prospects
quarterly review of education

50

Landmarks

Viewpoints/Controversies

A. H. Passow  Education of the gifted
J. Oxenham  Educational assistance to the urban informal sector

Open file: 1985, International Youth Year

C. Murray  Youth research in the 1980s /
D. M. Barlba  Youth and peace / S. Hübner-Funk
and W. Schefold  Federal Republic of
Germany: no future without peace /
B. Henriksson  The socialization of youth /
E. Montiel  Latin America: youth participation / I. D. Zverev
USSR: youth and the environment / J. Szalai
Youth and employment / H. Vermeulen and T. Peis
The Netherlands: identity and young migrants

Trends and cases

R. La Borderie  Media education in France

Reviews

Profiles: José Martí
Book reviews
Complete editions of Prospects are also available in the following languages:

French

Perspectives
revue trimestrielle de l'éducation
(ISSN 0304-3045) (Unesco)

Spanish

Perspectivas
revista trimestral de educación
(ISSN 0304-3053) (Unesco)

Arabic

•• •
masnaqbiyat
(ISSN 0254-119-X) (Unesco)

Subscription rate: 68 French francs (one year)
Single issue: 20 French francs

Subscription requests for the Arabic, English, French and Spanish editions should be sent to the Unesco national distributor in your country—of which a complete list for all countries appears at the end of this issue—who will furnish prices in local currency.
# Landmarks

## VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES

- **Education of the gifted**  
  *A. Harry Passow*  
  Page 177
- **Educational assistance to the urban informal sector**  
  *John Oxenham*  
  Page 189

## OPEN FILE

### 1985, International Youth Year

- **Youth research in the 1980s**  
  *Christopher Murray*  
  Page 211
- **Youth and peace**  
  *Dan Mihai Barliba*  
  Page 223
- **The challenge of youth in the Federal Republic of Germany: no future without peace**  
  *Sibylle Hübner-Funk and Werner Schefold*  
  Page 231
- **A key problem: the socialization of youth**  
  *Benny Henriksson*  
  Page 237
- **Aspects of youth participation in Latin America**  
  *Edgar Montiel*  
  Page 249
- **Youth and the natural environment: a survey in the USSR**  
  *Ivan Dmitriyevich Zverev*  
  Page 261
- **Youth and employment: the case of Hungary**  
  *Julia Szalai*  
  Page 269
- **Ethnic identity and young migrants in the Netherlands**  
  *Hans Vermeulen and Trees Pels*  
  Page 277

## TRENDS AND CASES

- **Media education in France**  
  *René La Borderie*  
  Page 285

## Reviews

- **Profile: José Martí**  
  Page 295
- **Book reviews**  
  Page 301
All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor,

prospects
Unesco, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris

Authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in signed articles and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization.

The designations employed and the presentation of material in Prospects do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of Unesco concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

© Unesco 1984
Published texts may be freely reproduced and translated (except where reproduction or translation rights are reserved, indicated by ©), provided that mention is made of the author and source.
This issue is focused around two axes of thought, current concerns and future prospects.

Current concerns evoked in these articles are quite diverse in terms of target clientele and forms of education: the contrasting axes appear in the first two articles devoted, on the one hand, to actual formal education offered in various countries to gifted children, and, on the other hand, to potential educational assistance for seriously disadvantaged categories of adolescents and working adults who live in the big cities of the Third World.

Future prospects are illustrated by the Open File devoted to youth perception of certain major world problems introducing International Youth Year, 1985.

One look at the number of international meetings devoted to gifted children and adolescents over the past ten years indicates the extent to which interest has developed and become accepted almost as a matter of routine. The perception of the phenomenon, theoretical studies and programme proposals developed by researchers during the 1950s and 1960s are now prevalent in at least thirty countries. Harry Passow analyses this tendency and draws out points of convergence and divergence on the international level.

The most important point of convergence might be the following:

Egalitarianism and elitism are arguments used by both proponents and opponents to making adequate and appropriate provisions for the gifted and talented. Under various political and economic systems, there are provisions for the gifted and while the rhetoric may differ, the issues and the programmes are not dissimilar.

Right along these lines, in an earlier issue of the review, Mikhail Lavrentiev described the academic community of Novosibirsk, where considerable effort was focused on identifying and training very young scientists, especially mathematicians, alongside intensive scientific research and application of its results to production. (Vol. V, No. 2, 1975, pp. 147-64.)

All countries naturally have the right and the duty to develop all of young people’s potential and talents either within or outside scholastic structures in order to assist in preparing them better to serve the national collectivity. This necessity is all the more urgent since economic, social and cultural development of societies is no longer conceivable without the full and complete mobilization of all human resources. Two excesses should be avoided, however: the first would consist of setting talented
children apart as a socially isolated group, educated according to deliberately elitist principles: the second excess, a corollary of the first, would involve authorities and decision-makers in devoting insufficient means to the young who are not actually gifted and who have greater needs than others to be recognized and assisted.

John Oxenham examines a seriously disadvantaged and distinct population. This population was identified in the nineteenth century and referred to by Engels in 1845 as a ‘surplus’ population. It has, however, only been strikingly present in analysis and concern, especially by the ILO, for less than twenty years. Since a precise definition is still lacking, this group is referred to as the ‘urban informal sector’. Who is covered by this term? These people include the mass of adolescents and adults of certain large cities in developing countries who have had little or no contact with schooling and expend a wealth of inventiveness and energy simply to avoid their own and their families’ starvation while working in activities for which they have trained themselves without any state aid: pedlar, rickshaw man, shoe-shiner, tin-can collector and many others are included. What educational assistance could and should be provided for them? By whom? How?

Oxenham devotes considerable attention to identifying the environment and profiles of this overly-active population and also warns against both excessive intervention and training which might cost more than the return it would be intended to stimulate: ‘if training requires time away from work, its opportunity costs could cause immediate restrictions on an entire family’. He offers several guidelines in which assistance might actually be envisaged: occupational guidance, improved apprenticeships, aid in obtaining employment, retraining and in-service training during employment. If the question of such aid is a very recent concern, it is to be feared that the problem it is intended to resolve may be aggravated even further by the natural growth of the population, unemployment and rural exodus. Everything appears to be joined so that the urban informal sector remains accepted, although it would be eminently desirable that it be absorbed and eliminated in the long run. Accepting such a state of affairs might be considered pragmatic or realistic. Undoubtedly this is the case, but it is not possible to avoid paying attention to the observation made by H. Schmitz quoted by Oxenham in which he states that this type of ‘training might actually be a cheap diversion from more radical and more helpful reforms. It might also make it easier to blame people in the sector for not making proper use of the opportunities provided for them’.

1985 will be International Youth Year. What better way could be found to celebrate it than by devoting our fiftieth Open File to youth?
The year will be rich in events, meetings, declarations, studies and so forth. On this occasion, we have attempted to offer a twofold approach: first, a chronological distance by preceding the official date; secondly, by changing our approach, relatively speaking—one occasion does not constitute a habit—to our classic theme, i.e. education, in favour of a more socio-political analysis.

Prospects is devoted by its nature and its vocation principally to youth. An Open File or even a single article intended to celebrate International Youth Year by treating ‘education and of youth’ would have lacked depth in this instance. Hence we chose to look for the thoughts and views of youth on problems other than education. Such problems are countless and most of them are not raised in precisely the same fashion in the northern hemisphere or in the southern hemisphere, in the east or in the west. They are all interdependent, however, and the youth of all countries is involved in one way or another.

For this Open File, we selected problems identified by Unesco and analysed in the first part of its Medium-Term Plan (1984-1989): peace and disarmament with a background of science and technology; the environment, which is not only local or national but truly planetary; participation in society through two of its most sensitive means, political expression and access to employment; the demand for cultural identity, especially among those where such identity is most threatened: young migrants. It also appeared useful to draw attention to a trap set for many young people in wealthy countries, that of the role of a passive consumer.

Of course, there is no question of aiming at exhaustive coverage, even for a single one of the problems raised; these are only facets, samples of an overall situation full of contrasts. The reflections which are given here appear significant, however, and rather representative, on the whole, of the attitude of youth throughout the world.

Prospects is celebrating its twelfth anniversary and its fiftieth issue. The reader might be interested to know that alongside the English, French, Spanish and Arabic editions already in existence, two other integral editions began this year, one in Chinese in Beijing, the other in Bulgarian in Sofia. In addition, a quarterly selection has appeared in Russian since 1982 in Moscow while many others, less frequent, are published in German, Italian, Polish and Serbo-Croatian, ensuring a sort of linguistic polycentrism (which is rarely encountered among specialized reviews) and as universal a distribution as possible of world thought and experience in education, which is, after all, one of the priority missions entrusted to Unesco.

Z.M.
VIEWPOINTS

CONTROVERSIES
Since 1975, five World Conferences on the Gifted and Talented have been held. There have been as many as 1,200 participants from some forty countries. The Fifth World Conference, which was held in Manila in August 1983, drew almost 500 conferees from twenty-six nations. Clearly, there is considerable interest in the education of the gifted and talented children and youth in countries around the world. This interest is not new in some countries but, in others, a concern for the education of the gifted is something which has emerged relatively recently. Some nations are experiencing a revival of interest in the gifted while others are just beginning to explore possibilities for nurturing their most able students.

In 1961 and 1962 two Year Books of Education were published, entitled *Concepts of Excellence in Education* and *The Gifted Child* (Bereday and Lauwerys, 1961, 1962). These two volumes examined the various concepts of excellence and the approaches to education of the gifted cross-nationally. The editors originally intended that the 1961 volume would cover the field, hoping 'to give a review of the notions of talented throughout the world and the way in which these notions receive political, social, and cultural implementation in different schools systems'. However, it soon became clear that the problem of gifted education had so many ramifications that two volumes were necessary rather than one. The authors from a variety of countries described, analysed and interpreted 'what happens when attempts are made on a national scale to discover and to educate gifted children in all ranks of the population'.

A survey of almost three dozen countries completed for the Fifth World Conference in Manila suggests that the same profusion of concepts of excellence and the same diversity in provisions for the gifted continues. The difficulty that Bereday and Lauwerys encountered in arriving at a consensus with respect to what constitutes giftedness, talent or genius persists.


The United States of America has been making provision for gifted students for well over a century, but concern for the education of the gifted in that country has had a cyclical history, waxing and waning with the social, political and economic developments that influence educational policy and practice. To describe education of the gifted in the United States is difficult because one must deal with the broad and diverse definitions of giftedness and talent and their operationalization; the various efforts at differentiation of curriculum and instruction; the organizational approaches ranging from enrichment within the classroom to special classes and even special schools for the gifted; the pre-service and in-service programmes for teachers of the gifted; the special counselling and ancillary services; the varied nonschool agencies and institutions which provide supplementary and complementary opportunities for the gifted; the policies affecting the education of the gifted at the local, state and federal levels; the involvement and guidance of parents of the gifted; the national and regional talent searches and competitions; and the relatively vast research activity. Each aspect or element of policies and programmes for the gifted in the United States is issue-laden and controversial.

The following illustrations of developments give a flavour of the programmes in various countries.

The Australian Schools Commission's (1980) paper *The Education of Gifted Students* explored a number of issues in that nation which seemed to result in general ambivalence toward gifted students. After examining a number of definitions (mainly from the United Kingdom and the United States), the Commission proposed the following as appropriate to the Australian scene: 'Gifted children are those possessing to an outstanding degree demonstrated competence or potential in intellectual, creative and/or other abilities and needing different education or services beyond those provided by the regular school' (p. 12). The Commission cited a number of issues connected with the identification of gifted students, such as achievement versus potential, identifying gifted among minority and disadvantaged groups and underachievers, and urged that identification procedures be varied in relation to the area of endeavour. Procedures appropriate to general academic performance, for example, will differ from those for identifying giftedness in the artistic/cultural area. A range of procedures and techniques are discussed—tests, teacher and parent judgements, performance and product evaluation—and the caution is expressed that none of these assessment measures can identify student abilities and aptitudes with absolute certainty.

As for programmes, there are a variety of organizational and instructional options available, each with its avid supporters and equally strong detractors. Ability grouping, acceleration, enrichment
and curriculum modification are the general rubrics the Commission presented. The Commission report observed that while there is no agreement as to the most appropriate means of delivering educational services to the gifted students, there seems to be consensus as to the necessary characteristics and key provisions in successful programmes. These include: teachers, curriculum differentiation, student selection procedures, a statement of philosophy and objectives, staff orientation, an evaluation plan and administrative arrangements.

The Commission's report concluded with a survey of existing programmes in the Australian states: New South Wales with 'Opportunity C Classes'; Victoria, with no specific policy but a Gifted Children's Task Force established in 1977 to provide consultancy to teachers and schools; Queensland, which emphasizes 'meeting the needs and interests of all students within the existing school structure' and uses community participation in schools to provide a wide variety of educational experiences; South Australia, which issued a policy statement in 1979 indicating 'that students will ordinarily be educated in their neighbourhood schools and the necessary curriculum materials to allow for these students will be provided by the Department of Education'; Western Australia, which had had special provisions for creatively oriented secondary school students since 1967, and issued a policy statement 'to focus and formalize a range of existing provisions' presently operating in primary schools, each of which has its own design, including a total withdrawal programme to partial withdrawal or special interest centre programmes, and secondary school specialist and advanced programmes; Tasmania, which generally provides for enrichment activities and short-term pullout programmes; Australian Capital Territory, which has no specific provisions for gifted students but has had a trend 'in both primary and secondary schools . . . towards individual development and progression within deliberately heterogeneous groupings'; and Northern Territory, whose policy of special provisions for the gifted is an integral part of its 'equal opportunity for all through the provision of an appropriate education for all'. The Schools Commission report also explored appropriate teacher training, curriculum development, research and support services.

In Poland, schools are seen as having 'an egalitarian character, the main assumption being that all children are born with similar mental abilities, and only environmental features bring about differences between them. Talented children often come from environments rich in developmental stimuli' (Borzym, 1983). In general the talented are cared for, even in experimental situations, in unselected groups and there are no special schools for children with specific talents such as one finds in the USSR or the United States, since the creation of
separate schools or curricula for the gifted is viewed as undemocratic and elite-forming. Borzym points out that Polish educators 'agree that a modern school should be able to identify each pupil's talents and abilities and apply the relevant educational methods which are optimal for their development'.

The gifted in Polish primary and secondary schools are those who are intellectually gifted, identified primarily on the basis of their performance and scores in various examinations and in competitions, school achievement and data obtained from teachers' observations. Psychological measures are only sporadically employed and then only as a subsidiary assessment. The major provisions made for the gifted include: acceleration of syllabuses leading to earlier school-leaving; special profile classes in secondary schools in mathematics, physics, humanities, biology and chemistry, taught by teachers with higher professional standards; experimental mathematics classes taught by university lecturers; schools or classes in which a foreign language (Russian, English, French or German) is the language of instruction for all subjects; optional tutorials which provide deeper insights into the subject of choice, similar to university tutorials and seminars; special interest clubs and associations, such as physics and technology clubs and mathematics clubs; subject olympiades which provide annual national competitions in mathematics, biology, literature, foreign languages and history; and a Patents Bureau in which inventions and designs of children are assessed and accepted if the idea has not been previously patented. Teachers are selected for these various provisions on the basis of their interest in working with gifted students, readiness to experiment, and high level of competence in their subjects.

Through the 1960s, the grammar schools for which youngsters were chosen by the 'Eleven-plus' selection process and the Sixth Form (two to three years of specialized study from age 16 on for 'A'-level examinations) were seen as the ways by which England and Wales provided for its most intelligent, academic-achieving students. In the past two decades, the Department of Education and Science, the Schools Council, many of the Local Education Authorities, the National Association for Gifted Children, the Leonardo Trust, many of the universities and colleges, and a variety of other groups have become actively concerned with identification and education of the gifted.

For example, the Schools Council Gifted Pupils Project, directed by Ralph W. Callow, aimed at co-ordinating work on the education of the gifted going on in separate local education authorities. Some thirty local authorities took part in the project, which provided a co-operative network concerned with creating a central bank of information, a
central collection of materials, a collection of transparencies of exemplar materials, and a number of information booklets which describe methods and materials in specific curriculum or skill areas (Callow, 1981).

The National Association for Gifted Children (1982) has reported on a study of pre-service and in-service teacher training in England, Scotland and Wales for Teaching Able and Gifted Children. Of the seventy-one colleges and university departments of education that responded to the questionnaire, ‘sixty-four declared their support for the principle of enabling teachers to acquire an understanding of the needs of able and gifted children and the skills of identifying and teaching them’ (p. 3). A few colleges or departments have a tutor with special responsibility for developing courses and programmes and for co-ordinating work with the gifted. Some one-year programmes assume that tutors include the topic of giftedness in their tutorials while a few have developed a special interest and expertise in the teaching of gifted and able pupils. The survey found that fifty-four of the fifty-nine local education authorities (LEAs) that responded supported the principle of enabling teachers to acquire skills and understanding needed to work with the gifted and able. Working parties on the gifted and able have been established in thirty-five authorities, and teachers are engaged in producing learning materials spanning the entire curriculum but concentrating on science and mathematics. A number of LEAs had links of various kinds with local colleges to provide in-service teacher training. Several authorities have assigned responsibility for developing a coherent programme for the gifted and able to a particular individual.

In Israel, in the late 1960s, professors at several universities interested in developing the potential of future students offered after-school enrichment courses, first for high-school pupils and later for junior high and elementary pupils. In 1970–71, a Ministry of Education study commission recommended that the ministry create a Department for Gifted Children to initiate new directions and programmes and to co-ordinate activities nationally, and that financial and logistical support be given to universities to help them with the programmes already operating. The first priority for the new department became the expansion and refinement of the existing system of enrichment centres (Bitan and Kramer, 1981).

By 1980–81, over 5,000 students were served in the enrichment centres network, an estimated 30 to 40 per cent of the potentially identifiable gifted population between the ages of 6 and 17. The centres are funded on a shared-cost basis by parents’ tuition, the Ministry of Education and the local sponsoring agency. Student interest tends to focus on mathematics and science with computer-
based and laboratory experiences, although there is a great variety of experiences offered, including art, music, literature, history, philosophy, journalism and creative writing. The majority of the enrichment-programme teachers are from university faculties. Included in this programme are intensive workshops for the nation’s best young chess players.

A committee of specialists convened to advise on future directions for gifted education recommended expansion of the enrichment centres across the country and the parallel creation of special classes for the highly gifted, who were seen as needing something more than simply after-school enrichment. The committee rejected the notion of special schools and opted instead for creating special classes within existing schools. Such classes were established at the third and fourth grade levels in some of the elementary schools in Tel Aviv and Haifa. Specially prepared curricula were developed for these classes and a complete programme of study is now available for grades 3 to 12. These curricula incorporate acceleration, a greater range of learning opportunities, and increased breadth of study. For example, the standard English curriculum is primarily linguistic and conversational in its approach while the English curriculum for the gifted stresses literature and writing plus higher levels of linguistic fluency. Early specialization is discouraged. Where students demand more specialization, correspondence courses through the Open University, mentor programmes and private industry-sponsored courses seem to meet the need. Teachers in gifted programmes in Israel are selected from the general pool, having demonstrated competence in their fields and a sensitivity to the special needs of gifted students. Teachers are provided with appropriate in-service training. Israel is also concerned with the ‘gifted disadvantaged’—children from low-income culturally different populations—and is making special efforts to identify and nurture such children.

These four countries illustrate the various approaches found in educating the gifted and talented. In countries all over the world, developed and less-developed, there is a concern for identifying and nurturing the gifted and the talented, whatever labels are applied to this population. The philosophical base and motivations for such concerns vary. In some instances, the motivation is one of developing brainpower and specialized talents; in others, the efforts stem from a concern with equality of educational opportunity and the full development of individual potential for self-fulfilment as well as meeting societal needs. Egalitarianism and elitism are arguments used by both proponents and opponents to making adequate and appropriate provisions for the gifted and talented. Under various political and economic systems there are provisions for the gifted, and while the
rhetoric may differ the issues and the programmes are not dissimilar.

More and more countries are adopting or at least verbalizing a broader or more liberal definition of education. However, intellectual giftedness still dominates concepts of giftedness in most countries. A number of countries are adding creativity to the guiding concept, but creativity has as many meanings as intelligence. In early stages of concern, most nations seem to focus on intellectual and academic development and only later move to such areas as graphic and performing arts or other so-called 'non-academic areas'. In some countries, however, it is such areas as dance, drama or music that receive special attention because they are viewed as less controversial than academic areas. That is, to differentiate in the common curricular areas is viewed as ‘élitist’, while differentiation in performance areas is more generally accepted.

The basic identification procedures around the world involve some assessment of intellectual or academic aptitude even in nations where psychological assessment is still at a relatively primitive stage. Some countries recognize the problems inherent in adapting tests and other instruments from places such as the United States or United Kingdom but continue to use such instruments because indigenous ones are not yet available. Few nations use as many different instruments and scales as does the United States, where a recent national study examined no fewer than sixty-five instruments purportedly measuring general intellectual ability, specific academic aptitude, creativity, leadership, and visual and/or performing arts aptitude for various age-groups, some for disadvantaged populations but most for general or advantaged groups, at some stage of the identification process.

Identification procedures and techniques are usually tied to the prevailing concept of giftedness. In some countries, identification is a multistep process—initial screening, selection and evaluation. In some instances only tests are used while in others informal approaches are also employed. Evaluation and research on identification instruments and procedures continue to be rare in almost all countries.

Programmes for the gifted may or may not involve special classes. The issue of whether to separate the gifted either part-time or full-time, or whether to provide for enrichment in the regular classroom, has not been resolved, nor is it every likely to be. Special classes have a long and controversial history in many national educational systems. Groups may be selected on the basis of ability, achievement, aptitudes, motivation, interests or other bases. Groups may meet for a few minutes per day or for the entire school day and may involve the entire student body or just the gifted students. The motives for forming special groups or streams or tracks vary. Rela-
tively few nations have special schools for gifted or talented children. Some nations have policies which clearly forbid any special classes or groups but mandate instruction for the gifted in the regular classroom. Most countries recognize that whether the gifted are provided for in the regular classroom or in special sections or classes, differentiated educational provisions must be made.

Nor is the issue of acceleration versus enrichment resolved in most countries. Acceleration involves making educational experiences available in less time or at an earlier age than is normal. Enrichment involves studying in great depth or breadth or at a conceptually advanced level rather than a basic level. In fact, most programmes provide for both acceleration and enrichment, and the debate appears to have to do more with administrative provisions such as grade skipping or early admission to a programme and to the affective consequences of some forms of acceleration.

Most countries recognize the need for curricular and instructional differentiation as the point of special programmes or provisions for the gifted and talented. This differentiation may be in terms of: (a) breadth and/or depth of study, (b) tempo or pace, or (c) nature or kind. As one probes into the instructional substance of various programmes, all three kinds of differentiation can be found. However, differentiated curriculum and instruction seem to be less well conceptualized than the organizational or administrative arrangements made in most countries. A few countries seem to be developing special curricular materials for classes and programmes for the gifted but in many countries the classroom teacher is expected to design differentiated educational experiences on his or her own, often without any appropriate training or support.

Teacher education for working with the gifted and talented, either at the pre-service or in-service level, is not a widespread practice. Formal, structured teacher-education programmes to prepare teachers to work with the gifted are probably best developed and certainly most numerous in the United States, which is possibly the only country to have, in some of the states at least, special licensing or certification of teachers for the gifted. A survey in England and Wales, for example, indicated that a good proportion of the teacher-training institutions subscribe to the principle that teachers of the gifted need some preparation but not all of those have courses available. Some colleges and departments of education have a special interest and expertise in this area leading, in some instances, to the award of certificates or diplomas in the teaching of gifted children. Compared to other areas of special education, specialized programmes for teachers of the gifted in countries around the world seem to be rare.
In a good number of countries, out-of-school provisions seem to be either the only provisions made for the gifted or talented or represent a significant component of such provisions. The extracurricular centres in South Africa, the activities of the National Association for Gifted Children in the United Kingdom, and the various programmes in non-school settings in the United States and New Zealand are prototypical of these out-of-school provisions. While such out-of-school provisions are often supplementary or complementary to in-school provisions, they are significant. In some countries, full use of community resources is viewed as essential for developing talent potential—the school alone cannot provide for optimal development of these youngsters. Museums, libraries, laboratories, studios and other educative agencies and institutions are all involved in the education of the gifted and talented. Mentor programmes—relating gifted children to adult specialists—are becoming a common practice for extending the educational resources for the gifted.

The attention paid to the affective development of gifted students seems to be relatively rare in most countries. The stress is generally on cognitive development and academic achievement, usually conceived in terms of the traditional disciplines or specialized areas of manpower. The literature from only a very few countries reports concern with emotional, moral, attitudinal or motivational development of gifted children and youth. There seems to be little recognition of special potential or special problems in the affective development of the gifted or talented nor is there very much attention paid to any special responsibilities to society on the part of the gifted. There is a good deal of rhetoric concerning leadership development but this tends to be little more than assertions concerning ‘our gifted children as future leaders’. In many countries, there is an expectation that the gifted child, having developed his potential, will use it in a socially valuable way and thus exercise ‘leadership in his/her field’.

In some countries, the guiding principle appears to be that one of the schools should enable an individual to develop his potential to the maximum, regardless of the area of endeavour. In other countries, it is the national need for specialized manpower that seems to guide programme development and the channelling of able individuals.

A concern for the identification and encouragement of gifted individuals from disadvantaged or culturally different populations is evident in a number of countries and is a concern which is apparently growing. Some systems recognize that the racially and ethnically different and the economically disadvantaged populations represent the largest untapped talent reservoir and are making particular efforts
to identify and develop the gifted and talented in those pools. Several countries are focusing on better ways of identifying these different and/or disadvantaged people; others are testing more appropriate educational provisions. This concern for the group which is called the 'gifted disadvantaged' in the United States is often considered part of the drive for educational equity.

In the United States, there are hundreds of studies done each year dealing with all aspects of gifted education. These studies range from large-scale, sophisticated research to both well and poorly designed doctoral dissertations. The requirement that evaluation be done in connection with certain funding programmes has brought about an increase in both the quantity and the quality of such evaluations. There is an Educational Research and Information Clearinghouse (ERIC) Center which is devoted to research and information concerning the gifted and talented. In most countries, however, research and evaluation on gifted education is very rare or non-existent.

Other aspects of gifted and talented education might be cited, with many of the issues and problems involved seemingly common and universal. Two closing observations can be made. First, in many countries, gifted education has a cyclical history. In the United States, and to a lesser extent in several other countries, the reasons for these cycles are a matter of some speculation—as to why they have occurred and what might be done to make gifted education a more integral part of the educational system's efforts to educate all children in adequate and appropriate ways. The second and related observation is that gifted education in too many countries seems to be an esoteric endeavour rather than part of the educational mainstream. It may be that, because the gifted and talented are perceived as constituting a relatively small proportion of the total population, their education is so often viewed as intended for and conducted by an inner circle of advocates. Gifted education must not be thought of as simply the pullout programme, the special class, the enrichment activities, but as part of a general school plan for the pursuit of excellence and the encouragement of individual talent potential.

