (eds.), *Reconstructing The Academy: Women's Education and Women's Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

Pearson, Carol S., Donna L. Shavlik and Judith G. Touchton. *Educating The Majority: Women Challenge Tradition in Higher Education* (New York: American Council on Education/Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989).

Schuster, Marilyn R. and Susan R. Van Dyne (eds.) *Women's Place in the Academy: Transforming the Liberal Arts Curriculum* (New Jersey: Rowman and Allenheld Publishing Company, 1985).

Spelman, Elizabeth V. *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988).

"Women's Studies in Europe." Special Issue of *Women's Studies Quarterly* Vol. XX, no. 3 and 4 (fall/winter 1992).

Integration of Children with

Disabilities vs. Special Education

John L. Romano (Minneapolis)

Social and Psychological Issues of Youth: Educator Prevention Training

Societies are becoming increasingly complex due to changing social, political, and economic conditions. While these changes often bring about major innovations and improvements over time, they can also create major disruptions and conflicts for those living through the changes. This paper will focus on the effect of these changes on youth, the role of schools in facilitating the healthy development of the total child, and in-service teacher training to meet the challenges of the changing school populations.

Student Well-Being

A goal of education is to enhance the well-being of students. To give theoretical and philosophical structure to this paper, student well-being is defined as "the development of knowledge, skills, behaviors, and attitudes that maximize students' functioning (i.e., academic, inter- and intra-personal, and health) in settings where they live and work (i.e., home, school, and community)" (Romano, 1993a). A few comments about this definition are in order before proceeding. First, well-being encompasses the total person. Second, personal development is promoted through knowledge (information) gained, skills learned, behaviors that utilize skills, and attitudes or beliefs about one's self and one's environment. Third, personal development is manifested in four domains: academic or intellectual, interpersonal or social, intrapersonal or psychological, and physical and emotional health. Fourth, the settings of home, school, and community where students live and work are emphasized. The enhancement of student

well-being is a dynamic educational process which acknowledges the complex inter-relationships between personal development, personal domains, and living environments.

Youth Today

While in the latter part of the 20th century we have realized major advances in technology, medicine, and transportation, many western societies have also experienced an increase in family instability, violence, alcohol and drug abuse, and emotional stress. The problems of a society will naturally impact the youth of that society. Some have referred to "at-risk" youth as those who are particularly vulnerable to the stress and strains of their environments. These youth are said to be "at-risk" for a variety of problems including poor school achievement or dropping out of school entirely, alcohol and drug use, pregnancy, and physical or emotional abuse. To a greater or lesser extent, all youth are "at-risk" given the complexities of the world today.

McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter, and McWhirter (1993) summarize data which illustrate a United States' society at-risk. Examples are: Over 10% of families live in poverty; a divorce rate which has quadrupled in the past 20 years, resulting in children living in single parent homes; almost two million school children suffering from mental, physical, or sexual abuse each year; 90% of high school seniors have used alcohol; increasing numbers of teens under 16 years of age are becoming sexually active, and 25% of teens will have contracted a sexually transmitted disease prior to high school graduation; 25% of young people drop out of school before graduating, with the rate 50% and over in some urban areas of the United States; the number of teen pregnancies has risen almost 100% in the last 15 years; and suicide is the second leading cause of death for youth ages 11-24.

These youth issues are not restricted to the United States. A 1988 survey of young people in Wales found that 20% of female and 15% of male 15-16 year olds are weekly smokers of cigarettes. In this same age group, 46% of the males and 33% of the females were weekly users of alcohol (Nutbeam, Farley, & Smith, 1990). The authors report that smoking, alcohol abuse, and AIDS are

currently concerns related to the health of youngsters in the United Kingdom. Pryor (1992) surveyed literature on Russian adolescent at-risk behaviors. She cited surveys showing increasing use of alcohol, drugs, and tobacco among Russian youth. For example, 80% of the males and 60% of the females aged 16 and 17 years drink alcohol, and 60% of the seniors in the USSR smoke regularly. Crimes associated with drug trafficking have increased drastically in Moscow in the 1990's, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press, 1993).

Racz (1992), citing the increasing drug use among Hungarian youth, conducted a survey of youth subcultures in Hungary. He found 67% of the youth in the sample were drug users (experimental, occasional, and regular users). Nerad and Neradova (1991) addressed alcohol and drug problems in Czechoslovakia by classifying the frequently abused drugs in Czechoslovakia, giving data on alcohol use in Czechoslovakia, and discussing treatment of addictions. The authors cite data showing the increasing number of registered alcoholics in Czechoslovakia, from 40,000 in 1955 to 239,385 in 1985. Forgays, Forgays, Wrzesniewski, and Bonaiuto (1992) report about 30% of the sample of adolescents in the United States and Poland use alcohol, and the figure increases to 70% if experimental users of alcohol are included. They point out that the incidence of use is about the same for the United States and Polish samples, even though adolescents can obtain alcohol legally in Poland.

Schools as Promoters of Student Well-Being

Given the changing demographics of school populations brought on by rapidly changing societies, schools must be prepared to foster the development of the total child/adolescent. Not only must schools focus on intellectual development to prepare youth for post-secondary education or the world of work, they also must teach knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will equip students to successfully navigate the difficult years of adolescence and young adulthood. Thus, schools must become promoters of student well-being, focusing on the prevention of behaviors that place students at risk. In the United States, prevention activities in the

schools have been referred to as psychological education, developmental guidance, and prevention curriculum. While these school-based initiatives can be found at all grade levels, most tend to be concentrated at the elementary and middle school levels. Educators at these levels tend to be more focused on the total child and less focused on specific subjects (e.g., math, science, history, etc.), compared to their colleagues in the junior and senior high schools.

School-based prevention programs are likely to be most successful if they focus on the school community (faculty, staff, and students), student families, and the broader community adjacent to the school. A 1992 study by the Minnesota State Department of Education entitled "Promising Prevention Strategies: A Look at What Works" categorized 26 prevention strategies into four types: (1) Those focused on individual students to alter student knowledge, skills, and values. Examples include teaching social competencies such as refusal skills and promoting personal development such as enhancing self-esteem. (2) Those which promote a healthy and positive school climate. Examples include adopting clear school policies about alcohol and drug use and promoting the involvement of students in extracurricular activities. (3) Those which empower parents. Examples include teaching parenting skills such as setting limits and standards of behavior. (4) Strategies which mobilize multiple sections of the community (e.g., government, business). Examples include developing a community-based prevention task force and monitoring community advertising of alcohol and tobacco use. Effective prevention strategies recognize that schools cannot be expected to engage in prevention activities alone and that there is a need for strong collaborations and partnerships between schools, families, and community in order to marshal the necessary resources and support to develop physically and emotionally healthy children, adolescents, and young adults.

Benard (1986) has summarized research on characteristics of effective prevention programs. Her review divided effective prevention program characteristics into three broad categories: program comprehensiveness and intensity, program strategies, and program planning. Program comprehensiveness and intensity refer to targeting multiple systems and using multiple strategies. Benard

states that "perhaps the most important conclusion we can make from over a decade of prevention research...is that the causes of substance abuse are multiple, involving personality, environmental, and behavioral variables--and prevention efforts focused on a single system and a single strategy will probably fail." Therefore, effective prevention targets the whole community, promotes health and success, is integrated into family, school, and community activities, and is long-term and ongoing. Single or "one-shot" prevention efforts are not effective.

Program strategies address knowledge, attitudes, and skills. Strategies include promoting positive alternatives to high risk, unhealthy behavior. Strategies also develop life skills such as effective communication training, problem-solving/decision-making, critical thinking, assertiveness, and stress management. Strategies should also address community and social norms. These include the community/cultural norms surrounding tobacco and alcohol use, the role of media advertising in the promotion of unhealthy behavior, and promoting social-economic changes to create more opportunities for housing, recreation, and education. Jessor (1984), recognizing that personal responsibility is not enough, suggests promoting activist behavior to change the social environment.

School-based programs to combat alcohol and drug use in Western Europe have been increasing since the 1970's, but only recently have they begun in Eastern European countries (DeSantisteban, 1991). DeSantisteban (1991) reviews school-based prevention initiatives in several European countries, showing that countries agree that prevention efforts should start in the primary grades and that most countries teach drug education as part of the secondary school curriculum. Most teachers, however, do not have pre-service drug education/ prevention training. Further, DeSantisteban discusses the importance of family and community involvement in school prevention efforts. A study of tobacco smoking in Moscow school students stressed the need for tobacco prevention curriculum in the schools before 5th grade (age 10), and also the need to educate parents about their role in tobacco prevention efforts (Prokhorov & Alexandrov, 1992).

Enhancing Student Well-Being: In-Service Educator Training

In-Service training of educators is urgently needed due to the rapidly changing demographics of youth in our schools and the problems that youth bring to school. During pre-service education, many school teachers and support personnel were either not trained or received only minimal training in prevention. Therefore, through grants funded by the U.S. Department of Education, Drug Free Schools and Communities Program, an in-service prevention training Institute has been available to Minnesota school personnel. The Institute, first initiated in 1991, brings together teams of K-12 educators for a three-week period for the purposes of imparting knowledge, developing skills, and altering attitudes. A major component of the Institute requires the educators to develop prevention programs specifically designed for their school buildings. The Institute, entitled "Enhancing Student Well-Being," was developed as a collaborative effort of University of Minnesota faculty from the College of Education and the School of Public Health and school-based personnel who are community prevention leaders and knowledgeable about school cultures and climates.

The Institute requires that school personnel attend in 3-5 member school teams. Ideally, the team consists of at least one building administrator, classroom teacher, and building specialist (e.g., social worker, counselor, nurse, chemical health worker). Attending the Institute in teams is very important to accomplishing the goal of implementing a prevention program in each team's school building at the start of the next school year. During the Institute, each team is given sufficient time to work on their school prevention project. This planning process is guided by the manual "Guidelines for Project Development" (Romano, 1993b). The manual, designed in workbook format, includes sections on setting goals and priorities, developing and implementing project activities, and designing the project evaluation. The school team not only focuses on the content of the project, but also examines the process of implementation. Thus, the teams are asked to consider issues such as sources of building support for and resistance to their project. Examples of projects that were developed during the 1993 Institute include:

- Multiple Building Peer Teaching Theatre--a cross-aged prevention program utilizing teen theatre.
- T.E.A.M. Time: An Elementary Advisor/Advisee Program--elementary students meeting in structured small groups on a regular basis with an adult in the building.
- Teaching Elementary School Children to Manage Stress.

In addition to project development, school teams interact with experts on a variety of content areas. Some of the specific topics presented at the Institute are: adolescent development, model prevention programs and prevention research, stress and coping, home/school collaboration, fetal alcohol syndrome, and alcohol/drugs and violence. These presentations are designed to stimulate the participants' thinking with respect to their school needs and projects and to impart current information. The content curriculum is comprehensive, applicable to educator needs, and focuses positively on youth.

The Institute has been evaluated in several ways. Measures of knowledge and self-efficacy are given at pre- and post-Institute, and at approximately four month follow-up for knowledge and eight month follow-up for self-efficacy. The knowledge questionnaire assesses the degree to which educator knowledge about the content of the Institute changed as a result of the Institute, and the self-efficacy questionnaire measures participant knowledge of and confidence in their skills related to student well-being. Both questionnaires were developed specifically for the Institute and were based on the Institute content. In addition to these measures, a detailed participant satisfaction questionnaire is given at the end of the Institute. Finally, at the end of the school year (approximately 10 months after the conclusion of the Institute), participants are asked to evaluate the Institute again and to assess the success of their school projects.

For the preceding two years, the knowledge questionnaire (a multiple choice questionnaire with 25 items in 1991 and 15 items in 1992) showed that compared to a control group of educators, Institute participants significantly increased their knowledge about student well-being content from pre- to post-test, and this gain was retained at four month follow-up for the Institute partic-

ipants. Mean scores for Institute participants were as follows: (1) 1991: 16.68 (pre), 17.80 (post), 17.12 (follow-up), $p = .03$; (2) 1992: 8.94 (pre), 10.23 (post), 10.11 (follow-up), $p = .001$. In 1991, 25 of 32 Institute participants (78%) completed the knowledge questionnaire all three times, while in 1992 the questionnaire was completed three times by 35 of 42 (83%) Institute participants.

The 1991 self-efficacy measure is a 15-item questionnaire developed to assess participants' confidence that they know how to perform, actually could perform, and that they would receive support from their school environment when performing skills related to student well-being. Each question consisted of three parts. The first part (efficacy confidence) asked if the participants knew how to perform the skill (yes or no). The second part (efficacy expectations) asked participants to rate on a scale from 0 to 100 whether they could actually perform the skill given an ideal, supportive environment. The third part (efficacy outcome) asked participants to rate on a scale from 0 to 100 whether their actual school environment would be supportive of their performing the skill. (For analysis purposes, the scales for parts two and three were reduced to 0 to 10.) If participants answered "no" to part one, they skipped part two and answered only part three. If they answered "yes" to part one, they were to answer both parts two and three.

Only participants who completed the self-efficacy questionnaire at the three administrations were included in the analysis (27 of 32 participants). Participants significantly increased their efficacy confidence across all three administrations ($p < .0001$). Follow-up tests revealed that differences were found from pre- to post-test administrations ($p < .05$) and from pre- to eight month follow-up ($p < .05$). Efficacy expectations did not change significantly across three administrations. Efficacy outcomes were significantly different across all three administrations ($p = .004$). Follow-up tests showed differences between pre- and follow-up and between post- and follow-up (both $p < .05$). The pre-, post-, and follow-up means for parts one, two, and three were as follows: (1) Part one: 8.52 (pre), 14.22 (post), 13.44 (follow-up); (2) Part two: 7.94 (pre), 8.11 (post), 8.19 (follow-up); (3) Part three: 6.97 (pre), 7.18 (post), 7.81 (follow-up). Therefore, the 1991 educators gained greater confidence in their ability to perform skills related to stu-

dent well-being programs, and this confidence was maintained at eight month follow-up. They also became more confident that their actual school environment would support efforts related to student well-being, and this confidence was maintained at follow-up.

A 22-item self-efficacy measure, modified from the one used the previous year, was administered three times to the 1992 Institute participants. It was administered pre- and post-Institute and at eight month follow-up. The 1992 self-efficacy measure consisted of two parts for each question. Part one asked whether participants had the knowledge to perform skills related to student well-being (yes or no), and part two asked how confident participants were in performing the skill on a scale from 1 to 10. If participants answered "no" to part one, they were instructed to skip part two.

Only participants who responded to all three administrations were included in the analysis (29 of 42 participants). The analysis revealed a significant difference on part one ($p < .001$), with the differences being greatest from pre- to post-test and from pre- to follow-up ($p < .001$). Part one means dropped from post-test to follow-up ($p < .01$). The part one means at the three administrations were 13.7 (pre), 21.0 (post), and 19.9 (follow-up). These analyses suggest that Institute participants increased their knowledge of skills related to student well-being from pre- to post-Institute, and much of this increase was retained after eight months. The means of part two were also significantly different at pre, post, and follow-up ($p < .001$). Again, the greatest differences were between pre- and post-test ($p < .001$) and between pre- and follow-up ($p < .001$). The difference between post- and follow-up was not significant. The part two means at the three administrations were 4.34 (pre), 6.67 (post), and 6.56 (follow-up). These analyses suggest that Institute participants increased their confidence in skills related to student well-being, and this confidence was retained at eight month follow-up.

Participant satisfaction of the Institute has been extremely positive. The educators especially valued the range of content topics, quality of the presenters, and the applied focus of the Institute. They also appreciated the opportunity to meet in teams for project development, as project planning during the school year is

very difficult due to the hectic school schedule. Participants have volunteered many testimonials about the usefulness of the Institute. Quoting one teacher: "I believe every school should have the experience and information provided in the Institute. It was inspiring and focused on current issues facing schools and children they serve." Another described the Institute as "essential for educators of the 90's."

While data gathered from participants about the Institute is meaningful, the ultimate goal of the Institute is to help schools better meet the needs of youth through the projects that were developed by the school teams. The 1991 Institute teams were monitored throughout the 1991-92 school year for consultation about project implementation and measurement of project outcomes. Through a follow-up questionnaire mailed in May 1992 and returned by 91% of the participants, 86% of the Institute participants indicated that they successfully implemented their school project, 93% indicated that the project facilitated at least some change in their school, and 57% indicated that the project facilitated much, very much, or an exceptional amount of change in their school. The project had the most impact on children, followed by faculty and staff, parents, and the community. Data collected on individual schools showed more parent involvement in school-sponsored functions, greater teacher and parent involvement in drug education/prevention programs, and fewer student incidents of cigarette, alcohol, and drug use. Even at this 10 month follow-up, the Institute was rated highly by respondents, as 86% rated it as either excellent or very good (Romano, 1992).

A similar follow-up questionnaire was sent to 1992 Institute participants in May 1993. This questionnaire yielded a 74% response rate. Due to funding restrictions, the 1992 participants were not monitored as closely as the 1991 Institute participants. Of those who responded, 81% indicated that at least some of the project that was planned the previous summer was implemented, 42% indicated that all or most of it was implemented, and 19% indicated little or none was implemented. Participants were generally satisfied with the implementation of the project (65%) and with the project outcomes (78%). Participants indicated that their project facilitated at least some change in their school (68%) and that it had at least some impact on students (71%), faculty and

staff (68%), parents (52%), and the community (39%). At this 10 month follow-up, 91% of the participants rated the quality of the Institute as either very good or excellent.

The Enhancing Student Well-Being Summer Institute has been a successful prevention training program for inservice educators. Evaluations show that participants are very satisfied with the Institute even after several months, and the Institute teams make a positive impact on their schools after completing the Institute. Data also show that Institute participants increase their knowledge and self-efficacy related to student well-being, and these increases are retained at follow-up.

Several characteristics of the Institute contributed to its success: (1) The Institute is a collaborative project of University faculty and school-based personnel; (2) the Institute is interdisciplinary and comprehensive and presents content which is directly applicable to school personnel; (3) educators come to the Institute in teams of school personnel who are motivated to work on problems in their respective school buildings; (4) teams are given guidance and time during the Institute to develop prevention projects for their buildings; (5) follow-up consultation and evaluation takes place during the year of project implementation; and finally, (6) the Institute attracts deeply committed school personnel who care about children and youth and who desire to improve their schools and communities for the enhancement of student well-being.

Conclusion

Rapidly changing societies and school demographics require that educators address both the intellectual and personal/social needs of youth. Contemporary youth are struggling with increasingly serious issues that put them at risk for serious health and social consequences. As a major institution serving youth, the schools must intervene to help prevent children from engaging in at-risk behaviors. Preventive interventions are most effective if they are comprehensive, start in early elementary school and continue throughout the years of schooling, involve families and community, and are integrated into the school curriculum, culture, and

climate. Finally, school educators must receive up-to-date information and training to develop skills to adequately address the needs of youth, as the changing characteristics and demands of societal problems will be reflected in our educational institutions.

References

- Benard, B. (1986). Characteristics of effective prevention programs. *Prevention Forum*, 6(4). Western Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities.
- Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, January 13, 1993, 44(50), pp. 30-31.
- DeSantisteban, A. V. (1991). Drug education in Western Europe. *Comparative Education*, 27(3), 269-274.
- Forgays, D. K., Forgays, D. G., Wrzesniewski, K., & Bonaiuto, P. (1992). Alcohol and drug use and personality relationships in U.S. and Polish adolescents. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 4(4), 393-402.
- Jessor, R. (1984). *Adolescent problem drinking: Psychosocial aspects and developmental outcomes*. Paper presented at Carnegie Conference on Unhealthy Risk-Taking Behavior Among Adolescents, Stanford, California, November 11-13, 1984.
- McWhirter, J. J., McWhirter, B. T., McWhirter, A. M., & McWhirter, E. H. (1993). *At-risk youth: A comprehensive response*. Pacific Grove, California: Brooks/Cole.
- Nerad, J., & Neradova, L. (1991). Alcohol and drug problems in Czechoslovakia. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 8, 83-88.
- Nutbeam, D., Farley, P., & Smith, C. (1990). England and Wales: Perspectives in school health. *Journal of School Health*, 60(7), 318-323.
- Prokhorov, A. V., & Alexandrov, A. A. (1992). Tobacco smoking in Moscow school students. *British Journal of Addiction*, 87, 1469-1476.
- Promising Prevention Strategies: A Look at What Works*. (1992).

Minnesota Department of Education Community Education/Learner Services, St. Paul, MN.

- Pryor, C. B. (1992). An international exchange on preventing alcohol misuse. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education*, 37, 114-125.
- Racz, J. G. (1992). Drug use by the members of youth subcultures in Hungary. *The International Journal of Addictions*, 27(3), 289-300.
- Romano, J. L. (1992). *Drug abuse education and primary prevention: A collaborative training model for educators of pre and early adolescent youth*. Final Report (Vol. I) submitted to U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program.
- Romano, J. L. (1993a). *Student well-being*. Enhancing Student Well-Being Institute, College of Education, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
- Romano, J. L. (1993b). *Guidelines for Project Development*. Enhancing Student Well-Being Institute, College of Education, University of Minnesota.

Alan Hurst (Preston)

Including Children and Young People with Disabilities and Learning Difficulties in Mainstream Education in England: The Potential Impact of Recent Changes in National Policy

The commitment to educating children and young people with disabilities and learning difficulties in mainstream education is not new. However, it did gain additional momentum after the Education Act 1981. Prior to this, the system of education for children like this was based around ten categories of disability. The focus was upon the medical condition and not on the educational needs of the individual. For many this resulted in segregated special education, often in residential schools away from their homes and communities. In the early 1970's many questions were raised about special schools, and, therefore, prior to any decision making, the government set up a committee of enquiry chaired by Mary Warnock.

The Warnock Report (DES 1978) is regarded as a major stage in the development of policy and provision. It stated that the aims of education are the same for all children and that where possible they should attend mainstream schools. However, it advocated a continuum of provision including special schools which would always be the most appropriate form of education for some children. To escape some of the negative connotations of the ten categories, it was suggested that the term 'special educational needs' should be used. It estimated that 1 in 6 children would have a special educational need at some point in their school career. Early identification and assessment of needs was emphasised, the formal assessment procedures resulting in the issuing of a 'Statement of Special Educational Needs'.

Many of these recommendations were incorporated into the Education Act 1981, and although some progress was made, there have been many criticisms. In particular research demonstrated the different ways in which the procedures for 'Statements' operated in different areas of the country (Swann 1992). The government itself has attempted an evaluation recently. This was a joint venture involving school inspectors (HMI) and also the national Audit Commission whose concern in particular was to ensure that policy was cost effective. Their reports drew attention to many important matters (Audit Commission 1992). For example, in relation to 'Statements' there were unacceptable differences in the time taken by some local education authorities (lea) to complete the assessment procedures; also many 'Statements' were too vague and lacked specific, measurable objectives.

It should be noted that many schools and lea disliked 'Statements' which they viewed as a different form of negative label. They felt that it was their duty to provide what was required without recourse to formal procedures. Yet, the provision of 'Statements' could take on increased importance as a consequence of other changes in national policy, especially the Education Reform Act 1988. This has two major concerns: curriculum and control. Turning to the former, the Act introduced the National Curriculum into all state schools. This consists of three core subjects and seven foundation subjects which all children must follow. The syllabus for each subject and the levels of skill which children are expected to reach have been decided by the government. Some people working with children with disabilities and learning difficulties have welcomed these changes, since they set out clearly what every child is entitled to receive. They feel that this could raise the educational standards in special schools which have sometimes been criticised for giving too little attention to the educational needs of their pupils. However, there are many others who see the National Curriculum as a threat to the progress made since 1981. To begin with, it raises issues about what is an 'appropriate' curriculum for some groups of children. Secondly, there are issues arising from the assessment procedures. The period of compulsory schooling, from age 5 to 16, has been divided into four key stages, and at the end of each, at ages 7,11,14, and 16, children are assessed using national standardised

tests. The tests themselves might raise problems, but there is perhaps a more serious consequence. The results of the tests are published, the intention being to provide parents, who have the right to choose which school their child attends, with information about the schools. Whilst all this can be seen as part of the government's concern to monitor standards and to keep closer control of teachers, the potential negative effects are great. For example, schools which in the past have welcomed children with disabilities and learning difficulties might be less willing to admit them if they feel that their presence might contribute to a lowering of the test scores, thus creating an unfavourable image for the school. It is possible for headteachers to 'disapply' the National Curriculum and its associated assessments for some children. Perhaps this is easier to justify if the child in question has a 'Statement'. On the other hand, the implication of this action is to suggest that the education of these children and the standards they reach are of lesser importance.

The second dimension of the 1988 Act is control. In particular, it allows schools to 'opt out' of lea control and to receive funding directly from the government. If schools do move to grant-maintained status (GMS), they become totally responsible for their finances. In this case the question then arises about how far schools will be willing to admit pupils whom they know will result in additional expenditure (for example, in improving access for a wheelchair user or providing a support teacher). If many mainstream schools refuse to admit such pupils, there will be a growth of numbers in segregated special schools. Currently it is too soon to consider the impact of the 1988 Act. However, for the purposes of this paper it is important to mention more recent developments. In Summer 1992 the government published its plans for further changes (DFE 1992). It indicated that special schools were to be allowed to 'opt out', and that despite the growth of GMS schools lea would retain many important responsibilities (e.g., for the schools psychological service). In fact, these proposals plus some changes in the procedures regarding appeals by parents about 'Statements' were incorporated into the Education Act 1993 to be implemented in 1994.

It is important to remember that education embraces more

than simply schools, and that changes have occurred in other parts of the system, too, which also have implications for learners with disabilities and learning difficulties. In further education many colleges have developed discrete provision for some groups but also with opportunities to participate in mainstream courses. The main tradition in further education has been with skills training and preparation for work. In recent years there has been much criticism of vocational education, and partly as a response to this the government devised the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. This freed the colleges from local control and introduced a national funding body, the Further Education Funding Council. The 1992 Act also brought closer ties with local industries. The increased emphasis on vocationalism could have serious implications for the learners with whom this paper is concerned. Again it is too early to assess the impact, although the Funding Council has distributed circulars to all colleges with recommendations about policy and provision.

In higher education there has never been discrete provision for people with disabilities and learning difficulties, although this group of learners is under-represented in its participation in undergraduate courses. Since 1990 this group of students has benefited from changes in the funding made available to them, although some problems remain (e.g., part-time courses are excluded). A major problem has been to provide financial support to those institutions where policy has been developed and which have incurred additional expenditure in making appropriate provision. The 1992 Act brought greater unity to the system by abolishing the old division between the universities and the polytechnics and by introducing a single funding body, the Higher Education Funding Council. (Note that England, Scotland and Wales each have a Council.) An early action of the HEFC (England) was to create an Advisory Group on Widening Participation and to allocate 3M for distribution between institutions trying to improve their facilities. This was used to support thirty-eight projects in 1993-94, although it must not be assumed that this financial support will continue. In fact, the position might deteriorate, since in November 1993 the government announced a cut in the fees to be paid to universities for the students they take. Student grants are also to be cut by 10%. Even more troublesome

is the possibility that students will be expected to pay their tuition fees, a feature which would be new to England since most students currently have these paid by their lea. In the future, higher education might be available only to those who can afford to pay.

Viewing the whole system of education with the interests of those with disabilities and learning difficulties in mind, the future looks gloomy. Progress towards further mainstreaming could end. Even compared to other countries, England has still a long way to go. One comparison that is often made is with the situation in the USA. Perhaps developments there have resulted from viewing disability issues as a matter of civil rights. Could it be that policy and provision in England would improve if it was accepted that everyone had the right to learning and to education?

References

- Audit Commission (1992) *Getting in on the Act: Provision for Pupils with Special Educational Needs*
- Audit Commission (1992) *Getting the Act Together: Provision for Pupils with Special Educational Needs - A Management Handbook for Schools and Local Education Authorities*. London: HMSO.
- DES (1978) *Special Educational Needs: The Report of the Committee of Enquiry (the Warnock Report)*. London: HMSO.
- DFE (1992) *Choice and Diversity : A New Framework for Schools*. London: HMSO.
- Swann, W. (1992) *Segregation Statistics: English LEAS 1988-91*. London: CSIE.

L. T. van der Linden (Utrecht)

Towards an Integrative Diagnostic Appraisal of the Educational Relationship

Introduction

Recently there has been a shift in orientation in helping children with special needs in different European countries. Instead of focusing on highly specialized forms of residential care, attention is directed more to prevention and pedagogical care to prevent reference to clinics or children's homes. The question now is how children with special needs can be kept integrated in the regular educational situations of the family and the school.

The professional discussion about the care for children with special needs used to stress the necessity of diagnostics as a condition for treatment: "Individual psycho-diagnosis is seen as the necessary condition for prescribing one of the many forms of psychotherapeutic interventions." (The Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children, 1973, p. 110). One of the limitations of individual psycho-diagnosis is its problem-oriented and personality-bound perspective. From this perspective children are identified with their problems and shortcomings.

This orientation may be held responsible for a general tendency to discriminate between normal and abnormal children and to separate the latter from the former. This type of discrimination is justified by the argument that children with special needs require special education and treatment. As a consequence of this reasoning, a growing number of children are put apart. They are isolated from opportunities to participate in daily life, from sharing experiences with their peers, from contributing to society according to their talents and faculties.

Because of the changing perspective in helping children with special needs, there is a need for alternative diagnostics. In the first place, there is a growing gap between diagnostic classification categories and (preventive) educational interventions. Sometimes diagnostics and training and treatment programs seem to have nothing to do with each other. Secondly, partly as a consequence of this, diagnostic classification procedures are falling behind the currents in treatment, because of a lot of experimenting which is going on, especially where home training methods are concerned. Thirdly, new therapy models and educational interventions stress the importance of an emancipatory approach to clients: the help offered should be activating the client and should stress the competence of the client instead of his problems; it should stress future possibilities instead of antecedent problems. Therefore, there is a need for a diagnostic which is not problem oriented, discriminating, isolating and separating. Also, a diagnostic which can be formulated directly in terms of educational intervention.

Some alternative approaches seem to be available, like family therapy and social learning approaches. However, apart from their problem oriented approach, both possible alternatives lack diagnostic rigor as far as the educational context and its integrative perspective is concerned, especially in those situations where motivation for therapy is lacking. That is when parents and children retired from the educational relationship completely or refuse to accept each other as partners of this relationship; gave up responsibilities, or refuse to accept these responsibilities at all.

Integrative Diagnostics of the Educational Relationship

The word integration refers to the state of being part of a whole and the making up of a whole. That means respectively: that the child should be considered as a party to the educational relationship and must be considered as a subject to be reckoned with, instead of as a separate object which can be put aside. Next, the diagnostic appraisal of the educational relationship must convert directly into educational intervention in order to prevent an isolated diagnosis. And last but not least, an integrative appraisal of the educational relationship should open new perspectives on

possibilities to continue the existing educational relationship instead of interrupting it for treatment reasons.

There are three reasons for choosing the educational relationship as a focus of an integrative diagnosis. First, most of children's problems stem from disturbances in this educational relationship. Secondly, the relationship itself is our main instrument for helping children. Thirdly, in dealing with children we can never disregard the educational aspect, whether we think of day-to-day situations or of highly specific therapy situations.

The main assumption here is that in diagnosing special needs in terms of their connection with the educational relationship, one creates at the same time a treatment perspective in terms of that relationship as an instrument of intervention. To uphold this assumption a conceptual framework will be described which is based on own research and clinical experience in dealing with boys with conduct disorders.

There are three main functions of such a framework:

1. It serves as a set of related concepts for inquiry into the referring conditions as far as the existing educational relationship is concerned, between parents or caretakers and the child.

2. It serves as an instrument for the diagnosis to be able to detect sound components of the existing educational relationship as cues for the client, to help the latter to express aims for and claims on changes of the actual situation; to give him or her support to a self-imposed modelling of that relationship.

3. It produces leads for future research of determinants of the educational relationship, since we at present hardly know which factors in that relationship 'work', are really effective in the modelling of a child's behaviour.

This conceptual framework is based on three components of the educational relationship:

1. Contextual component: protective and risk factors.

Any appraisal of the educational relationship should take into consideration the material and social context of that relationship. The appraisal should focus on the positive possibilities of that context. The term risk factor is unavoidable in this respect, because the same factor sometimes can be considered as a risk factor

and sometimes as a protective factor, e.g., like high intelligence.

2. Transactional component: attachment, communication, compliance.

This component refers to those aspects of the educational relationship which have to do with the patterning of interactions over time between parent and child. The concepts have to do with the personal contact and its contents, respectively the 'contents' of: affection, information, norms and values.

3. Attitudinal component : cognition, affection, conation.

This component has to do with the attitudes of both parent and child towards their roles in the educational relationship.; their cognitions about these roles, the emotions invested in it, and the ways these are rendered into actions.

These three components construct the educational relationship as a configuration of transactions (interactions over time) between parent or caretaker and the individual child. The basic assumptions of this framework are very simple:

1. There is no need for developing new concepts;
2. The framework must use concepts which are both theoretically well-founded and empirically underpinned;
3. The concepts must relate to current diagnostic categories;
4. The concepts must be fit for operationalization into workable intervention strategies and treatment programs.
5. The concepts must allow an interpretation of the existing possibilities of the educational relationship which underlies the reference situation of the child.

Conclusion

Although, as stated above, these assumptions are simple, they are not simple in their consequences. Lack of space prevents going into detail.

The discussed conceptual framework is presented here in the first place to attract attention to this type of approach. It seems rather premature to present it in this embryonic form, because there is much yet to be done before it can boast of scientific justification and can be based on empirical research. But it is my con-

viction that this approach of seeking alternative diagnostics should be undertaken in an international perspective from the beginning, since there is a large amount of cultural determination and even bias in the way we look at educational problems. Therefore, those who sympathize with the way of thinking I tried to illustrate are invited to contact me, no matter how critical their reactions may be.