The education of the gifted glass is half-empty or half-full. Gifted education in countries around the world is alive. However, it has some way to go before it can be pronounced sound, healthy and stable.
Note

1. This paper is based on a presentation made at the Second Plenary Session of the World Conference on the Gifted, Manila, The Philippines, 2 August 1983.

References

Surplus populations

A cardinal principle of adult education may be honoured more in the breach than the observance, yet is worth calling to mind. It is simply that, before ever a programme of education is designed, the prospective learners and their wants should be understood. This paper will be looking at how—or even whether!—better organized training and education might be of use to a particular group of learners. These people have in the main managed their own learning up to now—and with an impressive degree of success (Godfrey, 1979). Ideas of doing something for them thus need to be more than ordinarily circumspect: help might even encumber them. Even the more cogent would-be educators would be well advised to prepare themselves with a thorough consideration of who these apparently self-organizing learners are and how they operate. Accordingly, this paper will open with a fairly lengthy look at a number of adults and adolescents who might have a use for officially organized education, and only after that will it venture to explore how that official education might be organized so as to be useful.

The people who are the subject of this discussion could be called the self-reliant of the towns and cities. They have also been called ‘the seamy underbelly of capitalism’ (Leys, 1975), for they apparently do not exist in the cities of the thoroughly centrally planned or socialist states. Many of them might not want to be self-reliant, but they simply have to be. Otherwise, they risk starving. Willy nilly, by choice, free or forced, these people contrive to make a living for themselves and their dependents, ‘in spite of the lack of necessary capital and skills’, as Sethuraman emphasizes (ILO, 1981). Some

John Oxenham (United Kingdom). Fellow in Education at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Experience in village administration, community development and a national literacy programme in Zambia. Conducted studies on education and forms of employment in Indonesia, Turkey and in various countries of Africa on behalf of the ILO’s Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion and Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa.
of these livelihoods seem adequately prosperous, if their earnings are compared with official minimum wages (King, 1977; Schmitz, 1982) and with the actual earnings of lower-grade wage and salary employees. Many, however, are precarious. Their earnings not only fluctuate, they can be very meagre at the best of times, providing just enough to hold body and soul together. Not unnaturally, hours of work may be very long and conditions of comfort, safety and health far from ideal. The proportions of town and city-dwellers who live by such livelihoods can be substantial—anything up to half an urban labour force, as Table 1 illustrates.

It had better be said at once that such people are nothing new. As Sethuraman points out, Frederick Engels was talking about them nearly 150 years ago (Engels, 1920, quoted in ILO, 1981):

... the 'surplus population' of England, which keeps body and soul together by begging, stealing, street sweeping, collecting manure, pushing handcarts, driving donkeys, peddling or performing occasional jobs. In every great town, a multitude of such people may be found. It is astonishing in what devices this 'surplus population' takes refuge.

Much of what Engels observed is still in evidence today. What is new, however, is the degree of interest that has been shown in 'surplus populations' in the last ten years in the developing countries, where the towns and cities are expanding more rapidly than can be coped with by their governments. During the 1970s, with strong impetus from the International Labour Office, a large number of investigations were made in cities all over Africa, Asia and Latin America. A 'select

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban labour force in self-employment (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos (Nigeria)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal (all urban areas)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia (all urban areas)</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta (Indonesia)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand (urban areas)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Córdoba (Argentina)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>São Paulo (Brazil)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What explains this sudden surge of scrutiny? Put simplistically, the reason was a mixture of disappointment, astonished curiosity and hope. The disappointment was over efforts at development, which were slow both to relieve rural poverty and to generate sufficient wage and salary jobs in the cities. The urban unemployed or ‘surplus population’ should have been a temporary embarrassment, a symptom of the transition to a modern economy. If development plans were fulfilled, they would diminish and disappear, just as they virtually had in the industrialized economies. This view meant of course that development plans did not cater directly for the urban self-employed.* Allocating resources to a transitional group made little sense: better to concentrate on what would eventually mop it all up. But the rates of rural emigration, coupled with the natural growth of the cities compounded by the slower growth of jobs, increased the urban unemployed and made them more permanent and more obvious. Those who slept on the streets of Bombay and Calcutta were only the most extreme examples of what was happening in the towns of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Waiting for them to be mopped up by other development began to look like an unacceptable policy.

The astonished curiosity was caused by the facts that the urban unemployed were neither dying off from starvation nor rioting excessively in the streets. Instead, many—not all—of them were displaying sobering ingenuity, skill, diligence and determination in keeping themselves and their families alive. They were found in all three conventional categories of economic activity: providing raw materials, manufacturing and services. They were providing what other people were willing to pay for—and the variety of ways in which they do it still leaves academics floundering for a tidy term to classify them.

From these energies and abilities came the hope that these ‘surplus populations’ might offer a supplementary means of economic and social amelioration. They could not open a new avenue of development: it was too late to repeat the achievements of the small workshops and enterprises which led Great Britain’s early industrialization. Nevertheless, with sympathetic support, they might help stave off the worst effects of urban overcrowding and poverty. This case was forcefully argued by the ILO’s Employment Mission to Kenya in 1971 (ILO, 1972). It has not gone without its critics. The

* It is of course true that most states have established agencies to promote small businesses. Training, credit and advisory services are often available. However, the small businesses of this article usually appear too small and unpromising even for these agencies. In any case, the resources released for them could not possibly assist more than a fraction of the potential clientele.
quote from Leys is only one example of a literature which suggests that the sweat of the 'surplus populations' is simply another way in which capitalists and ruling classes use the poor to increase their own wealth and power.

The urban informal sector

It is not the intention of this article to enter this dispute, nor even to define the people concerned. In the decade or so since these 'surplus populations' were brought to official notice as possible candidates for development, there has been a search for a suitable collective noun to designate them. None has been found or invented that has managed to overcome all objections to lack of precision, ambiguity, overlap and other defects that good definitions are expected to avoid. So far, however, the phrase 'urban informal sector' seems to have won accepted currency, even though it is not really satisfactory. So it will be used here not as a definition, but as a shorthand term to point to a large group of people. However, what the shorthand means needs of course to be spelled out first. The next few paragraphs will attempt to do that.

For the purposes of this article, the urban informal sector means people who are either self-employed on a small scale in an individual or family business or who work with such businessmen on terms to be discussed later. The self-employed can be finders of raw materials, manufacturers of articles, intermediaries between producers and purchasers, or retailers or purveyors of petty services. The garbage pickers of Cali in Colombia and the tin-can collectors of Nairobi, Kenya, supply raw materials for manufacturers, large and small (King, 1977; Birkbeck, 1978). The hammock-makers of Fortaleza in Brazil and the leather-workers of Manila in the Philippines exemplify expert and ramifying manufacturing (Jurado, 1981; Schmitz, 1982). The street-vendors of cigarettes, newspapers, sweetmeats and cooked foods to be encountered in any large city illustrate retailing. The market coolie gangs of Vellore in India and the shoeshine boys and men of virtually anywhere are forms of petty services (Harris, 1978).

The self-employed may be truly self-employed, in that they can change their suppliers and outlets at will. Alternatively, they may be disguised wage earners, working by need or choice in apparent self-regulation but actually wholly dependent on subcontracts or commissions from larger businesses which can alter arrangements with no regard for their sub-contractors. They may in other words be cheap and unprotected forms of labour, enabling others to keep costs
down and to escape obligations legally owed to regular employees. Other self-employed, far from being subordinated to big business, may compete successfully with it (Tokman, 1978).

Some of the self-employed may own the equipment of their occupation, if they need any. Others may have to rent theirs daily, as do many of the cycle-rickshaws and trishaws of Indonesia and India, until they have accumulated enough capital or can afford the credit to purchase their own. Nearly all need to secure credit for current operations—often on a daily basis—from sources who require little security but high interest, sometimes 10 per cent per day, but sometimes in seasons of rapid inflation rising even to 30 per cent per day.

Often, but by no means always, the small-scale self-employed operate out of unlicensed premises or on unlicensed circuits. They feel they cannot afford the charges and other obligations which official licensing would impose—an issue which will be touched on a little later. Consequently, many work on the borderlines of legality, barely tolerated and occasionally harassed by the authorities. They may have to pay bribes or protection money to avoid prosecution. Connected with borderline living are propensities to be cheated and to cheat: the small-scale self-employed have to struggle for a living and do not view fine scrupulousness as a recipe for survival.

Many, perhaps a majority, of the self-employed—particularly those who are skilled and established producers—intend to continue in self-employment. They say they prefer to be their own governors, despite the uncertainties and problems. Some may even use periods of wage employment in trades other than their own to accumulate a lump of money in order to go back to a better level of self-employment. Others would frankly prefer regular wage or salary jobs, but, until they get them, they have to keep going on their own. Yet others not only switch into wage-paying jobs, but also change their form of self-employment from time to time. Their reasons are sometimes simply a desire to try to improve their incomes or conditions of work, or to respond to new opportunities, declining markets, increasing competition or other difficulties. Among the self-employed, then, there is likely to be little homogeneity about future intentions and prospects. On the contrary, fluidity in occupation is likely to be a substantial factor to be reckoned with.

So much for the self-employed of the urban informal sector. Those who work with them seem to fall into three groups: unpaid household helpers, 'apprentices' and wage labour. Spouses, children and other resident relatives may all take part in keeping a livelihood going. Collecting raw materials, assisting in production—often at the expense of schooling—marketing and hawking, the entire range of ordinary
economic activity in fact, may be distributed between household members. ‘Apprentices’ are often kinsfolk, too, but may also come from other families, related or otherwise. The term is put between quotation marks simply because the apprentices of the urban informal sector learn and work on terms and in conditions very different from those on official schemes. Some of them may pay to learn, as in many parts of West Africa, and receive in return not just training but also some small allowance, perhaps lodging and some food. Others, in recognition of the increasingly skilled labour they contribute, may pay nothing and still receive some food and cash, as well as lodging. What and how they learn may be more or less fixed, depending on local custom and the age of the occupation. What mix of practice, theory, lore, watching, waiting, errand-running or chores a particular apprentice will experience varies from one employer-trainer to the next, for there are seldom any standard examinations to be satisfied or validated certificates to be issued. How long apprentices take to learn an occupation is similarly elastic, according to the occupation, how much the trainer thinks is necessary, when the learner judges that he knows enough to set up on his own or feels that he ought to move on to other, possibly better, training or employment. Fluidity is a factor here, too.

The third group associated with the self-employed are wage-earning workers. They tend to be few and number at most one or two in any given business (Aryee, 1980). Their wages are often well below the official minimum, but not always, and their employment is not protected by legislation. Not surprisingly, they tend not to be among the most skilled—unless they are trying to accumulate capital to start on their own—and they are frequently temporary, for the purposes of both their employers and themselves. If the self-employed who subcontract from larger businesses can be termed the disguised wage-employed, those of them who in turn subcontract part of their operations to other self-employed, like the hammock-makers of Fortaleza, can be said to be disguised wage-employers. So this third group can comprise both direct and disguised wage workers. Both subgroups, like the apprentices and self-employed, can be very fluid and mobile.

This indication of the four sets of people meant by the urban informal sector makes it clear why academic or official definitions are almost impossible to formulate. It is characterized by diversity, mobility, change, alertness to opportunity and a sense—possibly illusory—of self-determination. It is also characterized by low levels of capital, relatively low incomes—the exceptional successes make the general state easier to accept—hard, uncomfortable, unhygienic, sometimes dangerous and exhausting conditions, and very long hours of work.
Assisted learning

For this article to attempt a comprehensive consideration of possible programmes for particular groups would be unfeasible. If disaggregation and a full appreciation of context and linkages are conditions for sensibly planning simple support like credit, they would seem to be even more indispensable for contributions like training, which is our concern here.* Unlike credit or work premises, training does not offer an immediate, tangible facility. Yet it is likely to impose immediate costs, even when provided free. The people of the urban informal sector are known to have to work long hours, often reaping meagre returns for their efforts and just managing to survive. If training requires time away from work, its opportunity costs could cause immediate restrictions on an entire family, while particular contingencies could prevent their ever reaping commensurate benefits. The opportunity cost could also be wasted earlier, if the educational planning were faulty. Teaching people what they already know, assuming a higher level of knowledge or verbal facility than they actually possess, or teaching what can be applied only with greater capitalization or with facilities that are simply not available, could all deprive people of both present and future income.

The preceding paragraph implicitly assumes that some forms of learning and training will be useful to and attract some people in the urban informal sector. Yet, as I pointed out earlier, these people have managed their own learning with considerable success. They have learned crafts, procurement, management, contracting, subcontracting, marketing and sales with little or no help from official sources. While certainly often exploited themselves, and justifiably classed among the least powerful section of a society, many of them have nevertheless learned to take advantage of other people and to exploit loopholes and weaknesses in the enforcement of laws. Might they in fact be a class who are best left to learn on their own, as their own needs guide them and as their own families and colleagues can assist them? And might not the very variety, the shifting and localized nature of their wants, actually disqualify governments and public service agencies from attempting to meet them on both institutional and economic grounds? Godfrey (1979), King (1977) and Schmitz (1982) tend to be cautious, if not openly sceptical, of the will and capacities of officialdom. Schmitz (p. 179) goes so far as to suggest that training might actually be a cheap diversion from more radical

* In this connection, the lessons of literacy programmes conducted where literacy could not be used should be borne in mind.
and more helpful reforms. It might also make it easier to blame people in this sector for not making proper use of the opportunities provided for them.

The hesitations of students of the urban informal sector about the value of training are well founded. Yet total cynicism about governments, bureaucracies and professional educators is not fully justified, nor is total hopelessness. Despite the obstacles—deliberate or not—placed in their way by governments and ‘modern’ sectors, the people of the informal sector have observably learned to survive, sometimes even to prosper, in the interstices of towns and cities. It is possible to assume that this learning is done with perfect efficiency and no waste. But that would involve idealizing the workers of this sector as people somehow immune from the errors of humankind. It is more realistic to suppose that their learning efficiency might be improved by systematic and sympathetic study—whether or not operational frameworks were altered. To be sure, heedlessly applying ‘modern’ principles of management to a household enterprise, which has to cater for more than just economic efficiency, might well be counter-productive. On the other hand, assisting a household consciously to adapt the principles or techniques of management to its own priorities could perhaps accelerate, shorten and improve its learning. Similarly, observations of how ‘apprentices’ in the informal sector are deployed suggest that methods of induction at least could be bettered and levels of knowledge and theoretical understanding deepened. Although the effects of such learning might not be major in national terms, their benefits might be worth while enough for particular groups, families and individuals. And they might be achieved without requiring structural change as an absolute pre-condition, even though they could well be better achieved if the structural changes were to accompany and support the training.

In parenthesis, a note can be made that the approach implicitly advocated above is of course the pedagogy embodied in ‘modules of knowledge and skill’. That is, occupations and operations are carefully observed and precisely analysed before any courses to teach them are designed. Induction from actual practice rather than prescription from more theoretical a priori requirements is the principle used to keep instruction and learning changing with the occupations they are intended to serve.* A shift back towards earlier forms of learning-on-the-job is signified, but the advantages of systematic and theoretical observation are retained. Such a watchful and adaptive training approach seems apt for livelihoods which observe no official standards

* Perhaps the most widely known example is the programme ‘Modules of Employable Skills (MES)’, elaborated by the ILO.
and which must be alert for and responsive to changes in the 'modern' sector.

So far the discussion has mentioned merely general training possibilities. The time has come to explore where these possibilities might actually lie. The easiest approach seems to be chronological: to adopt the view of a hypothetical young person or learner, about to start making, or at least contributing to, his or her own living. He or she could be a member of a family or household enterprise, or attached in some way to someone else's business. What fields and levels of knowledge might be appropriate for the various potential learners in the informal sector? How does such learning tend to be organized now? Might better arrangements be possible and worthwhile? These questions will be examined in the next few pages. However, it does need to be stressed that young people—from 12 to 20 years old—with no experience of the modern sector are by no means the only ones to enter the informal sector. Schmitz found in Brazil that skilled and well-established factory workers, with families to support, would quite deliberately quit wage-employment to set up on their own. In Kenya, King found that some people would leave the sector for wage employment, but later leave that and return, sometimes in a different occupation. Starting with a young entrant, then, is merely a convenience for the purposes of this article, which by no means claims to reflect the progress of a typical worker in the sector.

Family connections and support

An important aspect needs to be firmly held in mind about all the young people who enter the informal sector: very few of them seem to be loners. Most depend on connections with families and friends and make their decisions with their assistance. Though some households may naturally feel unable to provide contacts or to offer much advice about earning a living, they may still be willing to support a young person with room, food and sympathy—even for considerable periods—until he or she begins to make his own way. Equally naturally, some young people may reject advice or opportunities offered by their immediate circle and prefer to find their own way. But this stage comes a little later. To begin with, the young have to operate on whatever advice their families and friends can give them.

Here, an obvious question arises: cannot the information available to families and advice available to young people be improved? At present, what they use are the informal networks of information and
opinion that exist in all societies. Evidently, these networks are effective, otherwise the informal sector would not exist or persist. On the other hand, informal communication has three endemic defects, in response to which, of course, more deliberate processes are organized. First, access to it is not automatically and universally open, and not always clear or easy to learn. Second, its content is inherently accidental, in that what goes into it is largely casually dropped in or picked up and seldom checked out. The consequences are that the information in the network is not comprehensive and is in part unreliable. Third, because the content of informal channels depends on the interests of their members, they tend to be biased towards specialization and thus not to be comprehensive in a second sense. For example, if information on how to become a shoemaker is wanted, in all likelihood an informal network will be needed which is different and probably independent from that which has information about the skills and prospects of shoeshiners. There is in other words no single pool of information from which all the occupations in the informal sector can be surveyed and compared. A family that wanted to place one of its young members in one of the better earning vocations would have a lot of labour in collecting the wherewithal for an informed choice.

However true these remarks, they do not of course mean that deliberately organized networks of information would necessarily be any less faulty, more accessible or more comprehensive than informal ones. Nevertheless, they do suggest that systematic attempts to gather and diffuse information are likely to secure more and possibly more reliable information and to reach more users than processes that depend inherently on accident. Were this suggestion not plausible, the enormous expenditures on commercial advertising, for instance, would be little short of irrational.

Occupational guidance

Equally questionable would be the efforts now put into occupational or vocational guidance in schools. A good many developing countries have devoted some resources to some form of vocational guidance and information. The principle is well accepted and the experience of the ‘careers choice’ form distributed to schools in Kenya confirms that what pupils get to know informally is a good deal less than what is available (Somerset, 1974, 1983). However, there are three features of existing formal vocational guidance which are worth comment. In the first place, it is almost wholly oriented to jobs in the modern sector.
(see for example the cases of Kenya and Zambia in JASPA, 1980a). It deals with an already well organized and registered part of the economy—even though of course the modern sector provides a minority of livelihoods. Correspondingly, second, it is confined to the eleventh or twelfth years of school, that is, to the tiny minority who are able to secure a full secondary education. (They are a minority of a school population, and even more so of an age cohort.) If the principle of vocational guidance is sound for those few whose education and connections make it that much easier to secure places in a relatively well organized sector, would it not be even more needed for those with less education and fewer financial and social resources, entering a very diffuse and ill-organized sector?

The third feature is that the guidance seems generally to be given to young people on their own. They are left either to discuss it with their families or to make decisions by themselves. Instances of involving families in the process of guidance seem to be rare. A core component is thus either wholly neglected or only imperfectly incorporated in the process of making decisions about livelihoods for young people.

For the sake of discussion, let it be conceded that what is good for minorities in the modern sector might also be useful to majorities in the informal sector. And let vocational guidance be more modestly termed ‘livelihood advice’—a livelihood advisory service, LASER for a catchy acronym. What might follow can be easily inferred from what has gone before. An urban LASER oriented to a whole population would need

To devote itself to knowing the local informal sector inside out, so as to have a single organized pool of information from which livelihoods, their earnings and prospects and the ways of getting equipped for them can be compared and assessed.

To operate not only among primary schools, but also among the non-schoolgoing groups, with a particular eye to young immigrants.

To develop ways of assisting families to work out the options with their children.

---

Apprenticeship

Once a family and young person have decided what livelihood is to be tried, the next step is learning how to do it. (Obviously, where a young person follows the household enterprise, much of the learning may have already been done.) In the informal sector, almost all the necessary learning is done on the job. For the simpler occu-
pations—selling cigarettes, shining shoes, washing cars—a couple of days of working alongside friends may be sufficient to get launched. For more complex and less rapidly learned sets of skills, the general practice seems to be some form of attachment to a ‘master’, an apprenticeship with its own rules and understandings, but outside the rigours of industrial and commercial legislation. The formality of the contracts and the duration of training seem to vary not just according to the trade, but also according to local traditions. Where crafts and trades are long and well enough established, custom, lore and guilds may have grown to determine what time is needed. Where the trades are new, not only may there be no norm of time or even of standard, but the learners may themselves decide when they think they have learned enough.

Similar variations can be found in payments for learning. In some places and livelihoods, an initial fee has to be paid by the learner’s family, supplemented later by a completion fee, and all the subsistence costs have to be borne by the family as well. The teacher has no obligation but to teach. Elsewhere, the teacher acknowledges the learner’s contributions in labour and growing skill by providing board, lodge and even pocket-money. Some masters acquire good reputations and attract learners willing to pay. Others need to recruit learners in place of waged assistants and to pay them ‘allowances’ to stay on. Teaching, learning, and some degree of exploitation may go on all at once.

These modes have sufficed to enable large numbers of young people to begin supporting themselves and their families in self-employment. Yet in the nature of human procedures, they have not been without fault, nor of course without their critics. They may well be adequate for livelihoods which require few and rapidly learned skills. In occupations where the skills are many and require long periods of practice for mastery, their shortcomings can be readily identified. In the first place, mastery of a job is no guarantee of mastery at teaching it. This truism is as true of the masters in the informal sector as it is of university graduates with no teaching skills: many of them are not very good at teaching. Some cannot organize a sustained programme of learning. Their learners hang around, sometimes watching, sometimes just sitting, sometimes despatched on domestic errands: a large part of their time is simply wasted.* Some have difficulties in combining their work with an adequately sequenced progression of learning for their apprentices. Some of course do not even work out a ‘syllabus’, but rely on the flow of work to show up all that needs to be

* Such observations were of course responsible for abbreviating many industrial and commercial apprenticeships in a number of industrial countries.
learned. Such programming-by-accident may turn out to be sufficient in most cases, but is scarcely fair on a learner who wants to be sure of a comprehensive training. And the teaching approaches of some masters do not facilitate learning as well as they might.

As regards the question of theory, apprenticeship should offer the best opportunity for combining practical mastery with theoretical understanding and, reciprocally, for keeping theory relevant to practice. However, supplements of theory are not common in the informal sector, if only because the masters themselves have little theory, although they may have much lore. To be sure, theory is not essential to do a job and, as the industrial revolution in Great Britain and the independent artisans of Kenya or the Punjab in India demonstrate, may not even be necessary for sound technological improvement, diversification or innovation. That notwithstanding, it remains more than likely that, if reinforced with theoretical understanding, practical expertise can more rapidly move on to technological development and perhaps more readily avoid cul de sacs. An incidental point is that many young entrants to the informal sector now have a sufficient base in literacy to be able to use textbooks to aid their learning—even if their masters cannot.

Apart from the content and organization of learning, there is the matter of the physical conditions—hygiene, safety, facilities. Given the circumstances of most workers in the informal sector, these aspects cannot be expected to be ideal. In many instances, however, they can be positively dangerous. To note this is not to argue for regulation and conformity to official but perhaps unattainable standards; it is rather to point to possible opportunities for immediate improvements along with examples for better future arrangements. For if teachers teach as they were taught, it is likely that apprentices will later organize their enterprises along the lines of those in which they learned their business. If they can be made sensitive to the importance of physical conditions during their training, their own workplaces may be that much better.

Upgrading what already exists

The fact that learning in the informal sector has been effective, despite the deficiencies so far listed, argues that no new institutions or procedures are needed for the apprentices. What would be helpful is assistance to the masters to improve their conditions of work, their own understanding of their trades and management and their skills in training.
An obvious question presents itself: would the masters want such assistance, particularly if it cost them anything? They are managing pretty well as it is and what would be offered would not be in their interests but rather for the benefit of their apprentices. Since the latter come anyhow, mostly uninvited, or can be recruited in sufficient numbers or frequency (where turnover is rapid), there really seems to be no clear reason why the masters should bother themselves with the matter. If this is so—and it probably is—and if there is indeed scope for improving the training of apprentices—and there probably is—then what is necessary is to make it worth while for the masters to accept the assistance in the interests of their apprentices. The particular forms of incentives for masters—and precautions against their abuse—will vary from livelihood to livelihood. Nevertheless, common elements might be:

Bonuses in cash or kind for successfully learning training methods (much as school teachers are rewarded for improving their qualifications).

Subsidies (without corresponding levies) for accepting apprentices (much as schools are subsidized for accepting students), under particular conditions of training.

Bonuses, again in cash or kind, for training apprentices to agreed levels of skill and theory. (The term ‘trade test’ is avoided deliberately, as the tests which are current are derived from and oriented to the modern sector and may well not be useful in the informal sector. What tests are devised should be developed with the help of the actual workers in the sector and related to standards which satisfy their customers.)

It is important that the incentives should bear no deterrent costs, like special levies or taxes, and that any opportunity costs—e.g. time taken to train as a trainer, release time for apprentices to take special training—should be recognized and at least partly compensated.

Help for the families

In addition to the masters, the trainees themselves and their families might be given some help. At present, they stand in striking contrast against their coevals who are selected for secondary schools and universities. The latter certainly pay fees, often substantial, and on top they have to pay for uniforms, books, equipment, sports and food. Even so, the subsidies they receive from the state are even more substantial. In some countries, the cost to the state of one secondary-school place can be of the order of ten to fifteen primary-school
Educational assistance to the urban informal sector

places; while the cost of a university place can be as high as 180 to 200 primary places (JASPA, 1982). A large part of the justification for these subsidies (and for the relatively high salaries to which they give access), is that such education is forming skilled manpower for development. The masters of the informal sector are doing much the same, if more modestly and far more cheaply. Yet their trainees receive no state subsidy whatever. All the costs have to be shared by the families, the trainees themselves and the masters. On the grounds of equity alone, there is a case for considering assistance to the trainees from this sector.

There might also be a case on the grounds of efficiency. For if the state were to offer a subsidy, it could attach a couple of strings. One might be that eligibility would depend on taking instruction from a master who had himself bothered to train as an instructor. There would thus be some assurance of good instruction and reduced exploitation. A second might be that practical instruction should be supplemented by other forms of study, for example day-release, short-term sandwich, evening or correspondence courses, so as to capitalize on scholastic foundations. A third string might be making a portion of the subsidy conditional on attaining agreed (and appropriate!) levels of skill.

What forms the subsidy might take would again vary from society to society and from livelihood to livelihood. The only criteria it would have to meet are that it should be significant enough to ease, even accelerate, family decisions to launch young persons into self-reliant livelihoods; it should promote good instruction and learning and it should be administered in ways that minimize abuse and corruption. The magnitude of the subsidy need not be great, since any help is an improvement on no help at all. It could be measured in relation to the unit cost of, say, the last year of primary schooling and graded according to the time needed to acquire sufficient competence in a livelihood. Washing cars or shining shoes might qualify for only a two-day subsidy, while repairing cars and shoes might rate two-year subsidies.

Induction support

Once training is formally completed, the young person can either become a junior partner in his or her master's enterprise, or launch out independently or even set up a partnership with other young people. This phase of what might be called induction involves more learning, although most of it has to be done independently and
through experience. As with other phases again, most young entre­preneurs currently manage on their own, calling for advice, when occasion demands, on their families and friends. The question is whether there is any need for sources of advice to be organized and made formally accessible. Would something like an extension service be useful in keeping a friendly eye on progress and lending a helping hand with teething troubles? A rather small-scale programme in agriculture, the Thaba Khupa Project in Lesotho, has for several years found it worth while to provide such weaning support to young farmers trained at its centre. Had parallel support been available to a couple of young would-be businessmen in Lusaka in Zambia, Hoppers (1982) might not have found that their businesses had collapsed.

In-service and mobility

Extension services could be useful not only for beginners, but also, of course, for more seasoned practitioners. They might disseminate occasional information on a number of appropriate matters and even offer occasional advice. Drawing on contacts with the informal sector, they might organize in-service training in the form of either refresher courses or briefings to keep pace with changes in technology, products or markets. In-service training is after all more and more regularly practised in the modern sector, by both public and private organizations, for all levels of employees. Its potential can scarcely be less relevant for the workers in the informal sector.

It was remarked earlier that mobility is frequent. An in-service equivalent of vocational information and guidance may then be a useful extension of the casual, often accidental, informal networks operating now. A service of that nature would simply keep tabs on possibilities and opportunities for change and on ways in which retraining might be facilitated—again, without creating an ‘army of permanent students’.

What institutions?

Five areas of possible educational assistance to people in the informal sector have been sketched—vocational guidance, improved apprenticeships, support in induction, in-service upgrading and occupational transfer. The outstanding question now is what kind of institution or set of institutions might best organize such assistance. Since the state
now plays so large a role—in many countries a dominant one—in development of all kinds and since the agencies set up to carry out development are either in the civil service or parastatal bodies, the tendency is to think in terms of ministries and departments with central, provisional and municipal offices. Alternatively, where local government is adequately established, the thought is for another division of municipal responsibility. There are, however, misgivings about such a ready avenue.

One concerns the nature of public agencies. Writers like Godfrey, King and Schmitz caution against the bias of officials to regulate rather than to support, to control rather than to promote, to hamper rather than to facilitate, to suffocate rather than to invigorate. In addition, they tend to be more interested in themselves, their survival and expansion than in the good of their public and their structures tend to make them more accountable to their own career patterns and hierarchies than to their users. Indeed, many of their personnel may come to patronize and dominate their publics rather than serve them. Worse, they can end up aiding the interests of restricted groups rather than being available to the whole eligible public.

Public agencies can be insensitive to change and new trends and excessively slow to respond to unforeseen needs. Their personnel tend to prefer the known routine and the conveniences of their offices and desks—and classrooms!—to the awkwardnesses of keeping in touch with the situations in the streets and grubby workshops. Public educational institutions in particular are not good at monitoring the learning needs of their students. On the contrary, they tend rather to adopt standards and construct programmes more satisfying to their own notions of what is good than to their students’ actual requirements. The record of programmes in literacy, agricultural extension, community development, health education, schooling, vocational training (fixed and mobile) and employment exchanges could furnish many an example to justify this caution.

Another hesitation concerns an area of incompatibility between the modern and informal sectors. A public agency is by definition part of the modern sector, with the usual assured salaries, increments, careers, pensions and possibly other perquisites. Are personnel enjoying these conditions really able to grasp and allow for the range, uncertainty and fluctuations in earnings, the exigencies of improvisation and subterfuge under which many in the informal sector have to labour? Are they really able to convince the people of this sector that they do know what they are talking about and are to be taken seriously? Is there not too great a contradiction between the circumstances and outlook of the public services and those of the informal sector to enable the one to serve the other?
If these misgivings are deemed sufficiently valid, then alternatives to ordinary and quasi-public agencies will have to be devised. Ideally, they should not be merely adaptations of current situations, but designed from first principles to suit specific purposes and users, and to avoid undesirable and foreseeable deficiencies. The very first requirement would seem to be that any agency or net of agencies should enjoy the confidence of those in the informal sector. Its functions, structures, procedures, staffing and relations with local and central government might then be worked out in partnership with representatives drawn from a wide array of occupations—both masters and apprentices—in all the main urban centres of a country. Creating such a partnership may well prove costly in terms of time, opportunity costs and patience in dialogue. That, however, would be the price necessary to ensure on the one hand that government understands the informal sector in all its facets, and on the other that the workers in that sector can convince themselves that official intervention might be helpful rather than threatening or arbitrary. It should generate the basis from which to negotiate measures that are significantly helpful but not excessively open to abuse.

A second requirement would seem to be accountability to the user public. It would call not just for advisory or even governing committees with informal sector members on them, but also for the arrangement of patterns of authority, decision-making, resource allocation and career advancement in ways that promote and protect the quality of direct service to the user public. Countervailing accountability for the proper use of public resources would be required too, of course, as would protection (and disincentives) for the personnel against pressures for privileged treatment and the like. At the same time, the dangers of abuse should not become such a preoccupation that positive action is paralysed.

Securing accountability should assure the third and fourth requirements, namely rapid responsiveness and innovative flexibility. In their turn, these will probably entail considerable decentralization in decision-making and resource allocation—along with the reciprocals of adequate checks on possible abuses.

Whatever the functions and guiding requirements of the agencies, the problem remains of whether to make them government, quasi-government or private organizations. Status as part of the ordinary civil service would seem to be inappropriate for the reasons already listed. On the other hand, given their relative poverty, most workers in the informal sector would not feel able to pay for apparent luxuries like information, guidance and training, so a totally private organization would also be out of the question. It is of course put even further out of court by the proposals for various forms of subsidies.
As public resources are involved, some point on the spectrum between a totally public and totally private agency needs to be identified, which would permit the government—local or central—adequate supervision, but allow the agency sufficient resources and discretion to decide and act quickly according to particular local, even individual, circumstances.

Correspondingly, the full-time personnel of the agencies—few though they may be—will need to be given sufficient job security to mobilize and develop services, yet at the same time a sufficient stimulus to keep them working at least as hard—if not as long—as most of the workers in the informal sector. Some form of contract dependent for renewal on performance would need to be considered. That in turn would call for the definition of performance criteria and procedures for applying the criteria. The requirement of accountability to the user public would probably mean that at least part of the assessment would be made by the user public or its representatives.

How the balances, procedures and details might be negotiated in any particular country, town or group of occupations is put beyond prediction by the varieties of political systems, cultures, subcultures and occupations. Unsatisfactory as that level of generalization is, more concrete formulations can be made only in relation to specific situations with their specific sets of possibilities and difficulties. Such an observation implies one firm piece of advice: any move to create educational support for workers in the informal sector should start cautiously and modestly from the basis of experiment in one or two towns.

References


——. 1983. Secondary Education, Selection Examinations and University Recruitment in Indonesia: Some Key Issues. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. (Commissioned Study No. 3.)


1985, International Youth Year
Youth research in the 1980s

Christopher Murray

In regarding youth as an age category rather than a psychological state we are inevitably drawn into a consideration of global demographic and social trends which affect all age-groups. Clearly, to treat youth as somehow isolated from these trends is to engage in reification of an absurd kind. Before considering specific issues addressed by youth researchers we need, therefore, to identify the salient currents of international life which colour and shape our picture of a global youth cohort. As a prelude to such a consideration it is necessary to remark that individual contributors are focusing, within a national frame of reference, on such issues as the role of young people in enhancing cultural identity and communication between cultures; questions of peace and respect for human rights; reducing inequalities; preserving the environment and natural resources; harnessing science and technology for social and economic purposes; and providing for full participation in society through meaningful employment and political expression. These are prescriptions and are perhaps best viewed against some of the complexities that research has revealed to be associated with these and related questions. Such an approach will, we hope, provide a realistic and balanced view while contributing to an ongoing dialogue between colleagues who have adopted youth either as a major research focus or as a methodological device better to understand major societal processes.

Related social and demographic trends

In terms of world population figures it has been estimated that the number of individuals in the 15 to 24 age-group, an arbitrarily defined youth category, has increased over the last two decades from approximately 17 per cent to 19 per cent of the total world population; this represents some 875 million in this particular age category. In a demographic sense, then, the world is growing younger! However, this is a temporary phenomenon, as the predictions indicate that by the year 2000 the youth population as a percentage of the total will approximate 1960 levels. If, however, we focus on rates of population increase rather than absolute numbers then it becomes apparent that the youth group has increased in size by some two-thirds since 1960. This overall expansion cloaks major differences between the developing and industrialized nations, with the former recording a rate of increase more than double that of the latter. Projections indicate that for the less developed regions of the world, excepting East Asia, namely Africa, Latin America and South Asia, there will be a significant increase in the youth population up to the year 2000. This increase will be most marked in Africa with the youth group rising to nearly double its current level. This is in stark contrast to the

Christopher Murray (United Kingdom). Director of Youth Studies, University of Manchester. Author of Youth in Contemporary Society: Theoretical and Research Perspectives, Youth Unemployment: a Social-Psychological Study of Disadvantaged 16-19 Year Olds; and The Formal Goals and Operational Commitment of UK Secondary Schools.
demographic trend for China, where, in response to a centrally planned policy of population control, it is estimated that the number of young people will drop by some 10 per cent from 1960 levels—in actual numbers from 203 to 183 million young people. This decrease in the age-group is also projected, though in less dramatic terms, for the more developed regions of the world, that is, North America, Europe, Oceania, and the USSR. With the exception noted, these differential rates of demographic development point up the tendency for societies to age, that is to contain a relatively greater proportion of the population in the older age groups, with increasing industrialization. Such changes in the size and composition of age-groups alters the structural disposition of societies in the longer term. However, there are immediate effects which are cumulative in character. Thus, in those societies where there is a developed social welfare infrastructure, an increase in births results in an increased demand for infant and child-care services and then progressively affects education and employment opportunities.

This abstract and rather static way of describing trends that ultimately affect all segments of society does not convey the human consequences of the dry statistics that provide the basis for such generalizations. Such consequences are often adverse in terms of both personal and societal development. However, an awareness of the complex nature of these trends and their social implications may act as a corrective to a blanket pessimism which sees youth as facing 'a concrete, structural crisis of chronic economic uncertainty and even deprivation'. By way of illustration, let us take for example the 'problem' of rural-urban migration which in modal age terms is a youth problem faced by many countries of varying economic and political complexion. The picture conventionally conveyed in this regard is one of a rootless and shifting young male cohort drifting into major urban settings with little prospect of securing either employment or indeed the basic necessities of life. This exodus from the country to the town is often thought to contribute to pressure on welfare, legal and health services which are often near breaking-point, in addition to leaving in its wake a population which is unbalanced with regard to sex and age. The available research on such migrations, admittedly somewhat less than comprehensive in character, provides rather a different scenario. Thus in nearly all developing countries, with the exception of Argentina, Chile and Venezuela, out-migration from rural areas does not exceed natural population increase. In short, child-bearing in Ruritania is buoyant. Migrants are not an undifferentiated mass. They vary in social background from the upwardly mobile to the impoverished peasant. They also tend not to be centrally placed in the social structure of their locality of origin as they are at a transitional stage between adolescence and adulthood. Consequently they can adapt more easily to the urban environment and as a labour force possess certain economic advantages from an employer's point of view, namely: optimal labour allocation; minimal transport costs; savings on wage and fringe benefits; and a lower demand for housing and public utilities.

When examined in finer detail such movements are found to contain complex patterns, for example the phenomenon of circular migration; the return of migrants to their rural homelands after a period of employment in the city. Research has shown that in attempting to explain the subtleties associated with this pattern there is little virtue in an anthropological metaphor which offers a description in terms of a temporary situation, 'with tribesmen making forays into an alien environment to acquire goods', thus maintaining in large measure their cultural and social heritage. Somewhat less romantically, the pattern appears to reflect the outcome of policies adopted by employers and is in part an adaptation to family separation (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982). This illustration points up some of the difficulties in what may be termed 'problemizing' about youth. It should not, however, be assumed that demographic and social factors are essentially 'functional' for both the individual and society. In the case of circular migration the ravages of urban unem-
Young research in the 1980s

Employment lead to a breakdown in the pattern and the sustaining kinship ties associated with it. Similarly, problems associated with the access of young second-generation migrants to labour markets in Europe and the situation in the country of origin for return migrants is ably and comprehensively described in a modest study by Limage (1983). The interrelationships between linguistic, occupational and socioeconomic placement and school success reinforce the view that what, superficially at least, appears to be a simple youth problem is in fact a complex one involving intra- as well as inter-generational issues.

Before turning to specific youth issues it is necessary to comment briefly on another underlying trend, namely the ‘fit’ between educational and employment sectors and unemployment. Discussion on this issue is often blurred by the failure to make a distinction between work and employment. Work is the more inclusive term. Unemployment means fewer jobs than people, and underemployment involves more employees working at jobs than is required to achieve the same end result. In addition the impact of what may be termed the ‘left-over’ market economy serviced by scavengers, beggars and ‘hangers-on’ is often neglected or underestimated. We should also note that unemployment is only seen as problematic when a society has been accustomed to reasonably full levels of employment. This is not a question of semantic quibbling but rather a cautionary signal drawing attention to the nature of our assumptions when we come to raise questions aimed at discovering a particular body of fact. Certainly, as a recent OECD report (1983) points out, a disproportionate unemployment burden is borne by young people in that the rate of unemployment tends: to be approximately three times as high among young people as among adults; to increase with a low level of education or training; to fall with increasing age; to be higher than average among minority groups, females and the offspring of migrants; and to be higher than average in remote regions and the inner suburbs of large cities. There is, however, considerable variation between countries with the most recent (1980) figures on youth employment expressed as a percentage of total unemployment, indicating that Thailand leads the league table with 74 per cent, Portugal occupies a middle position with 47 per cent and Japan is bottom with 22 per cent. Again, however, the point must be made that such patterns do not convey personal predicaments. It is tempting, despite the confusion surrounding the term, to invoke the notion of ‘alienation’ in relation to such human consequences and to decry the casual, job-changing pattern of youthful unemployment in industrialized market-economy countries. While this position is perhaps understandable it does less than justice to the complexities of an occupation socialization process that enables particular groups of young people to construe their employment, unemployment and related educational experiences as meaningful participation in a local network of relationships. This is not to deny the difficulties and problems, sometimes of a serious and dramatic kind, associated with being unemployed, but rather to point out some of the nuances involved in a trend which may appear to represent a clear-cut youth problem (Roberts et al., 1982).

It is difficult to think of employment/unemployment trends without considering manpower requirements and the fit between the employment and educational segments of society. Furthermore, discussion about the transition from school to working life is not particularly meaningful in those regions of the world where millions have not entered any system of formal education and indeed are unlikely to do so. In this respect it has been suggested that universal primary education in Latin America, Asia and Africa is unlikely to be achieved and that the school enrolment position may deteriorate as it becomes an increasing financial burden with the increase of the population. Such schooling may also represent a collective psychological burden in that in particular countries’ current educational systems may be cultural transplants associated with colonial establishment and hence serve as prime examples of cultural lag. In short, such systems merely serve to heighten aspirations for service-
Fig. 1. Youth research—levels of analysis.

Personal level
- Biological
- Physiological
- Psychomotor

Learning
- Attainment
- Skills

Behaviour
- Motivation

Belief
- Attitudes
- Values

Institutional level (formal)
- Family

Workplace
- Locality

Schooling

Institutional level (informal)
- Friendship

Voluntary associations

Youth movements

Societal level
- Political
- Economic
- Religious
- Domestic
- Recreational
- Educational

All levels are interrelated and interdependent.

The adolescent

Past

Future

Time axis
sector employment in economies which essentially require artisans and farmers. This is not simply a question of colonial collusion designed to suppress the legitimate needs of an indigenous population because the situation does not appear to improve when developing countries achieve national independence. In particular the problem of graduate ‘misemployment’ is a continuing concern of such nations. Thus in the now-independent Papua New Guinea the national dilemma has been succinctly put in the following terms: ‘On the one hand the expansion of post-primary education cannot be encouraged because of the fear of educated unemployment. On the other, the unemployment of a large number of teenagers with only primary education cannot be avoided’ (Qamar, 1983).

New organizational structures are being created in both developing and developed countries with market economies to meet such challenges but it is as yet unclear how such innovations will help ameliorate the harmful consequences of a trend which is worldwide in its effects.

Current research trends

In contrast to the prevailing climate of theorizing about youth in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Adamski (1983) sees current research as being ‘grounded in empirical fact and theoretical thinking’; this can only be for the better. Allied with this shift from polemic to paradigm is a concern to view youth as a differentiated rather than homogeneous category; to view with scepticism vague and all-inclusive notions such as ‘youth culture’ (Hartmann, 1983). Such a tendency helps to modify the ‘all or nothing thinking’ which characterizes the development of common-sense theories about youth issues. As I have written elsewhere (Murray, 1978) not only do we often treat youth as a discrete category arrested in time, ignoring life-cycle development, but also we are often neglectful of debates and positions in the philosophy of social science which act as a corrective to over-ambitious theories and models. In short, in an immature and expanding field such as youth studies, we must beware of it being labelled ‘a mediocrity exhibiting the worst excesses of entrepreneurial and shoddy science’.

An important safeguard against such structures involves the clarification of basic assumptions and the phrasing of ideas in a manner which makes them testable. Whichever theoretical position is adopted it is necessary to make explicit the level of analysis involved. Figure 1 is offered as a way of ordering examples of research reviewed later and makes explicit the relationship between them.

This diagram does not constitute a model in the formal sense; rather, it is intended as an explanatory framework with the intention of clarifying our thinking about youth research. Reference back to this figure will be made at appropriate points in the following section. As such it constitutes a heuristic device providing ‘pegs’ on which to ‘hang’ aspects of research conducted at different levels. In this sense it does less than justice to theoretical and research approaches that call into question the reality of youth other than as a social artefact associated with the process of industrialization (Starr, 1981).

It would be presumptuous to attempt a comprehensive account of current trends in youth research which is truly reflective of the endeavours of social scientists in the major regions of the world. Rather the assumption is made that readers would like to be made aware of research topics that are general in characteristic and are currently being emphasized.

At the institutional level of analysis, both formal and informal, there continues to be considerable interest in youth movements (Fig. 1). However, many researchers point out that this is a term that lacks precision. It has been used to describe a collective ‘revolution under the ribs’, that is, an anarchic, spontaneous combustion of collective energy directed towards changing the system: whether the system be Marxist, Neo-Marxist or capitalist; voluntary or statutory; local, national or international; or, in some cases, undefined! On the other hand there are descriptions of youth movements which may be organized and financed by central
government with the explicit or implicit intention of communicating certain values and attitudes. Such movements are examples of how to preserve the social order rather than change it; in ideological terms they reinforce the status quo.

In developing countries the available research (De V. Graff, 1982) suggests that youth movements are frequently bound up with rural development projects typically involving manual labour. As such they act as agencies for political socialization, using that phrase in the broadest sense. In socialist countries with centrally planned economies this orientation is made quite explicit. For example, in the USSR, Komsomol, the largest youth organization with some 24 million members, is dedicated in its formal goals to 'educating active citizens' (United Nations, 1983b) and as such is an organ of national development. Indeed, since its foundation in 1918 it has been awarded state recognition for this work in terms of Orders of Lenin, the Red Banner and the October Revolution. Similarly, in China the relationship between youth movements and ideology is indistinguishable, with such movements being seen as a bulwark against decadent, bourgeois ideas. Currently the Chinese Youth League (CYL) is being mustered to 'stand in the forefront of the fight against ideological contamination' (Chinese Youth Bulletin, 1983). Such movements are quite different in character from the militant dissent from a political consensus which characterized the 'counter-cultural' movements of the 1960s as described and evaluated by Backman and Finley (1973). Such movements have given rise to a comprehensive literature (Murray, 1976) which is continuously being added to (Yinger, 1982) and is indicative of an ongoing research interest on this topic. A strand running throughout such research, whether guided by cultural, subcultural or organization theory, is the dilemma of resolving the contradiction between the movement as a 'community' and the movement as an 'organization', with debates about ideology consuming a considerable proportion of collective energy.

A second substantive area of youth research, touching all four levels of analysis, is that which aims to describe transitional processes. At one level, usually involving whole societies, the anthropological literature has tended to focus an adolescent 'status passage' with its accompanying rites and relationships. The ethnographic studies reviewed by Vizedom (1976) in fifteen cultures suggest that Van Gennep's (1960) early formulation of initiation ceremonies in terms of rites of separation, transition and incorporation is not fully supported by the research. This model has also been found to be less than satisfactory when applied to developed societies either at the group or individual level (Musgrove, 1981). In such societies the major thrust of research dealing with transition has been on status attainment in relation to personal aspirations and values. This emphasis is well established in North American social science with a major focus being peer group influences which either facilitate or hinder status attainment (Coleman, 1961). Recent work (Cohen, 1983) has shown that in terms of peer influences on aspirations to continue in full-time education there has been an overestimate amounting to some 100 per cent due to the failure to control for differences in initial levels of aspiration. The current evidence suggests that the influence of peers on an individual's decision whether or not to develop his education is quite weak and that the greater rigour is required in specifying models related to adolescent transitional processes described over two decades ago. This point is reiterated by Dronkers (1983), who has collated research relating to the transitional process at the beginning of the adolescent period. A re-occurring theme here relates to access to schooling in terms of the depiction of inequalities in educational opportunity. Analysis of four data sets for the Netherlands (sample=47,283) over different time periods suggest that to speak of a "universal" decline or increase in equality of educational opportunity arising from differences in social background of respondents is to oversimplify the issue. In general, the Netherlands data suggest that the total effects of social background variables on educational attainment are relatively stable over
generations. The major and unambiguous trend is of a reduction in educational inequality between the sexes. In the Netherlands at least gender is more salient, as an axis of differentiation, than genera. The lesson to be learned is that meritocratic selection procedures do not necessarily enhance the educational opportunities available to adolescents; they may only change the ways along which social background influences educational attainment. It follows that the generalized conclusions of such commentators as Jencks (1979) in the United States and Halsey (1980) in the United Kingdom on this topic must be viewed with some scepticism.

The social and psychological marginalization of young people is a third generalized research issue of some current importance. In this regard a research focus on subcultures that generate disease, poverty and crime is too limiting. Thus Henriksson's (1983) summary of the Swedish National Youth Council's Report dramatically indicates the vacuous nature of modern life for many young people in one of the world's wealthiest and most organized societies. The major finding to emerge from this study is that absence of boundaries or guidelines as to appropriate conduct increases feelings of powerlessness and loneliness, especially among children and youth. This is exacerbated by a welfare system which 'takes care' of the person from the cradle to the grave and, consequently, denies youth the challenges of responsibility and initiative. In short, and in the words of the report, being an onlooker instead of a participant is a drastic cultural change which 'children of the state' have been made to feel. The result of this, according to Henriksson, is that Swedish youth are materially rich but emotionally starved. In this sense one of the world's most advanced social, political and economic systems provides a cautionary exemplar rather than a model for development.

Such marginalization may take on a different form in developing countries, particularly where there is rapid social and political change. In such situations attempts to understand the aetiology of delinquency and related forms of deviance are confronted with difficulties of generalization stemming from the levels and types of analysis employed. Broadly speaking, these range from the personal to the cross-national; that is, from the careers and characteristics of drug users, sociopathic delinquents, violent gangs and delinquent networks to city and national differences in rates of delinquency and mental illness. A departure from this form of analysis is that which seeks to explain what may be termed 'deviant cases of deviance' from a sociological perspective at the city level. Thus Count Van Manen (1976) in her case study of Singapore suggests that, in spite of conditions thought to encourage deviance—namely recent immigration, high internal and external migration, the presence of well-defined racial and socio-economic cultures and low per capita income—there is no marked problem of crime, delinquency and mental illness. Furthermore, though the cultural style of Westernized youth has been diffused in this South-East Asian city-state, the heavy use of heroin, marijuana and alcohol has not. Why? The following propositions, with supporting evidence from other countries, are offered by way of partial explanation. Segregation of cultures and even the creation of ghetto-like neighbourhoods for the migrant population helps to minimize deviance. In addition, cultural patterns among the dominant Chinese population, which stress family solidarity and are characterized by clearly defined norms, result in patterns of socialization that minimize deviance. Though, compared to many industrialized market-economy countries, per capita income in Singapore is low, it is relatively high compared to mainland China, Malaysia, India and Bangladesh—countries from which the major migrant flows emanate.

Thus relatively speaking such groups are well placed in economic terms, and this acts as a further check on deviant forms of behaviour associated with discontent arising from economic opportunities which are perceived as restricted. Again on the positive side, a clearly defined role structure for male youth is provided by universal military training followed by the guarantee of a job. In addition, the values of the low-status Malay group tend to be at variance
Christopher Murray

with the more dominant Chinese culture, consequently providing an alternative avenue for status attainment. Thus striving to achieve dominant societal goals is a non-issue and helps ameliorate excessive stress for the individual and deviance at the institutional level. Such an approach helps to freshen a research perspective, suggests directions for policy and clarifies theoretical issues in a field not noted for conceptual clarity (Hackler, 1979).

A fourth substantive area in youth research is that related to relationships between the generations. The idea of a ‘generation gap’ has been with us certainly since the time of Socrates and perhaps, if Egyptian tomb inscriptions are to be taken literally, for some 6,000 years. In view of this long-standing preoccupation it is perhaps somewhat churlish to examine the evidence for its existence as an intercultural and universal phenomena. There does seem, however, little doubt that the available evidence on intergenerational differences in attitudes and values has been overgeneralized; disciplined research from Europe, North America and Oceania suggests generational continuity rather than strife. This position is reflected in a large-scale, longitudinal study of British adolescents (Fogelman, 1976), which reveals minor conflicts between parents and offspring on issues with little value centrality. A reconciliation of the lay and scholarly points of view (Coleman, 1980) may be found in the nature of public stereotyping about youth as a social group drawn from the high visibility of atypical teenagers on the one hand and typical modes of relating within families on the other. Thus, as Andersson (1969) found in his Swedish research, ‘the gap’ revolves around questions of definition, and he points up the reciprocal and complex nature of adolescent socialization. This point of view is supported by the contributions to Bengsten and Läufers’ (1974) volume on youth, generations and social change. Thus Thomas (1974) using Rokeach’s (1960) paradigm, found little evidence for generational differences in attitudes but some discontinuity in values, particularly for college-age adolescents. He concludes that the generation gap controversy has produced ‘more heat than light’ because the protagonists have been arguing past each other rather than dealing with the same level of cognitive reality. In the same volume Katz (1974) argues that generational differences have produced cultural rather than structural change. In short, social cleavage based on sex, age, social class and race has not facilitated revolutionary movements but rather has been handled within existing societal institutions. Such a broad discussion not only puts into perspective issues connected with the relationships between generations but also raises the important question of an emerging political consciousness in youthful cohorts. This consciousness is described in a cross-national study of the influence of higher education on the social structure of socialist societies (Mitev, P., et al., 1982). The data, a poll of students in Institutes of Higher Education (sample—29,113) is at an early stage of analysis but provides comparable data about the views of young people on issues related to political and ideological processes. The countries involved are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and the USSR. By way of contrast, Hübner-Funk et al. (1983) have undertaken qualitative work at local level in the Federal Republic of Germany. The results of this study, based on interviews in family circumstances with 140 15-year-old school-leavers, suggests that the personal and ‘political’ consciousness of such young people is a mirror-image of their local environments. Such a consciousness, however, changes as the process of occupational socialization gets under way. This theme is carried forward by Szalai and Antal (1983) in their discussion of some aspects of social problems of young people in Hungary. Their data is derived from a secondary analysis of inequalities in the distribution of earnings between the generations and is coupled with information on health and housing. The authors use this data to generalize about structural inequalities in Hungarian society. The ideological and political implications of this research, essentially related to the well-known Marxist postulate that labour in its philosophical sense is the only acceptable basis
for being an integrated member of society, are presented in a rational and well-integrated format.