References

- Achenbach, T.M. and C. Edelbrock *Manual for the Child Behavior Checklist and Revised Behavior Profile*. Burlington: University of Vermont (1983).
- APA *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association (3rd ed.-Revised) (1987).
- Blythe, Betty J., Susan A. Kelly *Families First: gezinshulpverlening in de VS*. Tijdschrift voor Jeugdhulpverlening en Jeugdwerk, (1992). Vol. 4, no 1, pp. 8-12.
- Fishbein, M. & I. Ajzen *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley (1975).
- Gurman, A.S. & D.D. Kniskern *Family Therapy Outcome Research: Knowns and Unknowns*. In: A.S. Gurman & D.D. Kniskern (eds.). *Handbook of Family Therapy*. New York: Brunner/Mazel (1981).
- Herbert, Martin *Conduct Disorders of Childhood and Adolescence. A Social Learning Perspective*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons (1987, 2nd edition).
- Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children. *Mental Health: From Infancy through adolescence*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- Linden, L.T. *Opname Diagnostiek*. Lisse/Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger (1991).

Rutter, Michael, Lionel Hersov (eds.) *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry. Modern Approaches*. Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications (1990, 2nd edition).

Beginning from the Juvenile Court

Our path of observation can start from a very localized point within a historical situation that, nonetheless, will lead us to European and international horizons. Let us begin by reading a passage of the proposal recently submitted to the Minister of Justice by the largest Italian association of juvenile judges.

"The problem of bringing human science experts into legal questions that deal with the family is an issue not only for the juvenile courts, but also for the other legal bodies that deal with minors or with the disabled. Thus, we wonder whether assistant judges of the lower court with experience in the human sciences might not work alongside tutelary judges for the protection of minors and the disabled. We also wonder whether we should not seriously consider the introduction of honorary assistant attorneys for handling civil matters (preliminary investigations, appeals and counsel) in the Public Prosecutors offices of the juvenile courts"(1).

The overall sense of the proposal, aside from the possible suggestions that might arise, deals with the symbolic question of the juvenile judge's "specialization". The question was, in fact, the subject of an authoritative examination by the Supreme Court Council (with their Circular no. 1710, February 1, 1992), where the detailed historical review on the institutionalization of the "honorary juvenile judge" indicates the current objective of enhancing this figure's role within the judiciary system.

"The evolution in the terminology adopted by the legislator to indicate an honorary juvenile judge ('worthy citizen', 'private component', 'expert', 'honorary judge') shows a growing awareness of this function. Undoubtedly the question as to whether the 'worthy social worker' (as the R.D.L. law 1404 of 1934 now in force recites) should refer to the provision of the 2o or 3o subsection of article 102 of the Italian Constitution seems to apply to the former: the honorary juvenile judge denotes not so much a form of 'direct participation by the people in the administration of justice' as a form of cooperation with the law by a 'qualified citizen' equipped with specialized competence. It follows that

the matter regulating the choice of such 'experts' must be disciplined with particular attention focused on the attainment of a true specialization by the legal organ" (reported by A. Germanò J, F. Scarcella, 1992, Update, p. 5).

The proposal continues:

"The ensuing extension of tasks assigned to honorary juvenile judges, and the legal officials' growing awareness of the problems of correctness and credibility, imply that honorary judges, since they are the ones who effectively and continuously administer the judiciary functions, must offer analogous, also external, guarantees of impartiality" (op.cit.,p.10). While the Proposal of the juvenile judges' association calls for an "internal differentiation" in the traditional role of the judge, the Circular of the C.S.M. ("Consiglio Superiore della Magistratura") (2) redefines the scope of operations (first instance and Appeal) of the "collegi giudicanti" [translator note: Bench or Court trying the case], through a more extensive integration of external figures qualified as "scholars" - or "experts" - in the field of biology, psychiatry, criminal anthropology or pedagogy (according to the R.D. law of 1934), or also of psychology (legislative change of 1956), sociology and pediatrics (above mentioned Circular, 1992). Both documents clearly confirm the "terzietà" [Translator note: judge as third subject, not party to the judgement itself] of the judiciary function, which continues to be sanctioned by the power of intervention and supervision of the "toga'd judges", that is, the members of the ordinary judiciary. Thus, we are dealing with "self-referential" initiatives of a legal order, which, nonetheless, shows adaptive tendencies here of a converging nature in search of operating contributions from certain "scientific" - or "learned" - disciplines in various ways considered "pertinent" to one's own function. Of particular significance, in connection with the foreseeable risks of trial redundancy and decisional uncertainty, is the interest displayed in competence in the social-human area. But why should the exponents of a "system" with a traditional and consolidated "autopoietic" capacity - such as the judiciary - "take in" people so barely accustomed and willing to work within an "operational closure", such as the best pedagogists, psychologists or sociologists "on the market" today?

If the judiciary system - albeit the one responsible for juvenile

cases - progressively "opens" up to "human-social sciences", it is reasonable to assume that this is not happening because of an epistemological naivety, but rather because of a diffused strategy of legitimation brought about by some epochal "adjustment" in the "edifice" of the law. During my consultancy at C.G.M. (Centers for Juvenile Justice) I was able to follow the work of a judge at close range. He differed from his younger Court colleagues, who generally favored a technical-procedural approach, for his particular awareness of the psychological and social aspects of the cases being handled. More than once, in public and in private, I noticed that - in spite of the hesitation or the refusal of influential exponents - he declared that the definition of "social operator" applied to a judge was appropriate. It is a "label" which, despite its vagueness, nonetheless accentuates the importance of the community and of the "guidance-related" effects that result from the application of the law, in addition to the basic and specific "formal" aspects required (correctness, coherence, impartiality). Attuned to the "spirit" of the recent juvenile penal procedure reform, he was a practical - I would say exemplary - supporter of the concept of maximum depenalization. And since an alternative to the "penal circuit" must be associated with a positive commitment toward social reintegration, all this brought him to impassioned and tiring commitments outside the Court, through itineraries that ran from a camp of nomads to the office of the X, Y, Z alderman, from a neighborhood meeting on drug addiction or immigration from the Maghreb to "diplomatic" negotiations with the person in charge of a drug rehabilitation community. More than once I saw his hesitancy in applying a legally valid decision, because that "sentence" would have required nonexistent social services. For example, the availability of space in a "residential community" which at the moment was "completely full". In similar cases, how could one avoid the "precautionary detention" in a Penal Institute, that is, the minor's introduction into the ill-famed "punishment-circuit"?

When I read the sentence motivations written by this judge, I often noted - especially when these were in support of acquittals - references to instances and to arguments related to the "educational sciences" (this was the recurring phrase in the documents). The references, however, were not cited in the typical scientific-

academic style of the "doctrine" invoked. The cases, in fact, required a decision of "merit", not a pedagogical disquisition followed by references to other pedagogical treatises. It was more a matter of a line of reasoning, where the appeal to norms of a strictly sanctioning nature - carried out according to applied law's (doctrine + jurisprudence) logical-linguistic register - was integrated with the recommendations of ethical-political regulations and directives (the so-called *consilium*, as distinct in jargon from the more coercive *imperium*) and reinforced by the declared approval of extra-juridical disciplines.

In short, our judge was induced by his own "professional conscience" (because no one could deny that he was a conscientious person) to make contact in various directions outside the sphere of his own office and of his own "code": in one respect, with the local powers, and in another respect, with the humanities "experts" and "scholars". In this process, along with the events taking place within his own professional area, we are able to grasp the "historical" causes that stand behind the expansion of his "system" of intervention if we look at the characteristics of the people he had to deal with on a daily basis. We mentioned these briefly: nomads, maghrebians, drug addicts. When the fundamental norms of the Italian Constitution were written, the exact aspects of certain crimes - and, above all, the current statistical scope of certain ethnic origins - was not part of the actual scenario (3). However, it was then that the premises for a legally "paradoxical" treatment of certain categories of transgressors were laid, following the programmatic connection of the following principles:

- the inviolability of the "human being", both the national citizen as well as the foreigner, and the equality "before the law without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinions....." (art. 3 of the Constitution; for completion, see art. 4, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23)
- the personal penal responsibility and the "re-education of the condemned" as the purpose of the punishment (art.27)
- the special protection of minors (art. 30 and 31).

The root of the "paradox" - typical of the liberal systems - is in joining the universal aspect of the personalistic principle with the

particular choices of the citizens who can, in fact, behave and act in an intolerant manner.

The non-despotic treatment of these paradoxes - which originate from the "armed" defense of principles in a society of mutual ethical respect - requires that the application of "justice" allow for a "period" of possible recourses, revisions and developing reflections. In principle, even the objective of "re-educating the condemned" appears as a non-despotic way of dealing with the paradoxical condition mentioned earlier. But "education" - as a vast critical repertory has shown - can be the most coercive sort of intervention one can imagine. Within a liberal context, the actions of those who hold "educational powers" must be limited, both physically as well as ideologically. And even in this regard, the paradoxes are not resolved univocally once and for all. A "normatively closed and cognitively open"(4) system can be created, however, whereby pedagogical methods and theories are structured as they evolve. In order to simplify the concept, the history of the western world presents moments of "nationalistic" liberalism, which are characterized by forms of ethnocentric anthropology, and moments of "universalistic" liberalism, which are instead oriented toward recognizing equal dignity in human cultures. While a re-educational-correctional logic is fully justified in the first example - where individual liberties and collective ethics are ideologically preordained - in the second example prospects of social reintegration centered around patterns of "persuasion", "communication", and "knowledge" must be sought. A coercive component is obviously present in both examples, but the fact that it has different justifications has significant consequences on certain professional roles, which in both moments occupy equivalent operative spaces. When the universalistic orientation expands, figures such as the juvenile judge (or, in other cases, the public school teacher), are caught between emerging "oblique conflicts"(5). The person who must resolve these conflicts according to the law cannot follow and directly control all the processes of a cognitive and communicative nature which are brought about by his decision. And precisely because of the nature of this ongoing process, an attempt to "specialize" the judge by including "educative" functions into his "sphere" of action would be misleading (6). If the minor is to be helped in a

personal way, this can only be achieved through gradual and differentiated attempts at a "social contract", the overall outcome of which leads the way to coordinated and not hierarchical observation. The success of the initiative - which implies the "integration" of distinct functions (the legal sanction, placement in a primary community, intellectual training, the start of a productive activity) - is facilitated by a relationship with a "family" of operators with different responsibilities, rather than with a single "authority".

Today, the application of a new code in penal procedure marks the opening in Italy of a new era of "universalistic liberalism". The event is not an evolutionary "jump" nor an incidental episode of transformation in the country's history. Rather, it is a process in which cultural and organizational problems also present in identical and comparable situations are emerging. Three themes relative to this event merit our attention:

- 1) the political transformations of the Welfare State (7);
- 2) the "crisis" of the formalistic paradigm (or the so-called "juridical neopositivism") in legal procedure;
- 3) the fluidification of the evolutionary paradigm relative to the psychological theories on the personality.

Notes

- (1) *Proposals of the Association of Juvenile Judges on Matters Concerning the Juvenile Legal System*, in "Bambino Incompiuto" (Rome), a. 9, no.1, March 1992, p. 120.
- (2) At the national level, the autonomy of the judiciary is guaranteed by the Supreme Court Council ("Consiglio Superiore della Magistratura"), a body that is mainly made up of members elected within the legal category that oversees the appointment of judges to various offices as well as disciplinary and career measures. The other officials of the Ministry of Justice - including the members of the U.C.G.M. ("Ufficio Centrale per la Giustizia Minorile" = Central Office for Juvenile Justice) - are, instead, direct dependents of the Ministry. As far as we know, up to now the national administration of the U.C.G.M. has always been entrusted to a judge.
- (3) The Constitution of the Italian Republic was proclaimed in 1948.
- (4) "Law is seen as a communicative system which produces norms of conduct both for its own operations and for society at large. As such, it is closed in the sense that it cannot produce anything but law and also in

that its operations are impervious to direct communications from other social systems. This does not mean that legislation or the decisions of judges are free of any influence from political or economic factors. What autopoietic theory is proposing rather, is that the legal system is normatively closed, but cognitively open. It is, as Teubner enigmatically tells us, 'open in a closed sort of way'^h (King, 1993, p. 18).

- (5) An "oblique" conflict arises - by analogy with the Husserlian opposition "intentio recta/intentio obliqua" - when certain parts of the socio-political game formally accept the constitutional principles of the state in which they reside, while their persistent identity nucleus is rooted in values and ideologies that deny those same principles, or is indifferent to them (Catarsi 1992). The case is typical of political parties with a totalitarian program that must temporarily adapt themselves to the rules of a liberal-democratic system, or as in the case of a gypsy community, where theft is a normal life practice and yet it must abide by the rules of a state built upon the respect of private property. The case also applies to a group whose religion does not tolerate certain liberties which are instead legally permitted in the host country.
- (6) What should be promoted instead are places and occasions where consultations between judges and "experts" in extra-judicial disciplines can take place, in neutral settings, so as to avoid the "hybrid discussions" that emerge when these individuals are integrated institutionally. In this regard, and as far as current English and French juvenile rights legislation is concerned, see King 1991 and King-Kratz 1992.
- (7) Which have brought significant changes in the organization of crime. For Italian related aspects see Ruggiero 1993.

References

- Catarsi C., 1992 *Azione contrattuale e conflitti obliqui*, in A. Carbonaro, C. Catarsi (eds.), *Contrattualismo e scienze sociali*, Milano, Angeli.
- Delmas-Marty M., 1992 *Dal codice penale ai diritti dell'uomo*, Milano, Giuffrè (orig.: *Le flou du droit*, Paris, 1986).
- Germano A., Scarcella F., 1992 *Il codice della giustizia minorile*, Milano, Giuffrè.
- King M., 1991 *Child Welfare within Law: the Emergence of a Hybrid Discourse*, in "Journal of Law and Society" (Oxford, Blackwell), vol. 18, n. 3.
- King M., 1993 *The "Truth" about Autopoiesis*, dattiloscritto. Di prossima pubblicazione in "Journal of Law and Society"

(Oxford, Blackwell).

King M., Kratz C., 1992 *La notion d'intérêt de l'enfant en droit: vecteur de coopération ou d'interférence?*, in "Droit et Société" (Paris, LGDJ), n. 22.

Luhmann N., 1990 *Comunicazione Ecologica*, Milano, Angeli (orig.: *Ökologische Kommunikation*, Opladen, 1986).

Luhmann N., De Giorgi R., 1992 *Teoria della società*, Milano, Angeli.

Ruggiero V., 1993 *Organized Crime in Italy: Testing Alternative Definitions*, in "Social & Legal Studies" (London, Sage Publications), vol. 2, n. 2.

Teubner G., 1993 *Law as an Autopoietic System*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Marie Cerná (Praha)

Current Special Education Issues in the Czech Republic

Czech special education has a rich tradition. Based on democratic principles, special education received significant attention both in the educational system and in education theory, especially in the period between the two world wars. Professionals from various fields, especially medicine, discuss education theory on a biological and philosophical basis. This interdisciplinary approach is the guiding principle in current special education theory and practice.

During the last forty years Czechoslovakia has had both a positive and negative experience with special education. Proclamations and generally acceptable legislation on the one hand, strongly contrasted with the practical segregation of persons with handicaps and the isolation of special education. One current task is the integration of handicapped students into regular classrooms. This policy has generated a diversity of responses from parents, teachers, and administrators. While some people accept it as progressive and possessing substantial benefits for the children concerned, others express completely opposite points of view. "NIMBY" feature became an attitude of many teachers of ordinary schools. Teachers in special schools are afraid of losing their jobs and argue against integration, claiming that it will not provide handicapped students with the proper educational environment.

Whatever opinion people hold, a new democratic school system must offer special children a learning experience that enables them to enjoy life to the fullest.

Compared with other developed countries, the Czech Republic faces a more difficult economic situation in the coming years. Achieving fundamental reforms in this situation will necessarily be a lengthy process. In the short term it is possible to create a more positive vision of life for people with handicaps, to demonstrate this vision through small-scale projects, but changing the

whole system is likely to require purposeful strategies over a period of ten to twenty years. Finding ways to pursue these strategies at the same time that broader changes are occurring in social attitudes and forms of public administration probably adds to both the opportunities and the complexities of the task.

There are many challenges in improving special education as well as special care of persons with handicaps. On the basis of studying international literature and discussions with relevant foreign experts there appear, however, to be considerable similarities between our situation and that which have faced most developed countries:

- public attitudes and forms of provision which devalue people with handicaps and deny them opportunities to contribute to the community
- inadequate local support for children, adolescents and adults with handicaps and their families
- overreliance on isolated institutional care.

There is a need to:

- develop a positive vision of how these people could lead a more fulfilling life
- provide a policy framework to promote local changes
- seek to promote coalitions of interest among public agencies, professional staff, and relevant voluntary organizations
- identify priorities and implement innovations
- establish advice, consultancy and training resources to support local initiatives
- develop a partnership between professionals and parents of handicapped children
- support normalization, including integration
- improve special education theory based on new social-philosophical foundations.

To be sure, political, practical, and economic obstacles may hinder the implementation of the foregoing postulates. These issues remain, however, worthy endeavors and could improve the quality of life for people with handicaps.

The first priority for school age handicapped children is to ensure

that they have access to schools. This is a matter of rights and of legislation. To restructure the school in general is the most essential part of the Czech current effort. New educational reform is being prepared, and the first proposals of the Ministry of Education have already been published for a broad discussion among teachers and other people interested. Going step by step, starting from basic, so-called "public school" for children aged 6-11 has begun.

Selected schools will test new proposals in the school year 1993-1994. The proposal of public schools, however, that proclaims democracy, freedom, etc., also includes the statement that "the public school will be open for everybody, but not for those who require extra special care". It is imperative that the proposal be corrected to include programs for integrating special need students into the schools in the manner of many Western countries. Several independent bodies, such as professional groups and teacher organizations, offer their own proposals. Private and church schools provide students with their own programs. Everything is on the move, creating a new situation in the field of special education in the Czech Republic.

Edina Gabor (Budapest)

The School Prevention Possibilities

The Drug Situation in Hungary

In Hungary, adolescents sniffing organic solvents and glues became widely spread in the seventies and eighties. Today new abuse habits have begun to arise: mainly the misuse of poppy preparations, intravenous use of heroin and, moreover, smoking cigarettes containing marihuana.

Information about drugs is not included in the national curriculum, so this and all the many-sided drug prevention tasks belong to the drug centers. If a school asks the drug center for help because there are many drug related problems with pupils, the school and the drug center can start to build up the prevention program together.

The Planning Process

The first step toward creating a prevention program in a school is monitoring the problems this school has concerning drugs. After collecting the information, we can draw the drug using profile of this school.

At the same time we have to know the *school rules and approach to drugs*. The school can choose a wide range of approaches to the use of drug and the drug-users. One end of this is prohibition with the threat of drop-out and total refusal to consider the drug users' problems. This approach transfers the users from the school's responsibility to another institute or outside of society.

The other approach is giving help to the pupils with drug

problems and keeping them under the control of the school as far as possible. A school usually has its own point of view, its own interest in this question, but sometimes it is implicit. One of the basic steps of the planning process is making the school's approach to drug explicit and drafting it.

The aim of the drug prevention program is formulated by considering the problems in the school relating to drugs and the school rules and approaches to drugs. These aims are the general and holistic aims of the program.

There are two main categories of prevention programs. The differences between primary and secondary prevention appear in their aims. The primary prevention aims at a drug-free life-style. Some approaches can aim at the recreational use of soft drugs, too. This, however, does not mean to appreciate the use of soft drugs, but to adjust to reality. The secondary prevention aims at the normalization of drug use, at teaching people to handle drug usage, at the early detection of it. (The tertiary prevention, harm reduction, is not a part of the school prevention programs.) It depends mainly on the school rules and approach to drugs which of the school prevention should be used.

The next conditions of the planning process are *the prevention experiment and knowledge* which belong to the drug center.

The objectives of our prevention program are specified by adjusting the knowledge to the aim. These objectives are the executable units, manageable steps. Any objective is a purpose to be directly realized. The objective can be quantified, and the accomplishment of the steps can be measured. There are countless possibilities of plans of action. We select the objective from the information on drug prevention and experiments capable of achieving our goals. Which kind of prevention activities will result in certain aims is not an easy question. Many objectives emerge usually, but it depends on our circumspect decision what will be carried out.

The use and raising of the sources are one of the most substantial parts of accomplishing the objectives of the prevention program. There are many kind of sources: financial, material, human and so on.

For the accomplishment of prevention, leaders must have a clear picture of many different sources.

The next step in prevention planning is to *define the proper persons and materials*. Since we know many human sources of the school, we have to choose the proper staff for accomplishing the program. The leader or leaders have responsibility and coordinating tasks for carrying out the whole program. Their roles are very important, so they have to fit to our aims very well. We must not forget the possibility of having students participating in the leadership. The informal and formal student leaders know a lot about their mates, and they have a great effect on them.

When we are looking for proper materials, we have to pay attention to their comprehensibility. The different age groups need different materials, because their general knowledge level and substance using habits are different. The other aspect is the knowledge level of the students about the substances. Usually the materials involve many kinds of basic and more specific information and give addresses for finding more detailed information.

The target group are usually the students in the case of school prevention programs. There are many possibilities to reach them, for example, through the teachers, parents and any other intermediaries.

Implementation is the end of the planning process, and the emphasis is on how to carry it out. These things are in or around the school. The implementation of the whole program needs the support of the school. The important point is creating a positive attitude towards it. Thus, implementation of the program has to be very sensitive to reactions.

In the science of prevention research there is a difference made between three kinds of *evaluation*: the process, the outcome and the impact evaluation. The first approach of evaluation was the measurement of results. In the case of school its purpose is to assess the achievement of the aims of the prevention program. There are two implicit hypotheses. The first is that everybody from the target group gets the planned exposure from the prevention, and the second is that this is the cause of change. To assess this, process evaluation was devised. It measures the implementation of the prevention program. This is a more important learning possibility for the school and the implementors. The impact evaluation tries to assess changes in the

whole system which were caused by carrying out the prevention program, for example, in the school milieu. The appropriate and usable definition of impact evaluation is not ready-made, but its importance is increasing. For the school it gives a long term account of their drug prevention efforts. For the society it shows the tendency of drug-using in the school.

On completion of the implementation of the program and carrying out the evaluation, we approach the end of the prevention process. *Conclusion and proposals for the next set of prevention programs*, this is the last step in our prevention program. For completing it we have to summarize the whole process and formulate the consequences of the evaluations.

Summary

In this paper I tried to analyze the role of the school in school prevention programs. It seems so evident, but we are inclined to forget the importance of the school's approach and possibilities in the prevention efforts. The prevention institute and the school jointly have the backgrounds and conditions on the basis of which the school prevention program can be successful. In every step of planning and implementing it, the school takes a more or less serious part.

If the school and the drug center work together and do their best, these are the guarantees for success.

Reference

Tools for Creating and Sustaining Drug-Free Communities, Prevention Plus II. Office for Substance Abuse Prevention. DHHS Pub. No. (ADM) 89-1649. Rockville, Md., 1990.

*Emoke Kovacs-Vass / Zsuzsanna Kovacs-Feher / Katalin Vecsey
(Budapest)*

A Concise History of Segregation and Integration of Children with Speech Disabilities in Hungary

Like Blackstone (1989) we consider integration as a human right. The final goal of speech therapy is complete social integration, which has different periods and scenes. The scenes are defined by age, the seriousness of the speech/language disorder and secondary symptoms, the time of diagnosis and the beginning of treatment. The possibility of the integration of the child with speech/language disorders is or could be assumed by different scenes. The subjective conditions are created by those teachers who are part of the process from segregation to integration. The objective condition is the educational system that the given country has.

In the history of speech therapy, the movement of integration and segregation, and the institutional systems based on them, have developed parallel. The efforts of integration sometimes came into the foreground and sometimes stayed in the background, depending on different tendencies of the times. The first institutional speech therapy provision began in 1891 in the town of Arad under the direction of Jozsef Roboz. Children with speech disabilities went to his school and interacted with non-disabled students as "outpatients" for 3 to 10 months, depending on the seriousness of the speech disability. This was the first example of integration. By request of the minister of education, Jozsef Roboz established a similar institute in Budapest in 1894. At the same time, Roboz organized special therapy courses for teachers who had no prior training in logopedics. With this, he made possible treatment for those who needed it, even in townships with a population over 2000. That is why he suggested to the minister of education that in teacher training schools

students should learn basics of speech disorders.

This integration attitude by Roboz characterized Hungarian outpatient clinic structure until 1960, and the system spread throughout the entire country. This framework for organization was developed further in kindergartens, primary schools, guidance centers and health facilities.

In 1960 the first special primary school was established. It was within the first boarding school for speech therapy in Hungary. What was the reason that this type of facility developed so relatively late?

Experts working in the outpatient clinics found that there are some forms of speech disorders which are not possible to correct on an outpatient basis, and that in this way educational integration is impossible. The reason for this is that the development of associate sciences, their differentiation and integration, led to better diagnosis techniques. As a consequence of this, a more complex and serious picture of certain speech disabilities emerged. Examples of these disabilities are delayed speech, central dyslalia, dyslexia, cleft palate speech, stuttering and combinations of them.

The clinical picture could be even more serious with sensory (audio, visual, tactile), motor (gross, fine, grapho and speech motor), serial and integration disabilities, attention disabilities, memory and motivation.

These serious speech and language disorders touch the kindergarten age (3-6 years) children. This has been called the "special kindergarten" system (1981). In these kindergartens it is possible to have all the intensive therapies for complex symptoms. Therapies are always personalized and take into consideration the continuous diagnosis process. The selection for kindergartens always starts with a detailed and complex examination. It includes the testing of speech and language level and structure of intelligence by a specialist who is a psychologist and speech and language pathologist. The examination is completed by the testing of different sensory-motor areas as well as gross and fine motor coordination. Lateral dominance development, the "feeling for rhythm", and the risk of dyslexia and dyscalculia are also tested. Periodical re-examinations and the experience of therapeutic work help the process of diagnosis.

This is the best help for guiding children towards their fullest possible development.

Individualized therapy is not possible in "normal" kindergartens. In the outpatient mode of speech and language therapy, there is success with mild cases, but not with serious ones. These special kindergartens work with regular goals of kindergartens which are complemented by special education curricula. Therapy is carried out by speech and language pathologists. The activities are extended for the whole kindergarten group, half groups or for individuals. Activities for the whole group are exercise, rhythm, singing and music, twice a week, and arts and crafts, once a week. They are completed by special gymnastics and swimming. The activities for the half group include the development of visual perception, graphomotor perception and nurturing the skills needed for reading, writing and counting. The development of graphomotor skills always begins with the referred program (Frosting program). In halfgroups, realization of the development of articulation movements and of auditory perception helps with the success of individualized speech therapy. During the child's diagnosis process, if it is revealed that there is either a behavioral or personality disability, the child will be enrolled in the "Ritual-Innovative" therapy, also developed in Hungary. This method helps the child through "rites" to overcome their fear, tension, anxiety and, by this, gain a feeling of security. It nurtures their ability for connecting, and thus becoming settled. During individual activities speech therapy relative to the results of the diagnosis is carried out.

The success of the program for speech therapy in kindergarten is proven by the fact that 35 % of children starting their school program in the "normal" primary school achieve educational integration.

Depending on the seriousness of the speech disorders, the treatments might have to continue during the school year. This is observed in about 10 % of all cases. This fact makes it necessary to develop special speech therapy classes (1984). Classes are led by special education teachers or by those teachers who received special preparation for this field. Speech therapy at this level is also done by speech and language pathologists.

There are cases when, because of the late diagnosis, unsuccessful

outpatient treatment or seriousness of the problem, longer and more intensive therapy will be needed, which is only possible in boarding schools. This segregation is the condition of later successful educational and social integration. Because of the seriousness of some speech disorders, children will need to be in boarding schools, but, on the other hand, parents would like their children close to home. This is why another speech therapy boarding school was opened in Vac in 1988. Other schools like this work with the same curriculum as "normal" primary schools, with modification for the child's needs. Classes in the boarding schools are small (8 to 10 students) compared to an average of 30 in the regular classrooms. Teachers must have the same qualifications as teachers in special speech therapy classes. Speech therapy is also done individually, 19 hours a week, by the speech and language pathologist in a separate well equipped room. Flexibility and a positive attitude by teachers enable 30 % of the students to integrate back into their normal schools.

We hope that with this paper we could demonstrate that segregation is not of permanent status. It is the first step to true integration of children with speech disabilities back into mainstream education where future problems are totally eliminated or significantly reduced.

References

- Biro - Vincze, E.: Inhaltliche Fragen von Erziehung und Unterricht in der ungarischen Heilpädagogik. In: Trends und Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen ungarischen Heilpädagogik, "Gießener Dokumentationsreihe" Heil- und Sonderpädagogik Band 11. Institut für Heil- und Sonderpädagogik Gießen
- Blackstone, S.W. (1989): Life is not a dress rehearsal! Augmentative Communication News, 2/5 .pp. 1-2.2.
- Frostig, M.W., Lefever, and J. Whittlesey: Developmental Test of Visual Perception: Administration and Scoring Manual. Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists Press (1966).
- Gordos-Szabo, A.: History of Special Education (Gyogy-

pedagogiatortenet) Budapest, 1988. Tankönyvkiado

Gordos-Szabo, A.: The Science of Special Education in Hungary.

In: International Journal of Special Education, 1986/1.

Somatopedagogic Teacher Training for Physically Handicapped

The training of special teachers in Hungary is followed at the Bárczi Gusztáv Training College for Teachers of the Handicapped. Besides special education of mentally retarded, visually, speech-, learning-, or behaviourally disabled persons one of the *main fields* of specialisation is *somatopedagogy*, dealing with the physically handicapped. Somatopedagogy integrates movement education, speech therapy and the development of cognitive functions of motor disabled into a complex education programme.

On the basis of the diagnosis, somatopedagogists work out an education plan choosing from a series of therapeutic or educational methods. The activities of the somatopedagogists are not bound to a special type of institution within the educational system.

After a basic training of psychology, biology and general pedagogy (during 1-4 semesters) students have to choose two fields. Further specialisation for *teacher* or *therapist* can be followed during the last 4 semesters.

The key curriculum is *movement education* that consists of theoretical and practical training instructed by somatopedagogists having a diploma in physiotherapy. The content of the subject is:

- diagnostics of motor functions
- physiotherapy (special methods for the motor amelioration),
- physical training, conditioning, sports,
- ADL training.

The main institution of *practical training for students of somatopedagogy* is the Boarding School for Physically Handicapped in Budapest. The activities of the school include school education for both physically and multiple handicapped

and also pre-vocational training. The school curriculum of physically disabled children corresponds to that of the normal elementary schools, but in addition, movement education, sports activities, individual correction, typewriting (use of computers) and communication education is also provided.

Research activities of the Chair of Somatopedagogy dealing with the special corrective groups in kindergartens and some health care institutions are further fields of the practical training. At present we have two directions of research:

- early intervention in the family,
- integrated education of physically disabled children in nurseries (kindergartens) and in elementary schools.

The *aim of the early home intervention programme* is the training of parents, on a regular basis, to educate and strengthen their relations to the child. The personality of the disabled child has high priority. Movement education (adaptation of technical aids), education of sensory and cognitive functions, education of communication and ADL are also included in the daily programme. Every year approximately 20 children are enrolled to this programme. The majority participate in an individual form of training. Child and parents are together, but often only the mother represents the family. Less than half of the children and parents receive training in groups. Weekly training and guidance is less common than training given every second week or every month. Most of the children started to participate in this programme before the age of three years. Cerebral palsy was the most common diagnosis (in over 70%). Motor disabled conditions were also present in about 50% of the cases. As to the requirements of the early home intervention, we made the conclusion that well trained special teachers are required, and good co-operation both with the families and with representatives of other disciplines is necessary. Therefore, the skills of co-operation must receive higher priority in future education programmes, including post-graduate training. Legislation is a further requirement.

The other ongoing project is the *development of integrated education for children with physical disabilities*. Integrated education does exist, the level of special services, however, provided in the normal school system is not satisfactory. In this project there are

among others:

- special education programmes (movement education, physical conditioning, ADL training),
- training of the use of technical aids,
- parents and family counselling,
- teacher's counselling, and
- support for co-operation with other disciplines has been provided on nursery and elementary school levels. On the basis of the joint work with two nurseries, a post-graduate training course for nursery personnel was organised and the training materials edited.

The other part of the project focusing on school education took place in a nearby county, County-Fejér. At first, a screening of the 125 schools was carried out. There were 104 physically disabled students integrated into the normal education, 21 additional students received tutoring in their homes. Again CP was the most common diagnosis. After careful assessment of the children, their families and their social background, the above mentioned forms of **support services** have been provided. Finally, training materials have been prepared.

Our system is often criticised for being segregated. The technical and scientific progress made the modern way of integration into normal education of disabled children possible in the most developed countries. It is impossible to copy such progress only on the basis of sympathy, without its sound economical, social and cultural background. We believe that we offer the locally possible highest quality of education. The best possible result in integration into the adult life of disabled children (and not necessarily the integration into the normal school-system) should be determinant in the selection of the form of education.

References

- Benczúr, J., Márkus, E.: Die Stellung und Rolle der Somatopädagogik in der Heil- und Sonderpädagogik. (in the press)
- Tordagnes (ed.) A gyógytápédagógusképzés reformja (Reform of the Special Education Training) BGGYTF, Budapest, 1993.

Benczúr Miklósné (ed.) *Mozgásnevelés (Movement Education)*, Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest, 1984.

Benczúr Miklósné, Bernolák Béláné *Mozgásfogyatékosok korai szomatopedagógiai nevelése* GYOSZE 17:177-182, 1989.

Benczúr Miklósné *Mozgásfogyatékosok szomatopedagógiai nevelése az óvodában (Somatopedagogic training in the nursery school)* GYOSZE 2:103-112, 1991.

Benczúr Miklósné *Mozgásfogyatékosok integrált oktatása egy felmérés tükrében, (Survey of the integrated education of physically handicapped children)* GYOSZE 1:25-34, 1991.

Special Education and the Problem of Integration in Lithuania

Education, social adaptation and integration of persons with psychic and physic impairments is an urgent and complex problem from the theoretical and practical point of view all over the world and in Lithuania as well.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, children with impaired mental and physical development were called "abnormal" and "defective"; later they were called "abnormal" or children with impaired development. Today they are called "children with special needs".

In the course of time, more and more specialists have recognized that one of the most important factors determining the place of persons with special needs in society is an adequate attitude by society towards such children and adults.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Lithuania started organizing special education for the deaf. Since then we have achieved good results in establishing different shelter and special educational institutions, in organizing teaching, training and correction of mental and physical development of students. At present, there are many specialized educational and shelter institutions for pre-school, school age children, and for adults with different developmental impairments.

We must admit that the level of integration and socialization of persons with impaired intellect, sensory, speech and physical development is rather low in Lithuania. Only one-third of the above-mentioned categories of persons with special educational needs (SEN persons) have managed to achieve a satisfactory adaptation and integration level.

Lithuania has lagged behind the US, Great Britain, Canada and other developed countries in organizing integrated education of

persons with special needs.

We do understand that teaching and training SEN persons in special educational institutions is not the best way to prepare them for adapting to society, but this does not mean that the implementation of integrated education demands rejecting everything that has already been achieved positively in the sphere of special education in Lithuania.

In the 1992/1993 school-year 22,009 pupils received special services in Lithuania. This constitutes almost 5% of the total number of first- to ninth-formers. 7,623 (34.4%) children were taught in special education institutions (boarding-schools) and 14,386 (65.4%) were educated in mainstream schools. As we can see, in Lithuania more than one-third of the children with impaired development is still being taught in special boarding-schools. During the last three years the attitude towards the children with moderate and severe impairments of intellect has changed dramatically. At present, we have twenty-nine classes (groups) in special schools and six in mainstream schools for 253 children with moderate impairments of intellect. But during the last school-year 912 children with moderate and severe impairments of intellect were still under the wardship in four special boarding-schools, and 233 were treated in hospitals in children's psychoneurological departments.

298 visually impaired pupils learn in two special boarding-schools in Vilnius and Kaunas. In meeting parents' requests, special classes for visually impaired children have been established in Klaipeda, Siauliai and Panevezys. About 1500 weak-sighted children learn in mainstream schools, but they lack text-books with enlarged print, special equipment and typhlopedagogues.

In general, publishing national text-books for all categories of SEN children is one of the most urgent problems in Lithuania.

There are 480 pupils with impaired hearing in Lithuania. 369 (77%) of them learn in special boarding-schools for the deaf and hard-of-hearing. Sixty-one (13%) children attend classes for the hearing impaired within mainstream schools, and the other fifty (10%) pupils have been integrated in mainstream classes. Schools also lack special equipment and teachers for the deaf.

There is a special boarding-school for speech defective (having communication problems) children in Siauliai. There are also

classes for the speech defective within mainstream schools in Vilnius and Kaunas. Practically all primary and secondary mainstream schools have speech therapists. Physically impaired (with motor problems) children are taught in two special boarding-schools.

During the Soviet period children with moderate and severe impairments of intellect (imbecile and idiot degree) were not sufficiently brought up or trained in the institutions of the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture and Education.

There is one more category of children (over 1500) distinguished in Lithuania. Today they are called pupils with specific cognitive and learning difficulties (formerly: children of slow development). 11% of them are taught in classes for those with learning difficulties in mainstream schools and the other 38% (580) are taught individually within mainstream schools.

We have a board of experts responsible for the education of children with impaired intellect. The board solves problems of the contents and methods of special education, the special education system, integration of SEN children in mainstream schools, and arranging normative (statutory) documents.

Special pedagogues in Lithuania are seeking ways to study the experience of their colleagues abroad. But we are forced to admit that opportunities for analyzing the foreign experience are still very poor for Lithuanians. As a positive exception the contribution of the specialists from the Manchester Metropolitan University (TEMPUS project) must be mentioned.

Our special pedagogues are grateful for having received an opportunity to improve their professional skill in summer Special Education courses (APPLE).

At present, in Lithuania SEN children receive better pedagogical, medical-corrective assistance in special schools than in mainstream schools, because they are taught, trained and treated by highly qualified specialists.

The greater part of Lithuanian society is still not ready to see SEN children in mainstream schools.

We need not only a transitional period, but a consistent, considered data organization of integrated education based on research.

Today the system of special education in Lithuania is undergo-

ing major changes.

A group of scholars, practitioners and representatives of education authorities (headed by A. Bagdonas) has prepared an outline of the possible development of the special education system in our country. The following principal recommendations have been proposed: 1) the SEN child is to obtain a sense of participation and achievement; 2) the SEN child should experience independence in all the functioning spheres of the personality; 3) the SEN child, his parents or tutors should be involved in choosing the type (form) of his/her education; they must learn to struggle in the interests of the child; 4) education must be carried out in the least restrictive environment; 5) special education must be an integral part of the overall education system; 6) integration of SEN children should be accomplished in mainstream schools; 7) it is necessary to encourage the family and to increase its responsibility; 8) permanent updating of the existing special education system; 9) the dissemination of information about positive experiences in integrated education; 10) the development of a social support system; 11) the establishment of special services; 12) the organization of effective pedagogical-psychological and medical support for SEN children; 13) the utilization of mass media in changing society's attitude towards the handicapped; 14) education and social integration are to be started as early as possible.

Recently, eight stages of the education system have been proposed for SEN children: 1) as many children with different SEN as possible are to be admitted to mainstream schools and to benefit from their programs; 2) education in mainstream schools using a modified curriculum; 3) education in mainstream schools using individualized programs; 4) coordinating of mainstream education with education in a special group (class); 5) permanent education in a special group (class) within the mainstream school; 6) education in special non-residential schools; 7) education of children with severe handicaps and orphans in special residential or boarding-schools; 8) education of the immobile and those under intensive treatment in hospitals, boarding-schools or at home.

At present, SEN children have been distributed into eleven groups, e.g., children with impaired 1) intelligence, 2) learning and cognitive activities, 3) behavior, 4) communication, 5) hearing, 6) eyesight, 7) physical development and motorics and also

children 8) with somatic impairments, 9) with complex impairments, 10) with special abilities and talents and 11) with other impairments (e.g., neglected from the pedagogical point of view or with malnutrition).

Specialists who are supposed to educate SEN children should be the following: educators, teachers in pre-school educational institutions, primary and secondary school teachers (all of them must have sufficient knowledge about SEN children), special teachers (i.e., teachers for children with impaired intelligence, hearing, eyesight, speech, behavior, etc.).

Recently, Lithuania has made some progress in this field. In 1991 the Center for Children's Mental Health was established in Vilnius. In 1992 the Faculty of Special Education of the Siauliai Pedagogical Institute started solving the problem of integrated education in cooperation with the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Intercultural Learning:

Experiences and Perspectives

Crispin Jones (London)

Europe, Europeans and Intercultural Education

With the EU enlarging almost yearly, there is a feeling that a greater European unity is developing, fuelled by the demise of Soviet style communism. But contemporary events in the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union indicate that this is by no means a comfortable or inevitable process. Moreover, as we see the consequent rise in religious and cultural hatreds that have accompanied these political upheavals, we have to ask why the educational system, both there and elsewhere in Europe, has failed to counter effectively the hatreds that lurk beneath the seemingly placid European surface. But to ask this question presupposes an answer to an earlier set of questions, namely, where and what is this Europe and who are these Europeans?

How we teach about these terms is vitally important, for if we continue to use the terms as they have been traditionally used in education in most European states, they will continue to be terms that exclude areas and peoples that have a right to be considered European. In order to better understand why this is so, it is necessary to investigate these terms in more detail. This paper attempts this task, and does it not so much through the discourses of political science, but through an examination of the academic underpinnings of some of the relevant subjects of the school curriculum in what is conventionally described as Europe, such as history, geography, religious education and science. As these subjects use constantly terms like Europe and European, they help to shape, in the minds of young people, views of themselves and the world. The problem is that these conventional definitions not only do not fit the facts, they help perpetuate chauvinisms, ethnocentricities, narrow nationalisms and ancient hatreds.

Thus the paper seeks to put forward a view of Europe and the European that is constantly changing as its demographic and political nature changes. Such a view of a changing Europe, how-

ever, does not do definitional violence to the terms Europe and European. This is because they have always been conditional terms, changing their meaning as the political and economic context within which the terms are located has changed over time. In other words, we need to better understand the old Europe if we are to assert and make sense of the new Europe. And it is this new Europe that has to be at the focus of the school curriculum, not the old one [Coulby & Jones, 1992]. Furthermore, tracing this argument is itself part of the blueprint of a new European curriculum, or rather, a curriculum that better reflects current European realities.

Europe as a concept is of Greek origin, already being used before the 5th century B.C. to distinguish mainland Greece from the islands. By the 5th century B.C., the concept was refined to distinguish the Greek world from the non-Greek world that lay to the East. In other words, it was being used to distinguish 'our land' from 'their land'. And it has continued to be used in this way down to the present: Europe is "our" territory in contradiction to that which is not ours or which is non-European. The problem was, and continues to be, as to who is "us" and what is "ours" and who is "them" and what is "theirs".

The great empires of European history, often taught about in our schools, were seldom in the same place or contained the same peoples. The Roman Empire was a Mediterranean rather than a European empire. The successful consolidation of the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne was again not a delineation of Europe, but more a delineation of Western Christendom, seen very much as in territorial and religious conflict with the new and expanding religion of Islam. Interestingly, a religious map of Christendom in the 11th century would very roughly correspond with the current dominant image of Europe.

By the 14th century, the division between Christendom and Islam was even more like the map of the dominant contemporary vision of Europe, but this was for only a brief moment, as the Ottoman Turks moved westwards beyond the Bosphorus. Their expanding empire soon included much of the Balkans, with consequences which continue to dominate the politics of the area. This Turkish and Islamic presence in conventionally defined Europe has continued to the present day. However, this particular

European empire is seldom in the history books of Europe as such. It is still too often presented as the alien presence that Europe defeated, in Spain and at the gates of Vienna. Indeed, much of the educational and curricula discourse about the concept of Europe within the states that now make up the EU has continued to operate by excluding, ignoring or misrepresenting this history. Thus, it would appear that use of the term Europe still remains an excluding category, masquerading as an objective spatial referent [Delrot, 1992]. We will, of course, continue to have to use it as a convenient label in classrooms, lecture theatres and in everyday discourse, but should be more aware of the term's semantic history. Certainly, the curricula in the schools of Europe should be more sensitive to the issues that the term raises.

If Europe's boundaries have been used to exclude, the term European has an even more exclusive history. And because history books and lessons in schools have not always taught how mixed the population of Europe has always been, there is the feeling that one group of Europeans are "foreigners". Of course, it is legitimate for a state or superstate like the EU to define its non-citizens as foreigners, but it is not logical and legitimate to define citizenship through principles of exclusion that rest solely on dominant group perceptions of putative national identities. One consequence of this is that Europe's history, particularly its recent history, has been bedeviled by the confusion between a *national group* and a *state boundary*, the two rarely coinciding. Many politicians would claim otherwise, unfortunately, and two major European communal wars this century, as well as the current violence within the former Yugoslavia, confirm the power of such "natural" perceptions. Moreover, a great deal of national history, as taught in schools, celebrates such state mythologies. Even in acknowledged plural states, such as the United Kingdom, Belgium and Switzerland, a single state cultural identity is often seen as desirable by central government. The Soviet Union was a further example of this fiction.

Similar myths are propagated in relation to the individual state and educational perceptions of the concepts of Europe and Europeans, as a perusal of the geography and history textbooks and syllabi of many European systems of education would indicate. Such presentations of European identity are again a codification

and legitimation of the dominant national groups' concepts of the nature of Europe and its citizens. However, none of these assertions stand up to any detailed empirical scrutiny [Fryer, 1984]. Europeans do not fit such models. But how can such confusion be clarified within schools?

Perhaps one way forward is to accept not just the contingent, plural nature of Europe and the plural nature of the states within it but also the notion of an extension of the concept of individual plural identities. Within states, such plural identities have been accepted, although seldom in any systematic way. In Britain, for example, the same persons can see themselves as English, Black British, Black, West Indian, Afro-Caribbean and so on. They could also, if they wish, be European *and* African. Other groups of British citizens could be European and Indian, even European, Indian and African. So a European is someone who sees him/herself and/or is seen by others as belonging to Europe, whose life takes place in Europe, and who is, indeed, a native of Europe. In other words, the whole definitional debate becomes fluid. Clearly, individual states define their own citizenry. But such rights do not go against this definition; indeed, it could be argued that more fluid definitions strengthen societal harmony and well being. In terms of legal rights and obligations, their powers are well nigh all embracing. In terms of cultural rights and obligations, however, the state's remit is more limited. Which is no doubt part of the reason why so many states carefully control the curriculum of their schools. A pluralistic European identity on these terms would contradict much in the existing curriculum.

Thus, the terms Europe and European are more complex than is often seen in our textbooks and in the way we prepare both students and teachers in relation to teaching both in and about Europe. So, in the same way that intercultural education attempted to make national systems look again at what they did in relation to the multicultural society they served [DES, 1985], so it also has the added task to look again at the broader European context within which state systems are located. The consequences of such a new intercultural perspective are many and will, of course, vary within individual state contexts as well as over time. For the curriculum, for example, just as ethnocentricity has to be combatted and countered in the curriculum so must a false euro-

centricity. Much of the debate about a eurocentric curriculum argues for an international dimension to be laid against a European one. What has to be clarified is the boundaries of such a European curriculum, as well as its content.

This definitional issue then, far from being an arid intellectual exercise, is crucial to our perception of a genuinely intercultural education for European states. If Europe's borders are recognised as being fluid, as, indeed, they are, and if a European becomes an including rather than an excluding category, as it should, then some essential first steps are taken in providing an appropriate political context within which an intercultural educational debate can take place.

References

- Bernal, M. (1987) *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation. Vol 1 The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*. London: Vintage.
- Coulby, D. and Jones, C. [Eds.] (1992) *The World Yearbook of Education 1992: Urban Education*. London: Kogan Page.
- DES (1985) *Education For All. [The Swann Report.]* London: HMSO.
- Delrot, J. (1992) *The Nationalities Question - From Versailles to the Present Day*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power*. London: Pluto Press.

Josef A. Mestenhauser (Minneapolis)

Neglected: Intercultural Perspectives on Educational Transition as an Intercultural Task

Educational reformists have underestimated the complexity of their tasks by predominantly utilizing economic, political and legal concepts in seeking improvements. Perspectives from these disciplines are reductionist, conservative, incomplete and insufficient. They also limit inquiry into issues important to educational transformation. The resulting lack of additional perspectives may have been one of the reasons why educational reforms in post-socialist countries on all levels of educational institutions have been unsuccessful. This paper will attempt not only to supplement, but also to illuminate other perspectives through cross-cultural, holographic analysis that is future and systems oriented, and interdisciplinary. Cultural variables are by no means barriers to change, if understood in broad perspective. They are cognitive maps that explain people's past experiences and provide lenses through which to see the future either as something to look forward to, or else to look away from. Cross-cultural analysis of educational reform is essential in post-socialist countries. These countries are involved in one of the most complex, comprehensive, large scale, global and exciting changes perhaps ever known in history. Changes affect not only individuals and organizations within these countries, but also around the entire world. Because people organize the way they think, their cognitive, value oriented maps influence their schools, ministries and parliaments. At the same time these road maps direct organization of knowledge, namely the curriculum; as the transformation is stalled, so is the curriculum that appears to have been bypassed in most educational reforms at any rate. This paper will attempt to discuss the diagnostic value of cross-cultural perspectives in defining the damage done by communist rule, and

provide a link between "the problem" and its solution in the future.

This proposal addresses the key theme of the conference, *educational transition as an intercultural task*. It utilizes a recently popularized method of explaining complex problems through metaphors. In this case, education is likened to a hologram, a picture of the whole that contains images of its component parts. Although education is only one part of some twelve public sectors, education reflects virtually every aspect of the society, its values, conflicts, relations, with other systems, divisions, aspirations, organization, history, and ways of thinking - in other words, its "deep" or "thick culture", to use Clifford Geertz' concept. Whenever one part of that hologram changes, it affects other parts consequently.

The analysis of educational transformation requires a high level of complexity that intercultural concepts provide, because they are interdisciplinary, complex, and systems and future oriented - something missing from single-discipline explanations. Moreover, intercultural perspectives are especially important, because post-socialist countries are in the process of complete cultural transformation from totalitarian instrumental communism to democracy. Both are "thick" cultures, and the transformation is not merely a change within the system, as it is treated by some disciplines, but a complex change of entire systems.

Unfortunately the debate about educational transformation is dominated by three disciplinary approaches, political, economic and legal. All are, of course, important, but alone are insufficient and incomplete. When policy makers, practitioners and the public use only knowledge from these three fields, they reduce education to being just one sector of public life that has to compete for resources with all others, even though education, seen as a hologram, defines the entire society by touching and influencing every member more than other sectors. No societal decisions are as complex and difficult as decisions about education and should, therefore, not be left to reductionist approaches that act as if they were hierarchically more important than others, and sufficiently comprehensive to make other disciplinary knowledge redundant. As we know, these three disciplines typically do not search for other knowledge, especially not cultural, which they

perceive to be a barrier to their own. To compound the problem of complexity, political, legal and economic knowledge in post-communist countries is not only severely outdated and impaired, it is also conservative and static with respect to considerations of future educational needs. The problem is, thus, not only to "catch up" with what has been lost, but also to simultaneously keep up with accelerating educational needs. Although much is said about the negative impact of communism on ecology, economy, life and property, there is little public discussion of the "intellectual genocide" committed by communism, there is no known inventory of missing knowledge and intellectual skills, there is little awareness of new fields of knowledge, there is little discussion of future global trends, and there is no evidence of strategic planning. It is as if educators were afraid to find themselves "behind", "handicapped" or "damaged"; or, as theories of perceptions suggest, cognitive blindness: "if we do not know that something exists, it does not exist". To make this discussion more concrete, we have found it often difficult to participate in discussions about educational transformation due to the fact that several key concepts and theories were either poorly known to either scholars or students. Yet these concepts are important to our holographic-cum-cultural perspective of education: global integration, cooperation and competition, interdependence, relations between majorities and minorities, cognitive complexity, attribution theory, decision-making under conditions of uncertainty, critical and creative thinking, cognitive and moral development, strategic planning, conflict resolution, leadership and entrepreneurship, disfunctional social behavior, and achievement orientation in work and learning attributed to skills, rather than to politics, profits, or laws, etc.

A careful look at proposals for educational reform submitted by various groups in the post-socialist countries suggests that: 1) there was very little public debate; 2) few if any of these proposals have been accepted; 3) compromises among them were virtually impossible; 4) proposals were not based on research data and analysis of problems to be remedied; 5) none contained strategic plans for implementation; and 6) most reforms were either structural or legal, thus leaving the heart of the reform, the curriculum, to teachers who were the least prepared group to implement

changes. Yet positive answers to these points are essential to programs of change: awareness of problems; vision of future goals; individual and institutional problem-solving skills; and strategy to set priorities and specify time frame for goal achievement.

The relative absence of these elements brings us to the cultural variables. In many instances concepts were lacking to explain social change, to visualize the future, to assess the damage caused by many years of communist rule, to level with the past, to employ suitable problem-solving skills based on data (inductive thinking) and on testing of hypotheses (deductive thinking), to identify priorities, to develop models for their achievements, to assess individual responsibilities of implementors, or to change the "deep" and "thick" behaviors associated with the past regime and absorbed largely subconsciously. These behaviours are, among others: dependency; authoritarianism; lack of trust and confidence; fatalism; instant gratification; constant complaining and guilt assessing; inappropriate coping strategies in interpersonal and intergroup communication; compartmentalization of conflicting values; inappropriate social learning (substituting appearance of substance for substance); confusion about economic and intellectual differentiation; reliance on "correct thinking"; cynicism; survival mentality (demonstrated by the Czech term *Svejkovina*); distorted political learning about such concepts as democracy, persuasion, market economy, parliamentary democracy, or loyal opposition; petty jealousies; envy; behind-the-back talking; frequent bickering; dogmatism; and lack of individualism and individual responsibility.

These behaviors are more common than people realize, even in education, in the family, and in private and public institutions. They are not just irrational encounters, but are cognitive maps, schemata and perceptions, that guide people in individual and collective actions. In turn, they are based on people's past and present experiences and help them explain events and conditions of life. Thus, they have become part of their "thick" culture. Because they have been learned, they are knowledge that should become part of the educational reform. Five schemes based on cultural universals of Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn will help us understand the major cultural variables used to analyze these tendencies. These five value orientations exist in all cultures, but are

variously ordered: 1) human nature orientation (in answer to questions about the nature of people as good, evil or improvable); 2) "man" and nature orientation (in answer to questions about "man" dominating, being dominated, or being in harmony with forces); 3) time orientation (in answer to questions about preferences for the past, present, or future); 4) activity orientation (in answer to questions about relationship between acting individuals and the activity); 5) relational orientation (in answer to questions regarding hierarchy, autonomy, or dependency of individuals on groups). These variables are not "mere" theory, but influence affect, cognition and behavior. Although complex, they are by no means indefinite, but limited to three ranges within each variation. In times of rapid social and cultural change, individuals and institutions often accept new value orientation, but do not discard old ones. Resulting "cultural schizophrenia" explains many paradoxes often witnessed in public and private behavior.

People organize the way they think; thus, institutions have their own collective memory and problem-solving mechanism influenced by these value orientations. The curriculum is one such "institution" that organizes knowledge in sequences, determines content and skills and progresses to increasing levels of complexity. As there are several value orientations on which people differ, so there are several curricular perspectives for organization of knowledge, such as traditional-academic, humanistic, reconstructive, technological, or developmental. One of the reasons for a great deal of confusion and relative inaction in curricular reform in post-socialist countries is lack of concepts about the nature, organization and application of knowledge.

Fred N. Finley/ John J. Cogan (Minneapolis)

Global Environmental Education Curriculum: Interacting Natural and Social Systems as an Organizing Theme

Introduction

At present, both science and social studies curricula in the United States are based on the teaching of separate disciplines, content dominated, prescribed by textbooks and traditions from the early 1900's, and designed primarily for those individuals who are going on into higher education. The social studies curriculum is focused on national or local histories and cultures. The science curriculum is based primarily on teaching science as the content of biology, chemistry and to a lesser extent geology, meteorology and astronomy, which are combined as the earth sciences.

The high level of concern about this style of curriculum in the USA has lead to many recommendations for change from both the science and the social science scholarly communities (e.g., Rutherford and Ahlgren, 1990; National Commission on the Social Studies, 1989; the Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 1988). As thoughtful as these recommendations are, none emphasize that the history and future of our social systems are absolutely interdependent from the history and future of the Earth's natural systems. All nations are faced with the fact that the social and natural systems in which we live are interactive and inseparable. In a very real sense, *we all live in the same place*, and this must be acknowledged and represented in school curricula.

As members of the same small and fragile planet, we all face global, regional, and local problems that involve many similar

natural and social parameters. Our emerging understanding of the earth as a set of integrated natural and social systems necessitates changes in the curricula of our schools that make use of but go beyond the recommendations that are currently being proposed. A more interdisciplinary approach is essential.

An Interdisciplinary Framework

An interdisciplinary approach is essential, because the nature of the problems that we face requires that multiple disciplines be brought to bear simultaneously. It may also be more consistent with how students "see and learn about the world." (Cleveland, 1988, 25A)

This in no way suggests setting aside the recommendations of recent reformers noted above. Indeed, we place the learning of the disciplines as essential. Specifically, the internal integrity of individual disciplines should be maintained, while at the same time emphasizing ideas that are critical to multiple disciplines.

However, our proposal differs from most reform recommendations in one important way. At their core, most reform proposals present the view that students should be learning in the context of studying the disciplines in their own right. We propose that students learn a substantial portion of "the best of our knowledge" in the context of understanding the interactions of natural and social systems that result in critical problems and issues facing humankind. We believe that this approach provides a compelling context and justification for teaching and learning the knowledge and associated methods from various disciplines. This approach results in our using the various disciplines differently than we have in the past. The disciplines should be used to provide the knowledge and methods for inquiries regarding global problems.

The framework is primarily a statement of the principles that would be followed in the design of school programs. The principles are divided into three areas:

- 1) Statements regarding curriculum that can be used to describe what students should learn;
- 2) Statements regarding instruction that can be used in plan-

ning how the teaching should be done; and

3) Statements regarding assessment that can be used to plan how assessment should be carried out.

Curriculum

We propose that the curriculum should be designed so that:

All students learn to make descriptions, explanations, justified predictions and justified decisions about interactions among natural and social systems in terms of the knowledge and methods of inquiry from relevant disciplines.

There are four key benefits to adopting this goal. The first is that students are asked to do something interesting and worthwhile, i.e., describe, explain, predict, and make important personal and social decisions. Second, students are required to justify their thinking in terms of fundamental principles and methods of inquiry from both the natural and social sciences. Third, students are required to see the planet and those who inhabit it as connected. The complete isolation of disciplines has been a major contributor to students seeing the world as compartmentalized, and this view can no longer be supported. Fourth, students will learn to think about at least a few global issues in terms of the most powerful aspects of our knowledge of the social and natural worlds.

Education can never provide students the opportunity to learn about every situation they will encounter in their lives. But to the extent that we select what students will learn wisely, they can learn that multidisciplinary perspectives are often required and that many of the essential ideas and methods of inquiry are applicable to problems that they will encounter throughout their lives.

Instruction

There are probably numerous options regarding how instruction can be organized, ranging from radically altering the organization of school curriculum so that students study different problems

each class period to having teachers occasionally present an issue to be considered from the perspective of one discipline. We propose a middle ground.

The teachers in a school would take three issues annually and dedicate approximately four weeks to the study of each issue from the perspective of whatever course they are taking in either the natural or social sciences. If possible, this should be done simultaneously by all teachers in a building or at least within intersecting curricular areas. This is not only practical but is important to maintaining the integrity of the disciplines.

This instructional approach will need to be collaborative in establishing the issues to be considered, the knowledge and methods that will be taught by each teacher, the resources to be employed, and the instructional methods to be used.

Collaborations are complex and require sustained efforts. Time and support must be available to those who participate.

The character of the instruction needs to be consistent with the overall curricular goals, the most recent research on teaching, and follow these eight principles:

- 1) Students construct their own meaning by a)connecting new knowledge and associated methods of inquiry to what they know that is correct, and b)resolving contradictions between new ideas and their initial incorrect ideas.

- 2) New knowledge is best learned and retained when encountered by the learner in multiple contexts and through varied types of instructional activities.

- 3) Young learners generally progress best from concrete to abstract examples.

- 4) Teaching should be consistent with the precepts of scientific inquiry.

- 5) Good teaching should reflect scientific values, including stimulating curiosity, encouraging, questioning, and avoiding dogmatism.

- 6) Instruction must involve cooperative learning, consensus building, debate and argumentation, and effective communication.

- 7) Students must emerge with a sense of hope, competence, compassion and commitment, i.e. a sense that they have a stake in and can make a difference their world.

8) Above all, students must be cognitively engaged in the task of learning.

Assessment

Although the issue of proper assessment of learning is a keenly debated area at the moment, there are several guidelines about which there is likely to be substantial agreement:

1) Students must be asked to do what they have been taught to do in terms of assessing their learning.

2) The style of the evaluation must be consistent with the style of the instruction.

3) We must develop more comprehensive descriptions of both the accomplishments and difficulties students face in the learning process. The development of portfolios of one's class work as well as other kinds of multiple assessments is increasingly viewed as being consistent with interdisciplinary teaching and learning.

Conclusion

The proposed framework is but a starting point and will need continual refinement and development. One thing is for sure. We need fundamentally different ways of thinking about what should be taught, how curricula should be organized, and how instruction and assessment should be implemented. We also need to rethink how educational systems are organized and teachers are educated. Making these choices will require an extraordinary amount of interdisciplinary intellectual effort.

But there are no alternatives if we are to adequately prepare students now in schools and those yet to come for their citizen responsibilities in the 21st century. They deserve no less.

References

The Bradley Commission on History in Schools. (1988). *Building*

a history curriculum: Guidelines for teaching history in schools.
Washington, D.C.: Excellence Education Network.

Cleveland, H. (1988, 28 February). The revolution in education for a global age. Minneapolis Star and Tribune, p. 25A.

National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools. (1989).
Charting a course: Social studies for the 21st century. Washington, D.C.: NCSS

Rutherford, J.F. and Ahlgren, A.A. (1990). *Science for all Americans.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Stephan Sting (Berlin)

Education between Interculturality and National Orientation

The present situation in Europe is characterized by tendencies which question the importance of nationhood in the form of a nation state. Therefore, actual approaches in the social and educational sciences liberate themselves from scientific contexts which are reduced to the local level. From different points of view it is claimed that our present society removes local orientation and traditional cultures, that we are involved in a simultaneous process of globalization and individualization, by an extension of worldwide interconnections and by an increase in self-planning and self-determination of the individual, independent of any collective orientation (Beck 1986, Giddens, pp. 4 and 52, Hall 1992, p. 299).

In educational science the common and universal aspects of education are stressed. Education has to strive for a common "civil society" or a universal "world culture" based on human rights, which should be liberated from partial interests and perspectives (Anweiler 1990, Brumlik 1992, p. 52). Within this framework we have been observing the spread of different approaches to *intercultural education* which deal with the problems of an inter- or multicultural society, independent of specific national experiences. The earlier concepts of intercultural education were characterized by their work with the problem of migration within a national school system; recently these approaches have also been applied to the process of European or international integration (Brinkmann 1990, Bosch 1990).

It is true that intercultural education mostly assumes that there are differences of cultures and social orientation (Bosch 1990, Haller 1991). However, the common characteristics are always stressed, and our concern is led to a universal, *intercultural atti-*

tude which questions the dependence on a certain culture in general. A "culture of dissens", a multiperspective conception or a culture transcending education is the idea (Wulf/Sting 1992, Haller 1991, Ruhloff 1986, p. 193). Culture becomes a matter of critical self-reflexion of the individual and an intended choice of a life style with a weakened relevance to the subject himself (Boteram, p. 29, Borelli 1988, p. 27). And education has to be independent of specific local limitations and based on a global human and democratic society (Hoff 1988, p. 58, Boteram, p. 28).

I do not want to deny the legitimacy of intercultural approaches. But I do want to show that underneath the existence of common characteristics and the predominance of global perspectives, experience of difference occurs which is at present articulated within the framework of nationhood. Therefore, the problem of nationhood cannot be solved through an intercultural approach. On the contrary, it appears to be a reply to the increasing process of integration. It is a reaction to the loss of differences, autonomy and security of values and social orientation. It directs the hope of liberation from political domination and the desire of participation in political decisions in such a way that they are connected with the idea of the nation against international integration processes which are not perceived as politically neutral. Hall describes the cultural homogenization which accompanies the process of globalization as "westernization", as an assertion of cultural developments from the economic power centers to the peripheries (Hall 1992, p. 305).

In this situation two tendencies counteract the claim of a common, intercultural society: the ethnic movements of minorities and the continuous experience of national differences which constitute the basis for new nationalisms. The discussion about ethnization demonstrates that migration does not easily lead to a cultural and social mixture; rather it constitutes ethnic enclaves in the countries of immigration which reply to the discrimination of the migrants. The experience of difference with respect to the dominant society in connection with restricted possibilities of participation is translated into ethnically determined cultural differences. Accordingly, the self-identification of ethnic membership is not a nostalgic return, but a new appearance which arises out of the specific living conditions of minorities and which can

be distinguished from the national values and orientations of the countries of origin (Treibel 1993, p. 316) Therefore, an intercultural education which considers above all cultural differences often strengthens unintentionally the tendency to ethnization.

Similarly, in the field of supranational integration divergent attitudes become visible which can be fixed around the idea of the nation. Against the efforts for intercultural adaptation, international meetings do not bring the experience of similarity to light, but a new consciousness of the importance of nationality (Wilterdink 1993).

The self-distanciation resulting from international interconnections leads to a new perspective on one's own nationality (Elias 1990, p. 7). The connection with a nation does not only express itself in the form of a vague "national habitus", it is also inscribed in apparent universal theories. As an example I want to trace the German discussion of "intercultural education" back to the specific German thinking about *Bildung*.

Already the term "intercultural education" contains two elements which are derived from the German tradition of *Bildung*: the emphasis on culture in the value of the human being and the relevance of education in the production of this culture. It seems to be self-evident that the differences between members of different nations are differences of cultures, and that these cultural differences are more important than others and to a high degree accessible to pedagogical influence (Boteram, p.26, Bosch, p.17). Exponents of the critical theory stress that culture in the classical sense is not a criterion of demarcation between different communities, but an ideal of humanity desirable for everyone. In this context intercultural education can hardly be distinguished from general education; the German concept of *Bildung* itself turns out to be a process of humanization which breaks through nationality, and Gamm points out that the classical concept of *Bildung* was "intercultural" from its inception (Borelli, pp. 29-35, Gamm, p. 98).

At this point it seems to me to be advisable to sketch out the conditions of the classical idea of *Bildung*. In the second half of the eighteenth century a homogenous German culture was out of question. The German speaking world consisted of loose coalitions of mostly independent states. They did not have the sharp

borders of nation states, but they were characterized by remarkable differences of culture and attitudes (Hansen/Tillmann 1991, p.137). Beside the territorial cultures a new and unknown German culture arose among the intellectual elite. In distance to the international French culture of the aristocracy, a German-language literature spread which led to a large degree of linguistic and cultural standardization among intellectuals (Dann 1991, p.68). In the circles of intellectuals *the idea of Bildung* was established as a new hallmark of nobility; and the ideas circulating among the small reading public contained, from the beginning, decisive pedagogical orientation (Giesen/Junge 1991, pp. 264-268).

The concept of *Bildung* was designated to overcome the existing resistance to interculturality within the separate German states. Accordingly, the new German culture appeared as a high culture, which on the one hand had to rise above the local cultures, but on the other hand had to provide the cultural basis of a German nationality. Germanness had no political expression; it was based on a people who had to be created by education. In order to legitimize this pedagogical homogenization, German culture had to be regarded as higher and more original than other cultures (Fichte 1992, p.135, Bendix 1991, p.47). This tendency was present in the German concept of culture from its beginnings; according to Elias it was understood as the antithesis to the French concept of civilization. Contrary to the superficial civilization related to social habits and conventions, culture should concern itself with the innermost parts of the human being (Elias 1981, pp.20-23).