The fifth and final substantive youth research area which I will treat here is essentially personal in orientation and, as such, is rather heterogeneous in character. This perspective, essentially anthropometric, psychoanalytic, psychological and social/psychological, focuses on physical development and character processes, particularly those revolving around questions related to the self concept. In terms of physical development considerable research effort has been devoted to defining and subsequently examining the consequences of the maturational phase we term adolescence. This research (Schonfeld, 1973) suggests that it is advisable to retain the term adolescence for the total period of sexual maturation, covering the age range of 12 to 18 in boys and 10 to 16 in girls, and that various stages can be identified within it. Early adolescence is defined on the one hand by the first evidence of sexual maturation with the upper limit being reached with the appearance of pubic hair. Middle adolescence begins at this point and terminates when pubic hair is completely developed. The major changes in physical development occur at this time, which is referred to as 'pubescence'. Late adolescence is characterized essentially by deceleration of growth in height and the maturation of primary and secondary sexual characteristics. It has been established that the intensity and duration of the spurt in growth which characterizes this period is greater in the male than in the female. However, for both sexes the most marked change is that in stature which may give rise to what is termed 'asynchronism' or unevenness in growth. The most common type of unco-ordinated growth is short-waistedness due to the disproportionate growth of the legs relative to that of the trunk. But the available evidence does not support the idea of adolescence as an overgrown 'clumsy' age; the clumsy adolescent is likely to have been the clumsy child. Similarly, the popular notion of the adolescent outgrowing his strength is not unequivocally supported by research. However, there may well be a lag, of approximately one year's duration, between achieving full body size and the development of full muscular power. Similarly the research draws our attention to the necessity of distinguishing between pathological conditions, which bring about gross variations in development, such as 'precocious puberty' and 'sexual infantilism', and early and late maturing during the adolescent period. What is clear, with evidence available from many regions of the world, is the tendency towards earlier maturation in man (Tanner, 1978)—the so-called secular trend. The evidence related to this is universal in scope and, consequently, cannot be simply explained through cultural, nutritional or genetic trends taken as unique causative explanations both for the earlier onset of the menarche in girls or earlier maturation in both sexes as measured by increased average height and weight. It is probable that both genetic and environmental factors are involved and interact in a complex way within geographically disparate regions of the world. While the auxological principles remain unchanged research is still going on into the mechanisms and processes of growth which will deepen our understanding of adolescence as a distinctive maturational phase of the life course.

The body image, the mental representation of our physical selves, is but one dimension of self concept which takes on a particular salience during adolescence. In general this research topic points towards a 'strain to conformity' where to be different is to be deviant, at least at the level of adolescent self-appraisal, and may result in an agonizing self-consciousness. The extent to which this particular feature relates to other aspects of the self concept is a mute question at the present time, though there is some speculative literature which suggests that physical changes during this period heighten an awareness of self when decisions of the 'who am I?' kind, termed self identity, are critical (Erikson, 1969). Unfortunately, research seems to have lagged behind theory in this important area, particularly in treating self concept as a unitary rather than multidimensional phenomenon and in developing generalizations from an
inadequate measurement base (Wylie, 1974). Currently there are attempts to reflect this multidimensionality in research of a cross-cultural kind and to relate the finding to differences in the sociocultural environments of developing and developed nations, in particular the United Kingdom and Nigeria (Olowu, 1983). Such comparisons represent a strand in what is known as 'culture personality' writings, with the emphasis in this case on cultural configurations and aspects of personal development. This contrasts with psychoanalytically orientated work which attempts to explain personality types as products of cultural influences, focusing particularly on the influence of interpersonal relations in early childhood. Both approaches have been illustrated and criticized in considerable detail (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1950), the force of these criticisms being largely related to the problems of extracting a particular segment of behaviour from its cultural context; notwithstanding the date of publication, such a critique serves as a relevant cautionary signpost for investigators undertaking this kind of work in the 1980s.

One of the most dangerous tasks any social scientist undertakes is attempting to present a picture of colleagues' work in a prescribed field. When one attempts this not merely from a national but from a global perspective, then clearly one is testing collegiate tolerance to the limit. By way of mitigation I would like to add that this article is very much an overview and throughout makes no pretence at being comprehensive or analytical; it is intended rather to introduce the work of colleagues from many regions of the world and, I hope, will stimulate the reader to look in greater detail at aspects of youth and society which are of particular interest. I have emphasized the fact that those we term youth are influenced not only by their society and its culture but the history of that society and culture. Such a perspective, if fully understood and accepted, gives meaning to the phrase participation, peace and democracy—the keynote of International Youth Year.

References

De V. Graff, J. F. 1982. Youth Movements in Developing Countries. University of Manchester. (Manchester Monographs, 20.)


---. 1978. *Youth in Contemporary Society*. Windsor, NFER.


---. 1983b. *Youth Information Bulletin* (Vienna), No. 47.


Youth and peace

Dan Mihai Barliba

Peace is undoubtedly one of the major political values of the contemporary age. Its significance results from its being today the unique alternative to ensure the further existence of mankind. In such a general context, the younger generation is actively involved in the struggle for peace and disarmament; in resuming the course towards détente and in removing the danger of a nuclear war. The ever wider reception of the generous ideas of peace by young people with different political, ideological and philosophical views, as well as by the broad youth movements in Europe and other parts of the world in support of peace and disarmament, are distinctive features of the 1980s.

The relationship between youth and peace, as a complex and dynamic process, is reflected in the preparations for the International Youth Year in 1985. The theme of this event—'Participation, Development, Peace'—involves the possible and necessary contribution by the younger generation and its organizations at the local, national, regional and international levels.

In our opinion, viewed as a social and political process, the relationship between youth and peace is a fundamental and intrinsic aspect of the contemporary world, which has to be considered at several levels: (a) in designing and implementing youth-oriented strategies, policies and programmes; (b) in launching platforms of action by youth structures of various orientations and at different levels; (c) in identifying some analytical-interpretative directions in current research on youth, in particular on its role in national and international life.

A complex and dynamic relationship

One can examine the relationship from two interconnected positions. First of all, youth appears as an object of peace. Throughout history, at numerous moments of tension and conflict, youth has paid a heavy tribute in human lives, against its will, to those who, in the offices of great empires, decided the fate of the world. In this way, youth has repeatedly been an object of war in situations in which it should naturally have been an object of peace; instead of benefiting from the financial, moral and spiritual advantages of peace, youth has suffered the consequences of wars.

Youth in the 1980s wishes to live and work in peace and freedom. These young people did not experience the horrors of the Second World War but they want to live free from the nightmares of destruction and aggression. If peace were maintained and consolidated by the good will and deliberate action of all states and disarmament were carried out, nuclear disarmament first of all, this would release huge material and human resources for the rapid solution of the major problems confronting mankind—underdevelopment, illiteracy, unemployment, malnutrition, etc. The younger generation could only benefit from such a radical improvement of the world political climate. A lasting and irrevocable peace would have multidimensional effects on the current condition of youth,
at the economic, social, cultural and moral levels, thus providing the generation of the future with substantive incentives for its own multilateral development and expression.

Secondly, youth appears also as the subject of peace. Young people are currently becoming ever more active and involved in the world around them. That is why they cannot content themselves with being merely passive, enjoying only the positive consequences of a peace created and maintained by others. Youth asserts itself in the most direct way as a strong, responsible and consistent catalyst and in the struggle to implement this lofty ideal and promote the fundamental right of man and of all nations—the right to life.

The future of mankind finds expression in the firm voice of youth which supports the efforts for the immediate resumption of détente and co-operation, for a determined transition to disarmament and military disengagement, and for doing away with the old policy of force, domination and interference.

Thirdly, we think that the relationship between youth and peace has a prospective nature. This results from the very nature of the two terms: peace, *stricto sensu*, is not and cannot be a transient value. On the contrary, it encompasses the evolution and prospects of mankind. On the other hand, it is well known that youth is a social category less tied to the past, and more open to change, to transformation and progress. Thus, there will be a functional relationship between the younger generation and the ideal of peace in the future.

Fourthly, there is a theoretical-practical dimension to the relationship between youth and peace. It is important to evaluate simultaneously the theoretical-interpretative aspects of peace both for youth-oriented research and for political decision-making.

Lately we have noted that young people have been raising such questions as: What is peace? How can we attain a lasting peace? What are the effects of peace on youth? Which are the factors that maintain and stimulate peace? There is an increased interest in becoming acquainted with political issues. In this context, the need for information and debate on basic ideas of peace and war holds pride of place.¹

Youth wishes to have a clear image of the present world, and of future prospects. Among young workers, intellectuals, pupils and students, in some countries of the world the belief has been established that peace or war, the basic and vital alternative, are themes of top political priority, which exceed the diplomatic competence or the interests of some groups of states that enjoy economic, military or demographic advantages. These themes are necessarily related to the specific concerns and action of all those who want to live and work creatively in peace. One could even say that political discussion about aspects of preparation for a peaceful world has been one of the important factors in the post-war period, which has resulted in a gradual reduction of apoliticism among youth and students and, implicitly, an increase in the degree of their awareness as a prerequisite to an effective involvement in national and international life.

Paraphrasing Terentius, we could say that, in our age, nothing that is political and relevant at the international level is alien to youth.

We shall further analyse, briefly, a few of the evaluations of principle concerning the issue of peace, to the extent that they are relevant to the morale and attitudes of youth in the 1980s:

First, world peace is seen as a legitimate value of all nations, directly opposed to the absurdity of war and the unjust use of the ‘law of force’ in international life. Naturally, in supporting such a value judgement arguments are not identical. They result from the variety of political, ideological and philosophical positions promoted by the youth movements concerned.

Secondly, youth is aware that peace is not only a right, but also a responsibility. Peace cannot be established by itself. Even if established, it has to be continuously encouraged, cultivated and handed on from one generation to the next. That is why when youth claim their vital right to life, they themselves provide the required contribution to the struggle for maintaining peace and removing the threat of war.

Thirdly, young people are not satisfied with
Youth and peace

a purely formal peace. They wish this peace to
be reflected in the everyday life of the nation
they are part of, in the atmosphere set up by
mass media the world over and especially in the
decision-making process and the steps under­
taken by governments. The urgent necessity
for the states of the world to pass from declar­
ations of intention to concrete and effective
steps for maintaining and strengthening world
peace has been a constant motivation for the
positions taken by the international youth move­
ment. This attitude was expressed, for instance,
in the dissatisfaction shown by the younger
generation with the conclusion of the two
United Nations special sessions on disarm­
ament without substantive positive results. Like­
wise, youth is not fully satisfied with the way
in which the provisions of and the pledges
assumed by the Final Act of the Helsinki
Conference have been implemented, in particu­
lar those related to peace and security in Europe
and the world over.

Fourthly, youth is firmly convinced that
peace and disarmament are issues of equal
interest to all states and nations, free of econ­
omic, demographic or military restrictions or
discrimination. Consequently the younger gen­
eration consistently stands for a real democrat­
ization of consultations on disarmament, which
should involve all states concerned, in order to
ensure the contribution of small and medium­
sized states, and developing and non-aligned
countries, to this process.

Lastly, in the view of the younger generation
securing world peace is an essential prerequisite
to its own assertion of life, work and creative
activity. Only under conditions of peace, under­
standing and constructive co-operation between
nations can young people enjoy basic rights,
such as the rights to education, work, culture,
information, science, participation and social
decision-making. There is a relation of inter­
dependence between peace and the very exist­
ence of young people.

In the 1980s nobody can risk sterile talk on
peace, on its importance and legitimacy, on
mere theoretical and interpretative exercises,
concerning the arms race and disarmament. It
has been noted that youth uses the thorough
knowledge of the problems of peace not as an
end in itself, but as a prerequisite for practical
action. Young people are equally eager to know
and to change the world around them; at the
global political level this leads to a better ac­
quaintance with the phenomena, changes and
trends in international life and, consequently,
to an effective involvement with other pro­
gressive and democratic forces in building up a
better and juster world.

Educational priorities

The openness of youth to peace is an organic
and dynamic part of the wider openness shown
by this generation to everything new and pro­
gressive. This cannot be achieved in a mech­
anical or integral way. Nicolae Iorga, the
famous Romanian historian, wrote the following
in this respect, between the two world wars:

Peace cannot result only from the wish for peace,
but from suppressing the instincts of war, of war for
the pleasure of war. To this end, in spite of the edu­
cation currently fostered by schools, which cultivates
force and encourages violence, and in spite of the
fruit yielded by a steadily irritating press, the present
generation must be subject to a careful and patient
work of self-education, so that this generation should
do its utmost later to bring up their descendants
in the same spirit.8

The task of social and moral education is not at
all easy if we bear in mind the fact that it is
meant for a young generation that did not come
in direct contact with the horrors of either
world war. Also, this generation is more or less
familiar with the states of tension and conflict
in the last decades, their awareness depending
on their socio-professional milieu, level of cul­
ture and political orientation. It is also a fact,
and one that should not be overlooked or under­
estimated, that young people are objectively
non-homogeneous. To approach young people
as a global and monolithic entity is to ignore
the undeniable truth that young people react or
act differently, depending on a great number of
factors (socio-political context, political plat-
form, priority of interest, level of training, organizational capacity, traditions of culture and civilization).

To educate youth in the spirit of peace we must aim at some genuine formative goals, not merely at informative ends. Information on peace—like information on development—is by its nature descriptive, factual, passive and neutral; it is a precondition of education for peace, but it is not education as such. On the other hand, education in the spirit of peace—like education in the spirit of development—is active, its content and meaning involving the necessity of adopting a point of view, a clear stand. The objective of peace-oriented education is to encourage young people to question the causes of violence and war and to participate in solving them by direct involvement in the process of building up peace.*

Education for peace should be fostered not only within educational and cultural establishments, but also within society as a whole, by means of the mass media, publications, peace actions and movements, the family and other groups, and trade unions and associations taking part in social and cultural life.

The kind of education we have in mind as relevant to youth can be carried out at a number of interrelated levels: the family, school, youth groups and organizations, and the mass media.

The relation between these various factors and age-groups is illustrated in Figure 1.\(^5\)

It is obvious that, as young people grow up, the role of the family, as well as that of school, diminishes; at the same time there is a substantial increase in the role played by society, seen as a system of institutions and factors that determine, orient or correct the level of knowledge, the evaluations and the theoretical and practical attitudes of young people to the issues of peace and war.

All these factors can interact to different extents to mould and consolidate a viewpoint, a conviction about world peace being the only alternative for the contemporary world. This would provide the prerequisite for an uninterrupted process of self-education in this field.

One might think, at first sight, that the family as a social institution has a concrete and everyday educational responsibility to educate and bring up children rather than to approach issues of world political scale, such as peace and disarmament. The family is a framework in which children can mould their moral and civil

---

* The definition of education for peace was adapted from a definition of education for development formulated by Peter Burn (Adult and Out-of-school Development Education: An Evaluation of Cooperation between the UN Agencies and United Kingdom, Non-Governmental Organizations, Public Voice Communications Ltd, pp. 5-6).
Youth profile, adapt to the norms of individual and social behaviour, based on the acceptance of the ideas of peace and the rejection of authoritarianism and violence, and show their openness to dialogue and understanding. It is also incumbent upon the family to offer—by appropriate means, in accordance with a child's age and psychology—concrete and clear examples of a firm attitude against war, of condemning the atrocities resulting from military confrontation, and of cultivating feelings of respect and esteem for other peoples.

School is, and most probably will continue to be many years from now, the main source of fundamental knowledge of the physical, biological and social world. This knowledge is the basis of future attitudes and points of view. A double orientation is also required in this very important field of the responsibility of society for the education of young people in the spirit of peace. On the one hand, there is the necessity of removing everything that could favour hostile and aggressive attitudes from the content of the educational system and, on the other, to include as many elements as possible in order to enable young people to understand the contemporary world. The first of the two aspects aims at resolutely eliminating all incorrect and prejudiced information from the curricula—from the textbooks of history, geography and political sciences in particular. The second aspect aims at widening and improving the quality of the curricula in the field of foreign languages, world history and culture, political science, social psychology, thus enabling young people to have direct contact with the spiritual values created by other peoples, by human civilization as a whole.

School is, perhaps—among the different kinds of peace education—the one which, in order to reach the required level of efficiency, has to be freed from triviality and abstraction. Given the specificity of its young audience, the main goal of school is to form (and transform, if necessary) convictions and attitudes, and not only to provide knowledge. Throughout this process, youth must be regarded without any prejudices or suspicion, as an active subject of education.

The educational slogan of the Victorian age, according to which 'Children should be seen and not heard' is absolutely out of date.

When interviewed about the content of the education they receive, many young people from the developing countries frequently mentioned its sterile, stereotypical character, unable to identify the relation between the causes of poverty and underdevelopment in these countries and the world arms race. A similar evaluation is given, this time, by some renowned specialists in education. Educational systems are frequently inappropriate in both content and methods; violence still holds an important place. Peace items are not numerous. Teaching methods are mainly theoretical and favour action very little.

The efficiency of peace education is directly linked to the correctness of the information about the world which is offered to the younger generation. Nowadays, the mass media, the channels of information at different levels, should provide the younger generation with accurate material, in accordance with reality, thus moulding appropriate attitudes and social activities.

The peace education of youth is a matter of great concern for a wide circle of groups, such as youth and student organizations, non-governmental organizations, governmental and intergovernmental bodies, other agencies with competences in working out strategies and programmes, in the decision-making process at the national, regional and international levels. In this respect, the United Nations—the most representative forum at the world level—and its specialized agencies hold pride of place. They proceed gradually to a more substantive approach of the issues of the younger generation. A convincing example of this peculiar interest was the adoption, in 1965, following an initiative by Romania, of the first important document on youth which was dedicated to the necessity of educating the younger generation in the spirit of peace, understanding and cooperation between peoples.

During recent years, Unesco and, within it, the Youth Division, hold an important place
in the field of peace education of youth, due to their wide and constant concern with this issue. In the very Constitution of this specialized institution, adopted immediately after the Second World War, it was stressed that: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.'

---

**Peace, a factor of youth activism**

If the 1970s in many Western countries were characterized by social movements of youth contesting attitudes and promoting revolt, one can say that the 1980s are characterized by widespread movements for peace and disarmament, which engage young people with widely differing views and backgrounds.

Especially in Europe, youth takes an active part in demonstrations and campaigns for maintaining peace and for disarmament and co-operation on the continent. These activities show the great concern of young people, who are confronted with the qualitative and quantitative acceleration of the arms race. They reiterate their firm conviction that positive steps can surely be taken towards stopping the arms race and making progress in the field of disarmament.

In our opinion, the main characteristics of the youth movements for peace and disarmament are: (a) representativity based on a multitude of criteria; (b) diversity in the modalities of action; and (c) an approach from a practical, concrete perspective to the economic, social and political aspects of peace and disarmament as a whole.

Representativity can be interpreted, as I have already said, from many points of view: the multitude of political, philosophical, ideological and religious orientations: in activities dedicated to maintaining peace, to stopping the arms race and to measures for disarmament and military disengagement, various youth groups with very different convictions have been recently involved. Even youth organizations that adopted, not so many years ago, defeatist or passive positions in international policy have joined the peace movements.

The multitude of levels: local, national, regional and international youth and student organizations take part in the activities as a whole (as well as in political debates) on peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. We also witness an increased tendency towards regionalization in the youth and student movement, reflected in the concrete positions taken by youth organizations on achieving European security, turning certain regions of the planet into nuclear-free zones (the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Scandinavia, the Indian Ocean, etc.), and solving regional conflicts by peaceful means. One can also see an increased contribution by international youth and student structures to youth issues and, consequently, a diversification and expansion of co-operation between these organizations.

The multitude of areas of interest: peace and disarmament have represented, during recent years, important incentives for many professional specialized organizations (cultural, tourist, artistic, sports, educational and scientific organizations) which associated manifestations and initiatives of a broader political significance. Similar positions have been adopted in different countries by various structures of a confessional or environmental nature which were—not so many years ago—almost exclusively concerned with their own competences and areas of interest.

In terms of the accentuated diversity of the modalities of action, mention should be made, in our opinion, of the following important trends: Combining political discussion and debates (of the teach-in kind, widely implemented in the 1970s at the time of student social movements in France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, etc.) on issues of peace and disarmament with effective political action directly aimed at governments.

Launching diverse forms of action (peace marches, demonstrations, signature-collecting campaigns) with the aim of making the
Youth and peace

public aware of the necessity for undertaking real disarmament measures.

Forging links with other sections of the population (working people, the trade-union movement) and arousing interest in the possibility of efficient joint action.

Acting in the spirit of the foreign policy of our state, Romanian youth takes an active part in the struggle for peace and disarmament. The fundamental options of the younger generation were strongly voiced both in the widescale events organized in the framework of the national campaign ‘Romania’s Youth Want Peace’ and in the activities which enjoyed the broad support of students and young people from many countries. New paths were identified towards détente and disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. The ‘Appeal’ to national, regional and international youth organizations, adopted at the March of the Bucharest Youth (November 1983) made the following exhortation:

Young people of Europe, let us join forces to build our present and future in peace and welfare. Let us never accept that our lives, the lives of our parents, brothers and sisters be destroyed in a devastating war. Let us work together for the building of a better and more just world, a world of peace and progress, of security and collaboration among all the peoples on the globe.8

Peace encourages unity of action because it offers the possibility of overcoming differences of opinion and political interpretation.

The perspective of International Youth Year

In the concrete programme of measures and activities to be undertaken prior to and during International Youth Year (IYY), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1981, it is emphasized that: ‘Peace and youth interests are not separable; youth’s needs, rights and interests can be implemented only in peaceful conditions.’9 As a matter of fact, peace is, naturally, one of the main priorities expressed by the IYY themes, ‘Participation, Development, Peace’.

In our opinion, International Youth Year could and should identify several elements of a new quality within the dynamics of the relationship between youth and peace.

Both in the stage of preparation and during the celebration itself, the widescale event in 1985 offers the framework for an explicit affirmation at many levels (national, regional, international, within the United Nations system) of the options of the younger generation: their desire for peace, the need for peace, their determination to do their best to build a better and more just world and to promote understanding among peoples.

IYY can provide a forum to link youth choices and governmental decisions. The younger generation must voice its opinion about all the major political issues of our age which concern mankind’s future, especially peace.

The states of the world and various governmental and intergovernmental bodies are called upon—within the context of the preparation and celebration of International Youth Year—to take into account and act decisively upon the appeals for the abolition of conflict, for the achievement of concrete and efficient measures for general and, first of all, nuclear disarmament, for the halting of war propaganda and the promotion of humanistic, progressive values through both the educational process and the general dissemination of information.

IYY is a favourable framework for concrete action by the younger generation in building up a climate of peace and understanding among nations. Unfortunately, IYY does not enjoy a favourable world climate; that is why it is necessary for IYY to lead to an increased participation by youth in the struggle of peoples for peace and disarmament. Youth can and must offer convincing examples of the struggle for peace, understanding and co-operation. The option for co-operation is a peace option. Similarly, youth co-operation is a concrete peace activity, promoting in interstate relations deeply humanistic values, such as justice, independence and sovereignty. Romania’s President, Nicolae Ceausescu, has said:
The wish to build a world in which men can fully enjoy the fruit of modern civilization, that they be freed of the prospects of wars, is the main source of contemporary youth movement. I believe that youth has to be listened to and that it truly has to have its say in the organization of tomorrow's social life.¹⁰

Thus, the younger generation will constantly assert itself as an acting, stimulating and consolidating factor of peace and, on the other hand, peace will provide both guarantees and a wide field of affirmation and development at many levels for youth, the genuine link between present and future.

Notes

5. Round Table 'Youth in the 80s' (Costinesti, 1982) Organized in Co-operation with Unesco (Unesco doc. SS-82/CONF/811/4).
The challenge of youth in the Federal Republic of Germany: no future without peace

Sibylle Hübner-Funk and Werner Schefold

We have become used to living in a highly unnatural state of affairs where the shadow of nuclear weapons and of vast and increasing arrays of conventional armaments has virtually come to be accepted as the normal light of the day.

Kurt Waldheim

Nineteen eighty-five, which the United Nations has proclaimed International Youth Year, will be an important historical date for Europeans and for Germans in particular. Forty years ago, in 1945, the Second World War came to an end.

A new power structure appeared in Europe. The forty years of European peace, to which one may look back in 1985, have been a period of historical development with controversial perspectives in the western and the eastern part of Germany. The largest amounts of weapons in the entire world have been deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Thus ‘growing up absurd’ (Goodman, 1956) might be an adequate description of the general state of existence in which young Germans, as a whole, are being raised.

As to the politics of global power which focus on the ‘equilibrium of horror’ produced by the nuclear arms race, the way Germans cope with the confrontation on their doorstep represents a core problem for the general balance of power in the world. This justifies a serious look at the kinds of mentality arising within the population.

Sibylle Hübner-Funk (Federal Republic of Germany). Sociologist, research fellow at the Deutsches Jugendinstitut (German Institute for Youth Research), Munich. Author of articles and books on socialization problems of youth, education, environment and the sociology of knowledge. Member of the executive board of the research committee ‘Sociology of Youth’ in the International Sociological Association.

Werner Schefold (Federal Republic of Germany). Sociologist, research fellow at the Deutsches Jugendinstitut (German Institute for Youth Research), Munich. Author of articles and books on youth organizations, youth policy, socialization and educational institutions.
of the Federal Republic, particularly among the younger cohorts who were not personally involved in the war. They constitute a group of special interest because their acceptance of the given historical cleavage seems to be vanishing: 'Swords into ploughshares' is one of their major slogans in public demonstrations for peace.

**War—never again**

War—never again!' This dogma describes the basic resolve of the survivors of 1945 as they looked back at the bloodshed, suffering and devastations the Second World War had produced. One of the supranational initiatives derived from it was the foundation of Unesco in 1946, with the following declaration in the preamble of its Constitution: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.' The 'denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men' was denounced as having made the war possible. In order to prevent future catastrophes of this kind 'the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace' appeared to be indispensable (Unesco, 1966, pp. 59–60). Germany was, besides Japan, an important object of Unesco's first programmes because it was considered 'illogical and even dangerous' to leave this country to its own devices, instead of 'helping its people to develop democratic ways of thinking and to effect a reconciliation with themselves and with other countries' (Unesco, 1948, p. 17). The aftermath of the war was the main concern among Germans, especially the younger generation. It was, therefore, Unesco that financed one of the first post-war studies on German youth (Pipping et al., 1954). This study was designed to contribute to the 'authority problem', i.e. to shed some light on the potential reservoir for an emotional acceptance of democracy. The empirical results showed an amazing tendency by youth towards an apolitical attitude, a withdrawal from the 'grand questions' of power politics and a retreat into the privacy of the individual joys and sorrows of everyday life (p. 324). In these hard times of post-war reconstruction, hunger and despair everyone wanted to get back to normal, civil forms of existence and forget about the horrors of the immediate past.