The assertion of the idea of German high culture originated from political heterogeneity and interculturality. Political integration proceeded very slowly, and German culture spread by schools was not welcomed everywhere. After the foundation of the German Reich in 1871 a census brought to light the fact that the population consisted of up to 43% of Non-Germans and "enemies of the Reich". The complete political homogenization of the German population was executed by the policy of coordination ("Gleichschaltung") of the Nazis which started in 1933. Only from this time to 1945 did a homogenous German culture within the framework of a nation state exist. During the period from 1945 to 1990 the call for unification of the two German states

based on one German culture and nationality decreased, at least in West Germany; finally the German unification created one state which consists of two different cultures, or better, two different nations (Treibel 1993, p.322).

Global approaches have divergent national resonances of sense and meaning. On the way to supranational integration our nationality follows us like our own shadow, which we cannot get rid of simply by disregarding it, but whose effects we can perhaps control if we take it into account.

The starting point of all present theories which consider the *problem of nationhood* is that nationality has a changed and weakened function. It can no longer be described according to the model of a sovereign nation state. It appears as a layer among many strata of cultural influences. However, the national level has its relevance for social existence (Kuzmics 1993, p.36). "Nation" is essentially understood in a political context: even if to each nation certain primordial characteristics are attributed, such as ethnicity, territory, language, religion or culture, the importance of these characteristics varies from nation to nation, and they seem to be an additional creation of social constellations (Eisenstadt 1991, p.21).

From this perspective the nation loses its continuity and stability, it becomes a dynamic and flexible concept with changing and fragile traditions (Ehlers, p.88). "Nation" becomes an "imagined community", a "social construction" or "fiction" without clear reference points (Hall, p. 293). Despite its "self-referential character" (Wilterdink, p.118) these fictions result in grave effects on reality. In addition to the tradition-founding character the concept of the nation contains the hope and claim of people to political participation and self-determination. Therefore, it is hardly ever the expression of a whole community, but it depends on specific upholders (Eisenstadt, p.21). In the Middle Ages and early modern times the nation consisted of the king and the nobility. Later it became the articulation of active citizens striving for political participation; only since Rousseau the ideas of nation and people have been congruent (Dann, pp.58-65). Today nationhood has become primarily the political expression of minorities, groups and peoples who are fighting against the lack of political influence.

Finally the idea of nationhood appeals to an urge towards

community which, in the present situation of simultaneous globalization and individualization, still remains unfulfilled. The striving for familiar simplifications and common stereotypes is opposed to the incorporation in a complex "society of strangers" (Giesen/Junge, p.255, Brumlik/Leggewie 1992, p.438). The foundation of a nation produces a collective naivety, the reference to a selective and restricting "memory" (Ehlers, p.88, Hall, p.296) which participates in the cognitive and emotional existence of its members.

In view of the continuation of national orientation I want to propose the concept of a *reflexive national consciousness*. This consciousness deals with the continuous tendency to nationhood on the basis of an increasing supranational integration. It reveals the dependence of cognitive and emotional processes in particular social contexts. In view of the inevitability of collective memories and simplifications we have to counteract nationalism by finding an intercourse with our own naivety in which the consideration of our relation to foreign nationalities is implied.

References

- Anweiler, O.: Die internationale Dimension der Pädagogik. In: Anweiler, O.: Wissenschaftliches Interesse und politische Verantwortung: Dimensionen vergleichender Bildungsforschung. Opladen 1990
- Beck, U.: Die Risikogesellschaft. Frankfurt/M. 1986
- Bendix, R.: Strukturgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen der nationalen und kulturellen Identität in der Neuzeit. In: Giesen, B. (ed.): Nationale und kulturelle Identität. Frankfurt/M. 1991
- Borelli, M.: Gegen den affirmativen Charakter von Kultur und Bildung. Interkulturelle Pädagogik: Theorie und Praxis. In: Borelli, M./Hoff, G. (ed.): Interkulturelle Pädagogik im internationalen Vergleich. Baltmannsweiler 1988
- Bosch, M.: Europäische Bezüge interkulturellen Lernens. In: Portera, M./Kapsalis, A. (ed.): Grenzen sprengen. Freiburg 1990

- Boteram, N.: Aspekte der interkulturellen Pädagogik in Schule und Hochschule. In: Portera, M./Kapsalis, A. (ed.) 1990
- Brinkmann, G.: Erasmus unter uns. In: Portera, M./Kapsalis, A. (ed.) 1990
- Brumlik, M.: Nationale Erziehung oder weltbürgerliche Bildung: Moralischer Universalismus als pädagogisch-praktische Kategorie. In: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, special edition, vol. 29: Erziehungswissenschaft zwischen Modernisierung und Modernitätskrise. Weinheim/Basel 1992
- Brumlik, M./Leggewie, C.: Konturen der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Nationale Identität, Multikulturalismus und 'Civil Society'. In: Bade, K. J. (ed.): Deutsche im Ausland - Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart. München 1992
- Dann, O.: Begriffe und Typen des Nationalen in der frühen Neuzeit. In: Giesen, B. (ed.) 1991
- Ehlers, J.: Mittelalterliche Voraussetzungen für nationale Identität in der Neuzeit. In: Giesen, B. (ed.) 1991
- Eisenstadt, S. N.: Die Konstruktion nationaler Identitäten in vergleichender Perspektive. In: Giesen, B. (ed.) 1991
- Elias, N.: Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation, vol. 1, Frankfurt/M. 1981
- Elias, N.: Studien über die Deutschen. Frankfurt/M. 1990
- Fichte, J. G.: Reden an die deutsche Nation. In: Scheuerl, H.: Lust an der Erkenntnis: Die Pädagogik der Moderne. München/Zürich 1992
- Gamm, H.-J.: "Interkulturelle Pädagogik" - Über die Schwierigkeiten eines Begriffs. In: Borelli, M. (ed.): Interkulturelle Pädagogik. Baltmannsweiler 1986
- Giddens, A.: The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge 1990
- Giesen, B./Junge, K.: Vom Patriotismus zum Nationalismus. Zur Evolution der "Deutschen Kulturnation". In: Giesen, B. (ed.) 1991
- Hall, S.: The Question of Cultural Identity. In: Hall, S./Held,

- D./ McGrew, T. (ed.): *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge 1992
- Haller, I.: "Multikulturell" ist in. In: Friedrich, annual booklet, vol. IX: *Wege nach Europa - Spuren und Pläne*. Seelze-Velber 1991
- Hansen, G./Tillmann, K.-J.: *Deren, eure und unsere Schule. Der Nationalstaat, Europa und die Schule*. In: Friedrich, annual booklet 1991
- Hoff, G.: *Auf dem Weg zur Mündigkeit in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*. In: Borelli, M./Hoff, G. (ed.) 1988
- Kuzmics, H.: *Nationalismus, Nationalstaat und Nationalcharakter in zivilisationstheoretischer Sicht*. In: Blomert, R./Kuzmics, H./Treibel, A. (ed.): *Transformationen des Wir-Gefühls*. Frankfurt/M. 1993
- Ruhloff, J.: *Ausländersozialisation oder kulturüberschreitende Bildung?* In: Borelli, M. (ed.) 1986
- Treibel, A.: *Transformationen des Wir-Gefühls. Nationale und ethnische Zugehörigkeiten in Deutschland*. In: Blomert, R./Kuzmics, H./Treibel, A. (ed.) 1993
- Wilterdink, N.: *Nationalitäten im alltäglichen Gegen- und Miteinander. Nationale Identität in einer internationalen Organisation*. In: Blomert, R./Kuzmics, H./Treibel, A. (ed.) 1993
- Wulf, Ch./Sting, S.: *Education in the New Germany - Self-Confrontation or Intercultural Learning?* In: *Education*, vol. 45, 1992

David F. Hemphill (San Francisco)

Critical Rationality from a Cross-Cultural Perspective

This paper explores the impacts of cultural transition on the adult cognitive process of critical rationality. It presents ethnographic findings from case studies of Asian immigrants who successfully negotiate the cultural transition to work positions of supervisory responsibility. A series of findings—some culture-specific, some broader—are reported. Finally, a self-reflective critique of the study's conception of the presumed universality of critical rationality is offered from a postmodernist, cross-cultural perspective, suggesting that prevailing conceptions of critical rationality may be culturally bound, thus requiring re-examination.

Purpose, Theoretical Framework, and Method

This study investigated thinking processes employed by Chinese immigrants in San Francisco, California in addressing problems in their personal and work lives. It explored the extent to which the experience of cultural transition contributes to a process of questioning underlying norms, a process often cited as a key element of the cognitive process of critical rationality. The study relied on Habermas' (1973, 1984) notion that this event of calling into question the validity of existing norms is an important element in the manifestation of a critical consciousness. To some extent, then, this study presumed (unreflectively at the time) that the construct of critical rationality as articulated by powerful Western social and educational theorists was a universal thought form (Brookfield, 1989; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1991; McLaren, 1989; Mezirow, 1990, 1991).

Ethnographic research methods were employed to construct case studies of five Chinese newcomers over a one-year period. After extensive bilingual interviews and discussions with each of

the five informants (all tape-recorded) in a variety of contexts, they were brought together for a videotaped bilingual focus group in which they analyzed common case studies and problem situations. All data collection processes were guided by open-ended interview protocols, and discourse shifted freely between English and Chinese.

Findings

1. *Pragmatic Clarity.* Four findings emerged, the first of which may be characterized as "pragmatic clarity." This form of thought focuses on the "real" world directly evident to the senses and to direct social experience. Most participants, for example, demonstrated through their use of language (both English and Chinese) a persistent concern with what is "real" and readily discernible to the senses. One who employs pragmatic clarity seeks to direct human effort carefully and efficiently towards ends that are judged to be reasonably attainable. This form of rationality addresses problems that are immediately within the scope of influence of the individual; it often ignores those that are not. Thus thinking in this fashion does not seem seriously to consider the existence or importance of a supernatural world, nor does it seem to place value on considering other kinds of Western moral abstractions such as "law" or "science" unless it can be clearly demonstrated that such constructs have applications whose results are directly useful and practical. Participants also showed little interest in hypothesizing in a counterfactual way, finding it strange to respond to questions that took the form, "What if...?" Such hypothetical thinking, it appeared, was not viewed as "useful" or "practical." In making strong points and in closing arguments they would frequently say, "You can see it," or "I have seen it," to emphasize a point.

2. *Group-Centered Thinking.* The second finding is hardly new; rather, it reflects countless claims from studies of Japanese, Chinese, and many other Northeast and Southeast Asian societies and cultures. This finding posits a strand of thinking that centers thought on the notion of a collectivity of humans. This form of thought takes the group, rather than the individual, as the first

and most basic unit of consideration when needs, goals, or other categories of human action are consciously assessed. Thus the complex of European and European-American constructs such as the individual, individualism, and self-actualization, while marginally present, do not seem to be central to this group-oriented way of thinking. Thus, in this form of thinking, the consideration of the collectivity—whether the clan, family, work group, or school group—takes a prominent, even predominant role. To think of the individual as the primary focus can at times be viewed from this perspective as selfish. It is difficult—though extraordinarily important—for those centered in European and European-American perspectives to grasp what it means to think in a way that consistently takes the group rather than the individual as the primary unit of consideration.

3. *The Role of Time.* A third finding suggests general agreement among participants that time played a different role in the thinking of Chinese in contrast to European-Americans. A general pattern of thought was identified which displayed a multigenerational sense of historical perspective. This may have to do with the phenomenon of a real and close identification of oneself with both the preceding and succeeding generations of one's family. This identification is embodied in the sense of strong obligation on the one hand to provide for offspring and their successors, and the equally important need on the other hand to show gratitude and provide for one's parents, and to live and act in a way that will reflect credit on one's predecessors. This form of thinking can have important impacts on problem-solving and practical action in the world by postponing immediate gratification, engaging in long-term planning, and shifting one's focus from immediate problems to ultimate goals that may be years, decades, even generations into the future.

4. *Cultural Transition and Questioning Norms.* A key element of this study, as noted earlier, was its reliance on Habermas' (1973, 1984) notion that the event of calling into question the validity of existing norms is an important—and advanced-stage in the development of critical rationality. Further, the study explored whether the very experience of moving from one cultural context to another would give rise to such a questioning capacity. There appears to be the wide presumption in the consideration of

intercultural interaction that cross-cultural living, work, or travel necessarily "broadens" one. However, from the ethnographic evidence presented by the participants in the study, all of whom were immigrants motivated by economic or political conditions, this does not appear to be the case. Some "thought critically," some did not. The event of moving from one culture to another, while it may aid in the development of a questioning frame of mind, appears to require additionally a prior level of critical experience on the part of the immigrant through questioning the previous norms of the home culture prior to entry in the new culture. Thus, crossing from one cultural context to another did not seem in this study of itself to lead to serious reflection or questioning of prevailing norms, but the prior experience of critical reflection in the home culture appeared to carry over to help build a similar capacity in the new culture.

Cross-Cultural Reflections on Critical Rationality as "the" Higher Order Thinking Skill

The second section of this paper reflects critically on whether an important aspect of the theoretical framework of the study - the presumption of the universality of the thought form called critical rationality - may have been flawed.

For about the last decade in educational discourse in the United States, there has been considerable discussion of a cognitive construct variously termed "critical thinking," "higher order thinking skills," "critical rationality," or the "teaching of thinking skills." There are, to be sure, distinctions in the use of these terms by different researchers, but they also have things in common. Four strands may be identified in the recent literature on "critical thinking" (Siegel, 1988):

1. *The "Pure Skills" Conception* (Robert Ennis). A person is a critical thinker if one has the skills, abilities, or proficiencies necessary for the correct assessing of statements. A curriculum involves imparting these skills. This conception speaks of the possession of these skills, but not of their use.

2. *The "Strong Sense"* (Richard Paul). This conception would

go beyond the teaching of technical skills of logical argumentation to their application, in order to grasp the world views of others, understand one's own, and to engage a dialogue between the two.

3. *The "Context Bound" Conception* (John McPeck). This view suggests that critical thinking is always thinking about something, and that there may not be as many transferable deep structures among critical thinking about different subject contexts as the two preceding theorists claim.

4. *Critical Consciousness for Transformation* (Freire, Mezirow, Brookfield, Giroux). This view introduces the notion of social and political context to the three preceding interpretations of critical thinking/rationality. Adherents of this view, particularly Freire (1970) emphasize the development by learners of problem-solving strategies that engage learners in problems in the context of their lives, in order to develop the critical consciousness that will enable movement to social action.

All four of these strands of critical thinking/rationality seem to share at least three key related thought structures that have to do with "critical thinking." These structures, which have strong European cultural and philosophical roots, are often said to proceed in the following linear fashion:

(a) One suspends hypothetically, in counterfactual fashion, a current set of phenomena (reasoning in the form of "what if...").

(b) One identifies assumptions, reasons, causes, and norms, employing the rules of Western logic.

(c) One then calls these assumptions, reasons, causes, and norms into question, critiquing their basis and possible implications, in a formalized and often abstract way that again requires the application of the rules of Western logic.

Notwithstanding the undoubted value of critical thinking in many contexts, we must ask in the midst of its valorization: To what extent is critical rationality being cast as a cultural universal? Is this thought form, however defined, something that all humans from all cultures universally exercise? Do all the learners come to class with the same kinds of cultural capital with respect to the importance or value of this construct? Do people from diverse cultural, social, and gender positions desire to or feel comfortable

performing "critical thinking" as above defined? Must one indeed "think critically" to be able to think at "higher order" levels? Is critical thinking being portrayed as something that is free from the social, cultural, and historical context of its own development?

We should at least consider stipulating that critical thinking and critical rationality are powerful, dominant thought forms in contemporary European and European-American educational and intellectual discourse, which while possibly not universal, must be taught and learned for success in many contemporary European-American contexts. In either case, further work is needed, ironically perhaps, to critically examine the critical thinking construct in all its forms, particularly from the postmodernist perspectives of culture, diversity, gender, domination, and subordination.

In an argument with postmodernists Lyotard (1984) and Foucault (1972), Habermas (1990) refuses to reject critical rationality and its basis in modernity, arguing that we need instead to re-examine "the philosophical discourse of modernity" without leaving its overarching structural framework. However, key elements of Habermas' constructs of critical rationality can be called into question from the perspective of subordinated or marginalized cultures and groups. As one feminist writer puts it,

"How *can* we argue for "rational discourse", with outcomes based on the "better argument" and inclusive "of all those competent to speak," when so many power imbalances operate to regulate people's ability to argue in accordance with this Enlightenment-defined concept of rationality. Is empowerment through social discourse only for those who are judged competent within this definition of rationality? What of the new immigrant with very little English — are her/his arguments less "rational" because they are less articulate; what of the mentally disabled — are their views to be discounted entirely because they can not present them in a "rational" way; what of those who may be inexperienced but, nevertheless, deeply affected by the outcome of a discourse — are their arguments less "rational" because they are less informed — and what of women?" (Trewartha, 1993).

Elizabeth Ellsworth further argues, "Rational argument has operated in ways that set up as its opposite an irrational Other, which has been understood historically as the province of women and other exotic Others" (1989).

Similar questions can be raised from cross-cultural perspectives as reported in the educational experiences of learners from marginalized cultures. There are reports, for example, of the persistent failure of many learners from marginalized cultures to grasp in basic university-level writing classes the "critical" frame of mind desired by instructors in essays, a turn of mind that is arguably an element of "critical thinking." Numerous Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and African American learners in such writing classes report perplexity at being asked to "argue with" a specific text or author. It does not make sense to them to do this. Is not the purpose of education, they ask, to master a specific body of knowledge? Why must they find fault with a text before they have understood it. It might be argued anecdotally, in fact, that the bias of writing courses in this direction has perpetrated a channeling of non-European-American (particularly Asian) learners away from academic disciplines which require the use of language in this "critical" way into disciplines (like hard science) where cognitive structures appear more straightforward.

In a related argument, cognitive psychologist Howard Gardner (1989) reports from an investigation into arts education in China what he calls a "mimetic" form of teaching in learning, which he contrasts with a European and European-American educational philosophy. In this mimetic form, a teacher models a skill using a set and consistent form, and the learner replicates the form precisely in unvarying, repetitive sequence. Putting aside his initial culture shock and pedagogical horror at the perceived "rigidity" of this form, Gardner admits that this Confucian-derived, mimetic teaching/learning approach secures impressive results. Similar accounts of diverse, culturally- and historically-situated teaching and learning forms have been or must be investigated within Asian, African, Buddhist, Islamic/Koranic, Meso American, and other learning traditions.

There is little evidence in most of the world's recognized multicultural educational traditions of this "critical" turn of mind that has been so much valued in recent years in North American education. It seems apparent, then, that we need to look quite a bit harder at this so-far-unexamined, almost universally-embraced notion called critical rationality or critical thinking--not so much to reject it as to better understand it so as to enable *all* learners to

make intelligent choices about its context and possible applications.

Rethinking and Teaching "Higher Order" Thinking in a Multicultural Society

From the foregoing discussion, the following preliminary prescriptions for educational practice may be offered with respect to teaching "critical thinking" or teaching about it in multicultural contexts:

1. We must be clear about the Eurocentric origins of the concept of critical thinking. We need to understand it as having emerged from a specific set of cultural and historical conditions. We must situate it in our minds as one of numerous possible "higher order" thought forms. To avoid doing this is to fall prey to the fallacy of cultural invisibility, wherein members of the dominant culture in a multicultural society fail to recognize that "they have a culture too," and instead problematize the marginalized others without also problematizing the dominant cultural center.

2. We need to make a clear case to learners for the importance of this thought process. We need to describe the role and power of this thought form in such key operations as the scientific method.

3. We need to recognize and admit the condition of cultural domination in the United States and the part that unquestioned valorizing of dominant cultural thought forms such as critical rationality have played in maintaining conditions of marginalization and inequality for people of color and women.

4. We need to make *all* the rules of critical rationality—stated and unstated—transparent at the conscious level so that they may be taught and learned by learners from all cultures, who may then choose their use of these thought forms, as is done through "code switching" when speakers of different languages or language varieties choose when and how to "shift linguistic gears."

5. We need to uncover, discuss, validate, and begin to teach and learn about diverse forms of complex, higher-order thinking

that emerge from different cultures—from Asia, Africa, and the New World—both to legitimize the thinking processes of members of subordinate cultures, as well as to enhance the quality and possibilities of developing a multiplicity of thinking skills for all learners from diverse cultures, whether dominant or subordinate.

6. We need to teach from a cross-cultural perspective that emphasizes induction and context. The best teaching about the kind of cultural complexity that we are seeking to address must proceed as does research about cultures: through the uncovering and inductive analysis of cases, texts, life histories, performances, and other cultural forms wherein important meanings are embedded. Top-down, deductive, rule-like iterations are not likely to make much headway in uncovering the powerful, but sometimes deeply buried cognitive structures that we need to address.

Conclusion

If we are to advance the notion of education in a multicultural society we must come to terms with the complex dimensions of cultural domination and marginalization. To date much of the critique of Eurocentric cultural domination in education has stopped at the level of "head-counting" (how many authors of which color are included in which curriculum). What is offered here is a suggestion to take the analysis a bit deeper, to uncover important cognitive structures that need to be understood, re-framed, unlearned, or relearned.

References

- Brookfield, S. (1989). *Developing Adult Critical Thinkers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ellsworth, E. (1989). "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering?" *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (August).
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Atheneum.

- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gardner, H. (1989). *To Open Minds: Chinese Clues to the Dilemma of Contemporary Education*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gatens, M. (1991) *Feminism and Philosophy*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Giroux, H. (Ed.) (1991), *Postmodernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Habermas, J. (1971). *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- (1975). *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press.
 - (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume One: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
 - (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume Two: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1990). *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Luke, C. and Gore, J., Eds. (1992) *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
- Lyotard, J. F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McLaren, P. (1989). *Life in Schools*. New York: Longman.
- (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Siegel, H. (1988). *Educating Reason: Rationality, Critical Thinking, and Education*. New York: Routledge.
- Toulmin, S. (1990). *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Trewartha, R. (1993). *Feminist/Lesbian Pedagogy: A Postmodern Approach to the Struggle for Democracy*. San Francisco, CA: Center for Adult Education, San Francisco State University.

Gerd R. Hoff (Berlin)

Multicultural Education in Germany*

Policies Related to Multicultural Education

Although there are some differences in interpretation of goals to be achieved, it is possible to outline four main approaches in the different federal states to providing education for children speaking another first language than German in Germany:

- Separation policy
- Assimilation policy
- Cooperative policy
- "United Europe"-policy.

History of Multicultural Education in Germany

Multicultural Education as an independent topic in research and teaching in education was developed to answer the question: 'What do you do with all these children who speak languages other than German and who are asking for schooling?'

There was not even a major tradition of teaching German as a second language (GSL). Unlike the U.S., Germany does not understand itself as an immigration country; there was no colonial and imperialistic tradition such as in the U.K., France, or the Netherlands. As a result there was only a limited demand for learning and teaching German as a foreign language (GFL).

The percentage of immigrant children in German schools has de-

*) This paper is based on research and text, which will be published by MacMillan, New York etc., 1994, forthcoming, in: James A. Banks & Cheryl Banks (Eds.), "*Handbook of Research On Multicultural Education*".

veloped in the following way: 1960: 0.4 per cent; 1965: 0.5 per cent; 1970: no data available; 1973: 3.0 per cent; 1975: 3.6 per cent; 1990: 8.8 per cent (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1992). To meet this sudden demand, activities had to be started on all levels: 'Foreign' students were cushioned into preparation classes ('Vorbereitungsklassen') and/or taken to special German language courses (Deutsch-Förderkurse) to develop a basic understanding of German in order to enable them to follow the ordinary lessons at schools.

Teachers received no support or only brief training in the form of short in-service courses, very often given by those without any experience in education in schools or without sufficient knowledge about second-language acquisition. The self-made first generation of 'multiculturalists', trainers as well as trainees, had nothing to rely on but the existing GFL-educational programs. Not until the late seventies did universities and teacher-training colleges try to generate projects in this field and implement GSL-elements into basic teacher-training curricula. This was not only complicated because of the lack of instructors and qualified personnel, but establishing funding at this time was difficult as well, above all because Germany did not accept the needs of multicultural education, still claiming not to be an immigration country.

It is very difficult to describe the academic work done in 'Multicultural Education' in Germany because of the general confusion about terminology (Klemm, 1985). 'Interkulturell' and 'multikulturell' were at first used to contrast with 'Ausländerpädagogik', an assimilative approach, which in the context of education was translated into English as 'multicultural'. The term 'Interkulturelle Erziehung' (Intercultural Education) was strongly influenced by European authorities, especially the 'Council of Europe Education Project No.7- group' (DECS/-EGT), as it was internally used in many European countries as an integrationist approach to the schooling of immigrant children. The Paris-based scholar L. Porcher used it as early as 1976. The term 'Intercultural Education' was conceptionally linked with the 'cultural enrichment' doctrine of the Council of Europe group, which helped to mastermind the founding of the IAIE (International Association of Intercultural Education) in the Netherlands.

The term 'multicultural' was adopted from British, North American, and Australian publications and originally used in Germany by authors who rejected the culturalist perspective of intercultural education and intended to stress 'structural inequalities between immigrants and Germans. As educational research in Germany generally very much relies on publications in other European countries and in North America, the use of 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' became synonymous in the middle eighties after the 'multicultural society' became a major topic of the general political debate in West Germany.

The Berlin-based 'interculturalists' defined their position in relation to those who favoured 'anti-racist education' in Great Britain or the Netherlands, but struggled for many years to retain the term 'Intercultural Education'. This was because 'racism' and 'anti-racist' initiatives, in the German language of West Germany, were exclusively reserved for the behavior and discrimination against Jews, especially during the era of Nazism and, therefore, highly tabooed. Only in the last five years, especially after the unification, has it become possible to suggest that racist thinking and racist behavior exist in modern Germany. To challenge this development, some scholars like Helmut Essinger (1991) prefer to describe themselves today as being 'anti-racist' educators; others remaining in the field of multicultural or intercultural education reflect anti-racist goals in their work without explicitly changing their terminology, e.g., Georg Auernheimer (1992) or Gita Steiner-Khamsi (1992).

It is difficult, too, to allocate individual researchers of multicultural education to any of the particular approaches defined earlier if they have been working in the field for the last twenty years. Views have changed and developed over this long period of time. Also, as there is little funding available outside government resources in the field of education in Germany, much of the work largely reflects the state's position on immigration policy as it has gone through different stages.

For this reason the concept of 'Ausländerpädagogik' is no longer represented among multiculturalists at the university level. Nevertheless, the old publications are still available and attractive to many teachers and educators, as they reinforce the understanding of the German society as being homogeneous, mono-racial

and monocultural.

Multicultural Education in Germany Today

Recently a group of researchers (Friesenhahn, 1988; Auernheimer, 1990; Marburger, 1991; Sayler, 1991) tried to identify the different multicultural educational concepts in Germany and cluster them into groups and historical phases. As a result, it became clear that the very same people were associated with quite different categories, because they might have developed one idea and changed their opinions according to the results of their later research. However, Diehm & Kodron (1990) see four main positions which can define practitioners of language education, and they can be usefully applied throughout the field: assimilative, integrationist, pluralistic, and anti-racist.

Traditional Approaches

As discussed above, 'Ausländerpädagogik' was subsequently shunned in research as compensatory and deficit-oriented. That is why this *assimilative approach* to multicultural education is rarely used today.

However, there is a large group of 'mainstream multiculturalists' following *integrationist intentions*. This is based on an understanding of Germany as an immigrant country, but one in which those who come to live from outside aim to develop the mores and customs of the host country in return for citizenship. This approach is promoted by politicians and political scientists from the Green Party (environmentalists) to the progressive faction of the Conservatives with their understanding of Germany as a multicultural society.

The *pluralistic approach* in current research has, on the one hand, been attractive to scholars who were involved in the original 'Ausländerpädagogik'. This was based on a new acceptance of the language and cultures of the immigrants which now became part of the schooling process.

Finally, and more recently, there is a group of scientists who understand their work to be explicitly *anti-racist*. They come most often from a background of political science, sociology, and philosophy where, as already explained, the topics of race and racism have been restricted. Here for the first time we see a different perspective; the burden is taken away from the immigrant as the person who must 'integrate', but education for all must include an awareness and understanding of the 'racist' structures of the German society itself, its laws, its institutions and its hierarchy; which all reflects a way of thinking derived from a belief that to be German you must have German parents, speak the language without a 'foreign' accent, be white and, in a general understanding, Christian.

There are, of course, other categories that fall outside the above positions. Serious advocates of separation in education can be divided into different opposing groups. One group advocates national and/or religious schooling in order to preserve the values of the inherited culture of the immigrant population. Ironically, they meet the intentions of German nationalists and clerical conservatives who want to retain 'German conceptions' and old values unspoiled by divergent cultures in their own schools.

On the other hand, there are the representatives of 'bi-cultural education' who often come from a background of linguistic research and are working to create an identity in the immigrant population that is bilingual and bi-cultural (e.g., Fthenakis, 1985). In this process, children have to be separated from the mainstream society for parts of the day during school-time or for the early years of their upbringing to communicate in their mother-tongue and learn about the cultural heritage of the country of their families' origin (Auernheimer, 1990, p.215).

Throughout the 1980's 'intercultural' and 'multicultural' became catchwords for a progressive approach to education (Hohmann, 1987), to German studies (Thum, 1986), regional studies in foreign language teaching (Schmidt, 1980), and to cultural studies (Maas, 1984), but it meant many different things to the people who advocated it.

In examining the research done in this field, it becomes clear that there is very little representation of academic scholars from

the immigrant communities themselves. Reasons for this include the fact that Germany sees itself as a 'non-immigration country' and has no racial equality laws; discrimination against minorities, with the exception of Jews, is, therefore, not illegal. Also, professors at German universities are all civil servants, appointed by a state's minister for a lifetime. To qualify to become a civil servant you have to be a German citizen. There are very few exceptions, but these are totally at the will of the authorities involved.

Community Education and 'Third World Studies'

In the interdisciplinary field of Multicultural Education there have been some researchers whose work has taken them beyond the boundaries of Germany. Renate Nestvogel did not follow the common interest in Turkish or Greek German comparative studies, but did research in African countries. Her results raised questions about what we could learn from 'Third-World' countries (Nestvogel, 1983). Zimmer, from the Berlin Institute for Intercultural Education, endorsed this outlook several years earlier. He began by implementing the 'situation-oriented approach', which was developed by Paolo Freire for the alphabetization campaign in Brazil and other Latin American countries. Zimmer applied this to the conditions given in Western Europe for semi- or illiterate immigrants and their children. He then co-directed two model projects in Berlin (partly funded by the federal government) on development of learning materials for children in pre-school and in primary education. Always focusing on the intercultural approach to learning, Zimmer sees this as "a sting in the flesh of an ethno-centric understanding of education." (Zimmer, 1986, p.112)

To put these approaches into practice, the Berlin Institute organized excursions and work-camps for student teachers to countries like Turkey, Nicaragua, Brazil, and Indonesia. This led to further initiatives in the field of 'community education' (Klement, 1990). This movement shared a belief in schooling and school organization that is strictly orientated according to the needs of a given multi-ethnic community. It follows that intercul-

tural education would necessarily be one of the guiding principles of the curriculum and the school resources.

The British based international pedagogical society COMED (Community Education) has a significant stronghold in North-west Germany and has influenced school development in the new former East German states.

Closely related is the 'Integrative Education' (Integrative Pädagogik), introduced by Wilhelmine Sayler, a scholar from Cologne. This approach again is strongly influenced by Paolo Freire and demonstrates how his methods can be transferred into the European geographic-economic-cultural area, describing the following goals for intercultural learning: empathy; respect for the distinctive features of strangers; development of strategies to deal with xenophobia and racism. Dialogue and cooperation are the key methods of delivery, involving people of different ethnic and cultural background.

Women Studies in Multicultural Education

From the very beginnings of 'Ausländerpädagogik' women were well represented in both the professional and the research personnel in the fields of multicultural education. They raised issues concerning the obvious discrepancies which are provided for the role of women in rural - most frequently Muslim - societies and the modern post-industrial European countries like Germany. German women teachers, still supporting the fight for equal representation in their own society, felt the potential threat of the growing influence of male fundamentalist teachers in Qur'an schools (private Muslim schools in the Turkish community), of 'autocratic fathers', and 'obedient mothers' of their pupils all the same.

In numerous publications Turkish women on the whole appeared as victimized, stigmatized personalities. Most of these projects were part of educational programs, welfare schemes or health projects, but few reflected the work in the classroom. With very few exceptions, all the work which examined the background components of gender, rural tradition, and culture was bound to a very static view of the 'oriental' woman. 'Oriental' is to be un-

derstood, according to Said (1978), as a definition into which Western scientific discussion has constructed findings, truth, and knowledge about the Middle Eastern countries and cultures in 200 years as results of biased research.

The German sociologist Helma Lutz, now based in the Netherlands, gave an overview and report on the research in this field (Lutz, 1986). In her critique, she sees a lack of interest in the area of women's studies with the position of migrant or minority women. The main concern remains for the role of white Western European women. The relationship between race, culture, and gender is often neglected. Lutz's more recent publications show the strategies Turkish immigrant women of the second generation adopted to survive between the demands of two conflicting cultural norm systems (1991, pp.260-262). In Germany it is not forbidden to wear religious dress, e.g., the veil, in schools, but girls are quite strongly discouraged to do so by Turkish and German non-Muslim teachers and peers. Very often girls wear their headscarfs on the way to and from school, but not inside the building. (Akkent/Franger, 1987). Lutz pleads here (1991, p.263) for a change in thinking towards these issues.

Anti-racist Education

Repressed by the re-education programs of the Allied Forces in Germany after 1945, most academics simply denied the existence of racism in post-war Germany. This was with the exception of a few fanatics, 'forever yesterday orientated' ('Ewiggestrigen'), whom they believed would die with old age, who attacked tombstones in Jewish cemeteries and gathered from time to time in obscure cult places to celebrate and remember dead fascist war heroes. As racism was reserved for an attitude against Jews only, and as such criminalized by law, all insults and attacks against immigrants and minorities were summarized under the term of 'hostility against aliens' (Ausländerfeindlichkeit), even if they were aiming their hatred against German nationals such as black Germans or nationalized immigrants. Shuffled this way in human consciences from 'the interior office' to 'foreign affairs', this behavior became a lesser offence - to be criticized but not perse-

cuted.

The British scholar Chris Mullard (1984) criticised the 'liberal' terminology of multiculturalism in Great Britain for neglecting the issues of race, class, and gender. His theories and the findings of the Dutch researcher, Philomena Essed, were later published in Germany, where they influenced the work of Helmut Essinger, one of the founding members of my Berlin Institute for Intercultural Education, who (Essinger, 1984) originally placed great emphasis on the contribution of intercultural work to 'peace education', which he claimed as a minimal necessity for the survival of the human race in the atomic age. He later developed an outspoken interventionist, political, and anti-racist focus which is based on the principle of "education as a contradiction to national thinking, in favour of an universal approach and education against racism, to encourage a humanistic approach and the idea of a one-world civilization." (Essinger, 1991)

The Status of Multicultural Education in Today's Unified Germany

Long before the collapse of the socialist world, the black writer Sivanandan, director of the London Institute of Race Relations, warned, that "a new racism is emerging...less visible, more virulent and, above all, European, directed against the migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, displaced from their own countries by the depredations of international capital" (Sivanandan, 1988, p.8). There are many more causes for recent migration to Germany which have led to the current increase of racism. This has all influenced a new willingness by the state and federal governments to finance research in multicultural education.

Changes in Race Relations since 1989. Race relations has become headline news since the wall came down. The German society as a whole is undergoing a fundamental change of its self-understanding as a consequence of the breakdown of the communist countries and the unification in 1989. It is a sort of mass-identity-crisis, resulting from the fact that there is no positive understanding of nation and nationality existing in Germany. This notion has been

abused by illiberal, anti-modern, imperialistic and finally megalomaniac and treacherous leaders since the very invention of the modern understanding of 'nation' about 200 years ago. It has been further repressed and tabooed completely since 1945.

"Together we are detestable" is the summary of a report about a psychological study presented at a conference of the New Association for Psychology in Berlin in March 1993 by the Berlin-based scholar Eva Jaeggi. Her team analyzed the changes of intra-familiar patterns of communication in families who had been divided into an Eastern and Western branch since the German separation and had to cope with the situation of normal accessibility after the wall came down (unpublished manuscript, referred to in: Stein, 1993). They did not only report predictable difficulties, but found out that both sides tended to project their own weaknesses on to their counterparts. When questioned about their differences, the family-members, particularly those from the former East, strongly denied any estrangement but tended to project their hostility towards imaginary adversaries, such as 'foreigners' (Sturzbecher, 1990).

'Foreigners' are also one of the main concerns of young people in the former East German state of Brandenburg, surrounding Berlin. 54 per cent were worried about a possible 'flooding of foreigners', following a representative survey in this state, conducted by the regional Ministry of Education in autumn 1991 ("Vorurteile und Meinungslosigkeit", 1992).

These results are not surprising; there are few concepts existing for an understanding of the new German nation. Legal decisions have already been handed over to Brussels (seat of the E.U.-bureaucracy), but 'United Europe' is still utopia and will remain so for many years to come. People are reluctant to face the facts that there are millions of immigrants living in the country who will have offspring, and that there will be more immigration into their territory, no matter how preventive the legislation might be (Brumlik & Leggewie, 1992, p.433). "There is the choice between 'apartheid' and an open society and in a multicultural society we must retain the optional character of cultural autonomy for the individual." (Ibid, p.435)

The Rise of Nationalism and Racism. The files of 'STASI', the former East German state security service, indicate that there have

been neo-fascist activities observed since the end of the 1970's according to reports in the daily newspapers in October 1992. This means there is a history of a neo-Nazi underground inside both parts of Germany.

However, it is too early to have a clear picture about the main causes of the horrifying surge in right-wing extremes which is dominating the news about Germany in recent reports. Many surveys and scientific studies are in the making, but first results have been quite contradictory. This makes the possibility of a peaceful development into a multicultural society so bleak and fuels the rising fears of those abroad that a 'Fourth Reich' will emerge in Germany. For East Germany the old Nazi traditions lingered on under another name: Obedience, politeness, and order were the dominant virtues inside the family (Sturzbecher, 1990). This was complemented by flag appeals and torchlight processions, compulsory membership in the state youth organization, and the army seen as a main pillar of values in the society. This has all been swept away by unification and replaced by a weak central government, the national problems of a divided economy, and unemployment approaching 50 per cent in the East, with frozen wages and soaring rents. While the world recession cuts jobs in the West, reduces social security, and taxes are raised to finance the 'Aufschwung Ost' (Eastern stimulus), Germany had to absorb 3 million asylum seekers since 1989, twice as many as the U.S. in the twenties. ("Hitler's Youths", 1992) As a result, in August 1992, 67 per cent of Brandenburg's youths in a representative survey (Tomic, 1993) agreed there are too many foreigners in Germany (actual rate in Brandenburg: two per cent). 15 per cent supported the opinion "Every foreigner is one too many!".

Changes in Legislation. In spite of more than 4000 reported criminal acts caused by 'hostility against foreigners' in Germany in 1992, the government still hesitates to tackle immigration laws. (More than half of these criminal acts include violence, and at least twenty-one people, Germans and 'Ausländer', have been killed between March 1992 and May 1993.) Only after the second horrific arson attack against a house inhabited by a Turkish family, this time in Solingen, in which five Turkish women and girls lost their lives (1993, May 30), politicians from all political parties stood up for the first time to demand a change of the constitution

giving 'guestworkers' the right to German citizenship. It is significant that after Solingen, the most influential political magazine, *Der Spiegel*, changed its terminology from 'foreigners' to 'immigrants' and from 'Turks in Germany' to 'Turkish Germans' ("Die Deutschen Türken", 1993).

At last some changes seem to be possible. 'Guestworker'-organisations, the Frankfurt City Directorate of Multicultural Affairs, and the Berlin Ombudsperson for Foreigners, have been pressing for the acceptance of immigrants as German citizens, to make dual citizenship possible. But as Turkish youths start 'to fight back', demonstrate, smash windows and threaten to take revenge for the burnings, conservative representatives are already calling for martial law and deportations.

One major change has already taken place. Germany has recently moved to help in the creation of a 'fortress Europe' against a 'growing tide of immigration' from countries stricken by poverty and war (more than 118,000 refugees arrived in the first three months of 1993). That is why the German Bundestag, after years of passionate negotiations, amended the 'basic law' to restrict refugees' access to and presence in Germany. The 521-132 vote to revoke the guaranteed right for all foreigners to seek asylum became law on July 1, 1993. Officials say the law would protect those threatened with political repression while keeping out economic migrants. The leader of the Social Democratic opposition, who voted in favor of the bill, said, "unregulated immigration endangers the stability of democracy and only serves right-wing rabble-rousers" (*The Guardian*, London, 1993, May 27).

Future Perspectives

There is no doubt that given the facts of the German society in 1993, immediate political action is needed. Education programs can only support developments in society when there is a certain public consent on the direction into which a nation wants to go. Brumlik & Leggewie (1993) argue that 'positive discrimination' of ethnic minorities apparently does not work. What is needed is active protection against discrimination based on equal treatment and an equal legal position given to all inhabitants. The

'ombudspersons' responsible for immigrants need more executive power. The traditional ways of state intervention (force, money, law) will have to be used to guarantee effective changes, as persuasion did not succeed (Ibid, p.441-442). As the German economy will need a continuing immigration process of about 300,000 people a year to keep the usual rates of economic growths (Informationsdienst, 1992, September 13) and secure old age pensions for its citizens after the year of 2020, it is high time to agree on annual immigration quota and pass anti-discrimination laws.

As pupils in East and West Germany have one of the longest compulsory schooling times in the Western world, one might question whether the existing schools are able to handle the problem of racism and discrimination adequately at all. A hiring system of teachers, where promotion is often the only possibility to get rid of incompetent personnel, a streaming system in secondary schools, where general educational tasks are neglected in favor of subject teaching, show that the education system is in desperate need of a major reform itself.

There are promising proposals, but the crucial question is whether there will be a strong public demand for school reform to open the gates for multicultural education in mainstream classrooms, especially in 'white' schools. Major changes need to be implemented in all schools in the general curriculum and in the materials and textbooks used. Schools need to open themselves to the needs of the community and attempt to implement today's problems into school life.

Berlin's 'ombudsperson for foreigners' published a review in February, 1993 which gives evidence that the majority in East and West Berlin object to xenophobia and support legal equality for non-Germans. But it is important to remember that there was *no* majority for Hitler's Nazi Party in the last free elections in Berlin in 1933.

There still remains a major task for teachers and researchers in the field of multicultural education, "to institutionalise learning for all children, to enable them to develop their own culture - not just one adapted from a group, to communicate with other cultures, and to become self-determined in a growingly differentiated world" (Krüger-Potratz, 1993). But until these initiatives become compulsory components of the curriculum for all schools they

will have little effect in preventing the growing tide of racism and nationalism in Germany as everywhere else in Europe.

References

- Akkent, M., & Franger, G. (1987). *Das Kopftuch / Basörtü. Ein Stückchen Stoff in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Frankfurt am Main: Dayyeli.
- Auernheimer, G. (1990). *Einführung in die Interkulturelle Erziehung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Auernheimer, G. (1992). Ethnizität und Modernität. In A. Kalpaka & D. Rätzsch (eds.) *Rassismus und Migration in Europa*. (pp.118-132). Hamburg: Argument-Verlag (AS 201)
- Batelaan, P. (1983). *The Practice of Intercultural Education*. London: Commission for Racial Equality, Elliot House.
- Brumlik, M. & Leggewie, C. (1992) Konturen der Einwanderungsgesellschaft. In K.J. Bade (Ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland - Fremde in Deutschland* (pp.430-442). Munich: C.H. Beck.
- "Die Deutschen Türken - Weder Heimat noch Freunde." (1993, June 7). *Der Spiegel*, (Vol. 23, pp. 16-31).
- DECS/EGT, Directorate for Education, Culture & Sport (1986). *The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants. Project No. 7. Final report*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Diehm, I. & Kodron, C. (1990). *Unterricht und Erziehung für eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt/M.: Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung.
- Essed, P.C. & Mullard, C. (1991). *Antirassistische Erziehung*. Felsberg: Migros Verlag.
- Essinger, H. & Graf, J. (1984). Interkulturelle Erziehung als Friedenserziehung. In H. Essinger & A. Uçar (Eds.), *Erziehung in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft* (pp. 15-34) Baltmannsweiler: Pädagogischer Verlag Burgbücherei Schneider.
- Essinger, H. (1991). Interkulturelle Erziehung in multiethnischen Gesellschaften. In H. Marburger (Ed.), *Schule in der multikul-*

- turellen Gesellschaft (pp. 3-18). Frankfurt: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation.
- Friesenhahn, G.J. (1988). *Zur Entwicklung interkultureller Pädagogik*. Berlin: Express.
- Fthenakis, W.E. et al. (Eds.) (1985). *Bilingual-bikulturelle Erziehung des Kindes*. Ismaning: Hueber.
- "Hitler's Youths". (1992, December 5). *The Guardian Weekend*, pp. 6-10.
- Hohmann, M. (1987). Interkulturelle Erziehung als Herausforderung für allgemeine Bildung? In D. Glowka & M. Krüger-Potratz (Eds., im Auftrag der Kommission für vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft in der DGFE), *Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft, Informationen - Berichte - Studien* (Vol. 17, Erziehung in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft, pp. 98-115).
- Informationsdienst des Bundestages. (1992, September 14) Pressemitteilung. In *Der Tagesspiegel*, p.14.
- Lutz, H. (1986). Migrantinnen aus der Türkei - eine Kritik des gegenwärtigen Forschungsstandes. *Migration und Ethnizität*, (pp. 9-44).
- Lutz, H. (1991). Orientalische Weiblichkeit. In H. Barkowski & G.R. Hoff (Eds.), *Berlin Interkulturell* (pp. 245-260). Berlin: Colloquium Verlag.
- Klement, C. (1990). *Gemeinwesenorientierte Erziehung und Bildung im Sinne von Community Education als Antwort auf gesellschaftspolitische Herausforderungen der Gegenwart*. Frankfurt Main/Berlin/New York/Paris: Lang.
- Klemm, K. (1985). Interkulturelle Erziehung, Versuch einer Eingrenzung. *Die deutsche Schule* (Vol. 3, pp. 176-187).
- Krüger-Potratz, M. (1993). Die (ehemalige) DDR auf dem Weg in eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft?
- S. Kroon, D. Pagel & T. Vallen (1993). *Multiethnische Gesellschaft und Schule in Berlin*. Münster/New York: Waxmann, pp. 69-91.
- Maas, U. (1984). Versuch einer kulturanalytischen Bestimmung

- ausländerpädagogischer Aufgaben. *Deutsch lernen*, Vol.1, p. 3-24.
- Marburger, H. (1991). Von der Ausländerpädagogik zur Interkulturellen Erziehung. In H. Marburger (Ed.), *Schule in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft* (pp. 19-34). Frankfurt: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation.
- Mullard, C. (1984). *Anti-Racist Education: The Three O.'s*. Cardiff. German: cf. Essed & Mullard.(1991).
- Nestvogel, R. (1983). Lernen von der Dritten Welt. Traditionelle afrikanische Erziehungsmuster. *Zeitschrift für moderne Afrikaforschung*, 1, pp. 27 ff.
- Said, E.W. (Ed.) (1978). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sayler, W.M. (1992). Ausländerpädagogik - Integrative Pädagogik: Zum Problemhorizont einer wissenschaftlichen Teildisziplin. *Lernen in Deutschland*. (Vol.1, pp. 16-36).
- Schmidt, S.J. (1980). Was ist bei der Selektion landeskundlichen Wissens zu berücksichtigen? In A. Wierlacher (Ed.), *Fremdsprache Deutsch* (Vol.1, p. 289-299). Heidelberg: Groos.
- Sivanandan, A. (1988, November 4). The New Racism. *New Statesman and Society*, pp. 8-9.
- Statistisches Bundesamt (1992). *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Wiesbaden.
- Stein, R. (1993). Gemeinsam sind wir unausstehlich. *Der Tagespiegel*, p. 15.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G. (1992), *Multikulturelle Bildungspolitik in der Postmoderne*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.
- Sturzbecher, D. (1990). *Comparative Survey on Dominant Goals in Family Education*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Potsdam, Institut für Familien- und Kindheitsforschung.
- Thum, B. (1986). Auf dem Wege zu einer interkulturellen Germanistik. In A. Wierlacher & D. Eggers (Eds.), *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, (Vol.11, p. 329-341). Heidelberg: Groos.
- Tomic, B. (1993, March 24). Weiterhin rechtsradikal. *Der Tages-*

spiegel, p. 19.

"Vorurteile und Meinungslosigkeit in der Wende" (1992, October 31). *Der Tagesspiegel*, p. 13.

Zimmer, J. (1986). *Die vermauerte Kindheit*. Weinheim/Basel: Beltz-Verlag.

Enrolment of Migrants to University Education in the Netherlands

Introduction

In the Netherlands - like in many other countries - access of migrants to higher education is well below proportional level, as compared to the representation of migrants in the population (Roelandt et al., 1991). On the average, 15% of the Dutch population is of foreign origin - the different groups being unevenly distributed over the country as one-third to one-half of the migrants live in the four biggest cities (WRR, 1989). Koppen (1991) reports on the strong selectivity of the Dutch higher educational system. The level of participation of students of low socio-economic status and ethnic minorities increased only marginally during the last twenty years. Also, in other countries like Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, ethnic minorities still remain underrepresented in higher education (Gibson, 1987).

Main target groups for educational policy are migrants from the former Dutch colonies Surinam and the Antilles, migrant labourers and their families from Turkey and Morocco (three generations). To a lesser extent, people from the northern Mediterranean countries, Asian countries and other (mainly Western European) countries are involved.

Higher education shows a very uneven distribution over these groups. Whereas 20% of the Dutch population has completed higher education (both higher professional education and university education), only 7% of the people from Surinam and the Antilles and 1% - 2% of the Turks and Moroccans hold a degree in

higher education. Moreover, 64% of the Moroccans and 23% of the Turks have not even completed primary education (SCP, 1992).

The main reasons for the underrepresentation in higher education are low rates of participation in senior secondary education (leading towards higher education) and a more than average attrition from secondary schools (WRR, 1989; Roelandt et al., 1991; SCP, 1992).

Research results make clear that language and cultural barriers (Alkan and Kabdan, 1989; Cummins, 1988; Hacquebord, 1992), together with the general low socio-economic background of these students are responsible for the low participation rates in senior secondary education (Van 't Hof and Dronkers, 1992). Research in higher education on the position of migrants points to language problems, incongruous social and cultural study-cultures and -habits and financial problems (Van Vulpen, 1988; Jager and Van 't Klooster, 1986; Ten Broeke and Mc Creedy, 1991).

Research Project

The findings in this paper are based on a Dutch research project on the transition of migrants from senior secondary education to higher (university) education. Its aim was to analyze the proportion of different migrant groups in senior secondary education (in Amsterdam), their examination results and their educational choices in relation to the position of Dutch students. Next, a survey study among migrant students at the University of Amsterdam was carried out.

Main Research Results

Representation of migrants in senior secondary education

The participation of migrants in senior secondary and pre-university education (15% - 17% of the age group 15 - 24 years) does not

equal the participation of Dutch students (22%). The difference is more serious if we consider the success rates: approx. 20% of the Dutch population has obtained a degree in senior secondary or pre-university education, against 5% to 1% of migrant students (Turks: 3%, Moroccans: 1%).

From research on the national level it is known that dropout rates of migrant students are three times higher than the Dutch (SCP, 1993). Students from Turkey and Morocco leave school at an even higher rate: approx. 45%. On the average, migrant students have lower level degrees than Dutch students (WRR, 1989).

There is, however, a trend in a positive direction with the second generation, but the ethnic characteristic keeps its predicting value (Van 't Hof and Dronkers, 1993).

The case of Amsterdam

The city of Amsterdam shows a somewhat different picture, with an even more prominent representation of migrants. In this city, 26% of the population was born abroad and/or has a foreign nationality. In the relevant age-group of 18-24, the proportion of migrants is approx. 30% of the total. For all migrant children living in their families this percentage is even higher: 42%.

Contrary to expectations, on the basis of previous research, migrants in Amsterdam do not show lower participation rates in senior-secondary education than Dutch students. Of the students taking final exams in secondary education, approx. 34 % is of foreign origin. There is, however, a slight underrepresentation of migrant children from Turkey and Morocco and an overrepresentation of people from Surinam. For others groups we find an equal or almost equal share of the relevant group.

Taking finals

The results show the tendency that more migrant students pass their final exams, except those who have in the past come from Morocco. The results are not significant, however, due to low absolute numbers. In the latter group, as mentioned before, there is a greater percentage of students dropping out before taking final

exams.

The final year seems to be more problematic for migrant students than for others.

Enrolments in higher education

Nine out of ten senior-secondary graduates decide to continue education, almost two-thirds to higher (professional) education. Almost 100% of pre-university graduates choose to go on to higher education. There is hardly any difference between Dutch and migrant students in this respect. On the contrary, migrants tend to choose continuation of studies on a higher level (in favour of university education as compared to higher professional education). Contrary to research findings on the national level, Turkish and Moroccan students choose, more than the average, higher professional education (Roelandt et al., 1991).

In the introduction to this paper we have already mentioned that there is a rather large underrepresentation of migrants in higher education on the national level. We have come to the conclusion that *in Amsterdam* there is no reason to blame senior secondary schools for the disappointing enrolments at the university, considering the proportion and the performance of migrants taking finals and their more than average level of choice for continuation of studies.

Higher education and target groups

Our research results indicate that 15% to 20% of all students with a foreign nationality in the Netherlands study at the University of Amsterdam. Universities in two other big cities in the Netherlands with a university and a comparable amount of migrants (Rotterdam and Utrecht) show a substantial less enrolment from these groups. Nevertheless, not anywhere near the percentage of migrants in Amsterdam (26%) or taking finals (34%) is enrolled at the University of Amsterdam. At the University of Amsterdam (30,000 students) approx. 8 % of the students (N = 2347) are of foreign origin. 30% of this group comes from Western European countries, 16% from Surinam, 5% from Turkey and 4%

from Morocco. To these groups belong students with both preparatory training in the Netherlands and those who entered the university with foreign qualifications. Research focus is, like national policy focus, on those minorities who have completed previous education in the Netherlands (WRR, 1989).

Research results indicate that the Amsterdam figures are relatively high. Universities in two other big cities in the Netherlands with a university and a comparable amount of migrants show a substantial less enrolment from these groups.

Migrant students with preparatory training in the Netherlands

The results in the remaining section of this paper refer to those migrant groups that have been selected as target groups in Dutch educational policy. These are students from the Antilles (+ Aruba), Surinam, Turkey, Morocco and the northern Mediterranean countries, having had preparatory training in the Netherlands ($N = 252$).

The distribution of these groups over disciplines is not proportional. At the University of Amsterdam these migrant students have a preference for sociology, law, medicine, European studies and political science. From other sources it is known that on the national level, technical studies are popular with migrant students.

Differences in background characteristics

Our results indicate that migrant students at the University of Amsterdam differ with respect to socio-economic status of parents, age and cause for migration. Students from Surinam and the Antilles have a higher socio-economic background than students from Turkey and Morocco (their parents have more education at a higher level and have more jobs on an executive level). Students from the Antilles in particular come to Holland for continuation of studies at the university. Often they already are in possession of a degree in higher professional education and are slightly older than other migrant students.

Study progress

As far as study progress is concerned, two-thirds of the migrants did not report any delay in progress. As far as the students from northern Mediterranean countries are involved, they show a tendency to pass the first year in less time than others. Antilleans only *expect* to pass their first year and doctorate exam more rapidly than others. We were not able to check this in the university administration. From other sources (e.g., De Jong, Koopman and Roeleveld, 1991) we know that students in general underestimate delay.

Approx. 10% of the migrant students (N=252) at the University of Amsterdam who enrolled in 1988 dropped out (without a degree). They point out delays that mounted as the main reason for dropping out (3%), a change into higher professional education (2%) and/or personal reasons (2%). Only 1% has stopped studying because of lack of financial resources (suspending of a student grant). Another 2% indicated to have lost interest in the subject of study. On the whole, students from Morocco (50%) and the northern Mediterranean countries (56%) reported more delays than other migrant students. These figures are not alarming compared to data gathered on the national level (Dutch and migrant students). Of the students enrolled for a period of three years, the dropout rates were approx. 30%, of which 18.7% stayed on but changed to another discipline, 6% left the university for higher professional education and 6.4% were actually dropped out of higher education (De Jong et al., 1991). From research among migrants in higher education in the United States we know that dropout rates of migrants are much higher than those of 'white' students, although there are considerable differences among ethnic minority groups (Pruitt, 1993). Migrants have their own selection mechanisms, hispanics frequently have financial problems and blacks have the lowest test scores (Astin, 1985).

Study problems

Our research results indicate only a moderate attention from university staff to the study careers of migrants and their specific

problems. Administrations seldom register students' origin. Tutors do not have any idea about the number of migrants in their faculty. Recently, a registration system has been introduced by the Ministry of Education. In the near future registration will be carried out by higher educational institutions and the Ministry.

Some disciplines have started activities to improve study progress among migrant students. In most cases however, special attention is only delivered on personal request.

Study problems of migrant students, like those of native students, show a distinct pattern, with regard to type of problem, intensity and the influence on study progress. On the whole, migrant students do not show considerable discontent with their choice of study. About 50% seem to have no specific problems. The problems mentioned seem to be the same as those of native students. An exception can be made for language problems. Many research results on the national level indicate language problems (Ministry of O&W, 1992). This was not confirmed in our survey, since only 6% of migrants experienced problems with language. However, tutors stressed the fact that language problems do make problems for these groups. Students complain to a greater extent about being socially isolated (17%), this being the main reason for problems. They have not been integrated into the university community. The feeling of being isolated is caused by differences between home culture and university culture, as well as by the mass character of higher education and the sense of being an anonymous student. In addition, they encounter academic problems (15%), e.g., with statistics or the English language course and with the ethnocentric content of courses. Not surprisingly, problems with financing higher education (13%) were also mentioned.

Those students who do not enter higher education through a 'normal' path, but 'stack schooling' by going through junior vocational, senior vocational and higher professional education or an other non-traditional route, tend to express more of the aforementioned problems. They have arrived in the Netherlands at an older age (around 12), thus having language problems. Their parents have only limited grasp of the structure of the Dutch education system and send their children to lower levels of education (see Dagevos and Veenman, 1993).

Discussion

The disproportional representation of migrant students in senior secondary education in the Netherlands tends to be on the decrease. Nevertheless, the higher educational system in the Netherlands still strongly selects according to socio-economic status. The difference in success rates and enrolment patterns in higher education is striking.

The underrepresentation of migrants in senior higher education and high dropout rates seem to be important reasons for low enrolment rates in higher education. These problems should be dealt with in the (pre-)school years and can only be influenced at a distance by higher education.

Underrepresentation in senior secondary education and higher attrition of migrant students can, however, only partly explain the low percentage of enrolment of these groups in higher education. Our research at multi-ethnic schools in Amsterdam indicate that a proportional amount of migrants reach the final year. Their examination results, dropout rates in the final year and educational choices do not differ to a considerable extent from Dutch students taking finals, although some of the groups - mainly from Moroccan and Turkish origin - have some disadvantages at some time or other. Their educational choices, however, are directed to a slightly higher level than is the case with the Dutch. We have to keep in mind that the total numbers for each migrant group are too low as to permit firm conclusion from a comparative viewpoint.

Once migrant students have enrolled in university education, it is not clear to what extent differences occur with respect to Dutch students. The delays that are reported do not show a remarkable difference from the Dutch. Until recently average enrolment duration in the Netherlands amounted to 5.7 years (with a 4-year programme and a 6-year time restriction). It is at this point that we miss 'hard' data from university administrations most. The lack of data can only be solved by registration of students' origin in the future.

There are clear signs of study problems being present with the target groups, however. These problems are, more than average, of a social nature. They cause a sense of loneliness and lack of in-

tegration with the student body.

In the United States differences between home culture and university culture of ethnic minorities is also due to social isolation of migrants in higher education. Integration being an important variable for performance (Van Gennep, 1961, Tinto, 1987), these problems deserve more attention from the university staff. Especially the students who have 'stacked schooling' (followed non-traditional routes to higher education) and students who enter with foreign degrees encounter study problems to a greater extent. Dropout rates are definitely not higher than average in university education.

One last remark concerns the representativeness of the migrant groups. Those students reaching higher education are not a select sample of the total group, but belong to a group of relatively high achievers. In the future, with a higher percentage of migrant groups enrolled, study progress and study problems have to be carefully monitored as to the prevention of attrition in higher education.

References

- Alkan, M. & R. Kabdan (1989) *Turkse taal en cultuur in het basisonderwijs* (Amsterdam, SCO).
- Astin, A.W. (1985) *Achieving educational excellence* (San Francisco, Jossey Bass Publishers).
- Broeke ten, R. & J. Mc Creedy (1991) *Turkse en Marokkaanse studenten aan de Rijks Universiteit Utrecht* (Utrecht, RUU, Wetenschapswinkel Sociale Wetenschappen).
- Cummins, J. (1988) *Empowering minority students* (Ottawa, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education).
- Dagevos, J. & J. Veenman (1992) *Succesvolle allochtonen* (Meppel, Boom).
- Gennep, van A (1961) Rites of Passage, in: Tinto, V.(1987) *Leaving College: rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).

- Gibson, M.A. (1987) The school performance of immigrant minorities: A comparative view. *Anthropol. Educ. Q.* 18(4):262-75. in: B.R. Clark and G. Neave (eds), *The encyclopedia of Higher Education*, volume 3, (Oxford, Pergamon Press).
- Hacquebord, H (1992) *Tekstbegrip van Turkse en Nederlandse leerlingen in het voortgezet onderwijs* (Dordrecht Holland, Providence RI-USA).
- Jager, A. & R. van 't Klooster (1986) *Allochtonen leren lesgeven. De situatie van allochtone studenten op de lerarenopleiding* (Utrecht).
- Jong, U. de, P. Koopman en J. Roeleveld (1991) *Snelwegen en slingerpaden in en rondom het hoger onderwijs. Eindrapport project 'Studieloopbanen in het hoger onderwijs* (Zoetermeer, Ministerie van O&W).
- Koppen, J.K. (1991) Een kwestie van discipline. *Over de externe democratisering van het wetenschappelijk onderwijs* (Amsterdam).
- Ministry of O&W (1992) *Te hoog gegrepen? Een onderzoek naar de deelname van 'allochtone' studenten aan het hoger onderwijs* (Zoetermeer, Ministerie van O&W).
- Pruitt, A.S. (1993) *Stimulating Faculty Involvement in the Retention of Minority Students* (Columbus, Ohio State University).
- Roelandt, Th., Roijen, J.H.M. & J. Veenman (1991) *Minderheden in Nederland*. Statistisch Vademecum (The Hague, SDU).
- Sociaal Cultureel Rapport (1992) (Rijswijk, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau)
- Tinto, V. (1987) *Leaving College: Rethinking the Cause and Cures of Student Attrition*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).
- Van 't Hof, L. & J. Dronkers (1992) *Onderwijsachterstand van allochtonen: klasse, gezin of cultuur*, Paper sociaal-wetenschappelijke studiedagen 'Culturen/Identiteiten', Amsterdam).
- Van 't Hof, L. & J. Dronkers (1993) *Onderwijsachterstand van allochtonen: klasse, gezin of etnische cultuur*, *Migrantengrantedstudies*, 1993, 1, pp. 2-26.

Vulpen van, S. (1988) *Buitenlandse studenten aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam).

Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (1989) *Allochtonenbeleid* (The Hague, SDU).

Hans Merkens (Berlin)

Youth at Risk

Work Orientations of Youth in Different Eastern and Central European Countries

Youth is by definition a transition period between childhood and adulthood. It is very easy to fix the beginning of this period: it is the biological maturity of the individual. Continuing this view, the end of the period must be the social maturity of the individual. But it is difficult to give a description of the meaning of social maturity: within native societies of New Guinea or of some tribes in Africa, the preparation for initiation rites may be the period of adolescence. In some western societies, researchers define the adolescent period as the age range between 15 to 30 years. There are no similarities between these two definitions. But the problem of discovering a common concept of youth may be reduced if the question is whether there are similarities in the adolescent period in industrial societies.

One of them is the preparation for integration among workers or the working people. Another boundary between youth and adults may be integration in the social system of a country. A third may be preparation for marriage. In industrial societies the three just mentioned are important. The second marked developmental task - integration in the social system of a society - is of special interest. Because our modern societies are not societies within which it is possible to find simple solutions for obtaining a social or occupational position, young people have to have proof of what their opportunities are. More generally, they have to learn their own social behavior. With MATZA (1964) we can describe these facts with the term drifting (HAGAN 1991). The general theme of research which has the aim of investigating the processes of integration of young people in social systems may be

called "Youth at Risk". In this sense risk is the description of the fact that youth is not moving along a straight path but is attempting to discover and to prove the limits of the paths in a given society.

The Challenge of Youth Research in Central and Eastern Europe

Today the situation in Central and Eastern Europe is a very special one. The former socialist system in the countries of the former COMECON has broken down, and in these countries we have societies which have to change the political, economic and social systems. Education and socialization during childhood means children have to learn the value systems of the older generation, have to be introduced to social symbols, have to become familiar with some aspects of the adult world, for example, the segregation of work and everyday life, and have to look for examples of successful behavior in adults. In the socialist societies the ideology has been that a special type of organization, the collective, had to be the basis for other types of interaction and social arrangements. Now the collective is blamed as one of the causes of the failure of the socialist government in Eastern Europe. Young people have to prepare themselves during the period of youth for an unknown world and have to forget the experiences in the former systems they have had during childhood. But human beings act in social systems on the basis of their experience.

As a first conclusion I can describe our interest in youth in four major points:

- attitudes and values toward work
- the effects of education during childhood
- influences of the social system in different countries and
- the effects of family and school in relation to work attitudes.

The hypothesis which will be proved is: In the former socialist countries youth has developed a work attitude and values of work different from Western European countries.

Sample and Instruments

We have samples from different Central and Eastern European cities, mostly of young people who live in the capital:

Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Slubice, East Berlin, Frankfurt/Oder.

To compare effects of the former socialist societies with effects in other societies we have two additional samples: Ioannina and West Berlin.

Every sample has a size of about 600 students who are in the age group between twelve and sixteen years. In this report only the results of Moscow, Prague, East and West Berlin will be compared. Inquiries about work attitudes and values of work were asked, using questions which were developed in the former GDR. This means that in this part of the questionnaire there are items which were investigated in research on youth in the former GDR. The problem is that the research which was done in the former GDR was more item-based and not so extensively index- or scale-based as in the Western European countries.

At first, analyses of variance for eight items concerning everyday life and eight items concerning work in a special sense were to be computed. The independent variable was in all cases the city. The differences for all sixteen cases were highly significant. The results confirm the acceptance of systematic differences between the eight samples in relation to all sixteen items. But that is a result on a single-item base. The question is whether it is possible to obtain indices. Therefore, secondly, an internal ranking of arithmetic means within the samples of the different cities has been done. As an example, the results for the items concerning work attitude from four samples are discussed.

In all the different samples - that is in a similar way true for the samples which are excluded here - we have a very similar internal ranking. That is similar in case of the everyday life items. The distance of reactions to the statements of the items has a very similar structure. Therefore, it is possible to obtain similar rankings within the different samples. The results give the impression that it is possible to construct a fair concept of work for the different samples with the items, because the internal

structure of reactions seems to be similar.

It is interesting to see which items are favored and which are viewed more sceptically. The students in the different capitals agree mostly with items which emphasize that work is not the only thing which is important for the quality of life. They want to have time for doing other things, and they favor a combination of work and relaxation. At the other extreme of the ranking we find items which give the impression that the pure combination of work and money is viewed somewhat sceptically. In this way, the ranking is meaningful and valid in terms of content. Conceptual equivalence seems to be provided.