However, the official end of the Second World War did not really provide peace. Instead, German youth has been brought up in an atmosphere of tension. The ways in which the different post-war cohorts of youth have adjusted to this basic condition of their life vary widely: depending on age, sex, social status and political affiliation, a disparity in empirical knowledge as well as a discrepancy in value judgements has arisen (Hübner-Funk, 1983). The oldest cohorts, now in their fifties and responsible for the general politics of the state—the former 'sceptical generation' (Schelsky, 1957)—still have a vivid remembrance of the last war and the difficult times afterwards. The youngest cohorts, born in the mid-1960s and brought up in times of détente, face a reality which, on the surface, has many commodities to offer but, beneath the surface, offers the prospect of the end of humanity. The discussions, therefore, centre on the question of whether the 'old' defence treaty organizations, established in Europe after the Second World War, will be able to provide peace in the future.

The doubts about the 'deterrence doctrine' are not new. They have already been expressed many times, for example by Bertrand Russell in his book *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, twenty-five years ago (Russell, 1959). 'The peril involved in nuclear war is one which affects all mankind and one, therefore, in which the interests of all mankind are at one', Russell wrote, advocating putting aside old ideological issues and concentrating on common solutions for the nuclear arms race (p. 11). 'The awful prospect of the extermination of the human race' requires 'very fundamental fresh thought on the whole subject, not only of international relations but of human life and its capabilities' in general (p. 91). However, as we all know, no reversion of the fatal trends towards nuclear destruction of mankind was initiated. On the contrary, the construction and
deployment of nuclear weapons went on with
clockwork precision, with total disregard for
individual or mass protests and suggestions.
The present advanced state of accumulation of
arms is a clear sign for the eclipse of human
ethics within the process of international poli­
tics. If the task of 'bridging the human gap', i.e.
of overcoming the 'human dilemma' between
the complex technological superstructure and
the archaic state of human ends and volitions,
is not adequately dealt with in the 1980s, there
may not be another chance to save humanity
in the future (Botkin et al., 1979).

'War is Peace' is one of the ominous slogans
which George Orwell anticipated as a means of
ideological indoctrination in his novel 1984
(Orwell, 1983, p. 9). If one relates this equation
to the present state of human affairs in the
world it seems to capture the absurdity ap­
propriately: peace is the reality of conventional
wars in Africa, Asia and Latin America and the
possibility of a nuclear war. While no definite
agreements on nuclear disarmament have been
reached, financial investments in nuclear 'over­
kill' capacities and the arms industries on both
sides flourish.

The peace movement
in the Federal Republic of Germany

To grow up amidst these self-destructive
trends demands a great cognitive and emotional
capacity if one is to develop a world view that
allows one to lead a worthwhile life of one's own.
As a response to the 1979 NATO 'double­track decision' for the deployment of inter­
mediate-range nuclear missiles, a social move­
ment has arisen in the Federal Republic of
Germany which aims at a definite halt and cut­
back of the nuclear arms race: the peace move­
ment. This movement has attracted a lot of
different groups—different in socio-cultural as
well as ideological background—and, amongst
them, a remarkable percentage of young people.
Numerically, the peace movement is the biggest
mass phenomenon in the history of the Federal
Republic of Germany. On 22 October 1983, the
main day of demonstrations against missile
deployment, about 1.2 million people protested,
by forming a 'human chain' linking two cities
120 kilometres apart, as well as in open-air
meetings in five other major cities in the Federal
Republic.

The peace movement is regarded by public
authorities and the mass media mainly as a
movement of the younger generation. Although
this interpretation is only partly true (due to
the involvement of people of all ages), it is true
that the proportion of young people in the
peace movement is greater than that in the
population as a whole. In addition, a number of
recent polls show that youth—defined as the
cohorts aged 15 to 30—has a strong positive
inclination for this movement. A 1982 study on
the 'changes of motivational structures' within
the younger generation in the Federal Republic
of Germany (Die verunsicherte Generation, 1983,
p. 40) states that 11 per cent of the representa­
tive sample regard themselves as 'part' of the
peace movement, while 64 per cent agree with
its aims without actively participating in it, and
no one actually dislikes it. A similar trend may
be found in another representative study of the
same year which focused on 15- to 19-year-old
girls (Seidenspinner and Burger, 1982, p. 36):
13 per cent of this sample regarded themselves
as members of the peace movement, 9 per cent
thought of joining it, 30 per cent explicitly
approved of it, and 28 per cent would like to
know more about it; only 10 per cent were not
interested in the movement, and 7 per cent did
not agree with its aims.

The background to these attitudes is an
overwhelmingly negative picture of the world's
future: a majority—65 per cent of the girls
(Seidenspinner and Burger, 1982, p. 36), 50 per
cent of youth in general (Jugendwerk der
that the nuclear arms race is disastrous and that
a nuclear war will probably end all human
existence after the turn of the century.

In about thirty to forty years there will be a nuclear
war which nobody will win. Almost all human life
will be extinguished and possibly the whole globe
will collapse. Till then, in principle, one could enjoy
life. But the poverty and starvation of the people in the Third World will not leave us alone and will finally cause the war.

This statement by a 15-year-old boy, concerning his expectations of the future (Bossmann, 1982, p. 167), is just one of many examples which show that the interdependence of world problems is a factor that the young try to integrate into their personal outlook on the future. Moreover, they are well aware of the fact that 'the environment is progressively being destroyed' and 'the energy reservoirs are steadily running down while expenditures are increasing'. Sixty-six and fifty-nine per cent, respectively, of a sample of young people in the Federal Republic regard themselves as affected by these two trends 'personally' (Die verunsi-

cherte Generation, 1983, p. 40). These large percentages clearly show that the 'major problems' of mankind are not only discussed in some prominent circles of science and politics—e.g. the Club of Rome or United Nations conferences—but constitute a vital concern of ordinary people, particularly those who—because they are young and have a life expectancy of four to six decades—will have to confront the accumulated insanity of human 'progress' without being able to influence it now or in the near future.

Consequently, many young people in the Federal Republic of Germany feel a strong drive to do at least something in the right direction and ally themselves with others who express the same concern for human survival and peace. Their aversion to nuclear weapons and their desire for peaceful human relations in the national as well as the international field may be taken as an indicator of a historical change within the civic culture of the Federal Republic. All the nations which, at the end of the Second World War, expressed strong doubts about the chances of democratizing and re-educating the Germans with respect to the values of peace and human rights might assess this trend as a sign of success. But one should not, on the other hand, lay too much emphasis upon the attitudes of youth and their influence on general politics. It would be quite inap-

propriate to predict political developments from the way in which youth cohorts perceive the 'major problems' of the world. Their participation in a peace movement has very limited influence on decisions in the field of East–West relations. The established political parties usually take up some issues of concern to youth and then try to offer institutionalized answers in order to get votes. Thus, the political orienta-
tions of youth cohorts constitute a factor to which the network of party politics pays some tribute.

In a more fundamental sense it can be assumed that new social movements influence the development of public opinion. Karl Mannheim, a renowned European sociologist, stressed that young generations possess the natural chance to develop a 'new approach' to culture and society because they tend to have a 'new mode of distance' towards old questions and, as a result, a possibility of adapting and transforming the existing cultural values (Mannheim, 1928). Just as the death of older generations tends to further 'social oblivion', the rising of younger ones offers a chance to question traditional priorities. This perspective permits a slightly optimistic outlook: if the attitudes and sentiments of the youth cohorts of today are strong and enduring enough, a gradual change in the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany might be the result. But the question remains whether such a change will make any difference to the political role the country plays and has to play in the international arena.

Current trends

Since the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, the major aim of the government has been to gain acceptance as a trustworthy partner of the Western democracies and all nations in the world striving for peace. The preamble of the Grundgesetz ('Basic Law') of the republic explicitly expresses the will 'to contribute to the preservation of peace in the world as an equally entitled member of a united Europe' (Schmidt-Bleibtreu and Klein, 1980, p. 35). Moreover, two articles of this consti-
tutional law set up the rules according to which
the government is bound not only to prevent
war but to further peace by its national policy.
Article 26 of the ‘Basic Law’ declares that ‘all
actions which are apt to and intended to ruin the
peaceful co-existence of the people in the world,
above all to prepare an aggressive war against
any nation’ are unconstitutional and liable to
punishment (p. 440). Article 24 states the right
of the Federal Government ‘to join, in order to
preserve peace, a treaty-system of mutual
collective security, implying a restriction of
Federal sovereignty’ (p. 427). The ongoing
fervent discussions about the deployment of
new nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic of
Germany relate to these two articles of the
‘Basic Law’ (Däubler, 1982). Such deployment
appears to violate the spirit of these laws.

The steadily growing expenditure in military
investments is another cause for concern.
In 1982, they had risen to more than $500 billion
a year, i.e. to $110 per capita—a sum that
would easily suffice to feed all the starving
people of the Third World and give them
better chances of medical treatment and edu­
cation (Stein, 1981, p. 1528). The truth of this
fatal equation is not secret at all. In public
meetings, initiated by the peace movement,
information about the evident interdependence
of the world’s problems is being discussed with
great responsibility. The call for peace and
disarmament in Europe, although initially re­
sulting from a basic feeling of fear, aims at a
general change of priorities within the set of
major tasks to be dealt with in the future by
the industrialized nations of the world. To
devote the ingenious and highly refined
capacities of man mainly to perfect the
military technology system is viewed as an
abuse of the world’s restricted resources.
Christian as well as socialist adherents of the
peace movement unite in their open condem­
nation of this waste. The ‘freedom’ and ‘secu­
ritv’ of the wealthy nations of the North are
no longer accepted as unquestioned values
justifying a civilization that disregards nature
and the needs and sufferings of the majority of
the world’s people. The signs of the ecological

The challenge of youth in the Federal Republic of Germany: no future without peace

Youth for reconciliation

The recent government study on youth portrays
an ‘intimidated generation’ (Die verunsicherte
Generation, 1983). Disapproval of the arms
race by young Germans is misunderstood as a
sign of a rising ‘new nationalism’ within the
population. The application of such clichés
to the peace movement shows that the expecta­
tions connected with the status of the Federal
Republic of Germany in a divided world have a
rather narrow frame. But this has been true for all anti-nuclear movements in the past. In his time, Bertrand Russell thought it ‘surprising and somewhat disappointing’ that the movements aiming at the prevention of nuclear war were regarded as ‘left-wing movements’ in the West (Russell, 1959, p. 11). Those who wished to prevent the catastrophe resulting from a large-scale nuclear war were, according to him, ‘not concerned to advocate the interests of this or that nation, or this or that class, or this or that continent’ but were to do ‘solely with the welfare of the human species as a whole’ (p. 11). To entangle the question of nuclear warfare with the ‘age-old conflicts of power-politics’ was considered by Russell as a ‘profound misfortune’ (p. 11). As for the peace movement in the Federal Republic of Germany, it has to be taken into account that the division of the German nation within the context of international confrontation furthers the endeavour for an enduring détente as a basic step towards a peaceful world. It should be kept in mind that the young people of today are a generation whose political consciousness was formed in the early 1970s, i.e. in the years when the major aims of détente were reached and when the two German states became members of the United Nations (1973). The inclination of youth in the Federal Republic towards a milder defence policy and a freeze in nuclear armaments is, therefore, to be seen as a positive result of the spirit of reconciliation without which a new start would not have been possible after 1945. May it be taken as a sign of reverence to the ‘intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind’ (Unesco, 1966, p. 61) which encouraged a democratic rebirth of the German people and which, forty years afterwards, is more urgently needed that ever to prevent the ultimate holocaust.

References


A key problem: the socialization of youth

Benny Henriksson

What you are now about to read looks at first glance like an interview about a Swedish youth study. But once you have read on a bit you will notice that this is not the product of any public media, but rather the private view of those who for some years have been working on a survey of the younger generation's human condition. The fact that one and the same person is putting the questions and discussing the answers, or perhaps cannot always answer his own questions, must be taken to mean that, in so far as the young's situation in society is concerned, there are no clear-cut answers or black-and-white truths. The only way to develop the issue is to mount a debate that draws in every member of the community, the young as well as adults. It is this that may well confer a lasting value on International Youth Year 1985.

The young generation is a strong force for social change in all societies the world over. Not unusually, this state of affairs is viewed with horror by those who think they can seize a monopoly of power in the community. The young challenge the existing order of things, at the same time as they carry on the traditions. Although culture lives on, it also keeps changing in a never-ending chain. Sometimes the demand for change becomes so strong that a violent confrontation results. In Nicaragua, the young were oppressed with particular severity for several centuries.

Benny Henriksson (Sweden). Secretary General of the Swedish State Youth Council. Author of publications on youth issues including Not for Sale: Young People in Society.

Hold on there now, what does Nicaragua have to do with Sweden? At the very least, surely, our system is totally different. After all, Sweden is a welfare state, a strong democracy with strong social safety nets, a market economy with social responsibility, where no one need starve. And, truth to tell, aren't our youngsters well off?

Well, yes, maybe the picture of Sweden does look like that both here and abroad. The myth of success is embedded deep inside us. When crises surface amid all the welfare, many of us turn a blind eye. We don't want to see reality in the face. When in the course of travelling in Latin America and Europe I appeal to my hosts for ideas and suggestions to develop the nurturing milieus or growing-up environments in our country, many have raised their eyebrows in surprise and admitted that they thought we would be coming with smart and snappy new development models from that wondrous country, Sweden. When, after several hours of talking, we begin to understand one another and realize that there are social changes which by and large are global, and which in many ways put all of us in the same boat, we also begin to discern possible, joint development strategies.

But surely you cannot compare different countries and cultures in such a facile way. Doesn't every country develop in accordance with its own resources and ideas?

Maybe so, but there also seem to be some common effects on the lives of the young which go hand in hand with the growth of industrialization, modernization and technology the world over. Guess how amazed I was to read the description by Boubakar Ly of the altered...
situation for young Africans. Again and again, I found myself saying, 'Why, it's the same in Sweden.'

The traditional African society was a limited, small-scale agrarian community that was organized along tribal lines rather than nationality. A common ancestor united the social life of the village. Tradition was the most important factor for creating social identity. The young were taken in hand by the local community, its different institutions and inhabitants during the whole time they were growing up. They were forced to live right under other people's noses, so to speak, in the presence of other youngsters, children, adults and the elderly. Every adult had a right and an obligation to take part in the children's upbringing. At the same time, the peer group was important. It gave the young a collective education, which concentrated on training them to become independent. The other education they got was diffuse, informal, pragmatic and functional—it was an integral part of life's daily round. As for the vocational training they got, it was meant to regenerate the trades of their parents. Social and occupational mobility was unknown in this society.

Work conferred social status: once the youngsters were finished with their vocational training, they embarked upon an 'independent' life in society. The form that such independence took was for society to declare that the young had an individual role to play within the social fellowship. But society neither permitted nor encouraged true independence. The sense of freedom lay in the will to play a role together with others in order to preserve social patterns and traditions.

Society's system of values told the young that they had a role to play and duties to perform towards society. All the young were available, and their services could be engaged at any time by any adult or by the adult group. 'Community service' was a part of life for the young.

It is not until African society undergoes drastic changes—the changes we call development and modernization—that African youngsters begin to become a problem for society and society becomes a problem for the young. The changes are profound, involving as they do the introduction of a market economy, the adoption of a complex division of labour, the build-up of modern cities and the formation of nations.

Today's young Africans have a rough time finding a role in society. Children and young people now comprise half the population (younger than 24 years of age), and naturally these proliferating numbers have done their bit to create a 'youth problem'.

The social group in which the young grow up has become ‘narrower'. Kinfolk no longer mean as much. The importance of descent has declined. Instead the new entrant is the nuclear family, especially in the urban areas. This development has been accompanied by an ideological marking of the individual's importance. For the first time, the individual has emerged as a sociological fact.

The state has superseded the traditional clan as the main bearer of responsibility for the young and as the pillar of support on which the young lean. It is the state that has taken over the main responsibility for education. Education based on emotional ties and working together with adults has been superseded by a state-run institution—the school—which will only assume responsibility for intellectual instruction. For the majority of African children, to start school is to step into an abstract, rational and intellectual world that is totally different from the emotional world of the family. The family and the school represent entirely different worlds. The school is divorced from the surrounding society. There the children are introduced to an alien language, alien life-styles and a culture that segregates them from the parental generation.

For that matter this new phenomenon, the state, is not even the result of a dynamism within African society. In order to get established the state, according to Ly, had 'to cut into the meat' of traditional African society. The state was established from the outside. Today, there are scarcely any bonds between the state and the many sectors of traditional education that used to exist.
Many receive no education at all. African schools have a high drop-out rate, and illiteracy is common among the young. The worst-educated fail to land jobs: they are swallowed up in the great mass of unemployed youth. Youth unemployment, especially in the cities, is one of the most severe social problems in the new African society. It increases because of the flight from the countryside, from poorly paid, seasonal jobs on farms. Young people flock to the cities and towns to make money. Today, money is also of great importance for African youngsters. The monetization of the economy impels young people to look for money wherever they can find it, which of course is mostly in the cities. All those youngsters who desert the villages want money to finance the increasingly 'necessary' consumption of all those goods that contemporary society can offer.

But the young are also fleeing from the dullness of a daily round that has arisen because there is no longer any use for them in their villages. Young people come to the city in order 'to be' and to 'become somebody'. Migration becomes one way of achieving the freedom of the modern society: the freedom to consume, the freedom from a school and from a society which no longer gives them an identity. Nor can they identify themselves with their parents or with the other adults in the village. Ly describes how this creates conflicts of authority. Adults no longer have the same natural authority—they are not sure about how they ought to bring up their children. Juvenile delinquency is a new phenomenon among African youth who live in a social vacuum.

**But don’t avoid present conditions in Sweden. What is it in the Swedish process of social change that has engendered concrete problems for our young people?**

As I see it, the processes are fairly similar. Except that here, in spite of everything, the changes have moved much more slowly, sometimes so much so that we almost fail to notice them. Whereas in Not for Sale we describe a process that may have taken hundreds of years, Brubakar Ly describes the same phenomenon, but it runs for only a score of years or so. Sooner or later, of course, I wanted to get at Swedish conditions. But it is hard to be brief and concrete without being misunderstood. Within the State Youth Council we spent three years and prepared nine interim reports in an attempt to reach an understanding of these interconnections. The book Not for Sale is no more than a summary, and now you want me to give a summary of the summary. At the same time our enlarged international contacts are constantly providing us with new bits to lay in the jigsaw puzzle of understanding.

Swedish youngsters, like their coevals in other countries, have been affected by changes on so many different levels. To take one example, one we actually did not plumb in greater depth in Not for Sale, there is the intensified global uncertainty and the threat of a nuclear war. In the past few years this issue has also etched itself deeper and deeper in the minds of Swedish youth. Whereas many other ideologically moored youth movements are on the wane, the peace movement has in just two or three years expanded sensationaly into a huge mass movement, one that mainly involves young people.

The peace movement is not solely concerned with the 'fate of the earth'. It is also concerned with the threat posed by a technology that almost seems to be running itself. The whole scope of the nuclear-arms threat has long been hard to grasp. Opponents of the arms race have often been accused of technical ignorance and of appealing to emotions and nothing more. But in point of fact, how can you possibly understand the whole scope of the threat other than with a combination of cognition and emotion?

On 12 December 1983, the day before we celebrate Lucia, the festival of light, a cinema in Stockholm premiered the film War Games. I saw it with about 1,200 teenagers, most of them boys of 15 or 16. To be honest, they weren’t there to learn about peace or about the threat of nuclear war, but to see a movie about super-duper computers. The film’s leading role is played by David, a boy of 17 and a hacker,
in other words someone who is mad about computers and data piracy. Equipped with an ordinary home-computer set-up and a telephone, he tries to gain access to the computers installed in the headquarters of different companies. It proves easy to book a flight to Paris for two without the airline finding out. The boy's ambition is to break into the system run by the computer games firm, Protovision, and play their sophisticated computer games before they even appear on the market. It proves easy to book a flight to Paris for two without the airline finding out. The boy's ambition is to break into the system run by the computer games firm, Protovision, and play their sophisticated computer games before they even appear on the market.

The boy manages to get past the codes of the unknown computer. The machine amiably asks him whether he would like to play a game. David decides to play a game called 'Total Nuclear War'. He takes on the role of a Russian and orders a nuclear attack on Las Vegas and his own home town, Seattle. The computer thanks him for the instructions and begins to play. Before long the moviegoers realize that David has pulled off a real feat: penetration of the Pentagon's military computer, 'the one that fights the war for us once you've pushed the button'. The countdown has begun for an all-out nuclear war. The game is under way.

However, the film has a 'happy end'. It has a simple yet incredibly true moral. As soon as the computer has exhausted every conceivable opening move to nuclear war, it gives up. The realistic mode of play has taught the computer that a nuclear war is unwinnable: the only winner is the one who doesn't play. In the end the computer asks whether it would not be better to play an honest-to-goodness game of chess.

There emerged from the cinema 1,200 deeply shaken Swedish computer freaks. They had learned a lesson not only about the seamy sides of science and technology, but also some important facts about the menace posed by nuclear weapons.

Obviously, there are many international changes that interest young people and get them involved, but it is evident that Swedish youngsters are also deeply worried and afraid of a nuclear war. The events of the past autumn in Europe have not diminished this anxiety, of course. That sentiment will inevitably leave its imprint on International Youth Year, one theme of which—perhaps the most important one—is peace. And I'm not so sure that the young peace movement will merely rest content in future with quiet demonstrations. The question they are asking themselves is whether there is time for patience when the threat keeps on growing and the powers—that-be don't listen.

*But now let's finally look at the situation of the young in our own country. In another context you spoke of Swedish youngsters as being 'materially sated but socially famished'. Isn't that overdoing it a bit?*

Let's try to understand the Swedish youth of today, or for that matter the youth of many other countries, when seen in historical perspective. As I see it, the biggest change is in the very foundations of the young's socialization in the community. When society has changed, then the form of upbringing and the way children grow into society will also have been affected. Now don't read me as wanting to romanticize old times when I point out that in the 'old' society children and young people learnt early on to make themselves useful, and that society had to turn their resources to good account. It's easy to believe that you want to turn the clock back to those day, with their cruel child labour.

That would do no one any good. Children were also harshly exploited in heavy labour, not least in the early days of industrialism. Besides, things are still like that in many countries. In Latin America, two out of every ten children go to work to enable their families to survive. But at the same time it's important for children to learn what work can be like and to have duties to perform in the community. Let's get back to that.

When industrialism was in its infancy, members of the higher social classes were usually the only ones who could afford and had the opportunity to emancipate children from work. Here new patterns evolved for socialization of the young, which at one and the same time 'liberated' children from labour but also segregated...
A key problem: the socialization of youth

them from societal participation. In these strata there was born a new interpretation of the concepts, child and youth, and their role in society. Children now began to be regarded as innocent, imperfect, pure and in need of an especially long and strict upbringing. Their societal participation was put off to the future. Children became the concern of the private family. More and more of the surrounding society’s role, which is to use different routes to bring children into the adult world, is shifted over to the mother and father. Instead of work, the child’s life would be filled with play, games and schooling. By and by, these bourgeois lifestyles set the upbringing pattern for other sections of the community.

At the same time, the state gets more involved in the development and upbringing of the young. It does so from the need to do something about poverty and destitution. These are the times when dreams of the welfare state begin to take shape, not least in the labour movement. Actually, many people join in to help build the cornerstones of the coming welfare state. The philanthropists intervene against misery and wretchedness with a combination of help and bourgeois moral fostering. Science begins to define social problems as individual shortcomings. Liberalism sees social improvements as a means of slamming the brakes on the most radical segment of the labour movement, and hence of preventing social unrest. Industry is yet another institution that has affected the build-up of the welfare state. It needs effective social safety nets and a functioning labour force. Lastly, there are all the popular movements which point up the societal problems rather than the individual shortcomings.

Somehow all these interest groups, for all that they differed so much from one another, joined forces to build up our welfare society. There was also a substantial consensus which favoured creation of the welfare state through a vigorous commitment to industrialization and the operation of a market economy. Thanks to taxation policy, we would be given revenues to build up a secure society for the children, the old, the sick and other ‘weak’ groups.

Are you saying that this was the big mistake?
No. It was probably the only right thing to do, given the prevailing historical situation, but...

But what?
The vast social changes entailed by the build-up of the market economy and the public sector conferred many clear-cut gains on people. This process extricated the poor from hardship and destitution and put them in a life situation that was materially secure, indeed highly affluent by international yardsticks. Still, there’s no such thing as a free lunch. We’ve had to pay the bill anyway, but on other accounts. That also created new problems, and not least affected are the children and the young.

Among other things, the story I’m telling is about local environments: the ‘nurturing milieus’ were impoverished of social events. The children were separated from the adults. They were excluded from the daily rounds of their elders. When the adults spend so much of their time in paid employment divorced from the home and the process of social reproduction, there arises a public problem of child-care, which the state tries to solve by building more day nurseries, lengthening the school day and sponsoring leisure-time pursuits. But this also means that more and more of the responsibility for nurturing the young passes over from the family to the state. The children of the countryside became wards of the state.

One effect of the foregoing is to professionalize more and more parts of the social life, including socialization of the young. This is partly a story of how scientifically schooled experts have declared parents unfit and have undervalued old-fashioned everyday competence. That makes parents and other adults unsure and afraid to bring up and influence the young.

We cannot discuss the problem of socializing the young without also examining the dominant economic system in our country. Economic activity may be divided into three parts: a market economy, a public economy and an informal economic sector, or a civil sector to
borrow the terminology used by Gramsci. This civil sector stands outside the market and the public sector. The feature that distinguishes our society is a revolutionary growth of the market economy and the public economy, and an equally revolutionary shrinkage of the civil sector.

This is important, since social reproduction in most societies has always been so firmly bound to this very civil sector of the national life. The daily round in this sector is the base for the whole society in that this is where people can regenerate themselves and on which the overall structures of society rest.

Another 'price' that we have had to pay is that society no longer seems to have any use for the young. In all the societies we know of, children and young persons have grown up with duties to perform and with early experience of rendering useful work. But to the modern market economy, the young do not become interesting before they are 'fully fledged', in other words finished with their education, which is pretty late in life. In contemporary Western society, the years of youth have come to be regarded as a waiting period. Never before in our history has it happened that people can reach the age of 25 without having learned to carry out a task which others benefit from or have use for, or without learning to take care of anyone who is old, sick or small. This is a drastic change that gives the young a spectator perspective vis-à-vis society instead of a participation perspective.

That in its turn leads to faltering self-confidence, pessimism about the future, an exaggerated need to live for the moment, and a strong dependence on the commercial youth culture to make up for a denied function in society. Young people express a sense of living in a vacuum of leisure.

Not even when one has reached adult age can one be sure that any job is to be had on the ordinary labour market. Youth unemployment is a serious problem in most Western European countries. Even if the young are lucky enough to find work, there is no assurance that the job will provide much other than a decent wage.

Many jobs have been deprived of their content, their worth and their satisfaction by virtue of the technological 'advances'. After all, the joy of working should lie for everyone in the social comity which the job creates and in the feeling it instils that one is accomplishing something of profit and of pleasure for oneself and for others. Work takes on an intrinsic value when it requires considered thought, responsibility and independence.

E. F. Schumacher had this to say about the purpose of good work:

To produce necessary and useful goods and services. To enable us to use and consummate our endowments and skills. To assist and co-operate with other people to 'free ourselves from our innate egocentricity'.

Modern industrial work did not become good work of the kind described above.

The interesting question to ask is: What is going to happen to the young in a society based on the necessity to work for pay, when such remunerated employment ceases to be available to one and all? This issue is analysed at great length by the English sociologist Jeremy Seabrook in his book on unemployment in the United Kingdom.

His study is a scathing squaring of accounts with the society that has evolved in complete subservience to conditions dictated by the market. When he compares the unemployment crisis of the 1930s with that of the 1980s, the picture actually looks more dismal for the youth of our decade. In the 1930s, working-class youth demonstrated in the conviction that future manufacturing industry would provide jobs as long as someone saw to it that the wheels began to roll. A future possibility was also seen in the working-class movement, which could be counted on to embody the demands of these youngsters for material and social improvements.

Today, as the young of the 1980s are confronted with the unemployment problem, the situation is quite different. Unemployment seems to be on the rise, jobs are losing their worth, production is being centralized, more
and more people are forced to resettle even if the wheels are rolling.

Back in the 1930s, even though young workers lived on an extreme scarcity of material resources, they still did fairly well, not least because of the strong cohesion in the lower class, that which we sometimes call working-class culture. This culture contained enduring values such as pride, self-sacrifice and sharing. A similar cultural pattern was to be found on the small farms: a kind of worker and peasant humanism. But since these values did not suit the emergent market ideology, they had to be vitiated. That result has been achieved by internal migrations, the erosion of old bonds and traditions, privatization, the death of the old popular movements and an uninhibited commercialization. A youth who is unemployed in the 1980s not only loses his job, he has no solidary fellowship to fall back on when the difficulties come. You're constantly reverting to so-called commercialism as compensation for lost participation. What is the real meaning of the concept ‘commercialism’?

It is not a clear-cut concept. It is sometimes used sloppily to describe everything that is ‘evil’ about the market economy. But there exists a commercial ideology, above all among marketers and other professionals in the market economy.

The most important components of this ideology are:

- It’s OK to create needs through marketing and advertising.
- It’s OK to sell ‘what people want’ irrespective of whether it is considered shoddy or even harmful, or if the goods aren’t really needed, the need being self-generated.
- It’s OK to use whatever marketing methods one pleases.
- It’s OK to sell to people on the ‘I feel bad’ theme.

*Those words have a highly moral ring about them.*

Well yes, actually, there ought to be some morality in the market-economic system. It’s the present lack of morality that we criticize. The market has expanded and staked claims to more and more life areas that used to be non-commercial. In a democratic society we must have the right to speak out and say, ‘This far, but no farther’. We must also be able to assert: That not everything in life is suited to selling. That there is poor merchandise which misleads, causes harm or deprives the buyer of vital values.

That the content of the products must not conflict with central values which society wants to promote and safeguard.

That it is unconscionable to use selling methods against which large consumer groups are defenceless.

That certain vulnerable and powerless consumer groups need special protection against commercial seduction, which waxes fat on them thanks to its awareness of their vulnerability.

But in the final analysis, surely, the consumer is free to choose and to refrain from buying what he doesn’t want. Aren’t you underestimating people when you say that it’s so easy to manipulate them?

It’s true that people in general will not swallow everything, and there is an ingrained resistance to being fooled. But the strength of marketing is often greater than what we tend to believe. Many people have criticized advertising because it uses shady methods to turn us into ‘good’ consumers. As far back as 1957 Vance Packard warned us of the enormous commitments that the advertising agencies were making to the psychological sciences. We now see the result of these experiments. The ad men have learned how we ordinary mortals function on a number of psychological planes and they have also pinpointed our tender spots, which they then probe in their campaigns. What’s most frightening is the kind of marketing which turns to unconscious or subconscious structures in our psyche and which attracts feelings that we may not even be aware of ourselves. Such marketing exploits our guilt feelings, our faltering self-confidence, our fear of loneliness.

Advertising also exploits the psychic effects
of different social changes. The ad men have learned what is wrong with the milieus in which children grow up and take advantage of their findings to sell their goods.

As an illustration, children have a great need for fantasy, for living out their emotions and experiencing excitement. The tots often have a magical relationship to the surrounding world. Animals, nature and objects may have lives and souls. One can communicate with them—the teddy bear can talk and have feelings. This is a fact many adults find hard to understand: at worst we discourage fantasy and do not hesitate to discipline. The old fairy tales understood the child’s need for fantasy, for a life of the imagination. They also understood how to illustrate, in symbolic form, various development-psychology conflicts in children’s lives. In the fairy-tale world children could live through these conflicts symbolically, at the same time that the tales entertained and stimulated the imagination.

But contemporary society, with its new child-rearing ideals, has cast the witches and the trolls on to the scrap heap. In the name of scientific rationality we have denied the magical, the religious and the irrational. We discipline the children’s imaginative turn of mind at an early stage: in school, with its scientific inculcation of knowledge; as parents and youth leaders, with our ambition to give children social-realistic descriptions instead of fairy tales.

But one institution long ago perceived the children’s need for emotional outlets and make-believe: the market. Today, there is scarcely a film for the younger generation which does not deal with this—which is to use symbols to portray basic conflicts or to stimulate the imagination. In the world of advertising the teddy bear is permitted to live its own life—indeed, he is endowed with a voice: ‘Buy X Chips’, he says seductively. Marketing aligns itself humbly and ingratiatingly with the child, accepts the child’s way of thinking, but also exploits the child’s plight in cynical fashion.

But surely it’s not the fault of the market when children are bereft of their fantasy. After all, the commercial culture does give them what they lack in their daily lives.

Well, yes and no.

But it is also symptomatic that much of that which in other cultures belongs to the societal, or is built into the local cultural life of modern society, has been taken over by the market. Culture, mythology and religion have been transferred from the local environment to the market.

But then how do the youngsters themselves see their consumption? How important is it in their lives?

I mentioned earlier that there is pretty stiff resistance to commercial persuasion, even if we find it hard to guard ourselves against certain forms of advertising. Besides, our studies show that Swedish youth in general is fairly well satisfied with its material lot; we don’t have any young shopping maniacs who move in droves from boutique to boutique. When the young are asked about their dreams for the future and about what they consider important in life, material objects, fashionable clothes and products of the leisure industry wind up pretty far down on the list. Instead, the young accentuate their longing for better contacts with ‘plain grown-ups’. Even though they own a lot, it is always people in their surroundings or an animal that mean most to them in life. For that matter, pets are often made to compensate for the lack of social contacts with adults. That was why we talked a bit drastically and provocatively about ‘materially sated but socially famished’, to get back to the introduction. What we have here, of course, is some very serious criticism which the young members of the welfare society are levelling at the present society and its adult generation, who have given material welfare higher priority than social welfare.

Does this mean that the adult generation is buying itself free of social responsibility?

We must be cautious about passing judgement. But without a doubt there are signs that many parents attach very great weight to economic
A key problem: the socialization of youth

Many parents are afraid they cannot give their children enough money for personal consumption. In school the children meet comrades who are given the newest things to wear or the latest in toys or games. That puts tremendous pressure on the parents: 'My children don't have to be worse off than other children!' Feelings of inadequacy are especially great among single parents. What one perhaps does not see, or dare not see, is that often the wish for something new hides an unspoken desire to partake of the adult's time instead of his money. But once again I want to warn against shifting the blame on to the unattached mother or father, who often is very much alone when it comes to rendering adult support to the offspring. Moreover, many of today's parents remember how hard it was to make ends meet when they were young. Quite a few of them take pains to make sure that their children do not have to go through the same wringer.

Even so, the combined result of societal changes and new ideals has been for a young generation to grow up with a sense of being forsaken. And to follow through on our spiral line of reasoning, I should like to give an example of how the market also capitalizes on this feeling. The cinema advertising for Coca Cola hypes the ideal society that has overcome all the modern failings and deficiencies. In the short time-span of twenty-two seconds Coca Cola manages to show a small-scale, green and happy community with a wonderful spirit of fellowship, where everyone seems to know everyone else, where children and grown-ups co-operate, where grandparents of both sexes actively share the group experience, where young people hug each other and, in the midst of it all as the natural connecting link: the Coca Cola bottle. Coca Cola claims to confer wholesomeness, beauty, comity and co-operation—qualities that most of us long for.

But what does the future look like? There seems to be little we can do to change it!

Yes, but in the study report entitled Not for Sale, we are nevertheless optimistic when it comes to finding models for change. One of the things we must do is take to heart the criticisms made by the young. We are exploring more or less the same avenues of change as some developing countries, such as Nicaragua. We are also putting the spotlight on a 'forgotten' development resource, the Swedish civilian sector. In the study, we discuss how children and young people, acting in partnership with adults, can shoulder productive tasks in their neighbourhoods, for instance in child care and other social services, environmental protection, and so on. And on the eve of International Youth Year, the Swedish Government has decided to vote funds to finance experiments in local milieus.

Another emergent movement in our country is dedicated to building up and renewing the informal economic sector. The production here involved is chiefly organized in co-operative form. Based on local needs, the operation engages young people for the most part. They are able to produce, on a small scale, things of the kind that the market does not care to produce but which are perhaps vital to the local community. The products require little in the way of money for production.
of capital and energy inputs, do not harm the environment and, since the form of business organization is co-operative, do not have to satisfy the market's profitability criteria. They tap technology, notably computer technology, to meet human needs.

There exists a tremendous need for production of this kind. Today's local milieus abound in important tasks that do not get performed. These community co-operatives can give the young a chance to grow more relaxedly into the job world and to learn what good work means. They give adults the chance to serve as tutors and instructors. However, that will make it necessary to shorten the work time that the adults must devote to paid work in other economic sectors of society.

Every young person should have the right to take part in socially useful work throughout his or her school period. Naturally, it is also possible that the proceeds from these community co-operatives can provide many new jobs, especially in areas where the young have grown up.

Small production units like this are springing up everywhere. Here are some examples of branches of economic activity which have been tried out in community-co-operative form: transportation, small-scale public transport; rearing of cattle; vegetable gardens, fruit orchards; local markets; second-hand stores; mini-foodstores in rural areas; fish hatcheries, mussel farms; apiculture; fishing industry; manufacture of furniture; manufacture of textiles; boatbuilding, repairs, care of pleasure craft; ceramics manufacture, ornaments, arts and crafts; printing; publishing; laundry; newspaper publishing; bakery, so-called 'subscription bakery' for workplaces, hospitals, etc.; café, restaurants; produce markets; marketing; accounting; clerical services; study circles, education; legal counselling; shoemaker; filling stations; and so on.

We want the municipalities, rather than handle all social concerns in the local community by themselves, to try and stimulate groups, associations, parents, etc., to assume personal responsibility for the activities, with financial support coming from society. As a result we could gradually build up a new informal or alternative economic sector in society, which we call the 'caring economy'.

Now what does the caring economy mean for the children? Well, it will enable them to take part in productive work from an early age, to learn the value of work, of work as a cultural act. They will also be able to learn participation and solidarity in practice.

The school will be the children's most important springboard for taking part in caring work. We are willing to let the pupils take part in some form of such work for one day a week throughout the school period. For example, in the course of one term a pupil could accompany a domestic visitor—a social worker we call a 'home samaritan'—and learn the work that he or she does. In a second term the pupil could work in a production co-operative, in a third term take part in the school's food-service operation, janitorial duties, making repairs, etc.

But we must not forget the adults in society. Proceeding from a knowledge of what children want and their need for contacts with adults, reforms must be enacted which enable the adults to assist in the children's caring work. Not until then, of course, will the children establish better rapport with the adults and learn from them. As we see it, adults must be given a legislated right, perhaps also an obligation, to take part in some form of community service. The latter has proved to be a highly controversial issue.

We endorse the demands to shorten the workday from eight to six hours—both for those who work in the public sector and for those who are engaged in the production of goods. But it is not more leisure we need. A general mobilization of the adults in society is required, to prevent more young people from becoming castaways. One way of solving the problem would be to pass a law which decrees two hours of time-off per day or one free day per week. However, these hours would be unavailable unless they were linked to some form of caring work or 'community service'.

Our proposal must not be interpreted to mean that we can now cut down on the public sector. In the short term, really, we cannot
make any such savings. Those who now work in child care, in school kitchens, as recreation leaders or cultural workers will become very important persons indeed when it comes to stimulating and teaching both adults and small 'amateurs'. If anything, other vocational roles are involved. Instead of looking after people's common concerns as professionals, it will be important to help people become more dedicated and to assume more responsibility on their own.

Notes

Aspects of youth participation in Latin America

The distinctiveness of the student movement in Latin America

In general, the term ‘Latin American youth’ tends to be associated with the student movement, and this identification is not unfounded, for it is the students who are (and have been) habitually the most vigorous participants in the continent’s social and political life. This systematic intervention in society, which has been the tradition for several centuries, sets Latin American youth apart from young people in other regions of the world.

Student involvement in society has a long history. For instance, the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima, the oldest in Latin America, was established in 1542 by a Papal Bull which recognized the ‘independence of the campus’ and provided for student involvement in the running of the university. It may be observed that this freedom of manoeuvre has enabled the university, in the course of its history, to set itself apart from its conformist environment and act as a spearhead for progressive measures and ideas. In an obscurantist age, the most serious questioning of the powers of the Inquisition came from academics, ideas concerning independence were first propagated in universities and the subsequent ‘founders of the republic’ were university people.

A clearer picture emerges of the way in which, more recently, at the beginning of this century, students came to form a cohesive social force. The movement for university reform launched by the famous grito insurreccional de Córdoba (rebel cry of Córdoba) in 1919 is an indication of the power of this social force. The students brought about a university reform which involved a democratization of structures, the appointment of professors on a competitive basis, institutional independence, freedom of association, recognition of the university’s links with the people, and the right to veto appointments of academic staff, among other achievements.

Often underestimated by semi-official historians, the university reform movement played a fundamental role in the development of the continent’s political and social institutions. Many of these institutions (political parties, university structures and the practice of government) were forged in the heat of the student movement.

At the national level, the movement prepared the ground for student unification (confering legitimate union status on student federations) and led to a general mobilization which shook the structures of the Latin American university, still imbued with clerico-feudal ideology. The

---

Edgar Montiel (Peru). Sociologist. Adviser to the Mexican Committee for International Youth Year and Director of the research project on ‘Youth Development’ being conducted at the Centre for Third World Studies (CEESTEM), Mexico. Expert adviser to Unesco and the United Nations.
movement changed the 'agricultural-feudal' tendency of the university into one more closely related to modern capitalism. The impetus for change was so great that it spilled over from the universities into the spirited popular movement which was then militating for an eight-hour working day, labour legislation and trade-union rights. These causes were backed by the 'people's universities' and the 'university cultural extension' projects set up by the reformers, and through these channels the most outstanding teachers and students put across their cultural and political message to the people. The most famous of these people's universities was the 'González Prada' established by Haya de la Torre and José Carlos Mariátegui.

Throughout the continent the grito de Córdoba blazed an extraordinary trail through lecture halls and faculties: for the first time in Latin America, students were taking concerted action beyond their own boundaries. At crowded congresses in Cuzco, Havana and Mexico City, which were attended by foreign delegations, joint programmes of action and continental strategies were adopted and interest was kindled in problems which were subsequently to assume crucial importance, such as national development, economic independence and the causal relationship between imperialism, under-development and dependence, terms in common use in ECLA in the 1960s, not to mention burning political issues such as the national front, social revolution, national liberation, the anti-imperialist struggle and the worker-peasant-student alliance, which are now common currency in the national liberation struggles in Central America.

With the introduction of reforms young people—as a social force—thus began to make their presence felt in society, and they continue to be a driving force in the urban social struggle. This has prompted an American researcher to remark, with some enthusiasm, that Latin American 'youth' has always constituted a distinct social group but it is less often observed that young people have become a social force to be reckoned with only under specific historical conditions. The amorphous biosocial category which they form then acquires a sense of purpose, adopts common patterns of conduct and a degree of generation-based organization and even begins to reach some measure of agreement on demands and socio-political ideals. There is no single youth movement in national societies but rather a network of youth movements which have different social origins and economic status. They may, however, be seen to possess certain common denominators, age-group-linked aspirations and similar patterns of behaviour. This is due to their shared experience of such socializing institutions as schools, universities, military service (sic), and of course the mass media, which take up a major proportion of their time. These are formative institutions which cast young people from different social and economic backgrounds in the same mould.

Looking back to the university reform movement, it may be posited that a Latin American
Aspects of youth participation in Latin America

The reform movement won important political concessions for the whole of society and set in motion a process which led to the founding of the main political parties, on the left and on the right, which have so far inspired the continent's political life, parties of such undeniable importance as the Unión Cívica Radical (in power in Argentina), Acción Democrática (in power in Venezuela) or Alianza Popular Americana—APRA—(the second largest electoral grouping in Peru). It is also most significant that several decades later two movements of university origin, the 'Movimiento 26 de Julio' and the 'Directorio Estudiantil', were to be the first to come to power through revolution in Latin America and in 1979 the events in Nicaragua were described as a revolution by muchachos.

A further contribution of the reform movement was the launching of a debate on the problems of Latin American society: for the first time a social movement engaged in an effort of reflection on the situation of the continent and possible alternatives. The debate covered integrated development, economic independence, the need for an independent political will, the defence of natural resources against the tentacles of imperialism, the necessity or otherwise of foreign investment and, of course, the exclusive and rigid structures of oligarchical power. This set of recurring themes created a kind of ideology of development which then underpinned most of the continent's national political planning, so that this was a period of crucial importance in the history of ideas in Latin America. It is an undeniable fact that in recent times the university environment has continued this tradition and been the most receptive to innovative ideas, sometimes out of an interest in change for its own sake and sometimes in an attempt to find solutions to the Latin American dilemma. A number of new theories have become accepted in this environment in recent years, for instance concerning the historico-structural interpretation of under-development, the phenomenon of 'dependence' and the 'sociology of exploitation', Paulo Freire's doctrine of education for freedom, the debate on the 'culture of domination' launched by Augusto Salazar Bondy and Darcy Ribeiro, reflections on the 'philosophy of liberation' by Leopoldo Zea, Abelardo Villegas, Julio de Zan and Enrique Dussel, and the stimulating debate on Latin American literature from Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes to Roberto Fernández Retamar and Alejo Carpentier. Once again university controversy was to act as a motive force, leading to a regeneration of policies at national level. The university may thus be seen as a receiver and disseminator of extremely influential ideas.

University students can therefore play a vital role both in the theoretical exposition of ideas and in their application in social practice. This potential for intervention assumes even greater significance when one considers that the societies in which the young people are active tend to be rigid and oligarchical ones in which attempts at independent and creative organization by social groups are systematically checked and popular movements are not always recognized by the public authorities. As a result, in countries with authoritarian political systems young people form their own de facto institutions on the fringe of the prevailing state order, deriving their legitimacy from social (rather than legal) acceptance.

An alert youth movement has often been involved in the events which have been landmarks in the continent's social, political and cultural development: for instance, the Cuban revolution, the socialist venture of Unidad Popular, the struggle for nationalization of the Panama Canal, the defence of national resources, the right to free education, respect for human rights, campaigns to secure more public funds for education, among many others. It is therefore reasonable to assert that Latin American youth is a social force working for economic,
social and political development. As a sociological movement, this is its major contribution.

When protest is a factor in development

There are political systems in Latin America which do not have even the minimum legal provision for participation by young people and, in some cases, even for minimum consultation with young people on matters which concern them (for example health, education, military service or sport); in such circumstances, however, the youth movement steps up its activities, often acting as a political vanguard to wring economic and social concessions from the authorities or even to spearhead the overthrow of dictatorships.

Students today fiercely resisted the military occupation of the university decreed by the government. Clashes resulted in twenty-five wounded, eight critically, and two hundred arrests, including that of the Vice-Chancellor. The measure was decided on because the government considers the university to be a 'hotbed of subversion', serving the interests of the urban guerillas. (El Salvador, May 1980.)

Protest performs a useful social function in the Latin American situation. In the face of stagnant political systems based on unshakeable oligarchical structures, student activism with its driving force and organizational resourcefulness was to play a forceful dissuasive role against intolerance and to constitute, in a way, the nucleus of an alternative power base.

On Wednesday the military suppressed a mass demonstration by students against the closing of a school in the town of Esmeralda. Six died of gunshot wounds and others are thought to have died of asphyxiation. In the wake of these events, the government announced the establishment of a commission to look into the possibility of reopening the school. (Ecuador, October 1969.)

The various forms of youth protest—including strikes, the occupation of premises, street demonstrations, the circulation of subversive leaflets, the establishment of 'anti-institutions', confrontation with the police, unconventional festivals, sexual exhibitionism, incendiary speeches and protest music—are all elements, however ephemeral, of an opposition to the authoritarian reflexes of the oligarchic (i.e. non-participatory) political regimes of Latin America.

In a continent where the press, radio and television are associated with the interests of the economic and political powers, where independent trade-union movements are not recognized, where student unions have to go underground and women are treated as non-persons, the youth movement rebels against this state of affairs and, using non-conventional—and sometimes violent—means, confronts the system, frequently being obliged to go against its own principles in so doing.

The Catholic church of El Salvador reported today that between 1 January and 15 December this year 6,096 people had died as the result of political violence; of this total, 4,736 were killed by the army, the security corps and the death squads. More than half were activists aged under twenty. (El Salvador, December 1983.)

Each generation has its share of militancy and iconoclasm, and as the years go by the fact that the firebrands turn into firemen should surprise nobody: it is simply the conflict of generations. It has to be recognized, in this context, that young people do not militate solely to defend their own interests but rather to promote the welfare of broad sectors of the population: it is this which confers a certain nobility on young people's militancy. Only a third of the reform programmes advocated by young people concern themselves; the rest are in the interest of other social categories.

In spite of threats by the police, the Nobel Peace Prizewinner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel today led a march of young people demanding that the military junta show respect for human rights and the lives of those who have 'disappeared' in the 'dirty war'. (Argentina, July 1981.)

The motives underlying youth protest include solidarity with the mass of the people and with the victims of repression.

The entire student body of the University of São Paulo, the largest in Brazil, is on a solidarity strike in protest at the government's decision to dismiss
for political reasons twenty-six lecturers and scientists attached to the university's research centres. (Brazil, May 1969.)

Confronted with a rigidly controlled press publishing official versions of the truth, students apply themselves to ways of breaking through the barriers of silence and making the real truth known.

An information service consisting of loudspeaker announcements and the clandestine distribution of newsletters has been set up by students to keep the public informed of recent events, given the very fragmentary nature of censored official versions. (Uruguay, December 1983.)

A further concern of the youth movement is with student support for workers' demands and political campaigns.

Violent clashes occurred in Tucumán between the local police force and students supporting the workers who have been barricaded for a number of days in a textile factory near the small town of Los Ralos. (Argentina, October 1977.)

A further point to be borne in mind is that the modernization of social movements is largely brought about by movements initiated by young people, for instance ecological societies, arts clubs, community associations, etc., movements with a much stronger social element which have come to replace traditional trade union or political party activities. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly widespread as a result of urban and industrial development in countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina, in which modernization is further advanced. The Mexican sociologist Francisco A. Gomezjara classifies urban youth movements in his country as follows: student movements (with their demands for reform and contributions to socio-political criticism as described throughout this article), protest movements (mystical, artistic, sexual and 'back to nature' groups), militant movements (advocates of state control, reformists, revolutionaries), consumer movements (sport, music, fashion, attending shows, motoring, etc.) and gangs (gangs in process of formation, gangs that have been taken over by the police and others taken over by protest groups). Applied to Mexico, this is a highly interesting classification which indicates the rapid process of diversification and modernization which the youth movement is undergoing at present.

Young people are also supporting the great international causes embraced by progressive forces throughout the world today, for example the anti-war campaign, the anti-colonialist cause, disclosure of the workings of transnational corporations, the struggle against racism and efforts to promote a constructive peace.

Although there are notorious examples of extremism, indifference or even support for reactionary causes, on the whole young people in Latin America are militant, outgoing and frequently imaginative, exerting their influence in a variety of fields and co-ordinating their activities with other sectors of society. The youth protest movement thus performs a useful social function of civic prophylaxis and non-conformity in the face of harmful social structures and economic and social injustice: the young are a constructive force for development.

Youth involvement and social and political structures

Let us begin by stating the obvious: systematic popular participation in the life of a nation cannot be divorced from the opportunities for participation offered by a specific political system. It is difficult, indeed well-nigh impossible, for young people to play a creative and critical role in an adverse institutional environment. There are no pockets of youth participation to be found in the interstices of an oligarchical economic and political structure, which is by definition non-participatory. If there is no place for the opposition, minorities, women, workers or peasants in these structures, neither will there be for young people.

But let us not confuse different levels of analysis: the youth policy applied by some states in order to influence young people is
one thing and the relationship of conflict between youth as a pressure group/social movement and the state as a power structure is another. A youth policy acceptable to all might be defined in the following terms: 'The basic objective of a national youth policy is to enable young people to achieve complete fulfilment as human beings through conscious, critical, creative and organized participation in the global process of national development. Quite a programme! No government can hope to apply such a policy successfully, though some make a valiant attempt. At all events, it is a worthy aspiration.

Wladimir Alvarez, who has been promoting youth policies as one of the leaders of the United Nations regional youth project for Latin America, classifies government action as falling into three categories:

In the first category are Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela, all three of which have over many years established a tradition of government action on behalf of youth going beyond the classic public responsibility for formal education, health, employment and leisure activities. In the second category are Colombia, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. The first common denominator among these countries is that their central public planning bodies show some interest in exploring the problems of youth policies in greater depth, although tangible results have yet to be achieved.

Bolivia and Honduras fall into the third category. According to available data, only one state agency in each country has attempted to deal with youth policies and programmes, without significant results to date.

In any case, whether or not efficient and democratic youth policies exist, the truth of the matter is that young people as a social category are a source of pressure, organizing movements and taking action in spite of or in opposition to the institutions. The relationship between the state and youth as a force in society is one of conflict, an interplay of forces between the highly mobilizable social potential of youth and a state which may or may not be prepared to negotiate or grant concessions.

In order to give a more accurate account of the relationship between young people and political power, we shall now proceed to analyse the various attitudes adopted by political systems to youth initiatives, since the existence of a 'youth policy' is no firm guarantee of youth participation in the life of society.