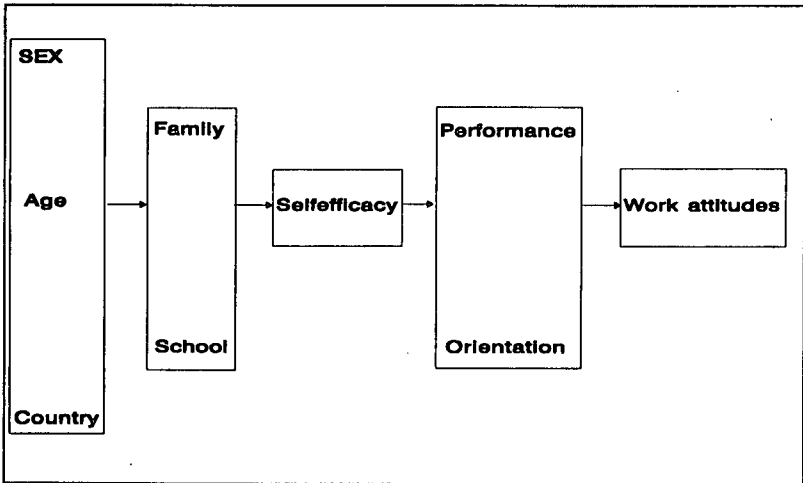
Thirdly, the correlation between everyday-life related items and work related items were to be computed. By inspection of the correlation matrix, six items were to be selected for a first attempt to construct an index: INSAR. This means the instrumental perspective of work. The other indices are constructed in the same way as in our study "Youth in Unified Berlin" (Merkens, Kirchhöfer, Steiner 1992).

But before the hypothesis can be tested, a further step is needed to make sure that the index INSAR is a fair instrument in relation to the different samples. The question is whether the conditions of developing an attitude to work which is measured by INSAR are similar in all the samples. That means a construct validity proof must be made for the index. It will be done on the basis of the relations which are presented in Figure 1. Five levels are differentiated. In this way it shall be demonstrated how the influence of biographical, environmental and internal variables in the process of socialization is occurring. On the first level are the influences of biographical variables. It may be surprising that influence of the different cities or cultures is assumed. But this model is introduced to prove the internal validity of the concept INSAR. It is not possible to integrate a nominal-scaled variable with more than two classes in a model like this. This is a point based on mathematical reasoning. Another point is that the hypothesis formulated above shall be proved by the help of the scale INSAR. So far it is not meaningful to include this variable in the test of internal validity.

On a second level are possible influences of family and school. On a third level are personal attributes like the "self-efficacy ex-

pectation" and "future orientation" of our students. Fourthly, we control performance orientation as a value. In the last position there is the dependent variable attitude to work.

Figure 1: Influences on work attitudes



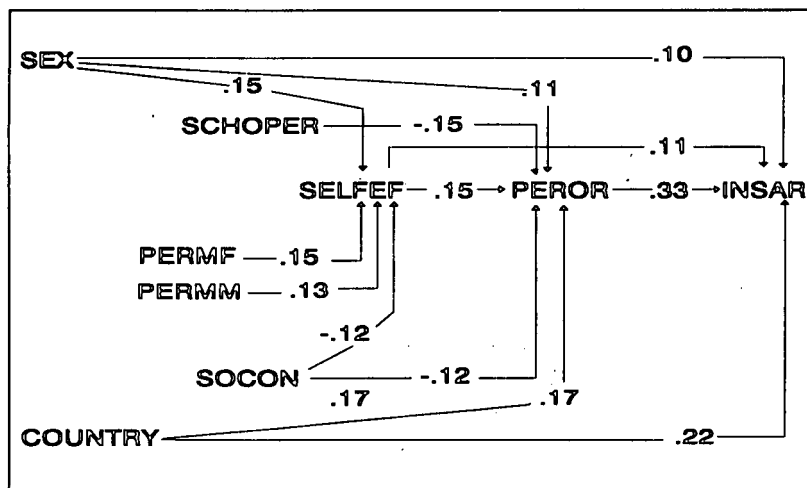
The constructs family and school are operationalized in the following way: School by experience with violence within schools and by school performance (SCHOPER); family by degree of social control of the parents and educational styles of the mother (PERMM) and father (PERMF). Performance orientation (PEROR) by a part of a materialism/postmaterialism scale Future orientation by three items concerning future expectations and self-efficacy expectations (SELFEF) by STPI-Trait.

The correspondence of the model with the data will be proved by computing multiple regression analyses.

Figure 2 provides the information that only few variables influence INSAR. The first is a strong influence from performance orientation to INSAR. A second one is from self-efficacy to INSAR. The other influence - sex - is to be expected. The explanation of the variable performance orientation through the other variables is weaker. The first variable which enters the equation is self-efficacy. This is a confirmation for the model

which is presented in Figure 1. The influence of school performance is negative. This result confirms our knowledge that in Western societies the better students are not as well performance-oriented as the worse students. But there is no significant influence - coefficients $> .10$ will be interpreted in this way - of family variables. Performance orientation will be influenced in the whole sample only by a school variable and a variable which is an indicator for self-estimation. The last variable which is inspected - "self-efficacy" - gives the impression that the family influences it. The effect of the father is somewhat greater than the effect of the mother. It seems that primary socialization is important for the degree of self-efficacy which is marked by the students. That can be seen as an example that the role of the family in the socialization processes of children may not be underestimated.

Figure 2: Multiple Regression Analysis for the dependent variable INSAR



Summarizing, it can be concluded that the explained variance is not exciting, but that there are some tendencies which sound very plausible. The model is well confirmed in its prognosis of directional influences.

In the next step the correspondence of the model with the data of different subsamples shall be proved. The solution for Moscow is very similar to the solution for the whole sample. But there are some interesting differences: first is to recognize a negative influence of the variable age to INSAR. The younger students agree more than the older. A relation of age to any of the other variables did not occur in the sample. In addition, the influence from family to INSAR is visible: a high degree of social control in the family will be accompanied by a high approval to an instrumental view of work. Second, the influence of the variable sex in direction of performance orientation is remarkable. Third, school and family influence self-efficacy. But differences of this type do not violate the model. It is only clear that the arrangement of the influences differs compared with the whole sample.

Table 1: Result of the analysis of variance for the dependent variable INSAR and the independent variables contry, sex and age

Source of	Sum of squares	df	F	sig
country	1448	3	33,5	.000
sex	810	1	87,7	.000
age	101	3	3,6	.012
<i>Interactions</i>				
country with sex	100	3	3,6	.013
country with age	175	9	2,1	.026

The coefficients within the model of West Berlin give (like in the Moscow-sample by confirming the model) a different message. First the influence of sex is stronger than in the other solutions. That is true in the same way for the influence of performance orientation to INSAR. The influence of family and school is as widespread as in the Moscow sample. But there is no influence of variable age. It seems that in the subsamples different types of connecting influences and some different relations between the variables have to be accepted. This gives the impression that the attitude to an instrumental view of work is caused in slightly different ways. But the differences are not dramatic. It seems that the attitude to an instrumental definition of work in the subsamples is sufficiently similar. Therefore, it is possible to assume con-

struct validity and conceptual equivalence for the different samples. The proof following an emic approach has given this result. Now the assumption of a fair instrument to compare the subsamples in relation to INSAR has been filled. An analysis of variance with the independent variables country, sex and age and the dependent variable INSAR can be computed. The results are presented in Table 1.

A look at the results of Table 1 reveals the expected results. Biographical variables and the variable country affect the degree of INSAR. But the inspection of the means of the cities has a surprising result: The means are

Moscow	13,04
East Berlin	13,62
West Berlin	14,01
Prague	15,29

It is not the influence of socialist education during childhood but cultural differences between the different capitals which seem to be stronger. The difference between East and West Berlin is the smallest and the difference between Moscow and Prague the largest. The position of East and West Berlin between Moscow and Prague is a further confirmation of the fact that cultural differences are more important than differences in social systems. The range within one of the social systems - socialism - is so large that a part of another culture can be placed within this range. That is a result which is a challenge for further research. The hypothesis could not be confirmed.

References

- Hagan, J. 1991: *Destiny and Drift: Subcultural Preferences, Status Attainments, and the Risks and Rewards of Youth*. In: *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56, 567-582.
- Matza, D. 1964: *Delinquency and Drift*. New York.
- Merkens H., Kirchhöfer, D., Steiner, I. (Eds.) 1992: *Berliner Schülerstudie 1992*. Berlin.

On Education of Ethnic Minorities in Contemporary Poland

At present it is difficult to assess the character and to estimate the numerical force of cultural minorities living within the territory of Poland. It is assumed that these minorities constitute approximately 4% of the whole population. The difficulties in respect to determining the exact number of their members result from lack of reliable and clear criteria of the ethnic status of individual citizens and from lack of reliable statistical data. Therefore, for the needs of the present study we can perform only a simple division based on imprecise classification criteria.

The Constitution, which is the basic legal act of our country, declares that all citizens have an equal right to education. It also prohibits any form of discrimination. In the Polish education system this tendency is clearly defined by the law on the education system passed by the Parliament on the 7th November 1991. The law adopts values of a universal character, such as tolerance and democracy, as the basic ones in the designed and proposed system of educational activities.

The above law is accompanied by an executive act in the form of the Decree of the Ministry of National Education of the 24th March 1992 on "the organization of an educational system which would allow and help the national minorities maintain their national, ethnic and language identity". Based on and following universal human rights, the Polish legislation and the recommendations of the Council of Europe, the above decree defines the normal and legal terms of organizing education for national minority groups. At the same time it makes the heads of the regional education authorities, their plenipotentiaries or their superintendents responsible for the execution of the above.

The specific needs of the ethnic minorities in the field of edu-

cation can be satisfied based on the public, social, and private system of education (the last two systems apply only to the education at the secondary and higher level). There are also other forms that have been adopted, such as, for example, separate schools, separate classes (consisting of seven students at the minimum) or interschool groups. The curriculum of this education includes extra classes in native languages, history and geography. The mother tongue, depending on how advanced students are, can be treated as a language of instruction, except for lessons in the Polish language, general history and the history of Poland. Not all ethnic minorities avail themselves of the right in this respect. So far this kind of education has been provided for only 7841 students in 139 schools and groups.

The situation of the ethnic minorities that have not obtained the status of a minority like Kashubians, Tartars, or Uplanders is different. In accordance with the present decrees, the traditions of these groups should be included in the work performed by the educational institutions within their territory. Based on the general minimal curriculum obligatory for all national public schools, they can differentiate it and make it somewhat regional in character.

The process of adopting education for the needs of cultural minorities, especially in the case of some, is quite complicated. This refers particularly to the children of the Gypsies and the very recent immigrants to Poland from countries of South and East Europe. Parents of the two groups do not care much about the education of their children. In regard to the Gypsies, the execution of obligatory education is not easy due to their special life style, another system of values, and their unwillingness to become integrated into the existing social system.

The refugees, on the other hand, regard Poland as a transit country on their way leading to the settlement in such rich countries as Germany, Denmark, or Sweden. They treat their stay in Poland as a time for collecting financial means to be used later. Their children often participate in it. Part of this community, including both adults, children, and adolescents, are highly demoralized and require intensive social re-education, which is quite impossible under the present conditions. The specific contents of the education programs for the minorities generally include the na-

tive language, history, literature and geography. Sometimes elements of religious education are added. The program is prepared and proposed by the school and approved by the Ministry of National Education.

In the future we should expect a significant increase in the social subjective feeling in regard to the minority groups. This will result in, among others, a demand to make education more regional in character and a demand to adopt it to the needs and aspirations of these groups. The organizational reform of the educational system in Poland, where special emphasis is put on decentralization of the system and on submission of educational institutions to regional structures, creates favorable conditions for carrying out the above mentioned tendencies.

Much hope is also based on the development of co-operation with neighboring countries. Many people of Polish descent now live in these countries. One should, therefore, expect that they will take much interest in the nearest future in establishing co-operation in regard to the education of minority groups, both in Poland and in their own countries. The present co-operation with Germany might be a good example of developing a positive tradition in this field. One can hope that in the nearest future similar relations will be achieved in regard to the Republic of Slovakia, Belorussia, Lithuania and the Ukraine. However, in the two latter countries, there are still very strong prejudices and fear in regard to the education of the Gypsies. However, experimental solutions which are now being worked out there might appear positive in the future.

The worst problems to be faced in the future are connected with the education of the refugee children that have been arriving in Poland for some time. The latest international agreements will probably create an increase in the number of the refugees in Poland, but unfortunately our educational system will not be able to cope with this new situation. In order to solve this problem, we shall probably need some assistance and co-operation with the countries which have more experience in this area.

References

Jaowiecki, B. (1992). Regional Issue, Sociological Studies (Vol. 1-2).

"On the organization of the educational system which would allow and aid national minorities maintain their national, ethnic and language tradition" - Decree of the Minister of National Education, March 24th 1992 [Dziennik Ustaw No 34 of April 17th 1992]

Law of September 7th 1991 on the educational system.

Myoung-Ouk Kim (Washington)

Family Conflict Among Korean Immigrants in the United States of America

There are some conflicts among the Korean American minority families with mixed Confucian cultural tradition and Christian background in the United States. Korean parents send their children to American schools, where they are being educated in American middle class values. Those children compare their immigrant Korean parents with white middle class parents in the United States. Especially since the majority of Korean immigrant parents cannot speak and read English well, American born Korean children have less respect toward their parents and adopt American ways of treating their parents. Therefore, the immigrant parents who use authority over children, and American born Korean children who have liberal values face conflict with each other. Moreover, recently there is a sitcom on television based on conflicts between American born children and immigrant Korean parents. It indicates that within the Asian family, especially the Korean family, there is a large conflict between parents and their children. Currently approximately 900,000 of Korean Americans are in the United States. More than 50 percent of Korean Americans reside in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Honolulu, Anaheim, and San Francisco. Therefore, in this article I would like to address Korean traditional ethics and its assimilation into the Korean American family.

The Chinese Confucian cultural tradition had a great effect in Korea, which was concerned mainly with the life in this (current) world. Confucius provided many important principles according to which he advised individuals to conduct themselves to further harmonious social relations. Five categories of interpersonal relations are important on the basis of his teachings, concerning the

duties and obligations of each individual. These relations are between (1) parents and children; (2) king and the people; (3) husband and wife; (4) the older and the younger generation; (5) friends. The significance of Confucianism for the Korean family system is clear, because three of these five relations involve the family.

Confucius taught that parents and children should maintain a mutual attitude of benevolence. However, Confucianism, as applied to the Korean family system and social life, demanded children's one-sided obedience to and respect for parents and other adult members. Children were required not only to pay the highest respect to parents throughout their lives, but also fulfill some important obligations to them. The first son was supposed to cohabit with his parents even after marriage, providing them with financial support and care. Moreover, filial piety was extended after the death of a parent in the form of ancestor worship. Sons observe ritual mourning for three years after a parent dies, and generations of sons show worshipful veneration to their ancestors.

Confucianism emphasized a clear role differentiation between the husband and wife, and this principle helped establish an extreme form of patriarchy in Korea. In the traditional Korean society, the husband was considered the primary breadwinner and decision-maker in the family and exercised authority over his wife and children. The wife was expected to obey her husband, devotedly serve him and his family members, including in-laws, and perpetuate her husband's family lineage by producing children. The wife was eliminated from decision making in all important family affairs, including the education of children. The husband, his parents, and other male relatives participated in decision making. Even though a high level of urbanization and industrialization has led to great changes in the traditional family system in Korea during recent years, the traditional family ideology of a conjugal role differentiation has not been significantly modified. However, the immigration of Koreans to this country has led to many changes in the traditional Korean family system, but the most noteworthy change is the radical increase in the female labor-force participation rate. Korean immigrants have a number of disadvantages in the American labor market, and in most cases

both the husband and wife need to work to economically survive or achieve more rapid economic mobility. The wife's work is necessary for economic survival, especially for self-employed families. Also, residence in the United States has led to a change in the Korean immigrants' attitude toward the traditional sex-role ideology. The advantage of dual-career families for economic mobility and the importance of Korean women for the Korean immigrant-family economy have led many Korean immigrants to discard the traditional view that the husband should be the only or primary breadwinner. However, the Korean wife's active labor participation has not reduced her homemaker's role. The traditional ideology of conjugal-role differentiation persists in the Korean immigrant community, and this conflicting dual role caused the Korean immigrant working wives' role pressure and role conflict. Gender-role socialization of the immigrant Korean children at home follows the same trend. Because the majority of Korean married women are in the labor force, children need to help their mothers with cooking and other household tasks in many Korean immigrant families. However, it is rare to see Korean boys cooking and washing dishes, whereas most Korean girls in dual-career households take the role of a housemaid.

In the traditional Korean society based on patrilineage and patriarchy, sons were considered more valuable and given more power than daughters. The first son often attended important family meetings, while his mother was denied access. The interpersonal relations between brothers and sisters were regulated by the Confucian ideology that put emphasis on age. Older brothers or sisters were allowed to exercise a moderate level of authority over younger brothers or sisters. Because of this emphasis on age, sibling rivalry was not frequent in the traditional Korean family. Age was important, not only for sibling relations but also interpersonal relations in general. People were expected to be polite and respectful to older people with whom they interacted, even if they were younger only by a few years. Under the influence of the Confucian cultural tradition, the elders still enjoy a considerable degree of respect in Korea. Korean immigrant parents put emphasis on teaching children respect for the elder and proper Korean language. In Korea, children are expected to use different vocabularies and gestures in their interactions with adult mem-

bers than those used in their interactions with their peers. Complaining that their children do not learn the proper norms in interactions with adults in the American schools, most Korean immigrant parents try to teach some of the norms at home, in a strict manner.

Korean elder immigrants do not maintain the same level of authority and status as they had in Korea. Experience is the primary source of authority and power for elder persons. However, the age-related experience of Korean elder immigrants is not useful to their children's adjustment in a foreign environment. Thus, adult children generally make decisions on important family affairs without consulting elder parents. Moreover, American-born grandchildren do not show as much respect for elder Koreans in speaking and other manners as the children do in Korea, even though their parents try to teach them proper norms involved in interacting with the elders. Another major problem faced by most Korean elders is the lack of opportunity for meaningful social interactions. The social interaction of the Korean elders is limited to family and kin members and other Korean elder persons.

Another major effect of Confucianism on Korean society is the adoption in the tenth century of the civil service examination originally devised in China. The system, which was intended to bring men of intelligence and ability into government regardless of social position, held annual examinations based on Chinese literature and Confucian classics. Those who passed the examination were offered high government positions that gave great power and economic rewards. Koreans put great emphasis on education as the main avenue for social mobility because, historically, the civil service examination provided the only efficient outlet for upward social mobility. Thus, Korean immigrant parents seem to put much more emphasis on children's education and mobility than native-born American parents. The 1990 census shows that the Korean groups have the highest level of suburban residence of all ethnic groups. This seems to reflect Koreans' eagerness to buy houses in affluent suburban areas where they can send their children to good public schools. Many Koreans also send their children to private schools, even though they work seventeen hours a day, without break.

References

- Bonacich, Edna and Ivan Light. (1988). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs*, Los Angeles: University of California.
- Hurh, Won Moo, and Kwang Chung Kim. (1984). *Korean Immigrants in North America: Structural Analysis of Ethnic Confinement and Adhesive Adaptation*, Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Koh, James Y., and Williams G. Bell. (1987). "Korean elders in the United States: International Relations and Living Arrangements," *The Gerontologist*, 27:66-71.
- Min, Pyong Gap. (1984). "An Exploratory Study of Kin Ties among Korean Immigrant Families in Atlanta," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 15:75-86.

Elizabeth L. van Dalsem (San Francisco)

Migration, Race, and Ethnic Relations in California as Researched and Experienced in the Microcosm of San Francisco and the Greater San Francisco Bay Area

In the San Francisco school system, the issues of migration, race, and ethnic relations in society become crystallized in the classroom. Education in all areas of the home, the school, on the job, and in the neighborhood must be a primary concern to society in general and to families and educators in particular. California is the most populous state in the U.S., and it is in the Greater San Francisco Bay area of California that the author's work has been done.

Every community of the Greater San Francisco Bay Area (GSFBA) has some label of distinction. Each community has the privilege and opportunity to integrate immigrants. The GSFBA exceeds a population of five million with San Francisco as the pivotal city, wherein San Francisco State University is located. Other key cities are Berkeley, where the University of California is located, and San Jose, the heart of Silicon Valley, where San Jose State University is found. Teacher training is an integral part of each of these three public universities. In addition, Stanford University, a private university, also trains teachers and counselors.

San Francisco is a city with a population of less than eight hundred thousand. One million people come into the city each working day. The geography of the GSFBA represents over 50 towns and cities. Within the city of San Francisco, ethnic enclaves include Chinatown, Japantown, the Hispanic Mission, the Filipino community just beyond the southern edge of the city, and Bayview, which is predominantly African-American. The Russian, Korean, and French communities are examples of other

small population enclaves. While these areas offer unique cultural patterns, members of these groups also live throughout the city as their socio-economic status permits. A median priced house in San Francisco is \$265,000 and rents are high.

Elementary, middle and secondary schools in San Francisco are all located in residential neighborhoods. The student population is now 55% non-white. An integrated staff of teachers, counselors, and support staff are continually sought. Classes are offered in some schools for children where English is their second language. Their success patterns are limited. Social Studies and English are subject matter areas where teachers work constantly to present and appreciate the cross-cultural requirements of the community -- this follows onto the playing fields and among other community-based activities.

California teachers working in public education must have a baccalaureate degree, a teaching credential, and an apprenticeship as a student teacher. Good teaching stems from teacher training where teachers study academic subjects and are helped to integrate individual ethnic diversity perspectives within multicultural classes. In California, the major language groups found among children in the classroom are English, Spanish, and Cantonese. Children are assisted in learning English *without* sacrificing their primary language orientation or identification. In the San Francisco school system, some 74 languages comprise the repertoire of children language proficiency. Teachers, counselors, and support staff work with each child as to how to communicate through language and feelings.

Because teachers and teacher training are the key to school integration, teacher training institutions in the Greater Bay Area carry major responsibilities to train and support students at all levels. San Francisco State University is a major training institution - training over 70% of the teachers and counselors who work in San Francisco schools. Despite the budget being the *great* and always present barrier, there is good teaching and planning at all school levels. Educators work constantly with what to do and how to do it, and they must have funds to meet these many educational standards.

Programs which facilitate the development of children include:

small classes; individual educational programs; school and family adjustment counseling; beginning language classes; tutoring for special education children; medical and dental care; situational crisis care; communicable diseases inoculations; and drug and alcohol education and treatment. Additional required activities of school personnel include liaison work with families as children learn; public forums about multicultural issues; balanced media coverage; obtainment of police and social services directed to crime prevention; and identification of child and family abuse patterns and other behavioral problems.

All communities face expanding patterns of migration and immigration. The problems are intense; their practice and education activities directed toward positive resolution is a constant requirement. The public schools and community services must be and are committed to the dignity of all people as they migrate into or within a society.

The Nuclear Family in China and Germany

Commonalities and Differences

The development of the nuclear family which began in Europe in the nineteenth century and spread rapidly following the Second World War is an unrelenting trend in Germany and in Europe. In some countries in which, due to this development, a population reduction can be observed, the development has so disturbed the political sphere that comprehensive measures, such as in France, have been developed in order to counteract the reduction in population. The measures focus primarily on the strong financial support of families with many children. The hope was to gain control of the threatening reduction of population.

Today the development towards the nuclear family seems to be irreversible. Only those families in which the parents had a marginal position in society were motivated by such measures to have more children. Young couples from the middle or higher social strata continued their individual family planning aimed at one or two children. Here not even the state support programs managed to change anything.

What are the reasons explaining why the overwhelming majority of young men and women in Germany and in Europe willingly choose a family with one or, at the most, two children? As in all complex social developments, the reasons are diverse.

With the increase in industrial labor and labor in trade and commerce and in the service sector, work increasingly had to be performed outside of the house or family dwelling. Since more and more women began to seek gainful employment outside the home, the problem facing the family was how the extensive housekeeping associated with many children would get done. As this problem seemed to be unsolvable in many families, family

size was reduced and, in connection with this, the importance of the family in the life of the individual sank gradually.

The nuclear family became now a two generation family consisting of only the parents and children. Since young couples left their parents' family at the latest after their marriage, the third generation no longer lived in the same family unit. This division became all the more feasible with the establishment of old age pensions based on the quantity of work performed by the individual independent of the children, which itself is based upon a generational contract. In principle, the contract guaranteed children and parents care independent of their personal relationships. It is evident that this generational contract, which in Germany would lead in a few years to a point where two gainfully employed individuals would have to provide for one elderly individual, began to gain a large influence upon the relationship between the generations. Since the aging parents no longer depended upon the material support of their children, an emotional distance between the generations no longer contained a material risk to the older generation.

The demand raised by many women not to be limited to the role of a housewife, homekeeping and childcare, has resulted in the fact that both women and men today pursue gainful employment outside the family. Women demand their share of the social labor sphere from which they were previously excluded. This is accompanied by the decrease of interest women have in their hitherto dominating sphere of labor within the family. Due to the increasing involvement of women in the labor market, women can no longer take care of the family labor related to the upbringing and education of numerous children without encountering major conflicts. Although today many men take care of their children in a manner previously unknown and perform part of housework traditionally restricted to women, they, too, have reached the limitations of their labor capacity due to their even stronger entanglement in the labor market. More and more married couples do without children completely, or limit themselves to one or two.

In European societies children are related to costly material expenditures, and these expenditures, in turn, lead to restrictions in the living standard and in possibilities of the parents. Many

married couples today are not prepared to restrict their consumer wishes in respect to automobiles, expensive travelling and costly hobbies, and to limit their freedom in the structuring of their lives. Although the school and educational system does not require financial sacrifices from the parents, the cost of raising and educating children is considerable. Children require larger apartments and more expenditures for travel and food, all of which are not compensated by child allowances and tax benefits.

Many young pairs are not just afraid of the material limitations. They are even more concerned by the personal and social limitations occasioned by having one or more children. Rather than the lifestyle of the family, they choose the lifestyle of the couple with all its contingent advantages. Along with the decision for this lifestyle there is often a concomitant, though largely unconscious, wish not to age. The extent to which this wish plays a role especially with women requires further investigation. No doubt, the family lifestyle requires the development of other feelings and other attitudes towards life, amongst which the consciousness of the temporal boundaries of one's own life and the readiness to consciously age play an important role.

Finally, even the fear of the dissolution of the family in the wake of a divorce are part of the decision to do without children or to have just one child. In Western European societies one out of three families are dissolved by the separation of the spouses. The result is a large number of single parent families with corresponding material and social consequences for the children. Although today after the dissolution of the family the fathers occasionally have custody of the child or children, it is still most often the mother who must, or is permitted to, take care of the children. In any case it is a matter of a substantial limitation of lifestyle possibilities of both parents.

Besides these reasons for the decision of many young couples to have small families, this form of the family fulfills more fully the demands of modern societies. It allows the parents to increase their care of their children, who in an unprecedented manner are placed at the center of attention. This changes the old models of child-parent relations. As the investigations of Ariès and others have shown, "child" in the emphatic sense of the word is an invention of the modern age. The invention develops its full poten-

tial, however, with the concentration upon the nuclear family, since the nuclear family requires the preponderant position of the children in order to produce the meaning necessary for its sustenance. This attention to the child in the nuclear family is accompanied by the increasing significance of child-rearing and education in general. The modern society requires from the family more intensive child-rearing. The increasing energy expended on child-rearing is possible today only in families with fewer children. Thus, the creation of a special age in human life called childhood is connected with the increasing significance of child-rearing and education in modern society.

In the framework of the increasing quantity of energy expended on child-rearing, the nuclear family produces a differentiated psychic inner room in individuals. To this end the family must apply strict disciplinary measures. Among the most important methods employed is the introduction of children into the linear order of time determining modern societies. The introduction into this order of time begins early in childhood when the expectation is raised that the child adapts himself and his needs to the schedule of the parents and the schedule represented in it. Chronocracy becomes, thus, one of the most important means of disciplining children. It regulates the needs of the child's organism and makes clear that the successive insertion into society occurs essentially through the adaptation to the time order valid in it.

The discipline of the child's body via the inscription into the social time order contributes to the differentiation of his psychic inner sphere. Often this inner sphere is also referred to as the self, which is understood as the center of the self-guidance of the later adult. Besides the insertion into the social time structure, the acquisition of speech abilities and the incorporation of family and social values are further factors in the development of the self. With the concentration of the parental attention on the child, the development of the self as a point of departure for self-activity, self-definition and self-initiative is aided.

And yet the concentration of child-rearing upon the development of the self conceals a number of dangers. It can also lead to an over-accentuation of the self and to the associated dangers of withdrawal and isolation of the subject. In such cases one could speak of the inversion of the self in its contrary. With the over-ac-

centuation of the self, the intended goal of the development of the self is turned into its opposite. Not self-activity, but self-restriction, not self-definition, but self-identification are then the results of the process of education. Unstable social relations and the increase of psychic problems would be the unwanted side affects.

The individualization in the nuclear family, schools and universities is spurred on also by the capitalistically organized economic system. The market economy is based upon the juridically capable subject which can engage in contracts and hold them. This subject is also the addressee of advertising and of consumer supply. This presupposes that the subject is autonomous and can reach responsible decisions concerning its behavior as a buyer.

The democratic system presumes even more stubbornly the ability for participatory decisions. They require judgement and self-definition abilities in individuals, abilities whose development must begin already in the family. The ability for self-initiative and self-definition is also required. These abilities are all the more important as the complexity of the economic and political processes presupposes a great deal of flexibility and judgement. The same holds true for the scientific system and the production of cultural products in general.

The nuclear family which developed in the course of the process of civilization fulfills most adequately the needs of contemporary society. It makes possible the concentration of the parents upon the rearing of their child or children from earliest childhood onward with the goal of making them self-standing, self-responsible individuals capable of initiative. The occurrence of unwanted side effects, considering the complexity of contemporary socialization and educational processes, is not at all surprising. It is the task of research in educational sciences to recognize and combat these side effects in theory and practice.

In China we can observe a similar development. It is no longer the large generation family which characterizes Chinese family life. Almost 80% of the families are nuclear families today, mostly with one child. This situation is the result of the "one child-per-family" policy, promoted with great energy by the Chinese government since 1979. With the realization of this policy, within a few years comprehensive changes in Chinese family life took

place, which Western societies had experienced for many decades. Given the traditional Chinese family values, these changes were radical and in some cases not easy to realize. Today most children under the age of fourteen were brought up in nuclear families with only one child. Their socialization took place without any sister or brother. Consequently, the relationship between the parents and the child changed profoundly. It acquired a new intensity and quality. In most cases the child became the main focus of its parents' life. Thus, a new intimacy came into existence. On the one hand, this led to an intensification of the emotional relationship. On the other hand, this situation also created new conflicts, since it led to an overprotection of the child. Many of the parents' expectations are focused on their only child, thus creating in certain circumstances specific difficulties for this child in finding its personal autonomy and its own way in life. Sometimes this situation may also create psychic problems which have been known in Western one child-families for a long time. No doubt, due to the one-child policy, the living conditions in Chinese families have become better. This is also a great advantage for the young child itself. Parents are more able to satisfy the material, emotional and spiritual needs of their child. So, generally speaking, children have a better life; they are healthy, emotionally taken care of and get a better education. Children have new and better opportunities to read books, watch television and take part in intensive educational programs. After all, this favorable situation encourages them to speak up in the presence of adults and to communicate actively in the family and in other social situations. With all the support possible in the nuclear family, the children develop an eagerness to learn and to develop their emotional, intellectual and social competence. Under these conditions youth in today's China is very different from what youth was like only a generation ago.

Because of the enormous advantages of the one-child family for the development of the young generation and the economical and social conditions of China, there is no doubt that this policy will be pursued further. To avoid possible shortcomings of the one-child family resulting from the lack of other children, living and playing with children occurs in early childhood, kindergarten and preschool education. Thereby, they have the opportunity to

meet, play and live together with other children during most of the day. During this time children experience children. In addition, they are taken care of by experienced educators, preschool and primary school teachers. They learn how to cope with other children and how to live in a group. Gradually they develop positive attitudes towards each other, their work and their country. They develop a variety of competences needed in modern society.

To live and play with other children makes the children feel happy in these institutions. They do not suffer from isolation or loneliness. The company of children in these institutions is an emotional, social and intellectual enrichment of the education the nuclear family can not provide. Although the children in the early childhood institutions, the kindergarten, the preschool and the school are not brothers and sisters, they are of fundamental importance for the development of the individual child and the future adult. In these situations children learn not to be the center of concern, which they are in the nuclear one-child family. Here they no longer have a special position. Instead of being the emotional and social center of concern, they learn to adjust themselves to a group situation in which they have to share the attention of educators and teachers with other children. They experience the fact that in a group situation they cannot get the same individual attention as they are used to at home. So in some aspects this situation is competitive. Children learn to take initiatives, to defend their interests and to cope with competitive situations.

Many parents are aware of the fact that the world of tomorrow demands new abilities and qualifications from their children. The nuclear family is a way to meet the expected needs of the future. On the basis of this assumption everything possible is being undertaken to make the education of the new generation as good as possible. Therefore, a competent and differentiated coordination between the education in the one-child family and education in the various other educational institutions is needed. The quality of the interrelation between these two branches of education will determine the success of the socialization and education process of the new generation in China.

Intercultural Teacher Education

At the first level, the claim that has to be discussed is whether the issues are about teacher training or teacher education. "Training" implies a lower order of knowledge and skills.

Here the argument is that to get the best educated and professionally qualified teachers, their education should be undertaken at universities or institutions with comparable standards. This would ensure some similarity with the professional education for the medical, architectural and other professions. Teachers, therefore, as autonomous professionals, should join a teacher education institution after an undergraduate degree and have a professional autonomy similar to that in other professions.

A high level of professionally and rigorously educated teachers who have a postgraduate accredited qualification is essential to raise the profile of the teaching profession. As a part of this accreditation there is need for intercultural dimension of courses to be built into the teacher education process. However, a highly rigorous and professional teacher education presents a dilemma. Students from smaller nationalities and minorities who have done well at the university tend to join other professions and not the teaching one. Yet, to make intercultural teacher education effective both teacher education institutions and schools need to have diverse student and teaching members of the staff. This dilemma needs to be resolved. Not only should teaching be made an attractive profession but education of the underclass, minority and smaller nationalities should be improved and measures instituted to ensure that a number of them do join the teaching profession.

An accredited teacher competence which is validated and includes an integral intercultural dimension is essential to ensure that what is at the core of an essential educational issue is not marginalised. In this sense intercultural education for teachers should not be seen as an issue for urban culturally diverse

schools, but for all schools in Europe, including rural schools.

The rise of racism and xenophobia with a high level of fascistic activity in many European countries requires a concerted effort and should be an essential aspect of everyone's education for the Europe of 2000. Legislation and legal measures at the national and European level are necessary to deal with this malaise. Institutions ought to have effective policies and action plans not only to counter incidents but to develop teaching strategies and positive intercultural programs.

The issues for teacher education in general and the intercultural dimensions of it are twofold: what do teachers need to know in terms of knowledge and secondly, what are teachers able to do - which has a skills dimension? If teacher education is of high quality, then the expectations of their understanding of issues of knowledge and skills would be of a higher order. The role of teacher education institutions would be to ensure that this is the case.

Those who join the teaching profession ought to bring to this field a learning experience from their undergraduate education to ensure that at the postgraduate level there is a systematic study of teaching and learning as well as planned clinical teaching experience in schools, which is closely supervised and monitored. Teachers not only need a command of the subjects they teach, a sound grasp of the techniques of teaching their subject but also have the information on research on teaching, a grasp of children's growth and development, and differing intercultural needs and learning styles.

The status of teacher education institutions and their structure is critical for the role and position of teacher education itself. If teacher educators are seen as consisting only of previous school teachers whose knowledge of subject and knowledge areas or of the educational science, interculturalism and research is in itself of a low order, then teacher education and intercultural dimensions will not be rigorous.

Teacher education should be an integral part of the university - and establish good links with schools in the same way as medical schools have good links with hospitals. This situation would create the possibility of a cross-fertilisation from knowledge systems, and its practice generally to educational science would benefit the

development of intercultural teacher education. There is, therefore, a need for an expertise of teachers in schools, who have become teacher educators with sound academic background or are able to work together with others to develop a sound intercultural teacher education. This development should be seen as being rigorous and raising educational standards of those who are studying to join the teaching profession. This would counter the accusation that intercultural education 'waters down' the educational process.

The question is how intercultural teacher education is conceptualised either in schools or in higher education. For instance, in Britain the lead came from the Department of Education and Science (DES 9/65), suggesting that British society had "become multicultural". The question to have asked the DES would have been - what was it before? This is important, because even the Council of Europe and the European Community have initiated discussions in this field by developing policies for the education of migrants. These starting points were not clarified or questioned by the academic community till very recently. In the analysis of the Council of Europe Project No.7, the EC Directive, and OECD/CERI have started to challenge the earlier formulations based on the issue of migrants.

To initiate intercultural teacher education a taxonomy of societies on indices of religious, linguistic, social class, regional and newly settled communities becomes essential. Such a historical and contemporary map of a multicultural society in descriptive terms is a useful starting point. It would, for instance, inform us what the similarities or differences between national minorities are and so-called 'ethnic' minorities. It also ought to enable us to analyse how nation states obfuscate the underlying features of social diversity. Hence, how historians and other social scientists analyse this issue is important to enable teacher education programs to integrally include intercultural issues as well as dealing with the problems of racism and fascism.

The taxonomy of societies and how those who belong to it are constructed, as well as those who are seen as not belonging, has consequences of a legal nature because of the accordance or denial of citizenship rights. From an academic perspective it also has the

implication of how knowledge systems in a particular society are constructed. How knowledge of "the others" is seen as being external to the education systems, because they are not seen to belong to society, has clear implications for teacher education.

In the European context an intercultural curriculum is essential at the teacher education level to ensure that teachers not only have non-Eurocentric knowledge but also skills to teach an intercultural curriculum.

The development, therefore, of an intercultural curriculum in schools and, more importantly, in teacher education institutions, requires pedagogues to work closely with academic historians, social scientists and other researchers in the cultural fields in an attempt to construct a non-ethnocentric curriculum.

The problem that the implementation of intercultural education faces is that the languages, histories and cultures of subordinated groups in Europe are not seen as having equal value as those of dominant European nationalities. Such an entitlement to an intercultural curriculum is perhaps one of the greatest challenges of the development of an intercultural teacher education.

It follows from the above that postgraduate teacher education institutions need to be research oriented with close links with other university faculties and also have to have close links with schools.

The structuring of intercultural dimensions would be marginalised if teacher education institutions themselves have lower status as a university institution. A further issue is how intercultural issues are located within teacher education institutions themselves. If intercultural dimensions are left to a few interested staff without any structural arrangements to allow for a more integrated approach within teacher education institutions, then such issues would be marginalised.

Working Towards a European Diploma in Teacher Education?

The Europe of mono-cultural nation states is slowly developing into a continent of regions. Massive migrant movement has created ethnic and cultural diversity. The influence of these developments has a direct impact on living conditions and education in all European countries. Schools need to provide for knowledge and skills to meet this internal development, while at the same time preparing students for the growing internationalization of living conditions. In spite of the fact that teaching is 'universal' in nature, it tends to be very 'national' in character. This apparent ambivalence can constitute a fruitful base for international cooperation, provided that it is seen as an inter-cultural learning experience. A complete integration of programs in Europe is not fruitful. What is very desirable is the interaction of staff and students in a curriculum which acknowledges cultural differences. Only then will teacher education profit from internationalization and the investment in time, money and motivation can be attributed to improvement in the preparation of the profession. If not, 'educational tourism' will prevail.

In the evaluation of the merit of internationalization in teacher education, emphasis has been put on aspects of mobility. As important as this is in regard to individual learning experiences and the development of one's personality and own abilities, the academic spin-off remains small and is of a fleeting nature. Students come and go. In the current debate attention has turned to curriculum development as an instrument to implement a more structural cooperation between universities and a more lasting academic impetus. Within this activity the most complicated form of cooperation constitutes teamwork among colleagues from different institutes to jointly develop, implement and ac-

credit a program.

Within NESA eight universities¹ work together in an Erasmus project which has been under way (since 1992) to jointly develop and execute a course of six modules for students preparing to be teachers in upper secondary school. Each year two modules are to be developed, of which one is used in an intensive course with students and lecturers from different participating institutes. An important aim in the longer run is to integrate the modules in the teacher training curricula of the participating universities and hopefully more widely within the NESA network and beyond to develop a European certificate for teacher education.

The objective of the six modules (work load of forty hours) is to promote a multiversal perspective on education. Course units (eight in each module) focus on key dimensions of 'teaching' and 'learning'. The subject content is 'educational sciences' as part of the curriculum in teacher training for the upper levels of secondary schools.

The writing of the modules is expected to be completed in 1994. In the participating institutes it was stimulated to include other colleagues in the writing process of the units, a development which in some cases has been successful but which is very difficult to achieve. For cost reasons only one representative from each university is invited to participate in the international meetings. It is difficult for colleagues in the home institutes to develop an interest in the project without participating in the meetings, since they are a very essential part of the collaboration. They take place twice a year. During the meetings several colleagues from the guest institutes are participating, and by rotating the location of the meetings it is possible to involve as many colleagues as possible. In this regard it is preferable not to strive for a definitive end result at once. It is important to use a process-oriented approach rather than a purely product-oriented approach to allow for more colleagues to participate and to create more learning

1 Participating universities since 1991 are Universiteit van Amsterdam, Freie Universität Berlin, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, University College Cork, University of Central Lancashire and since 1992 University of Ioannina, Università Cattolica de Milano and Göteborgs Universitet.

moments.

It has turned out to be very difficult to keep a balance between a superficial naïvety and a paralyzing thoroughness. The time factor and the conditions of the Erasmus program are part of this dilemma. On the one hand, there is little time for the work which needs to be done. On the other hand, because of the complexity of the cooperation it is questionable whether the time factor is the main reason for the limitations which present themselves in this respect. National academic traditions play an important role in the set-up of a curriculum and are the main differences between the participating countries. An example: elements of what is taught as 'educational sciences' by an educational scientist in the Netherlands is part of the curriculum of psychology in Spain and taught by a psychologist. Two aspects are, therefore, central in the discussion: which disciplines (which subjects) are going to contribute and which work formats can be used as a result of this. The language barrier and consequently the use of a common language (in this case English) sets limits to active participation for some and is restrictive in regard to the use of literature.

In April 1993 the first intensive course was held in Preston at the University of Central Lancashire, using module one and being a test to see if the efforts produced something worthwhile. The intensive course was attended by students from England, Spain, Greece, Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands. Colleagues from Sweden, England, Spain, the Netherlands and Greece participated in tutorial activities. Colleagues from Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic were present as observers, but in fact took a very active role. A truly international company. The course turned out to be a success. A group discussion and a written evaluation are the basis for this conclusion. Moreover, important feed-back was given for improvement. The greatest problem remained the language.

What were some of the important learning experiences for the students? In the first place national notions about teaching and learning were being seen in relation to each other. One's own strong and weak points became clarified in a way which is not possible within a purely national setting. As an example of such a learning experience I quote from the evaluation paper of a student

from Amsterdam. "In this unit the theoretical backlog of the Dutch (or at least of myself) became clear. While Nillan (a girl from Sweden) and I were thinking of naming differences between concrete and formal thinking, Spiros (a Greek student) was correcting us all the time with remarks like: 'You can say so, but that is not the way Piaget has formulated it'. In Greece and Spain this is apparently a piece of cake. Except for a clear lack of knowledge on my side, this conversation implicates something else according to me. Spiros does not seem to be interested in finding out differences for himself. For him the accent lies on the reproduction of what the scientist has said".

Another important experience was that students became very much aware of the social and cultural dimension in teaching and learning. During the two-week period students learned that learning settings have very different meanings in different countries. Moreover, appearances have other implications within different cultural settings. Learning depends on your understanding of these mechanisms. The surplus value of an inter-cultural learning experience is gaining insight into the function of education in someone else's culture and thereby improving the understanding of this principle in your own situation. Not knowledge by itself, but also the way it is conveyed and used is important. Education is imbued with values and norms, sometimes explicitly but often rather implicitly.

Cognitive strategies are partly being prescribed by affective talents. Our capacity for learning is rooted in both our personal abilities and the total cultural pattern of the society we live in. The development of empathy for different cultural settings is an important academic asset.

In rapidly changing times many people will react with apprehension. Emotional aversion easily slips into an aggressive attitude to anything 'different'. Change requires a critical mind and calls for people who are motivated to take initiatives and responsibilities and who have the skills to influence the process of change rather than simply being submerged by it. It requires the insight that change for the sake of change is no improvement. In this context education must foster a positive attitude towards renewal, while at the same time conserve valuable traditions.

The process of internationalization in education does not

mean that national traditions lose their importance. The confusing and perplexing question is how we can bring about meaningful cooperation between students and teachers with different cultural backgrounds. My argument is that internationalization will not be internalized in education and teacher training unless educators can constitute the process themselves. International curriculum development provides a meaningful instrument for educators to initiate a collaborative learning experience. This process will enrich and profoundly transform one's understanding of intercultural teaching and learning and is likely to be of practical and immediate impact on teaching practice. Reflection about one's own practice and its value-related context is a thought-provoking procedure. To break through cultural barriers we have to cross borders - borders in our way of thinking and preferably by meeting people in other countries. Internationalization is not an end state. It is a developmental process. Its value is a continuing learning experience to meet the new challenges of our times.

References

- Aarts, H. and Piket, V. (ed), *Zeven artikelen over hoger onderwijs en internationalisering*. Visum Perspectief 2. Nuffic, The Hague, 1991.
- Aperçu des systèmes éducatifs de certaines pays d'Europe centrale et orientale*. Eurydice, Bruxelles, 1991.
- Archer, E.G. and Peck, B.T., *The Teaching Profession in Europe*, Jordanhill, Glasgow, 1991.
- Deckers, H. and Dekker, H. (ed), *Internationalisering van hoger onderwijs*. VSNU, Utrecht, 1992.
- Erasmus and Teacher Education, *Erasmus Newsletter*, vol. 1992-No. 15. Erasmus Bureau, Brussels, 1992.
- Farkas-Teekens, H. and Foster, K. (ed), *Teaching or Learning? Classroom Processes in a Changing World*. NESA, Amsterdam,

1993.

Feiman-Nemser, S. en Floden, R. E., *The Cultures of Teaching*. In Wittrock, M.C. (ed), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (pp. 505- 526). MacMillan, New York, 1986.

Hofstede, G., *Allemaal andersdenkenden. Omgaan met cultuurverschillen* (translation from: *Cultures and Organizations, Software of the Mind*, 1991). Contact, Amsterdam, 1992.

Internationalization of Teacher Education in the Netherlands, *Report from the Advisory Committee on University Teacher Education of the Association of Universities in the Netherlands*. VSNU, Utrecht, 1991.

Internationalisering van het curriculum. Reader Nuffic Colloquium, The Hague, 5 october 1993.

Jarrett, J.J., *The teaching of values: caring and appreciation*. Routledge, London, 1991.

Klaassen, C., *De Pedagogische opdracht in een postmoderne tijd*. In: *VELON, Tijdschrift voor Lerarenopleiders*, 14e Jaargang, nr. 4, p. 8-18.

Lagerweij, N.A.J. en Vos, J.F. (red), *Onderwijskunde, een inleiding*. Wolters-Noordhoff, Groningen, 1987.

Shennan, M., *Teaching about Europe*. Cassell, London, 1991.

Smyth, J., *Teachers as Collaborative Learners*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1991.

Posner, G.J. and Rudnitsky, A.N., *Course Design to Curriculum Development of Teachers*. Longman, White Plains (N.Y), 1986.

Thompson, D. L. (ed), *Moral Values and Higher Education: a Notion at Risk*. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991.

Visum: Perspectief 5, E.G.-onderwijsprogramma's: ervaringen en aanbevelingen. Nuffic, The Hague, 1992.

Ken Foster (Preston)

Evaluation of the NESA Teacher Training Intensive Course

The following evaluation is based on comments from the participants during the Strand 1 intensive course held at the University of Central Lancashire in April 1993. The course was based on the materials put together under the title of 'Teaching or Learning? Classroom Processes in a Changing World'. This is the first of six modules written by staff from the universities working within the strand and edited by Hanneke Farkas-Teekens and Ken Foster.

The aim of the intensive course was to bring together students from different parts of Europe to explore common concerns and issues linked to teacher education. In this first module students were invited to question the nature of teaching and learning and to consider the effectiveness of different methods and approaches to classroom management. There was also time devoted to the review of the education systems represented by those taking part and students were encouraged to reflect on cultural differences and similarities in societal expectations.

A further aim was to engage in group discussion, using English as the common language for purposes of communication and dialogue, thereby testing out a particular mode of teaching and learning. This placed considerable emphasis on the student in terms of reading material in preparation for discussion sessions and in seeking answers to set questions related to the selected texts. As with all programmes of study, these were the ideals agreed in advance of the course and staff were aware that this was a very demanding approach; student-centred forms of activity are not easy to implement. It was also a guess as to how well visiting tutors might identify with the philosophy of the programme and fit in with a team teaching format.

Twenty-four students participated in the intensive course, and

teaching contributions were made by nine tutors from those universities involved in the planning stages. Details of the attendance pattern are indicated below.

Institution	Number of Students	Number of Staff
University of Amsterdam	5	2
Freie Universität Berlin	1	-
Universidad Autonoma Madrid	5	1
University of Central Lancashire	3	4
University of Ioannina	5	1
Goteborgs Universitet	5	1

In addition there were three tutor-observers from universities in Central Europe.

Workshop sessions were organised around eight course units and students were encouraged to work in international groups. There were also visits to local schools with students able to visit two different schools during their two weeks stay in Preston. Visiting speakers provided information on the history of Preston and the development of the English National Curriculum. In addition there were cultural visits on the weekend to York and the Lake District.

Evaluation was based on informal feedback during the two weeks, a questionnaire completed by all students and a final plenary session at the end of the course.

The overall impact was most impressive with a high level of enthusiasm and interest generated by students and staff alike. Informal contacts between working sessions reinforced the value of exchange of ideas and this was supported by an abundance of ad-

ditional materials, relating to, for example, the characteristics of each nation's system of education and other documentation on a range of educational issues. One notable example was a display of newly designed school textbooks specially produced for the recently established Czech Republic.

Communication across national groups was very good and in the workshops there was a noticeable rapport with a focus on educational issues. Although at times some of the reading proved difficult there was no shortage of questions and responses on each of the unit topics.

The only problem was shortage of time to work through all the tasks.

The ideal model of progressive, inductive learning was not fully sustained during the ten days. Approaches to teaching varied, though one common strategy involved a brief introduction, defining the field of study and its key concepts, followed by group discussion and then a final plenary. In the cognitive development unit there was more emphasis on tutor input, although here, too, there were group tasks with students invited to provide personal interpretations. It was felt that this particular session was very relevant to those aiming to be teachers. In many of the sessions, one tutor would take the lead but might also receive support from other tutors who joined particular student groups as observers and facilitators. The view was expressed that more emphasis on a knowledge-based, tutor-controlled approach might be desirable. This was coupled with a suggestion that a higher academic level, or more 'scientific' approach for selected lectures might be well received.

The school visits were highly rated by all students (and staff). For the future it was suggested there ought to be scheduled time after the visits to discuss the outcome of observation based on a check-list. Ideally it was considered that it would be useful to involve some teachers in the workshop and/or presentation sessions and possibly develop a special study unit on teaching observation.

It is hoped that the intensive course will be one of the first of a series and at the time of writing a further such programme is to be offered in Goteborgs Universitet in April 1993. The underpinning philosophy for such ventures is very clearly identified in recent literature concerned with teacher training in a European con-

text. The Europeanisation of teacher training has been outlined by Shennan (1991), and the significance of such developments for European citizenship has been commented on in some detail by Lynch (1992). Similarly the work of such writers as Ruddock and Wellington (1989), Clandinin (1992) and Calderhead and Gates (1993) draws attention to the way reflection plays a key part in teacher development. Collaborative enquiry, classroom observation and shared experience of classroom life are essential components of such an approach. Placing such forms of communication in an international context has been the aim of this programme, and the intensive course has demonstrated that such activity has considerable cultural and educational potential for those students taking part. It has also proved to be a valuable learning experience for tutors.

References

- Calderhead, J. and Gates, P. (1993), *Conceptualizing Reflection in Teacher Development*, Falmer Press.
- Clandinin, D. (1992), 'Narrative and Story in Teacher Education', in: Russell, T. and Munby, H. (1992), *Teachers and Teaching: From Classroom to Reflexion*, Cassell.
- Lynch, J. (1992) *Education for Citizenship in a Multicultural Society*, Cassell.
- Ruddock, J. and Wellington, J. (1989) 'Encouraging the spirit of enquiry in initial teacher training', *Forum*, 31, Spring, pp.50-57.
- Shennan, M. (1991) *Teaching About Europe*, Cassell.

Education in Europe:

An Intercultural Task

Education in Europe

An Intercultural Task

Panel

Chairman: *Jan-Karel Gevers*, President of the University of Amsterdam

Members: *Robert Corrigan*, President of San Francisco State University, *Thomas O'Dwyer*, Director General Task Force Human Resources (EC), *Lord Dafydd Elis Thomas*, of the Welsh Language Board, *Torsten Husén*, of the University of Stockholm, *Alan Smith*, of the Academic Corporation Association

Gevers I welcome you as the very hard core of the conference of this week. It is Saturday afternoon; there are several other choices possible than this one, but apparently you are the ones who made the right choice. We are very pleased and proud that we could gather this august panel behind this table. Of course, I am excluding myself. The people behind this table are, I think, people who should have been here for the whole week but who could not make it because most of the time they are making policy or talking everywhere else in Europe and around the world.

I hope and expect that we even have some new thoughts about the theme that kept you busy for this week, Education in Europe, an intercultural task. Of course, I will not try to explain what is behind this theme. It is so very clear. Everything is happening in Europe more or less at the same time, and there are so many Europes that you might speak of the Europe of the economic world that is different from the Europe of defense or from the Europe of foreign policy.

And then there is a Europe of education. Or is there

such a Europe of education? As always, when you ask people about the importance of education in one's life or in the formation of society, you get a very positive answer. People regard the role of education as a very important one. But do they act according to that opinion? It seems to me that sometimes we are not acting completely according to our own perception that education is important. We are often a little careless, I think, in formulating education as one of the most important institutions in the formation of society.

Let me introduce the panel to you as far as it still needs an introduction. I begin on my left: next to me is Professor Husén. He is the *eminence grise* of education and educational science in Europe. He is so well known and has been honored so many times that the fact that he is also a *doctor honoris causa* of my university is only one of the minor honors that was installed upon him. Professor Husén is an emeritus professor, but he is even more active now than when he was paid for it.

Sitting next to him is Lord Dafydd Elis Thomas, of the Welsh Language board in Cardiff. As the name of the board implies, it is very central to the theme of education in Europe, which has, of course, to do with regions. It is apparent that he will be talking about his daily work this afternoon.

Next to Lord Dafydd is Alan Smith. He used to make the bureaus of Brussels a little bit unsafe, but for the last year he has been the secretary general of an organization called ACA, the Academic Corporation Association. This name also implies that his work is very central to our concern here.

To my right is Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer. He told me just a few minutes ago that he is a new boy on the education scene. He is director general of the Task Force for Human Resources, and for a club like NESAs, this Task Force is very important. In two ways: 1. because here the policy is made that is cen-

tral and vital to NESA, and 2. it is a source of some money.

Finally, sitting next to him is an American. He is a bit of an outsider concerning the theme of education in Europe. It would be nice if he could talk about education in America, that would mean an interesting afternoon, but that is not the theme. Robert Corrigan is president of San Francisco State University, and this institution and its president have been very active in NESA.

Well, this is your panel for this afternoon.

Husén

Mr. Chairman, dear colleagues of the educational community. As I was flying in yesterday from Madrid where I had been attending a meeting on Cross National and Cross Cultural Evaluation of educational achievements, I was reading the latest issue of *The European*, which devoted two pages to schooling in Europe under the headline "Europe Banks on its Youth to Engender Hope" with the typical subheading "School in Europe to Compete in the World" and the assumption being that of competing with the Pacific rim or with the United States, the other two major economic conglomerates.

This reminded me of the thoughts we had when we prepared the report for the *Academia Europea*, called "Schooling in Modern European Society", particularly our interest in the so-called generic skills which the school must instill among its pupils in order to bring about a competence flexibility which is necessary in a rapidly changing society. The specific vocationally oriented capabilities and techniques are not very lasting in our time. They have to be continually renewed, and this means that the school has to concentrate on competencies which are applicable to a broad range of largely unforeseen situations inside and outside working life.

No wonder then that adult and continuing education in the highly industrialized countries today are of such a magnitude that their costs are equal to the first

eight to ten years of formal schooling. But over the last twenty-five to thirty years, the extension of formal schooling has been transformed in many of our countries into a kind of schooling societies. Europe has in that respect caught up with the United States, where over 80% of the seventeen-year-olds are in school. In several European countries the percentage is almost the same. On the other hand, in this respect we are lagging behind countries like Japan.

This is something that ought to be pointed out, since it is also connected with international trade competition, which has been a major concern in recent years in discussing the amount and quality of formal education and its implications.

Note how much effort, for instance, has been spent in the United States on comparing the quality of school education in Japan and America. I have been in Japan about one week per year over many years talking with the people in the Nakasone commission and got caught up in the debate of comparing the U.S. and Japan.

For a moment I will leave aside the pragmatic and utilitarian and competition-oriented view and turn to the need to build a well rounded European human being as spelt out in the article I just mentioned. I shall concentrate here on the acquisition of competence in foreign languages, which we dealt with in a section of our report for the *Academia Europea*.

We found that by the turn of the century French was the first foreign language in secondary schools in more than 60% of the European countries. German was taught as the first foreign language in almost 30%, whereas English had that role in less than 10% of the European countries.

Since then this has changed enormously. In today's Europe English is now taught as the first foreign language in close to 80% of the countries, French 15%, and a few percent German. This means that English today in a way plays the role of a *lingua franca*, but is

much more powerful than Latin was some 300 years ago, because it is not just a small learned elite who speak this language. In some countries it is a majority of young people that can to some extent get along in English.

It was a quite different situation in seventeenth-century Europe where students moved from one university to the other because they were able to understand the lectures given in Latin.

I mention this, because a common language is perhaps the most important factor in establishing a national identity. This was implemented by legislation on universal, and in many cases, mandatory primary schooling in Europe of the nineteenth century. The school was there to inculcate some values and attitudes, and it was also essential for the state control of citizenship and to establish a uniform language which replaced minority languages and dialects, for instance, in France. In only half of the area which France is covering today French was used by 1870. There were other languages, and the introduction of *école primaire* everywhere made it possible to establish a unified language.

The primary school education was charged with the task of building national consciousness and identity. The teaching of history boosted such an identity by emphasizing differences, sometimes tensions between nations.

The new emerging Europe obviously causes challenges which together constitute a new and a slowly growing feeling of identity, that of being Europeans. But how is the educational system going to achieve this? Certainly not by introducing a common language, in spite of what I have been saying. But I leave the question open for the speakers who will hopefully take up that thread after me.

Gevers

O'Dwyer

Thank you, Professor Husén. Mr. O'Dwyer, please.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. When you said I was a new boy on the block, I am sure people were a bit

shocked with my grey hair. Actually, I feel quite comfortable here beside you, Mr. Chairman, and beside an American, because I remember that thirty years ago, on the sixteenth of September, my wife and I headed off to the United States to Cornell University to go to graduate school, and I can assure you that was a wonderful experience. So I feel quite at ease with my American friend.

You have been talking about education in Europe as an intercultural task. From the point of view of the European Community and its institutions, the intercultural aspect is precisely the characteristic which above any other defines our role in the system. This is not just a feature suggested by the nature of education in a diverse community, it is a function clearly defined in the Maastricht Treaty. Article 126 states that "the Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between the Member States (...) while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity."

The diversity of the Community, Mr. Chairman, is demonstrated by the fact that the last time I spoke in public was at the Merriman School in Lisdoonvarna beside the Cliffs of Moher in the West of Ireland which is somewhat different from Budapest, a diversity not just in the landscape but also in the people.

Moreover, it is explicitly provided in the Treaty that Community action excludes any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States. That boring subject, the principle of subsidiarity, which is set out in the general terms elsewhere in the Treaty, is thus reinforced by a specific provision on subsidiarity in the field of education. We should not really be surprised at this careful delimitation of the Community's role, because in dealing with education we are coming close to the very processes through

which national identities are defined and transmitted from one generation to the next.

The Maastricht Treaty allows us to concentrate on facilitating communication and the exchange of experience between the existing systems so that both the individual participants and the systems themselves can enrich each other through their diversity.

In its education and training programs the Community catalytic role - and that is terribly important: we just have a *catalytic* role - has been based on three main working methods: joint transnational projects, mobility, and networking.

These "learning by doing" approaches have been supported by an effort to produce comparative analysis and data so as to facilitate informed decision-making within the Member States. The common strand through all these activities is the Community's role as a clearing house and facilitator, rather than of leveller or standardizing authority.

In the past, because the European Community was established as an economic entity, its action in the field of education has been based on the existence of a continuum between education and vocational training and on the free movement of labor as a factor of production. We can now consider education in a more balanced, comprehensive way, certainly as a means of economic progress, but also as an end in itself.

The humanistic and economic arguments of the process were set out in the Commission's working paper of the 5th of May, entitled "Guidelines for Community Action in the Field of Education and Training", on the basis of which Professor Ruberti has been undertaking a wide range of consultations with parliaments, national authorities and interested bodies with a view to the post-1994 period. The paper's starting point - and I think this is important - is the fact that the Community's Member States share values such as human rights, civil responsibilities, and openness to

the world, which are transmitted to the rising generations through education and training. It notes that the consensus on the importance of equal opportunity in democratic societies has led to a dramatic expansion of education. But it also points to a growing realization that education and training is a vital component of economic strength. The competitiveness of nations - and this is terrible, Mr. Chairman, to say here in front of educationalists! - the competitiveness of nations is no longer explained by a largely static assumption of comparative advantage based on given factors and endowments. Human capital is now recognised as a key factor of economic growth, rightly taking its place in the incomplete traditional constellation of factors of production comprising land, labor and capital.

There is sufficient diversity within the European system, and within the cultural traditions of Member States, for their cooperation in the Community context to be fruitful for the Community participants as well as for their external partners. This principle is applied in the Tempus program, of which Hungary was one of the original beneficiaries. The consortia running the projects are composed of bodies from at least two European Community countries and one from central or Eastern Europe. While this is a minimum requirement, in practice many of the consortia are much more diverse in keeping with the spirit of the program. In this way the Eastern European universities are confronted with more than one Community model of higher education which can provide inspiration for their reform processes. But the Western participants also learn more about each other in the process.

Retraining teaching staff by means of work placements abroad is a key element of the Tempus program, and in 1992-1993 around 7,000 people were involved.

Working together with colleagues in the West means

experiencing different teaching methods, organization of courses, monitoring and evaluation of students, and different attitudes. Mobility of students also plays an important role and around 6,000 students have already participated in 1992-1993. In addition to the academic content of the study periods abroad, the students bring back the benefits of exposure to a different social and cultural environment. And the same benefits will accrue through the TACIS program for countries of the former Soviet Union. This year already we have an initial program with Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Gevers Thank you, Dr. O'Dwyer. Lord Dafydd, of course I must ask you to say something in English.

Lord Dafydd [A statement in Welsh, then:] There is always somebody who understands that in any audience. I was saying that it was a particular pleasure to be here, as John Major always says at the heart of Europe. But I am aware that this really is the heart of Europe, and in the United Kingdom it is still only a quarter to two. Now I want to abuse the time by pretending I have got an hour and six minutes.

I want to talk about three words: nationality, language, and citizenship, and I am going to do that in two minutes on each one.

First of all, I think it is important to remind ourselves that we are all in a situation of being part of a multicultural and intercultural context. All nation states that pretend to be nation states are merely perpetuating the myth of nineteenth-century nationalism. And I say that with great pride in the seat of the Austrian-Hungarian empire, which was perhaps one of the few attempts in the history of European politics to create a multi-ethnic empire.

All nation states that pursue a policy of integration rather than a policy of diversity are themselves exhibiting forms of internal colonialism and internal imperialism. These are simple statements with which

I am sure you all agree. Furthermore, the integrity of state boundaries is also mythical, because the boundaries of nation states continually cross language groups, traditional cultural groups, and ethnic groups.

In addition, any attempt by capitals and metropolitan centers to impose educational and cultural policy on their citizens is itself in most cases an act of centralist domination. These are strategies which have been traditionally pursued by state structures, and education has been the main means of that objective.

It is through the education system, for example, that an attempt was made to impose the English language on Wales. This, of course, was only partly successful. But the history of Welsh was of course the history of the other Celtic languages, and it is still the history of the languages of many so-called ethnic minorities and so-called immigrant minorities within our cultural context. And that brings me to my second point.

When we talk of language, we still talk of minority languages, of lesser used languages - this is a terminology which is enshrined by the European Community and Commission, which I certainly intend to work hard to remove. No language is lesser used for those who speak it.

There is a lovely story which I tell at conferences like this of a friend of mine who has two daughters who are travelling on the ferry to the Scandinavia. (This is not an attack on Swedish people, but it does illustrate the relationship between big languages and perceived smaller languages.) These two young girls are speaking to each other in Danish, because their mother was Danish, when a Swedish lady appears and says, "You are speaking Danish together." Clearly these young women do not particularly want to be in conversation with this lady and they turn to Welsh.

Now it is not, of course, the case that the Welsh always turn to speak Welsh when they want to speak to each other without being understood. That is an-

other myth used against minority languages.

But to get back to my story, they are speaking Welsh together, and the lady says, "What language are you speaking now?" and they say "We are speaking Welsh if that matters to you" and she says "Why do you speak two small languages?" and the elder girl says to the Swedish lady, "They are not small when we speak them."

To me this is a very important lesson. There are no minority languages nor lesser used languages. There are only languages, and every language is a way of seeing the world, indeed is a world within itself, if we believe only a little bit of our post-modern philosophy and our post-structuralist linguistics. To destroy or to remove or to dominate any language is to undermine the meaning of the world, not just for the speakers of those languages, but for all of us.

So, to my final point: the idea of citizenship and relationship between the two issues which I have discussed. If we accept that citizenship traditionally has been a creation of nation states, we are now moving in the European Community to a notion of citizenship based upon that whole Community. Indeed, the Maastricht treaty actually means that we are now all of us who carry our Burgundy passports with pride - and I was very pleased to throw away my old navy blue British one - citizens of the European Union. We are citizens of a Union, which means that if you get lost outside the Union, you do not have to go to the British consul any more, you can go to the German consul or you can go to any other consul for Europeans. [Laughter] That is true! That is in the Maastricht treaty, that is why I voted for it.

In that creation of a European Union, for the first time we are creating within mainland Europe the notion of citizenship which is not based upon membership of a nation state. But it is going to be a very long time before we can get that established generally. We only have to look to Northern Ireland, or to the old

Yugoslav states, to realize the difficulty, and the fact that peoples still seem to believe that we can only create political structures based on territoriality, ethnic purity whatever that is. As a wandering Kelt I know I am never ethnically pure and I never want to be. So what do these things mean? We need to look for a way of creating citizenship not based on territoriality, not based on ethnicity, based on respect for plurality and linguistic diversity and realizing that we are all in this same structure of European peoples together. [Ends in Welsh]

*Gevers
Smith*

Thank you, Lord Dafydd. Alan Smith, please.

Thank you, Mister Chairman. I feel somewhat uneasy at this moment, partly because I am not a Calvinist or really any other kind of -ist, and also I guess the color of my passport might give rise to some concern next to me. Hiding those two comments I am basically a pessimist in many respects. I assumed that I would draw one of the shortest straws when it came to deciding who speaks first, and that I would indeed be speaking towards the end of this distinguished batting order.

There is a difficulty in speaking towards the end; much has already been said. I decided to be specific rather than general in what I have to say. This is a high risk strategy in that somebody else might already have said it. I don't think, however, that it has been said and I take some comfort from that.

My theme is "Education in Europe and the Intercultural Task for the Educational Sciences" and my thesis is that it is a challenge which is only very partially being met by our educational experts in our educational establishments, principally the universities.

International cooperation in the NESA context, the educational sciences' context, can mean a number of different things. Principally, two: firstly it can be a manner of behavior. One can practice international cooperation between educational research and teaching establishments. Secondly, international coopera-

tion can be a topic of academic discourse, inquiry, research and teaching and learning between our universities.