In conditions of underdevelopment, dependence and the absence of democracy, there is no real possibility of creative popular involvement under the status quo, given the abysmally poor quality of life, chronic unemployment, ill-health, malnutrition, illiteracy and the lack of respect for basic human rights: the status quo reproduces poverty and destitution. Having taken note of these ineluctable realities, we do not wish to deny the possibility of tackling them gradually, bearing in mind, however, the structural nature of the problems and the need for an overall mobilization and transformation of society. Both bread and liberty are the prizes to be won.

Young people are not a privileged group in society from the point of view of social participation. We have noted that where there is no participation policy for other groups (workers, peasants, women, professionals, etc.) there will be none for young people either, though there may be some minor technical variations: governments' special institutions 'for' youth may be called ‘General Youth Departments’, ‘Sport, Recreation and Youth Institutes’, ‘Youth and Social Welfare Centres’, ‘National Councils for Minors’, etc. But the fact that these institutions exist does not mean that youth participate in the life of society: some of them are just part of the state decor. The existence of special bodies ‘for’ youth is no indication of an acceptable relationship between the government and young people.

There are cases (few and far between) of highly institutionalized states where, alongside the official bodies pursuing a particular youth policy, one finds organizations with an appreciable degree of independence (for example a student federation or trade union branches) established with a view to enabling young people to play an independent role in national affairs.
In such cases, there are areas of 'social autonomy' in which young people can put forward their views as they see fit. There are very few countries with national machinery equipped to promote change, in which development is viewed as a process of structural transformation. It is in these countries that channels for youth intervention are created or existing channels are improved. Popular participation, besides being considered the prime social objective in the national programme, attracts from young people the dynamic support necessary to carry out the most urgent tasks in the development process. The mass mobilization of young people for Nicaragua's national Crusade against Illiteracy is a case in point.

As we have intimated throughout this article, there is a causal relationship between political systems and participation. Taking as our starting-point the different kinds of political system existing in Latin America, we shall now examine the attitude they adopt to youth participation.

**Political Systems with No Provision for Youth Participation**

These are countries that have no youth policy or programme and in some cases no specialized states bodies to deal with such essential matters as juvenile delinquency, the rehabilitation of minors or minors who have been abandoned by their parents. Responsibility for these matters is often left to private institutions, foreign organizations, religious groups or 'foundations'.

The legal system does not recognize young people as having a special status, there is no systematic and cohesive body of legislation governing minors, no statutory provisions on such matters as child labour, lifelong education, the civil rights of the young or associational activities for the young.

The state's attitude to youth mobilization is one of outright mistrust and obstruction: there is no question of consultation or negotiation of any kind with representative youth groups on the adoption of government measures which may concern them. The state is not only suspicious of student activism but vigorously opposes (by harassment, tear-gas, pellets and bullets) their 'interference' in national affairs.

In general, young people are not recognized as having the right to freedom of association (take the case of student groups ‘outside the law’) and are therefore deprived of any possibility of independent, creative participation in public affairs.

**Political Systems with Machinery to Restrict Youth Participation**

These regimes tolerate ‘apolitical’ youth associations (religious groups—Acción Católica, the Rosicrucians—boy scout movements, the YMCA, etc.) or moderately political groupings. Youth organizations attached to the official party or the accepted opposition have some freedom of action. The ministry of education tends to be highly suspicious of out-of-school activities (for instance press clubs, debating societies, drama groups, science clubs) for fear of politicization. Every effort is made to restrict the scope of independent youth activities, so that they are prevented from infiltrating their doctrines among other social groups. In some countries regulations permitting ‘extra-curricular activities’ or ‘non-formal education’ have been revoked in order to prevent the formation of associations which might take up political issues.

In some cases there are programmes for children and young people of an assistencialist (paternalistic) nature. There may also be a trend towards the modernization of legislation, such as recognition of the special bio-social status of minors. The legislation governing minors may be quite comprehensive—including the famous ‘juvenile courts’ (as the law in principle excludes the possibility of penal or criminal responsibility in the case of minors, there can be no such thing as juvenile courts). The institutional structures only recognize youth movements
engaged in 'anodyne' activism with no political repercussions.

In general, the system does not have recourse to social consultation, although sometimes it confers with certain branches of society before taking a particular action. As in the case of the previous political system, young people are deprived of even the most formal right to participation—'universal' suffrage only applies to those over 21—if elections are held. This state practises coercive hegemony, resorting to force in preference to negotiation and shunning independent social involvement in the economic, political and cultural structures of society. When culture is mentioned, the state knits its brows, and when young people are mentioned statesmen refer to the 'tutelary role' of existing institutions: they are the 'fathers of the nation' and as in every home Father gives the orders.

These political systems make all the decisions: what film is suitable for the young, whether it is for the 'over-18s' or the 'over-21s', or perhaps it is 'not suitable for young ladies'. Books are also censored: there is no sensational literature to be seen in the shop windows (neither pornography nor political literature). These are the regimes which say to young people: 'You are the future of the fatherland... but mind you don't meddle with the present.'

POLITICAL SYSTEMS WITH INTERMEDIARY INSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY

In these political systems there is machinery for mediation, representation and social consultation. The conflict between social classes does not erupt alarmingly (or at least only infrequently) because protests are lodged through the institutional channels, although the younger generation is sometimes unwilling to abide by the neutralizing rules of the institutional game.

Government is based on a national political programme, which makes some provision for participation, occasionally in the form of national planning which assigns certain objectives and functions to youth. Specific aims are laid down for schools, universities, youth services, sport, youth employment, social service by graduates, etc. There are youth centres or meetings at which young people's attitudes to major national problems are discussed.

Independent associations are allowed some scope and the representative youth organizations which take advantage of this opportunity (party-linked, student, labour, cultural, artistic or political movements) are regarded as legitimate, either by virtue of the law or through acceptance by social consensus. There is a youth policy shaped by a secretariat of state, a ministry or a youth affairs board. To reach this level and take their place in this institutional setting calls for considerable effort on the part of the popular youth movement.

The central authorities encourage certain forms of participation, some formal (consultations with young people, the right to vote, discussion groups, etc.), some voluntary (youth activities, social advancement activities, voluntary work, etc.) and some integrationist (conversion of the young to the dominant life-styles of society).

In such circumstances young people can develop a critical approach, use of a variety of resources and exert some influence on society; moreover, there is greater scope for participatory skill which may be used to fulfill young people's demands. The institutional system acts as mediator (or as a countervailing influence) in the face of active insubordination on the part of 'youths'. If it can, economic crisis permitting it will attempt to present itself as a philanthropic ogre.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS MAKING PROVISION FOR YOUTH PARTICIPATION THROUGH STRUCTURAL CHANGES

In these systems popular participation is no mere accessory but the driving force that gives society its sense of direction: it is an asset which the government will try to make its social basis and the source of its political legitimacy. Participation in this case is therefore state
policy. All branches of society, including the young, are encouraged and given incentives to participate.

There is a youth policy but it is not always clearly spelt out. Government plans take the aspirations of the young into account, and there are definite spheres for independent and creative youth action, which often runs parallel to—and sometimes clashes with—the rigid policies pursued by the government. The important thing is that these processes provide considerable scope for different kinds of youth intervention in the life of society; the atmosphere is conducive to action by youth groups in politics, the arts, culture and science, to the adoption of positions for or against particular issues, to working inside or remaining outside the institutional machinery. In short, there is a kind of blossoming of participation, in which young people—in different ways depending on their political convictions—can fulfil their potential.

In regimes of this kind there are usually official institutions responsible for regulating, generating, directing and encouraging popular mobilization. In this context young people are assigned certain key tasks: voluntary work, construction work, technical assistance, work in literacy brigades, military defence, etc.

---

**POLITICAL SYSTEMS WITH YOUTH PARTICIPATION THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES**

Under these regimes, the institutional system is vested in the people. Popular participation is organized as a state policy at the national level, social action being integrated and generalized in all branches of social life.

This thoroughgoing participation can only come about through nationalization of the means of production, that is to say through deprivatization of the material bases of society. In this socialist context, participation in society becomes a social and ideological duty, and the channels of youth participation are woven into the network of state institutions. But here we also have one of its limitations: economic nationalization may be accompanied by insufficient democracy.

In these systems, young people play a leading role in building a new society and can at the same time fulfil their material and spiritual aspirations. There are greater opportunities for social mobility, and individual progress is bound up with the progress of the community. The young have more rights and also more responsibilities, with organizations of their own at both union and party level. However, participation can only proceed along a single line of institutional legitimacy, that laid down by the state and the single ruling party, and this curbs organizational creativity and limits democracy.

The revolution made Cuba the only country in Latin America with a political system based on popular rule and comprehensive social participation on a permanent basis, but it is one with rigid institutional machinery.

---

**Latin American youth and plans for a new society**

We have already noted that the obstacles to popular participation are structural and that most Latin American societies lack the institutional channels for youth involvement. The potential for popular participation is clearly of crucial importance in any political system. Youth participation implies criticism, vigilant observation of the authorities and a tendency to question the established order, in short a form of interference which may have a negative effect on the immediate stability of a regime. More than one surprised statesman has found himself with a youth revolt on his hands.

In the classification system described above, it may be noted that the conditions most suitable for youth intervention in society are those obtaining when changes are already under way. In Latin America the high point of participation was reached, in qualitative terms, in the 1970s. This is perfectly understandable, because—we repeat—the obstacles to economic, social, political and cultural participation are
historical and structural, and real participation is only possible when a wholehearted effort is being made to eradicate the root causes of underdevelopment and dependence.

The adoption of a historico-structural approach implies interpreting development and underdevelopment as the obverse and the reverse of one and the same worldwide historical process: uneven development. Sunkel and Paz define this process as follows:

... underdevelopment is part of the global historical process of development. Underdevelopment and development are two sides of the same universal historical process; the two processes are historically simultaneous and they are functionally linked, i.e. they interact and influence each other, and in practical geographical terms they form two major dualisms: on the one hand, the division of the world into industrial, advanced, developed national states ('centres') and underdeveloped, retarded, poor, peripheral, dependent national states; and, on the other, the internal division of national states into areas, social groups and dull, primitive and dependent activities.9

The practical implications of this analysis are that underdevelopment can only be eliminated by a deliberate process of radical change in the economic and political structures which engender it. In this kind of process, the main impetus come from popular participation—in companies, factories, schools, laboratories, town councils, local communities, etc. It is not an agent of 'social extension' (say the 'social' aspect of development) but the driving force of development.

In subscribing to this idea as a scientifically valid standard of reference, we are incidentally in accord with the views expressed at the meeting on the needs and aspirations of Latin American youth in the fields of education, science, culture and communication convened by Unesco in 1974. On that occasion, a kind of test meeting, the young people stated quite bluntly that:

In order to state and identify correctly the problems relating to the needs and aspirations of Latin American youth in the fields of education, science, culture and communication Prevail in Latin America. This calls for a historico-structural analysis of Latin America and the countries of which it is constituted.10

It is revealing to note that in defining the problems and methods of analysis the young people made a choice which shows clearly that they do not prefer fragmentary, psychological, voluntarist or functional approaches when considering the relations between them and underdevelopment and between the youth movement and those in power. The young are undoubtedly in quest of a form of society in which they can fulfil their potential.

But the initiation of a process of structural change necessarily depends on the existence of a political will expressed in (or against) the state or the system. Does this mean that what is sought is a genuinely national, i.e. independent, political programme to build a different kind of society, one that contrasts with the oligarchical society? Is economic, social or political and cultural democracy proof of real participation?

Obviously, the initiative for such a programme will come not from the traditionally dominant sectors but from the emerging and modernizing social classes, those with an interest in achieving economic independence, in scaling down social inequalities and in eliminating unemployment, in other words the sectors whose duty it is to ensure that long-overdue national demands are finally met.

It should be added that this political will must lead to the achievement of a real measure of national self-reliance involving interests of the imperial metropolis, the socio-economic changes required to attain national objectives. If those objectives are genuinely national, preponderant attention will be given to the specific demands of young people and children. Almost 65 per cent of the population of Latin America is under 30 and the young are worst hit by unemployment; together with children, they are the main victims of insanitary conditions and the major target of infectious and contagious diseases.

There are other national objectives which are virtually a matter of life or death, for instance the problem of malnutrition among the young. According to the figures for Peru:

The average intake of calories in Peru is 1,900 per capita, which is closer to the death line (1,400 calories)
than the minimum recommended by FAO: 2,500. The average consumption of milk is less than 200 cubic centimetres and that of protein less than 50 per cent of the recommended minimum.11

These figures have dropped in the past few years, to such an extent that the most deprived sectors of the population live on poultry feed. The phenomenon of idiocy among Peruvian adolescents has already been widely deplored in intellectual circles. And it is not confined to Peru.

The first national objective for youth must therefore be provision of the conditions for survival, an extremely important requirement in view of the ‘austerity’ policies imposed by the IMF on Latin American countries, which necessitate the abolition of food subsidies. The situation will deteriorate further towards the end of the century, when two-thirds of the population of Latin America will be under 29.

To these life-and-death priorities must be added the series including education, medical assistance, sport, liberal legislation and democracy. This reaffirms the importance of an overall approach to the problem, since the people’s demands for bread and freedom cannot be fulfilled if their countries continue to depend on expensive and irregular imports from abroad or persistent economic or political repression of the young.

These are the inescapable realities which led the countries of Latin America to adopt a radical approach at the Costa Rica Conference which approved the Continental Plan of Action for International Youth Year. The document drawn up by ECLA states:

Latin America had no choice but to seek transformation. The dynamic generated by its own peoples, that of the changing world around it and the crying need to slough off its heritage of poverty and oppression ruled out the possibility of a static approach. Clearly, the process of transformation was expensive in human terms for generations passing through a transitional period. But it is important to understand the extent to which this human cost was increased by a rigidity which hampered new forms of development based on existing potential but fundamentally also on the needs and creativity of the Latin American peoples themselves.12

---

Notes


6. These news items are taken from dispatches by the news agencies UPI, AFP, IPS and EFE published in the Latin American press.

7. CREA, Revista de estudios de la juventud (Mexico City), No. 7, November 1983.


12. ECLA, United Nations, Regional Plan of Action for Latin America and the Caribbean in Connection with International Youth Year, 29 pp. (Latin America Regional Meeting, San José, 3-7 October 1983).
Youth and the natural environment: a survey in the USSR

Ivan Dmitriyevich Zverev

Man characteristically has a purely human feeling for and attitude towards nature. We remember how Rousseau, Humboldt and others vigorously encouraged the development of a feeling for nature in every child. But this feeling does not develop spontaneously, without the purposeful action of teachers and parents. Leading educators like Pestalozzi, Locke, Ushinsky and many others spoke eloquently about the great and beneficial influence of nature on the individual, on the development of the mind and feelings.

It is a matter of fundamental importance that the following objectives should be achieved: learning about the interdependence of society and nature and about the unity of nature; understanding the value of nature in all its different aspects; acquisition of the practical abilities and skills associated with a responsible approach to nature; involvement in activities promoting the protection and improvement of the environment.

The obligation to protect nature and its resources is an important constitutional requirement in an advanced socialist society. To ensure that this requirement becomes the standard of conduct from early childhood on, a sense of responsibility for the state of the environment is inculcated in the child. This is done through the all-round system of education. Actively involved in this process are various social institutions such as the family, the school, out-of-school establishments and the community as well.

In an effort to explore the attitudes of young men and women towards nature, we undertook a special sociological and educational study. It sought to determine what schoolchildren really knew about ecological matters and the extent to which they were involved in practical activities connected with their systematic study of nature.

Our study was based on a questionnaire concerned with the pupil’s evaluation of both the constructive and the unhelpful aspects of his own actions and those of his fellow-students. All in all, 990 questionnaires completed by young people in various age-groups—children of pre-school age (5–7), young children (8–10), older children (12–15) and young people (16–17) were collected and analysed.

Ivan Dmitriyevich Zverev (USSR). Vice-president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; director of the laboratory for environmental education of the Academy’s Institute for Contents and Methods of Education. Specialist in the theory of education (didactics), environmental education and methods of teaching biology. Author of more than 200 scientific publications including several dozen books (monographs, teachers’ manuals and textbooks).

The attitude of children of pre-school age to nature

Analysis of replies to the questions ‘Why is nature necessary?’, ‘How should nature be treated?’ and ‘What do you like to do most of

Prospects, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1984
show that most children in this group have a passive attitude towards nature. At the same time, a tendency to admire nature ('Oh, what a pretty flower!') is often accompanied by a longing to learn more about it ('I love nature books') and to become actively involved in it ('I'd like to gather a large bouquet', 'I'd like to plant a birch'). These examples already illustrate differences in the way children treat nature, some actions being motivated by a desire to benefit nature, others by a desire for personal benefit!

Pre-school children react strongly to people doing harm to nature and frequently devise rules of conduct in the form of prohibitions: 'Don't pick', 'Don't trample', 'Don't destroy'. The experience of many educators, and special psychological studies (I. P. Bogolepova, E. L. Golubeva and others), have shown that the development of a constructive attitude in children and their reactions and disinterested approach to nature make it possible to teach them 'how they can and should' act (and not only 'how they should not' act) and to overcome manifestations of a utilitarian approach to nature. This does not rule out the need for evaluating every instance of a child's undesirable attitude or behaviour since such evaluation is of particular importance in strengthening proper behaviour towards nature, the more so since among children of pre-school age there is a characteristic discrepancy between their avowed and their real attitude towards it.

Typical examples of various reasons given by children in explaining their attitudes towards nature are cited by N. N. Vinogradova and L. P. Saleeva: a moral reason—'to be of help', 'to look after', 'to improve nature'; an aesthetic reason—'to make things attractive', 'to look at and admire', 'to make things beautiful'; an intellectual reason—'to observe', 'to learn'; and a positive, practical reason—'to make nature more varied', 'to grow plants'.

Moral and aesthetic reasons predominate in this age-group, however, while intellectual reasons account for only one-tenth of the total number of opinions expressed by pre-school children.

The survey showed that younger schoolchildren differ in their knowledge of nature and their attitudes towards it. They are capable of expressing sound opinions about a person's various activities relating to nature and most of them readily and frankly acknowledge their own improper behaviour even though it caused no particular harm. They do not differentiate between their own actions and those of others in terms of the degree of impact these have on nature.

The majority of replies (around 70 per cent) showed that the children's attitudes towards nature are determined by moral and aesthetic considerations. They are interested in building up areas of greenery because plants 'make everyone happy', 'we like them', 'they make the town decorative', 'they make our life beautiful', etc. There are few instances of a purely utilitarian approach ('pencils and rulers are made from trees'). Only a small number of schoolchildren note that 'you have to protect nature because it is both beautiful and useful', 'nature is health and beauty'. Occasionally, a pupil came up with a quite all-embracing idea: 'nature should be defended for its own sake'. At times, nature is perceived as something belonging to the whole nation: 'it will add to the riches of our country', 'nature is the very foundation of our wealth', 'nature helps the people to live and it is our best friend'.

The children in this age-group clarify and reassess their earlier attitudes towards nature, often condemning the damage they caused while at play: 'we broke branches while we were playing', 'I hurt the cat while I was playing with it'. However, the explanations they offer for their conduct are still elementary, short and often erroneous. It is not always possible to interpret identical replies as meaning the same thing since in a number of cases the naivety of opinions is combined with an expression of human feelings: 'trees also feel pain and I am very sorry for them'.

The attitude of young children to nature
The children show concern for the harmful activities of adults and have something to say about the need for husbanding natural resources: ‘saplings should be protected during tree-felling’; and they are critical ‘if a lumberjack spoils a tree that is no good for industry’. They dream of grand schemes for nature and show a readiness and desire to plant trees, ‘to grow something, with their own hands’, to collect more waste paper ‘to spare forests’ and suggest that everyone should plant five or six trees and ‘then our earth will be beautiful’.

As well as brief replies (‘I watered the flowers’, ‘I helped my grandmother at the dacha’, ‘I put up a feeding-rack’), many youngsters provide lengthy answers, express general opinions, bring into play a variety of facts, suggest a number of useful projects, explaining how they benefit nature and people alike, and present cogent arguments against improper practices. In many instances, the 10-year-olds draw broad conclusions such as ‘man is part of nature’, ‘we should try to turn the world into a flowering garden’, ‘protect nature for tomorrow’s children’, ‘if we want nature to survive, we must not fight’, ‘war is a calamity for mankind and nature’.

The attitude of older children to nature

The attitude of young people in the age-group 12–15 is increasingly determined by considerations of a moral nature and recognition of the national and worldwide importance of ecological matters. They clearly express their humanistic approach to nature in such terms as ‘the defence of nature is concern for people’s welfare’. These children condemn all instances of harmful, ruthless and greedy attitudes to nature. They establish a close link between the protection of nature and the struggle for peace and the averting of war, which is regarded as the greatest ill for both humanity and nature (‘to preserve nature, we must fight for peace’). Youngsters in these age-groups, especially girls, have a distinct moral and emotional attitude towards nature: ‘nothing is more wonderful and graceful than nature’, ‘nature is the most vital thing for man; man’s spirits depend on nature’, ‘nature’s charm must not be ruined’. Insisting on the need to protect nature, they associate with it such words as love, conscience, goodness, compassion: ‘I love nature and I have no right to harm it in any way’, ‘when I plant a tree, I bring happiness to people’, ‘if you are kind to nature, nature will be kind to you’. Many students draw a parallel between their attitude towards nature and their attitude towards people.

In this age-group, patriotic motives in relation to nature become more marked. The pupils recognize nature’s role in the life of society and see what they do as useful for their country: ‘My country is above all my own world of nature’, and, therefore, ‘my contribution to the protection of nature will be of benefit to my country’. Their concern for the natural environment of their own localities takes the form of specific suggestions and projects, e.g. cleaning out a river or a pond, planting of greenery round buildings, or getting schoolchildren more actively involved in environmental protection activities.

Suggestions for improving the environment go hand in hand with a variety of practical activities on the part of students. They put forward in an informed way the most rational methods for preventing pollution of the environment (of the air, water and soil), and emphasize the need for combating the emission of toxic gases and for curbing noise and smoking. A number of students view environmental problems from the standpoint of hygiene and public health. Several of them regret that they are not making a greater contribution to the protection of the environment even though they are ready to do ‘all we can because we love nature’. The great stress placed on the need for environmental protection often contrasts with the difficulty of suggesting ways of going about it: ‘I have no practical suggestions to make about what people can do to protect nature more’, but, at the same time, there is the firm convic-
tion that ‘everybody has a duty to be concerned with nature’.

The majority of students are optimistic about the situation and believe that it can be improved ‘if everyone understands that he is an integral part of nature’. It is interesting to note that, on occasion, a student’s optimism and his belief that ecological problems can be solved take on a fanciful quality and develop into a desire to paint a naïve and idyllic picture of man’s harmony with nature.

Many children place a high value on the role of the school, teachers and parents in developing love and respect for nature. They insist on the fact that ‘adults must set an example for us in everything, including a love for nature’.

Although older children show a wider range of motives for having a responsible attitude towards nature and offer a much greater choice of ideas for action in this field, as a group they are more inclined (as compared with those in younger and older age-groups) to tolerate things that are harmful to nature. The study revealed a number of erroneous replies which are evidence of a certain limitation in the understanding of ecological problems and show little idea of the effects of human activity on nature, to say nothing about the naivety and unreality of some individual proposals. Pupils are often only dimly aware of the consequences of their actions, frequently prompted by curiosity or mischief. In all likelihood, this is to be explained by a lack of emotional self-control and insufficient deliberation in their behaviour. Young people at this age experience real conflict and ‘destructive’ acts are often tolerated. All this creates definite difficulties in shaping and developing a responsible attitude towards the environment among young people. At the same time, their energies and readiness to act provide a basis for the organization of study programmes and for the development of practical skills and aptitudes in the field of environmental protection.

The values held by young people and their attitude to nature

The overwhelming majority of young people display a high degree of social maturity in their assessment of the importance of the relationship between man and nature. They attach great importance to socially useful activities to improve the environment and take part in them. The replies to the questionnaire spoke of a wide range of practical activities that produce tangible results. They state that in any occupation, concern for nature must take on a practical form and express the firm conviction that ‘every citizen has a duty to protect nature’. For this reason, in attitudes towards nature, the chief factor is civic-mindedness, expressive of a person’s duty to country and state. ‘Anything that is harmful to nature is harmful to the state.’ Awareness of civic responsibility for the natural environment is combined with a condemnation by young people of their own detrimental influence on it and of the actions of classmates and adults.

Young people consider that it is not only the direct damage that man can do to nature that is harmful, but also indifference to nature, especially to the destructive actions of other people: ‘indifference is simply a crime against man and nature’. Thus concern for nature is, at the same time, concern for man.

Young people try to pick out the humanistic basis of man’s attitudes towards nature, seeing in this the guarantee of their harmonious coexistence. ‘If man wants to reshape nature in his own way, he must treat it like a close neighbour and try to make it a loyal ally.’ The notion that the attitude towards both man and nature is governed by the same humanistic principle is in tune with that statement. One of the girls, for example, expressed the conviction that ‘friendship with a person who is unkind and cruel to birds or trees is tantamount to friendship with a person who lacks respect and tactfulness towards his comrades’. In a number of replies, the children urge people ‘to treat
nature in the same cordial way as they would a
dear friend' and to combat coldness and indif-
ference, which should be just as alien to man
in his treatment of other men as they are to man
in his treatment of nature.

It is important to note that in the minds of a
number of young people a scientific and
rational approach to nature merges with a moral
and ethical approach. The moral aspect of
man's attitudes towards nature, his humane
feelings and ethical sensibilities are underscored
by students in their descriptions of practical
activities and recommendations for improving
techniques for the 'transformation of nature'.
We shall give as an example an extract from the
reply of one girl who expresses ideas concerning
the merging of man and nature: 'I feel the best
thing I ever did was the time I prevented some
children from cutting down a cherry tree. It is
wrong to destroy beauty, not only as regards
nature but as regards others and one's own
self. . . . The most noble act as regards nature is
to bring up a child to be a person, for a good
person will do a great deal for both people and
nature.'

Of particular importance in developing an
awareness of one's duty and responsibility in
preserving the beauty of the environment is
work in which one creates beauty. In doing such
work, young people overcome a certain lack of
understanding about its value and only then,
when they see the beauty they have created
with their own hands, do they derive happiness
and satisfaction from what they have accom-
plished. There is no doubt that this also
strengthens their active, aesthetic reasons for
wishing to care for the natural environment.

Evidence of the quite high level of ecological
awareness achieved by Soviet youth is provided
by the firmness of their views, their conviction
that nature must be preserved, their ability to
keep material requirements in reasonable bounds,
and the primary importance they attach to
satisfying their spiritual needs.

A number of young people suggested a wide
range of activities and measures concerned with
improving their own standards of conduct and
general governmental measures aimed at achiev-
ing the best possible relations between society
and nature. At the same time, every suggestion
had its own particular value, showing how
important it is to take into account both large
and small, general and particular factors in
matters connected with the protection of the
natural environment and society as a whole.

Many attribute the difficulties occurring be-
tween society and nature to the imperfections of
technology coupled with the need for rapid
technological progress. The pupils quite cor-
rectly see the way out of this impasse to be the
improvement of technical and technological
procedures in industry, based on scientific
estimates and ecological forecasts that express a
concern 'not only to take away from nature but
also to give it something in return without
despoiling or destroying it'. They stress the
importance of subordinating industry to the
'principle of ecology', to ensure that industry is
not harmful to man and, by extension, to
nature. 'Intensify the struggle against nuclear
arms for they will bring death to all nature.' All
this is the cause of grave concern to young
people, several of whom are 'longing to see our
country turned into a flowering garden, not a
hundred years from now but today'.