On the first of these, cooperation between educational teachers and research establishments, it would appear that much success has already been achieved, principally through the NESA network and one or two others. Much, however, in my view remains to be achieved by the generality of the educational science fraternity in Europe.

If one looks at the percentage of programs for example within Erasmus, the Community program that I know best, education still is well below the percentage that it would account for in the generality of higher education substance in Western Europe.

Around about 4% of all the programs supported within Erasmus are in the field of education, including teaching training, and this area has been consistently bottom of the entire list of disciplines when it comes to the success rate in the selection process. And there I think there are questions for the educational teaching and research fraternity.

NESA is a glowing example of what can be done, and I hope very much that this success-story will of course be continued.

The second aspect is educational cooperation, international cooperation, as a topic and here I would say that perhaps even more than in the case of international cooperation as a behavioral instinct amongst educational researchers and scientists, a challenge is not being met in Europe at this moment.

As far as I know the educational science faculties in Western Europe, very few departments are actually doing any meaningful work on the processes and impacts and instrumentalization of international cooperation. Yet over the last ten years we have seen an explosion in Western Europe of international cooperation between the higher education establishments in Europe. I personally feel that educational

sciences, which should be providing a lead here and a very crucial feedback to European policy makers, are missing the boat.

I overstate the case to make the point, but I believe it is a point which needs to be made. I do not mean so much the field of comparative studies, looking at specific aspects of centrally higher education systems to see how specific problems of those systems are met in different countries. What I mean is the international process as such, the intercultural process as such, and I really do not think that enough is being done in this field.

Why should this be? I think there are numbers of different reasons. This would certainly take us beyond the boundaries of discussion at least in my first presentation this afternoon. I think it is partly, as far as higher education is concerned, that this has, in any case, been an area which has been neglected and is only beginning now to make itself really felt. And because it has that minority position, international aspects are likely to be even more minority.

What should we do about this situation, if you follow my analysis that something needs to be done? As one of the action points for the new association which we are just creating, we are certainly willing to try to do something. That is to provide not only a stimulation point for research on international aspects of higher education but also a 'natural home' for a dialogue between the operators, the supporters of international cooperation in the higher education field, those who fund programs for the mobility of students and staff and inter-institutional cooperation on the one hand and the educational researchers on the other.

This dialogue, it seems to me, is crucial, because if there is one area where dialogue and feedback can be directly felt, it is precisely in this area of internationalization and intercultural education.

Much work has been done on intercultural educa-

tion. My own perception of that field within educational sciences is that this has been very much a group working in its own little corner. This has been a minority interest within educational sciences. Hopefully, nonetheless, a lot of knowledge has been gained within that activity and, believe me, the time has now come for that knowledge of intercultural aspects of the education process to be fed back into the program design.

It seems to me that the European Community, to follow up what Mr. O'Dwyer has just said, has provided a lease in terms of budgets for some sort of comparative research and data collection on the internationalization process. Not only the Member States and other countries outside the European Community need to take up this challenge in national terms, as the Dutch, for example, are doing, but as the educational establishments need to build in international aspects of education into their normal curricula in a way that has not happened at all so far in my view.

*Gevers
Corrigan*

Thank you, Mr. Smith. Robert Corrigan, please.

Thank you President Jan-Karel Gevers, both for the introduction and for your generous support of NESAC. All of us who care about international education cooperation are truly indebted to you. I am flattered to be with you this afternoon on a panel which includes such distinguished associates. This has been an extraordinary week altogether, and I know I speak for all of my San Francisco colleagues when I tell you how impressed we have been with the entire conference.

Something to which we readily admit in the United States is the extent that our higher education system has been modeled on, and significantly influenced by, what you have done in Europe and Britain before us. With the possible exceptions of the Community College and the American Ph.D system, for which we will not hold you accountable and for which we

humbly beg your forgiveness, most of what we have come to appreciate and promote in the American higher education system over the last century has been borrowed from you. In recent years, however, as you have had to respond to student demands for change and political pressures to accommodate new populations, you have begun to examine the U.S. experience seeking models that you might emulate just as in earlier times we looked to you. Most exciting of all, as you have recognized how much you can learn from each other and have created structures like NESA to facilitate communication and reform, you have sought our advice and cooperation, which has both humbled and excited us. I do think some of what we have experienced in the U.S. over the last quarter century can be instructive as you struggle with some of the same forces that have impelled us to change. Since I only have ten minutes for this presentation, let me focus on one topic only--access.

Beginning in 1968, in the aftermath of the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., American universities began a 25 year journey to expand, diversify and broaden their missions. To be sure, *Brown vs Board of Education*, the landmark school desegregation decision, was fourteen years old, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made equal opportunity and access the law of the land; but higher education, typically, was slow to adapt and to adjust. It took the shock of King's murder to bring long overdue reforms in education, facilitated by the unprecedented politicization of students and faculty involved in the anti-war and civil rights movements.

It was Dr. King, himself, you will recall, who urged our active participation in the revolution by reminding us that "all too many people fail to remain awake through great periods of social change (and that) every society has its protectors of the status quo in its fraternities of the indifferent who are notorious for sleeping through revolutions (even though) our very

survival depends on our ability to stay awake, to adjust to new ideas, to remain vigilant, and to face the challenge of change." In 1968, the American higher education leadership, never very vigilant, did come, most reluctantly, to the realization that it had to face the challenge of change just as you in NESA recognize today the importance of meeting the challenge if our young people are to thrive and our societies are to prosper.

Consider if you will if at the last NESA conference I had told you that before we were to meet again there would be a reunified Germany, no Soviet Union, free elections in South Africa, Palestinians and Jews shaking hands on the lawn of the White House and a hotel in Budapest serving a \$17 breakfast. We live in a time of extraordinary change, and we as university educators must be prepared not only to deal with it but, where necessary, to initiate it.

One of the elements of change with which we must cope is the evolving nature of our student population. Diversity, which has been America's preoccupation for a quarter century, has already become the future challenge for the European community. Indeed, I was impressed yesterday to learn that half of the new pupils in Amsterdam's elementary schools are foreign born and that 50% of the University of Stockholm's enrollment consists of adult reentry students. In America, we have concluded that it is a simple matter of economics - in the simplest of business terms, the nation's future depends on how successfully our diverse work force operates. It is also obvious that growing diversity means special challenges for our educational system. What should guide us in this important effort is the perspective of the great philosopher W. E. B. Dubois "that all men...are brothers varying through time and opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul in the possibility of infinite development that must motivate all

of those who would profess to be educators."

One of the most critical elements of our work has been to create a climate in the university that perceives diversity not as an obstacle, but as an opportunity. American universities are addressing the issues of diversity in many ways - broadening instructional materials, creating new courses, offering diversity workshops for students, faculty, and staff, and generally educating themselves and their students to be multiculturally literate.

Approximately 25% of all students in U.S. public schools are minorities. In some urban areas in America our public schools are 70%, 80%, even 90% minority. By the turn of the century, more than fifty major cities will have public school systems with minority students comprising a majority of the total student population. In California today, Hispanic, Black, Asian-Pacific, and Native American students account for 57% of the students in our public schools. We speak positively and eloquently about this being the leadership of tomorrow, even as we wring our hands in despair and frustration over the failures we have experienced in adequately educating that population. The drop-out rate for Black and Hispanic youth in California is 50% higher than for whites. On a national basis, the high school completion rate 1984 for Hispanics is 60%, Blacks 74% and whites 87%. In California, we estimate that out of every 1,000 Black and Hispanic 9th graders, only thirty-six can expect to enter a California State University campus and only nine will graduate in five years time. There are more Black males between the ages of 18 and 30 in our prison system than in our colleges and universities, more American Indians on death row in San Quentin than in California doctoral programs. In 1991, U.S. universities awarded 5212 doctorates in engineering, of which only forty-nine went to Hispanic Americans, forty-five to Black Americans and six to Native Americans. Of the 978

Ph.D.'s. awarded in mathematics, only five went to Black Americans.

Despite the drop-out rate which frustrates and angers a society built on the notion of universal access to education, we have experienced a significant change in the student population of universities like the one I head. No longer is our typical student an 18-22 year-old Anglo-Saxon Protestant male from a middle-class family taking four or five courses a semester, living in a dormitory or fraternity, taking summers off and graduating in four calendar years prepared to enter finally the world of work. Such characteristics no more reflect today's university student than "Ozzie and Harriet" or "Leave it to Beaver" television shows typify the contemporary American family.

Our students are generally older, largely female, increasingly ethnic minority, mostly from lower-middle class and working-class backgrounds, and quite likely to be the first generation in college and even the first in their family to graduate high school. They tend to live at home with family or in off-campus apartments and, therefore, commute to the campus. A significant portion of them are married, and the overwhelming majority are employed, often in full-time jobs. As a result of family and work obligations, they are more likely to be less than full-time students and take five to six years (or more) to earn a "four year" bachelors degree. Increasingly they have attended a community college before coming to the University - as have 75% of the undergraduates at San Francisco State University. And we are seeing an impressive resurgence of foreign born students - 5,000 of the 25,000 students at San Francisco State were born outside of the United States.

This student profile, sketchy and familiar as it may be to most of you, also suggests some of the challenges posed for the modern university. Returning women, as we sometimes call them, bring special tal-

ents and skills (for each of the nine years I was Chancellor at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, the top honors in the business school went to 30-year-old women who had come to us by way of a local community college), but they also bring special needs for counselling and advice - as do older students generally. Similarly, the racial diversification that we seek brings with it much excitement but also major curricula challenges. San Francisco State ranks third in the continental United States (right after Berkeley and UCLA) for the number of minority bachelor degrees awarded yearly, but our success has required an enormous commitment of resources - and not just monetary. (For example, almost fifty percent of our new faculty hires for the past four years have been ethnic minorities.) We have witnessed for five years the concern for multiculturalism and for an Afro-centric curriculum on the part of this new majority seeking more representation of their own particular history, culture, and background in both required and elective courses. The 1960s saw the development of strong Black Studies programs and the 1980s witnessed the emergence of much more diversified Ethnic Studies programs. The 1990s will see an extraordinary effort (successful I predict) to restructure the entire curriculum to reflect the ethnic diversity of our campuses. Although the example I gave is of Black Americans, virtually every ethnic group in America today seeks the same recognition in our curriculum that Blacks do, and I wonder how long it will be before the same pressures are at work in your institutions.

In America we discovered that we could not adequately serve this non-traditional student body - what I term the new majority - if we maintained the educational status quo. Recalling the words of Robert F. Kennedy, whose life and death (also in 1968) affected so many of us - "Some men see things

as they are and ask 'why?' I dream things that never were and ask 'why not?' - we set about designing new programs, new structures, new support systems.

It has not been easy, it has not been cheap, it has not been without controversy and it has not always been successful—I can recall in the early 1970s that a major midwestern research university routinely dropped 90% of its Black freshman by the end of the first year. We came to realize early, not surprisingly, that we could not wait for college or even high school for the special programs to ensure these students success, and we reach back to the early grades with university help and support. Let me boast, if I may, about one program at San Francisco State University that represents the faculty at its best in reaching out to the disadvantaged students. Called "Step to College," it began ten years ago in an inner city high school where the drop out rate was 50%, and only 10% of those who managed to graduate went on to a college or university. Not only have we been able to double the continuation rate, but last year 90% of the school's graduating seniors went on to a post-secondary institution.

Once we have these students at the university, we must supply them with the appropriate assistance - financial aid, counselling, tutoring, small classes, and a user-free environment, if you will. To assume that such students can survive the university without this support is an error - so, too, is it an error to assume that it is race or ethnic identification alone that defines the student in need of special support services. As a result, America has opened up the doors of higher education to a much more diverse population than we could ever have predicted and generally is serving that population well. So, too, will European universities attract and serve similarly important and diverse populations and join with America in facilitating this important educational and social revolution.

Were time to permit, I would describe many of the programs that have enabled San Francisco State University to gain its ranking as the nation's third largest producer of minority baccalaureate degrees. Let me conclude by stressing the importance of the task and its urgency. I am reminded, in this regard, of President John F. Kennedy's anecdote of the French Marshall Lyautey, who once ordered his Moroccan gardener to plant a new tree the next day. "But," protested the gardener, "why plant it? It won't flower for a hundred years." "In that case," ordered Lyautey, "plant it this afternoon."

NESA institutions are planting those seeds now so that our colleagues yet to come can enjoy what we have produced.

Thank you.

Gevers

Well, thank you. It is very impressive, and I am sure you feel the same way, to have five distinguished members of the education community to design the whole impressive rainbow of issues before you. It is even a little bit oppressive to think about the fact that in the coming 20 minutes we have to connect and integrate those issues.

I would like to invite the members of the panel to lean back a little bit and to answer a rather philosophical and maybe very general question, a question that bothers me personally very much.

The question is this: there is a war again in Europe, something we thought that was only occurring in Africa or Asia or Middle America, but it is now again amongst us. There are other things. They are mentioned by the members of the panel, the minorities for instance. But let us take one of the most horrible facts, that war.

Do we, do you really believe that education matters in that respect and, for instance, the question to Alan Smith, do you really believe that research and education matters for education and that education matters in that. What is the mechanism about the belief that

we want to have that it matters? What is the mechanism? What is happening in the classroom where the teacher in Europe, somewhere in Europe, teaches history in connection with the facts I briefly allude to? You have the most experience of us, Professor Husén, do you really still believe that education matters?

Husén

Sometimes I am in doubt, having been in the business for so many years. But on the other hand, we cannot be content with sticking down our heads in the sand of our pessimism, and we have to believe in the fruitfulness of enlightenment. I mean, after all, the central element of education is enlightenment, broadening the views.

I am afraid I am providing you only with generalities, but if you permit me, I would connect this with a theme that was dealt with by several of the colleagues here on the panel, namely, multiculturalism. This is something that several European countries have been increasingly faced with over the last couple of decades.

To give you two examples. In my own country, by 1960 1% of the pupils in our schools came from homes where another language than Swedish was spoken. Now it is something like 12% or 13%. Another example, in 1984 I was at the *Wissenschaftskolleg* of Berlin for half a year, and I learned that every second child born in Western Berlin at that time was a Turk, which gives you another example of the emergence of multiculturalism.

In coping with this, we can learn quite a lot from the United States. I was on an OECD policy review team in 1978, along with Michael Young, now Lord Young, Hartmut von Hentig from Germany and Peter Karmel from Australia. We went to 18 different places in the U.S., among them New Mexico. Our task was to review what in Washington was referred to as compensatory education (the phrase compensatory education was launched by the

Johnson administration by the mid-1960's). We came into the office of a lady who was in charge of bilingual education in New Mexico. As soon as we came into her office she was saying "What the hell are we going to be compensated for? My family was here 200 years before these damned yankees came!"

At the University of New Mexico there were two schools, one promoting assimilation, i.e., the traditional, American philosophy, the other one emphasizing ethnic identity. We are now encountering something of this in Europe. That is why I am saying that there is quite a lot to be learned from the debate that has been going on in the United States.

Gevers Yes, but let me ask a more awkward question, maybe even an impolite question. Sixty years ago, with hindsight, did you not choose the wrong profession? Couldn't you have better been a lawyer or an economist?

Husén They tried to push me to become a civil engineer... but I agree with you, the more I have been in this business of educational research the more sceptical I have become.

Gevers This is the point where we need an American. For you believe in education. We call you naive in that.

Corrigan Well, my parents wanted me to be an engineer too. Now, I see the direction of the question, and what I am trying to suggest in my remarks is that I think we are entering into perhaps the most exciting period in this century in terms of education. To be involved in higher education now in Europe or in America is to be involved with an engine that is essentially transforming the nature of our societies. I cannot imagine a more exciting profession to be in now. I wish I had a little bit more money with which to do the job, and the recession is terrible, but from the point of view what we are able to accomplish, I think the potential is extraordinary.

Gevers The politicians you meet in your everyday work, do they believe in education to a degree that they also

- O'Dwyer put the money on the table?
If I can take up your very first point (the fact that there is a war going on in Europe), you cannot sit at a table at a meeting in Brussels, with twelve Member States represented, without at some time in the course of the day reflecting on what is going on around you in a historical context. Now, that process is surely likely to continue if more people are better educated. When I speak of the commitment to education in the Member States, let me give you just one example. I had the opportunity last year, before I took up my present job, of talking to the Secretary of the Department of Education in Dublin. He was very critical of himself and his Department: the standards, the number of dropouts. He said to me, "Well now, O'Dwyer, you would be a product of the mid-fifties I suppose. In 1955, just 5,500 students took the Leaving Certificate examination (the equivalent of the baccalaureate) in Ireland. In 1991, the corresponding figure was 56,500". So access has been greatly increased, a lot of people believe in education, and there is a tremendous commitment to it, even in financial terms.
- Gevers Do you think that it is increasing?
- O'Dwyer No, but if it is holding its own in the present financial situation, it is doing very well.
- Gevers You believe that Europe is investing enough in education?
- O'Dwyer In every area I was ever involved in I never believed Europe was investing enough in education. Of course, it should invest more. But given the present financial constraints, education is not doing that badly.
- Gevers As a panel you spoke, among other things, about language. Is the problem of language and an emerging common language like Latin in former days, is that indeed an answer to societal problems around us or is it just communication and nobody cares what the communication is about?

Smith First of all, a comment on the first question. History teaches us to be modest but not to despair about the role of education. I don't think that education alone can be the factor which solves all problems of international understanding. Certainly, it cannot ...

Gevers I did not ask, "Can it solve them?" I asked, "Does education matter?"

Smith In my view it certainly does. Education is not the only factor which drives forward industrial production, but it is, nonetheless, a contributory factor and an important one. I take enormous heart and gratification from the words of Mr. O'Dwyer earlier on, when he was saying that, of course, this competitiveness factor, which leads us to support international endeavours in the field of education is a crucial one for the European Community, but it is not the only one ...

Gevers If I may interrupt you ... If you are talking about the research agenda, are you talking in terms of planting a tree that will bring flowers after 100 years, or are you thinking of more urgency in propagating research?

Smith First the education process and then the research aspect. As far as the education process is concerned, and in my particular field of activity, the international aspects of education, I fervently believe that the process of putting young people together across national and cultural boundaries at a formative stage in their personal development can indeed be a contributory factor not only in improving industrial competitiveness but actually to help in preventing what is happening in former Yugoslavia and other parts of the world. I really believe that this is an important contribution which education can make in the world. Secondly, as far as research is concerned, although educational research can in some aspects only have a long term impact. That is the nature of many aspects of research, not only educational research. There are, however, even in my very limited field,

certain instances in which it had very direct results. One was during the design of some of the major Community higher education programmes in the mid- to late 1980s, where the fact that we were able to draw on some, however slender, empirical research to the effect that this kind of international experience had a measurable impact on students in terms of acquisition of additional linguistic competence, in terms of additional intersocial skills, in terms of career impact, initial insertion at any rate into careers ... this had a very direct influence on the willingness of Member States to support this kind of activity.

We have to believe in ourselves, while, nonetheless, retaining some modesty that we are certainly not going to change the world off our own bats.

As far as the language aspect is concerned, with regard to the hegemony of English, it may be, culturally speaking, a disaster for the English.

It certainly has certain disadvantages, the main one of which is the lack of equality. It puts the people who speak English as a mother tongue at an enormous advantage.

I believe the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Having any medium for international communication is a very positive thing. It puts people into contact with each other in a way which would otherwise not be possible.

Even for those countries which have less widely taught languages, the fact that some of their education is provided through the medium of English is not necessarily detrimental to the international understanding process or even to the maintenance of indigenous and smaller cultures to use the usual vocabulary. On the contrary, to have people going to other countries, even if they are taught in English, will get them interested in that country. They will learn the language and the culture of those countries perhaps as a second step.

Gevers I will not dwell on the war in Yugoslavia forever, but use it as an example only. What disappointed me so much was that Yugoslavia was flooded with tourists before the war. It was one of the main tourist countries. The academic contacts between all the universities in Yugoslavia and the West European countries were very intense. There was a completely open traffic between them. And yet this seems to have had no influence.

Smith The war in Yugoslavia is not fought between Yugoslavia and Western Europe.

Lord Dafydd To answer your first question, we need education to re-educate the politicians.

Gevers That is the most unsuccessful effort.

Lord Dafydd It is not for me to talk about the context of international law, but there is no way in which a minority or a group which looks for greater political power or autonomy within a federation can have that autonomy without this notion of declaring itself independent and being recognized. That is because we are still operating law within state structures. And those state structures are based on territoriality.

The other aspect of the state is armed force. The structure of the state is itself based upon violence, which is a cover for certain forms of class domination. (I will probably be sent home on the next plane for saying things like that.) But for me the result is that when people want more autonomy, they want to form states and then violence follows. Violence is endemic to the whole nation state system. Terrorism and guerilla warfare is anti-state violence, which is part of the same syndrome and the same bipolarity.

How do you break that? You break that by having international law, which is policeable and which is able to use violence and a threat of violence to create more just structures of autonomy. But it is also to make systems of federation which do not require those false options. And interestingly, if there is to be a solution next week to the questions in the old state

of Yugoslavia, it appears that a referendum on the option of cessation from a federation is to be part of that choice. So people are to be given a choice whether they become independent members of the United Nations. That is the model we are operating under, and international education is part of that model.

About language, Louis-Jean Calvet in his "La guerre des langues" talks about two aspects of the language of wars. Language is both '*grégaire*' and '*véhiculaire*'. In other words, it creates senses of identity but is also a means of communication. Those means of communication are also badges of identity. Therefore, the more we have the better, provided we understand that this is what they are.

This is what worries me about the domination of English. The disadvantages imposed on English speakers - and the same goes for French speakers, Spanish speakers, American speakers who do not speak other languages - is that they think that monolingualism is the order of the day. As we know, monolingualism is a very dangerous and myopic disease.

Corrigan

Mr. Chairman, one of the things we have not talked about is the impact these changes have on the role that the faculty play. I have a colleague at San Francisco State who is teaching an American Government class and there are at least ten students in that class who were raised in other countries. The way in which he teaches is necessarily different. How that class evolves is different as a result of the various nationality backgrounds of the students. Some of our faculties are keeping pace with that change much more rapidly than others are. In a sense, the students are overtaking the faculty in many instances in terms of internationalization.

The statistics that I have heard about here this week show the diversification of the student population in your various universities. If the faculty can keep pace with that, can change its respond to the students and

knows how to develop a useful curriculum, I believe that the ability of people to get along with each other and work towards a common agenda is going to be facilitated by the changes that are going on right now in the universities.

Gevers Do you believe in a European curriculum or do you believe in diversity?

Corrigan We could spend the next five hours on just one aspect. I mentioned Afro-centrism. When I first got into the study of Afro-American culture in 1968 the notion was that we wanted to expand our knowledge of the American past by including in it the participation of black Americans. It was a kind of assimilationist approach. You add to what we already know. What I am dealing with now on my campus are faculty who are rejecting the notion of the 'melting pot', who are offering the image of the 'salad bowl' as opposed to the melting pot. In a salad bowl you put a lot of things together, but they do not lose their natural identity.

It is more difficult now in America, as you may have seen from the debate at Stanford three years ago, to agree upon what the course of an educational experience should be. What we used to talk about is Western civilization.

We do not have an *American* curriculum, and now I am coming to your question. I would promote a European curriculum, but our problems will seem insignificant compared to what you will face in trying to put a European curriculum together.

Gevers Nothing would be farther from the Treaty of Maastricht than the thought of a European curriculum.

O'Dwyer Nothing could be farther from the minds of Commission officials, especially my colleagues and myself, than the thought of a European curriculum.

Gevers But is that because of political reasons?

O'Dwyer No, no. Quite frankly, that is because of the obvious reality of the situation. My friend here talks about the background of the different students ... I was just

thinking myself that our three boys went to European schools in Brussels in 1973. There were 37 different nationalities in the European School. For the first six months we were rather shocked but after that my wife and I began to appreciate it: maybe there was something to diversity. I don't think that our boys even noticed.

I think, genuinely, the diversity within Europe can be handled. There is no way we are trying to establish a European curriculum.

Professor Ruberti, the EC commissioner for education, talks quite rightly about the European dimension, an element of European thinking. Let's try to develop a European philosophy. But that is miles away from the notion of a European curriculum.

Gevers

Nonsense, a European curriculum?

Husén

Yes, simply by the fact that you cannot imagine a situation where you would have a European language.

Gevers

Then the theme of this conference is also a little bit nonsense?

Husén

Not at all. It has to do with a much more extended problem. What we are dealing with now is the question of how we get about this problem of establishing a European identity. Extending the solidarity, extending the horizon, etc. Somebody referred to the time it takes to change. We must be aware of the fact that to change educational institutions takes an enormous amount of time.

I learned quite a lot about this some years ago, when we were doing an evaluation of the Spanish reform of higher education. Young people in the Spanish cabinet wanted to change it all overnight, because they had such a need of catching up after the many years of the Franco regime. We must consider the time it takes for educational institutions to change.

But there is a kind of *rapprochement*. I have not mentioned that since the early sixties I have been involved as the founding father in the beginning and

then as an interesting observer in conducting surveys of outcomes of the educational systems. We have, for instance, been re-evaluating mathematics, science, and reading education. There is no doubt about it that there is a very slow *rapprochement* between the curricula of the various countries. That is simply an effect of the increased cross-national communication.

In this respect, your organization is working with the times. In the long run you will be coming up with something.

Gevers In a hundred years...

Husén No, no. If you look back twenty years many rather spectacular things have happened in the educational field that we could not have foreseen at all in the mid-1960s. No, it will take less time but you cannot do it overnight, as I have said earlier.

Gevers We have to end the discussion here. Probably too early, but let us try to end it with one sentence about priorities in education or educational research. Alan?

Smith Well, I have already stated the point which for me personally is the most important, the area from which I come and to which I can make a certain contribution; I would not like the impression to have arisen from our brief discussion earlier on that I am not a fervent supporter of language learning and language tuition in Europe and beyond. What is going to happen in the future, now that the regions within the EC are to be given greater emphasis in the decision making process, and will that have any impact on the importance of regions and the implications for education within that outside the EC?

Gevers Lord Dafydd?

Lord Dafydd I am afraid I believe in a European curriculum. I wanted it to be non-Eurocentric based on regional diversity.

O'Dwyer European identity, that is the only point I would like to make, as distinct from a European curriculum, through the educational process.

- Corrigan* Let me steal a line from somebody else. I quoted Jack Kennedy, let me quote Robert Kennedy.
"Some men see things as they are and ask why. I dream things that never were and ask why not?"
- Gevers* Thank you. Thank you, members of the panel. Of course, you did well because you are used to do the impossible.

List of Contributors

Adkins, Lisa
University of the West of England
Bristol, England

Aldrich, Richard
University of London
London, England

Aszmann, Anna
Janus Pannonius University
Pécs, Hungary

Balázs, Éva
National Institute of Public Education
Budapest, Hungary

Benczúr, Judit M.
Barczy Gustav College
Budapest, Hungary

Besozzi, Elena
Institute of Education
Bari, Italy

Bleszyńska, Krystyna
Warsaw University
Warsaw, Poland

Boxer, Marilyn J.
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Catarsi, Carlo
Universita degli studi di Firenze
Florence, Italy

Cerná, Marie
Charles University
Prague, Czech Republic

Cogan, John J.
University of Minnesota
Twin Cities, USA

Corrigan, Robert
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Csapó, Benő
Attila József University
Szeged, Hungary

De Graaf, Marian
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Dieckmann, Bernhard
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Drummond, Philip
University of London
London, England

Finley, Fred N.
University of Minnesota
Twin Cities, USA

List of Contributors

Foster, Kenneth
University of Central Lancashire
Preston, England

Fraenkel, Jack R.
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Fredericos, Alexandra
Athens College
Athens, Greece

Gabor, Edina
ELTE University
Budapest, Hungary

Garleja, Rasma
University of Latvia
Riga, Latvia

Geulen, Dieter
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Gevers, Jan-Karel
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Göhlich, Michael
Technical University
Berlin, Germany

Golnhofer, Erzsébet
Institute of Education
Budapest, Hungary

Grauberg, Ene
Tallinn Baccalaureate School
Tallin, Estonia

Green, Andy
University of London
London, England

Grotenhuis, Saskia
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Gundara, Jagdish S.
Institute of Education
London, England

Hartley, David
University of Dundee
Dundee, Scotland

Hemphill, David F.
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Hoff, Gerd R.
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Hübner, Peter
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Hurst, Alan
University of Lancashire
Preston, England

Husén, Torsten
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Inglessi, Chryssi
University of Athens
Athens, Greece

Jalmert, Lars
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Jones, Crispin
London University
London, England

Juceviciene, Palmira
University of Kaunas
Kaunas, Lithuania

Karsten, Sjoerd
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Karvelis, Vytautas
Siauliai Pedagogical Institute
Siauliai, Lithuania

Kazukuni, Aihara
University of Hiroshima
Hiroshima, Japan

Kim, Myoung-Ouk
University of Maryland College Park
Washington, USA

Koczan, Anna
University of Pécs
Pécs, Hungary

Koke, Tatjane
Latvian University
Riga, Latvia

Koppen, Jan Karel
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Kotásek, Iri
Charles University
Prague, Czech Republic

Kotusiewiczowa, Alacja A.
Faculty of Pedagogics
Warsaw, Poland

Koulaidis, Vasilios
University of Thessaloniki
Thessaloniki, Greece

Kovacs-Feher, Zsuzsanna
Barczi Gustav College
Budapest, Hungary

Kovacs-Vass, Eموke
Barczi Gustav College
Budapest, Hungary

Kreitzberg, Peter
Tartu University
Tartu, Estonia

Kruithof, Bernhard
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Kullmann, Lajos
Barczi Gustav College
Budapest, Hungary

List of Contributors

Kwiatkowska, Henryka

Faculty of Pedagogics
Warsaw, Poland

Leonard, Diana

University of London
London, England

Majoer, Dominique

University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Makrakis, Vasilios

University of Crete
Rethymnon, Greece

Masát, András

Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest, Hungary

Mavroyiorgos, Yiorgos

University of Ioannina
Ioannina, Greece

McLaughlin, Frank

San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Meleg, Csilla

Janus Pannonius University
Pécs, Hungary

Merkens, Hans

Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Mestenhauser, Josef A.

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, USA

Michaels, Eugene
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Mori, Skigeru
University of Hiroshima
Hiroshima, Japan

O'Dwyer, Thomas
General Task Force Human Resources
Brussels, Belgium

Orellana, Elena, Ramirez
Department of Education
Salamanca, Spain

Ouston, Janet
University of London
London, England

Parizek, Vlastimil
Charles University
Prague, Czech Republic

Petrusevicius, Juozas
Siauliai Pedagogical Institute
Siauliai, Lithuania

Priimägi, Sirje
Tartu University
Tartu, Estonia

Pucel, David
University of Minnesota
Minnesota, USA

List of Contributors

Qvarsell, Birgitta
Stockholm University
Stockholm, Sweden

Radnai, Zsófia
Janus Pannonius University
Budapest, Hungary

Repáraz, Gustavo, Egas
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Romano, John L.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, USA

Scanagatta, Silvio
Institute of Sociology
Padova, Italy

Schwartz, Henrietta
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Skagen, Kaare
University of Tromsø
Tromsø, Norway

Sklodowski, Jan
University of Warsaw
Warsaw, Poland

Smith, Alan
Academic Cooperation
Brussels, Belgium

Solfronk, Jan,
Charles University
Prague, Czech Republic

Sting, Stephan

Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Strömqvist, Görel

Stockholm University
Stockholm, Sweden

Suzhen, Xue

Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
Shanghai, China

Széchy, Eva

Loránd Eotvos University
Budapest, Hungary

Szépe, György

Janus Pannonius University
Budapest, Hungary

Szmagalski, Jerzy

Warsaw University
Warsaw, Poland

Takemura, Shigekazu

University of Hiroshima
Hiroshima, Japan

Teekens, Hanneke Farkas

University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Thomas, Lord Dafydd Elis

Welsh Language Board
Cardiff, England

List of Contributors

Van Dalsem, Elizabeth L.
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

Van der Linden, L. T.
Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht
Utrecht, The Netherlands

Vastagh, Zoltan
Janus Pannonios University
Pécs, Hungary

Vecsey, Katalin
Barczi College for Handicapped Teachers
Budapest, Hungary

Veugelers, Wiel
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Voorthuis, M.E.
University of Amsterdam
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Wulf, Christoph
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Zirfas, Jörg
Free University of Berlin
Berlin, Germany

Zujienė, Irena
Vilnius Pedagogical University
Vilnius, Lithuania

Acknowledgements

The fact that the Congress of NESA could take place in Budapest in September 1993 and its results could be published was due to the particular efforts of many institutions and people who are expressly thanked here once again.

First I would like to thank very much the Eötvös Loránd University and the Hungarian Ministry of Education for the local arrangements and support of the Congress in Budapest. In particular I would like to name the following persons who deserve our thanks: Gábor Halász (NIPE), Budapest, Katalin Kovács (NIPE), Budapest, Beáta Kotschy (ELTE), Budapest, Zoltán Vastagh (JPTE), Pécs, József Nagy (JATE), Szeged, István Bábosik (ELTE), Budapest, Éva Balázs (NIPE), Budapest, the management and staff of the Kulturinnov and the ELTE students assistance team.

NESA owes particular thanks also to the Amsterdam Team, which took over especially the planning and organization work, including obtaining the necessary financial support. Here above all should the coordinator of the network Gustavo Egas Repáraz be thanked, who with his exceptional organizational and social creativity made the network what it was by the time of the Budapest Congress. Thanks to the following individuals: Jan-Karel Koppen, Gerrit Jan van der Duim, Hans Lington, Wieneke Icke, Peter de Baare, Karin Busch, Patrick van Beveren.

Finally the colleagues of the Department of Education of the Freie Universität Berlin should be thanked for their enormous work connected with the publication. I would like to name Regina Bornmann and Rita Beetz.

I would like to give special thanks to Dr. Roberta Reeder, Siegfried Frey and Claudia Bartholomeyczik, who edited the language of most texts, to Walter Boll, who prepared the book for print and to the Director of the Faculty, Detlef Genilke, who stood ready with advice and support.

Christoph Wulf
Chairman, NESA-Steering Committee

ISSN 0946-6797
ISBN 3-89325-258-4



**MÜNSTER
NEW YORK**