Those with more mature insights into the
problem attempt to pick out the most important
measures for optimizing relations between man
and nature. These fall more or less completely
into the following groups:

Environmental education for all people rec-
ognizing the many different values of nature;
acquisition of the scientific knowledge re-
quired for the management of nature in the
age of the scientific and technological revol-
tution; development of individual standards
of behaviour.

Economical use of energy resources, reasonable
satisfaction of human requirements, with the
adaptation of a sparing attitude to nature.

Improvement of technology, prevention of en-
vironmental pollution.

Protection of natural sites of rare beauty and
values.

Restoration of wastelands and devastated areas
(recultivation).
Overcoming the adverse effects of urbanization (noise, water and air pollution, overcrowding, regulation of the load on recreational areas, etc.).

Compliance with environmental regulation.
Forecasting the effects of land redevelopment.
Improvement of the productivity of living systems used by man (especially in the field of agriculture), identification of new sources of maintaining human life (new forms of energy, sources of food from the sea).

International co-operation in environmental protection and the prevention of nuclear war.

Young people's involvement in environmental protection activities

The breadth of outlook of young Soviet citizens is one of the reasons for their participation in the mass movement for the protection of the environment and in socially useful work towards that end. Young people are active members of the nature protection societies in the Republics. The All-Russian Nature Protection Society, for example, has 15 million schoolchildren among its members, many of whom belong to school forestry units, 'Blue Patrols', 'Green Patrols', hiking and regional study groups, etc. Schools in the RSFSR have 6,500 forestry units and over 2 million 'Green Patrols'. Young people are actively involved in the 'Care-for-Nature' movement. The richness and variety of our country's nature and industrial regions are matched by the richness and variety of the schoolchildren's and young people's practical activities for improving nature and protecting the environment. For example, in Karelia, Bryansk Province, Estonia, school forestry units are widespread and a number of small 'forestry institutes' have been established. Young Naturalists' Centres and Clubs are doing remarkable work in improving environmental conditions in the desert and semi-desert areas in the vicinity of Shevchenko and Dushanbe. Nature-lovers in Latvia, Lithuania and Armenia organize interesting and well-illustrated evening meetings, lectures and exhibitions, which are also an occasion for evaluating what the participants know and for comparing notes about nature study and environmental protection. Teachers in Moscow and Moscow Province work to extend the pupils' knowledge of environmental protection by organizing various forms of practical activity such as field-work, camps combining work and recreation, task forces taking as their emblem the 'spruce tree', the 'birch tree', the 'ant', and others. Young people take great pleasure in organizing ecological nature trails, micro-reserves, school gardens and parks.

For a number of years, public campaigns have been organized in the Russian Republic on such themes as 'Deep and Clean Water for Small Rivers', 'The Protection and Rational Use of the Earth', and 'Review of School Forestry Units'. All campaigns, competitions and reviews call for the study and protection of natural resources and the spread of knowledge on environmental protection. The exhibitions and competitions are supervised by specialists in the forestry and fishing industries, landscape architects and specialists in various branches of science. In devising exercises for the participants, they direct the experimental, research and practical activities of adolescents and young people towards the solution of the urgent problems of environmental protection.

Student agricultural production teams have become very widespread in rural localities. They create favourable conditions for the practical participation of schoolchildren in those activities of collective and state farms that are directed towards the protection and rational management of natural resources. The members of such teams learn how to protect the soil from erosion caused by water and wind and, depending on local conditions, they lend a hand in the establishment and care of windbreaks of trees to protect fields, in the consolidation of ravines and dunes and in the protection of
reservoirs from pollution. They also protect the wildlife of their region.

A considerable role in the organization of the practical activities of young people is played by the school komzomol, which acts as the collective participant in their independent work. As one komzomol member put it in his reply to the questionnaire: ‘Our school komzomol organization decided to clear a wood. We are fully confident that the work will be done. We want our country to be the most beautiful country in the world, and that depends on us, and we will do everything to make this dream come true.’

The young people have a high opinion of the great work being done to improve the natural environment and associate this with the memory of those who gave their lives for the independence of our country. ‘The finest thing one can do is to plant trees to commemorate the heroes of the Second World War. It is our villagers’ honour, their tribute to the people who paid with their lives for the triumph of peace.’

Young people enjoy group forms of nature activity and find satisfaction in working together as a class or a team to achieve useful results, such as the clearing of a forest park, the planting of trees along Nikolai Ostrovsky Walk (so named in honour of the Soviet writer), the cleaning of school grounds, etc. It is no surprise, then, that they can say: ‘We work very conscientiously’ or ‘We planted 500 pines. Why, that’s a whole forest’ (as one young lad enthusiastically wrote).

Many show great appreciation for governmental action protecting nature and the socialist principles underlying its use, since these give weight to public morality and to the law governing the attitude of every individual to nature in our society.

---

**Future prospects**

The emergence and development of a person’s attitude towards nature are closely linked with his assimilation of scientific knowledge, his beliefs, his ethical and aesthetic concerns and practical activities. All this is descriptive of a certain level of knowledge about ecological problems, including systematic knowledge about the relations between society and nature. The social sciences help a young person to understand the importance of nature and the impact made by nature management methods on the life of society; the natural sciences show which laws operate in nature without man being aware of it, thus setting limits to man’s possible interference in the workings of natural processes. On the basis of technical knowledge, a young person learns ways of improving production. Ecological knowledge is likewise a part of young people’s values, contributing an economic, experiential, moral and aesthetic component. All the qualities of a person brought up with a grasp of ecological problems are reflected in his activities, his standards and criteria of behaviour and his attitudes towards the environment.

In our view, to improve ecological education from childhood to adulthood, it is important to be concerned with:

**The further development of ecological knowledge, reflecting the foundations of ecology as the science of the interrelations of living systems at various levels with the environment, which may include abiotic, biotic, technological and social factors.**

**The gradual involvement of people of every generation in socially useful activities connected with the improvement of the natural environment and the environment as changed by man.**

**Increasing the individual’s moral and legal responsibility for the state of the environment in harmony with the development of needs connected with the careful and rational management of natural resources.**

**The need to take into account the individual’s age and psychological characteristics in developing his attitude to nature and his capacity for active involvement in environmental work.**

**Clarification of the interaction between the bases of scientific knowledge about the unity of nature and society (man) and the moral principles and demands governing man’s attitude towards nature and his practical**
activities in the field of nature 'management'.
Motivating people to take nature into account in their work, with allowance for actual possibilities and the requirements of the immediate environment.
Strengthening the links between the different parts of an individual's ecological culture as an integral component of his general culture and education.
The early development of every individual's ecological awareness is the key to the future development of his striving for a life that is in harmony with nature and devoted to the good of all.
Youth and employment: the case of Hungary

Julia Szalai

Sociological research into youth problems over the last few years clearly indicates that, no matter what the comparison is based on—employment prospects, level of income, standards of living, housing and consumption, or even certain health indicators—the relative position of young people today has deteriorated vis-à-vis preceding generations. One of the reasons for this is the growing inequality between the generations. In other words, age has become a significant factor in determining the individual’s place in the social hierarchy. Moreover, the chances of young people improving their social and economic position are far less favourable today than they were fifteen to twenty years ago.

This relative deterioration in the situation of young people is closely linked with the slowdown in economic growth and in social mobility, and is accentuated and reinforced by the economic and social crisis of the late 1970s. Central to this adverse development in the life of the younger generation are the difficulties in employment and a worsened position in the labour market. The present article is an attempt briefly to analyse both the origins of this phenomenon and some of its consequences.

The root of the problem in the employment sector must be sought in the exhaustion of reserves for what is called ‘extensive economic development’. One of the prime characteristics of the first twenty-five years or so of post-war economic policy was a strategy which relied, both for the radical transformation of the old, outmoded economic system and for swift growth, on ‘unlimited’ manpower resources. To put it another way: the proclamation of guaranteed work for all together with the statutory obligation upon all to accept the employment offered became not only a governing principle of social policy but also an important instrument of economic strategy throughout an entire era. Given the relatively limited capital resources, a manpower-based development relying primarily on unskilled, fairly cheap labour seemed an economically rational and socially desirable solution which promised, through full employment, to safeguard the population’s livelihood in a country where, before the war, millions of people suffered from continuous unemployment and poverty. In its essence, ‘extensive economic development’ thus meant the rapid expansion of the unskilled labour force. At the same time, the number of trained workers was small and, because more advanced technology was expensive, the demand for more qualified manpower increased but slowly within the overall labour requirements.

By the 1970s, the reserves of labour were gone. The attainment of full employment should have heralded, in economic terms at least, a new era. It should have brought a change-over to an economic policy under which continued growth depended not so much on an increase in manpower as on a more favourable ratio between capital and labour, on the use of more advanced, and at the same time more productive, technology, and on the appropriate

Prospects, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1984
use of the trained and skilled personnel which an expanded educational system had meanwhile produced. This fundamental change failed to take place. The reason for this lies not just in a chronic lack of capital resources, the result of the economic recession, but must be sought also in the different economic, social and political forces which, in a complex and well ‘run-in’ system, have a vested interest in an unchanged adherence to the old-established economic ways.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to show that in these circumstances the relatively better qualified generations now coming on to the employment market are faced with the prospect of ‘lower-grade’ jobs, given that acceptance of employment offered remains mandatory. In other words, many of these people—more and more of them as time goes on—will either be obliged to take jobs below their level of qualification or will have to become long-distance commuters. True, they will still be guaranteed a job, yet judging by criteria like limited income, poor chances of improving living conditions that fall below the national average and little prospect of a change of career, one is entitled to regard such imposed ‘lower’ career patterns as a form of hidden unemployment, even though nominally full employment might still exist.

To understand the strains and stresses in the present situation, one must also bear in mind the fact that young people’s career and job prospects have over the years become ever more closely bound up with their school record. During the last two decades it has become evident that certain selective mechanisms operate within the education system, indicating with growing certainty that pupils’ choice of occupation is dependent on the type of school attended and on the particular school’s position in that category. In other words, certain social trends, connected with the child’s or pupil’s status, have come to the fore in the school system which have resulted in a state of affairs summed up fairly and squarely by the phrase: Tell me the school you attended and type of pupil you were, and I shall tell you what job or occupation you are in. Undeniably this process of selection has gone hand in hand with the steady rise in the younger generation’s standard of education during the last few decades. The two phenomena are not and never have been mutually exclusive (see Tables 1, 2 and 3).

The vigorous and steady rise in the level of education is a vaunted achievement of our social policy. As indicated earlier, however, this rise has gone hand in hand with an equally significant accentuation of the discrepancies existing between the acquisition of scholastic qualifications and their subsequent use. The fact is that between 1970 and 1980 the number of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No statistical data are available (by age-group) for 1970 on the relationship between standard of education and type of work. Hence comparable figures can only be given for the gainfully employed population as a whole. However, since in the last few decades the efforts to raise the vocational and educational standards of adults (aged 30 plus) have diminished, any rise in the level of education must be attributed primarily to the schools and the generally higher educational standards possessed by young workers. This, incidentally, is fully borne out by the 1980 Census, which does show data related to age-groups (see Table 2).

Youth and employment: the case of Hungary

TABLE 2. Changes in the percentage of secondary-school leaving certificate or higher education diploma holders engaged in non-manual work (by sex), 1970 and 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


those having to accept 'lower-grade' positions in the employment market, i.e. jobs in conditions and occupations 'habitually' reserved for less well educated people, has increased by over 120,000, i.e. from 80,000 to 206,000. This represents a significant anomaly, i.e. a situation in which, on the one hand, there does exist a close relationship between the individual's standard of education and his position on the employment market, and on the other, there does not. Put differently, we are witnessing the disappearance of job opportunities requiring higher educational qualifications and the attendant phenomenon of job 'displacement'.

There has been a particularly marked rise in the proportion of those who do not use their previously acquired vocational skills in their present job. In fact, there are three times as many such people today as there were in 1970, and the odds against their ever being able to use their qualifications are far greater in the case of women, despite the smaller number of women in skilled trades and crafts. Yet another indication of the difficult situation is the devaluation of the secondary-school leaving certificate in the labour market. For young people having completed their secondary education, not only have the prospects of finding a non-manual career diminished, but their chances of having to accept semi-skilled or unskilled work in the manual field have increased.

The employment market value of the school-leaving certificate as between the two sexes is markedly influenced by the fact that, since the lower levels of non-manual occupations have become almost exclusively a women's preserve, women holding a general secondary education certificate are far more likely to find a non-manual job than men, although even their chances have substantially shrunk since 1970. At the same time, once they accept manual jobs, they will be much less likely to achieve skilled worker status than their male colleagues, and the likelihood of their remaining in the unskilled group will be far greater. In 1980, the percentage of male school-leaving certificate holders employed as manual workers was 74, whereas that of women was 46.

From time to time, different aspects of these phenomena come to the forefront of heated

TABLE 3. Holders of skilled tradesman's and secondary-school leaving certificates and higher education diplomas in semi- or unskilled work—total numbers and as percentage of category with equal qualifications, 1970 and 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1980 figure as percentage of 1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage of those with same qualifications</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled tradesman's certificate holder</td>
<td>37 351</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>113 739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary-school leaving certificate holder</td>
<td>40 913</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>89 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education diploma holder</td>
<td>2 044</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: Those with above-8th grade general education</td>
<td>80 308</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>206 194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

debate in professional circles and in the press. Some blame the school system for creating ‘over-education’, others a ‘materialistic outlook’, labelling those who leave their trades for temporarily higher paid semi-skilled or unskilled jobs ‘birds of passage’; yet others lament the ‘decline in the work ethic’ as a social problem. Full employment is given as another reason, with the labour force being described as ‘excessive’ and ‘over-manning’ being blamed for the slowing down of economic growth. The remedy advocated is an immediate clampdown on such ‘in-house unemployment’ and for all superfluous unskilled labour to be made redundant. Finally, there are those who assess the situation positively, their argument being based on the inherent value and benefits of higher educational and cultural standards as such and totally separate from employment.

Without entering into any detailed examination of the merits and demerits of such arguments, the very fact that they are so often heard goes to show that finding employment commensurate with educational qualifications has grown far more difficult and that this matter urgently needs looking into. Whatever label one might wish to attach to the problem, what is certain is that its very existence and growth betoken stresses, and in their social implications, growing stresses. So the question becomes one of identifying the elements principally affected by the difficulties, of finding out which social groups are most threatened with ‘underemployment’, and of establishing how great this threat really is. Now, since the deterioration in the employment situation over the last decade was accompanied by higher educational standards among new entrants to the labour market and lower ones among those leaving it, it may be stated at once that the main burden of the difficulties, especially towards the end of the present decade, is likely to fall primarily on the young job-seekers. The question is, which of them will thus be affected and how will they be affected? (See Tables 4 and 5.)

Even now a considerable number of young people entering the job market must face up to the fact that, as far as employment is concerned, their educational qualifications will be of no use to them. An illustration of their diminished chances of employment is provided by those—and their number is growing with successive age-groups—who are constrained to accept unskilled work. The age watershed lies at 35 years, as shown most succinctly in column 3 of Table 4. Whereas among the skilled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-group (years)</th>
<th>As percentage of respective age-group</th>
<th>In semi- or unskilled work as percentage of total age-group with identical education</th>
<th>In semi- or unskilled work as percentage of respective age-group of workers doing semi- or unskilled work</th>
<th>As percentage of respective age-group of working population as a whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20–24</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–29</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–34</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35–39</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–44</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45–49</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–54</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average of working population</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculations using data from 1980 Census, Vol. 25.
Youth and employment: the case of Hungary

Table 5. Indicators of youth employment opportunities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wage-earners under 30</th>
<th>Wage-earners all ages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesman’s certificate holders working as semi- or unskilled workers, as percentage of total with same qualifications</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-leaving certificate or higher education diploma holders working as semi- or unskilled workers as percentage of total with same qualifications</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers with above 8th-grade general education in semi- or unskilled work as combined percentage of total with same qualifications</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers with above 8th-grade general education as percentage of total of semi-skilled workers of same age-group</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled workers with above 8th-grade general education as percentage of total of unskilled workers of same age-group</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-leaving certificate or higher education diploma holders in non-manual work as percentage of total with same qualifications</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s calculation using data from 1980 Census, Vol. 25.

and semi-skilled workers aged 35 and over we find ‘over-education’ (i.e. general education beyond the eighth grade) only sporadically, in the case of 20- to 35-year-olds (the proportion growing with successive age-groups), we find that one in every four or five unskilled or semi-skilled workers possesses higher educational qualifications.

Those now aged 35 to 40 joined the labour market at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, i.e. at a time when by and large the working population was enjoying full employment. This fact came to influence the newcomers’ employment opportunities in a decisive manner, since, from the 1970s onwards, the number of jobs hardly increased at all and no substantial changes occurred in the employment structure.* In these conditions, more and more of the growing number of better qualified workers coming on the employment market had indeed no other choice but to accept the offer of a ‘lower-grade’ job.

At the same time, we know from other statistical sources that the average wages of even the lowest-grade non-manual worker—and especially his average total income—are way above those of the semi-skilled or unskilled worker of comparable age. It is, therefore, not at all a question of people finding it nowadays more ‘worth while’ to take a worse, albeit better-paid job.

Bearing in mind young people’s generally low starting wages and high expenses, financial

* The number of jobs requiring better qualifications has completely failed to keep up with the numerical increase in those acquiring better qualifications. Whereas the number of employed possessing middle-grade and higher educational qualifications increased by 531,000 between 1970 and 1980, the number of non-manual jobs today is only 266,000 greater than ten years ago. The situation is similar for skilled manual workers: whereas skilled jobs increased by some 262,000 in the last decade, the number of skilled workers grew by 428,000. A gap has opened and is plain to see. The discrepancy is also shown up by another fact: whereas the proportion of those in unskilled work in relation to the total number of employed has dropped by 9 per cent, i.e. from 48 per cent to 39 per cent, the proportion of workers without qualifications has radically changed—the proportion of those with at most eighth-grade general education having declined from the 73 per cent in 1970 to 54 per cent in 1980, or a fall of 19 per cent.
considerations might perhaps be a justified and understandable reason for this phenomenon, yet its magnitude argues against this explanation. True, both youngsters and older people will often weigh things up along the lines of ‘the job may be worse, but the pay is better’ and will decide accordingly. Yet, of the 200,000 people who must accept a ‘downgrading’, only a minute fraction would, if asked, admit to having had much freedom of choice in the matter. In the light of today’s rigid employment structure and the statutory obligation to accept work offered, the majority would probably explain: ‘There was simply nothing else, no other openings existed, so that’s all I could do.’

Over the last decade, these trends have led to a situation where the proportion of young people in unskilled jobs, with their attendant low earnings, poor working conditions and diminished social status, as well as in agricultural work, has risen (and this at a time when the number of unskilled jobs dropped by a significant 60 per cent and employment in agriculture by 23 per cent!), while their representation in the skilled manual and non-manual work-force has declined (see Table 6).

Hence, it is not full employment but the rigidity of the employment structure which causes ‘over-qualification’. It is not as if society were short of tasks that needed tackling by people with relatively good education, but rather that the social need for solving these tasks, for these ‘products’, has gone unrecognized. Opportunities for such work are just not occurring; or else—and this is fundamentally a cognate phenomenon—neither workplaces nor jobs have changed or been sufficiently flexible to provide opportunities for the use of the knowledge acquired.

All this goes to show that it is not ‘spoiled youngsters’ or ‘exaggerated expectations’—charges often levelled at young people by writers on current affairs—that are at the bottom of the difficulties in the employment situation, but rather structural problems of the economy and of employment, or, to be more precise, the inflexible nature of production and the job market. The effects on new recruits to employment of this inflexibility and of the resultant need to accept inferior alternative careers vary from group to group and between men and women. Young men find it increasingly hard to turn their school-leaving certificate to good account, young women their tradesman’s certificate. Of young men with the school-leaving certificate, only 50 per cent are at present engaged in non-manual work, against 70 per cent of the total of men with this qualification. Though some careers, such as office administration, payroll accountancy and certain teaching jobs, have become almost completely a women’s preserve, non-manual job vacancies for young women have virtually disappeared and the chances of their finding such employment are below average. Their relatively greater mobility, too, despite the growing number of women commuters, is now far less of an advantage in finding a suitable job than it used to be ten years ago.*

This is not the place to examine in detail the reasons for the ‘ossification’ of the employment market, with all its ramifications and regional implications. It does seem, however, that the growing discrepancy between better education and suitable employment opportunities must be seen as the price to be paid for the expansionist economic policy pursued during the 1960s and 1970s, and as one of its side-effects. One of the

* True, women with a tradesman’s certificate are a shade better off than is average for their group, but in fact this advantage is achieved at the expense of extensive and lifelong commuting.

Table 6. Percentage of young workers (age 14-29) in their type of employment and in total working population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled worker</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled worker</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled worker</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual worker</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed in agriculture</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total working population</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

developments of the last two decades that decisively influenced the regional and professional character of the employment situation was the relocation of industry in the countryside and the boosting of village industry. This process led to a concentration of skilled labour: while skilled manual and non-manual jobs continued to be located (mainly) in urban centres, the growing village industry relied primarily on semi-skilled labour in its task of ‘serving’ the centres. Now, apart from trying to limit the concentration of industrial production in regional centres, this policy’s other objective was to utilize the country’s last remaining labour reserves, i.e. the rural female population. The policy failed to take into account, however, the rise that had occurred in the meantime in these workers’ level of education, though this level might still be inferior to that of the urban, and especially metropolitan, population. Since to young and middle-aged women in rural areas, because of their commitments to their family, home and smallholding, commuting to work is a far less feasible option than it is to their male coevals, a local job vacancy will of necessity appear more acceptable to them, even if it is not commensurate with their level of education. Changes taking place in other sectors of the economy, the results of the rapid growth of trade, the service industries, and the agriculture-based food industry, have also attracted to semi-skilled or unskilled jobs relatively large numbers of (mainly female) local workers, regardless of their educational standard.

To weigh all these developments in the balance is no easy matter. On the one hand, it is obviously a good thing that there should be some increase in the number of nearby, local job vacancies, especially at a time when, as happened in the last couple of decades—and this is another indication of the difficulties—commuting to work was on the increase. On the other hand, this process has accentuated regional and social inequalities between workers, as expressed in this case by the availability or otherwise of jobs commensurate with their level of education. In this context it gives food for thought and some cause for apprehension that the swift acquisition of vocational and professional qualifications by women (a quicker process than the comparable trend of rising vocational skills among men) should have entailed greater difficulties in finding suitable employment. Of all the vocationally trained women today, one in every five is forced to accept an ‘unqualified’ job, against one in every seven in 1970.

This trend also threatens the tender plant of women’s enhanced social position, resulting from their employment; this threat is all the more real since, even in the past, their employment situation—at all levels of educational and professional qualification, albeit in varying degrees—has always been relatively unattractive as compared with that of men in such things as earning opportunities, supplementary income, etc. Ultimately, all this is due to the fact that the changes wrought in the 1970s in the economy’s employment set-up resulted, in practical terms and in the general economic sphere, only in changes as between the unqualified jobs and in the ratios between them, while barely affecting the numerical relationship between qualified and unqualified workers. It is this phenomenon that I have termed earlier the ‘inflexibility’ of the labour market.

I must add that a study of the detailed employment figures supports these conclusions. It is not only in the inflated, and hence over-generalized, categories of non-manual and manual work, but also in many of the occupations now in a stage of expansion, as well as in many other sectors—in fact, everywhere—that those entering the employment market today encounter harsher conditions than did their predecessors, and that, unless there are to be structural changes in the economy, their career prospects will also be worse. All this is the consequence of a process I mentioned earlier: the ending of the phase of Hungary’s economic development during which production was expanded simply by means of the multiplication of jobs. With it has ended also the era when, even though the economic mechanism remained substantially unaltered, workers of every description could easily obtain or find themselves
a job. Although the difficulties of the situation became a central topic of public debate only in the last few years, the data here adduced go to prove that this is in fact a problem of much earlier origin and one that has become so urgent now because of its magnitude rather than its novelty. Though in theory there might exist a state of full employment (especially for young people), in practice this state is maintained by guaranteed job provision and not by the supply of suitable employment opportunities.

Young people are the ones who, because of an inflexible economy, simply do not get a look in and find all the (good) places already taken. Neither the economy’s technical development nor its structure and operation have been suitably adapted to the existing levels of knowledge and qualifications in the labour force; instead, it is the people who are supposed and required to adapt.

Yet, in theory, other solutions would seem to exist. The spread, occupational composition and regional distribution of ‘forcibly downgraded employment’ might well serve as a guide for the direction, and as a yardstick for the scope, of the changes that need to be made in the economy’s machinery. In the heated debates on the ‘necessity’ and ‘inevitability’ of the introduction of unemployment, the unhealthy preponderance of unskilled jobs is often cited as being one of the principal brakes on economic growth, and their ‘elimination’ and ‘cessation’, making redundant those so employed, is being put forward as a remedy.

There is, however, an important flaw in this type of argument. The jobs in question might indeed be ‘unskilled’, but those doing them (and their proportionate number, as we have seen, is rising) are skilled. The solution, therefore, cannot lie in ‘wholesale’ redundancies, in unemployment, but rather in the provision of suitable employment to those workers who are at present wrongly, because not fully, used. Such a worker-oriented employment policy is likely to have beneficial effects on other social and economic problems. The question is not one of inexorable fate, but one of reform.
Ethnic identity and young migrants in the Netherlands

Hans Vermeulen and Trees Pels

From cultural to ethnic identity

The study of migrant minorities in Europe has long been dominated by an assimilationist perspective. Within this approach loyalty towards the ethnic group was considered to be primarily a result of the degree to which the traditional culture of the group has been maintained. Loss of cultural distinctiveness—i.e. acculturation—would automatically lead to the dissolution of group ties. Ethnic identity or ethnicity is thus not clearly distinguished here from cultural identity and a separate notion of ethnic identity is not required.

The emergence of ethnic and nationalist movements after the Second World War all over the world challenged the assimilationist perspective. This was especially so because such movements also occurred among regional and migrant minorities in the industrialized West which had lost much of their cultural distinctiveness. New questions emerged. Could ethnic groups be understood as mere remnants of the past? Or was it more fruitful to see them as 'forms of social life ... capable of renewing and transforming themselves'? Research increasingly suggested that the maintenance of ethnic ties among migrant minorities does not necessarily require the maintenance of the original culture or even, perhaps, of cultural distinctiveness. This newer, situational approach requires a clear distinction between culture and ethnicity and defines the last term, for example, as 'the sentiments which bind individuals into solidary groups on some cultural basis'. Ethnicity or ethnic identity becomes a central concept and the notion of cultural identity—at least as this concept is being used within the assimilationist perspective—falls into disuse.

In this article we will follow the situational approach. This implies that we will be looking at the way in which the salience of ethnic boundaries varies according to specific circumstances. In our view ethnicity—as well as culture—is continuously created and can only be understood in relation to both past experience and specific political, economic and social processes.

What is ethnic identity?

Ethnic identity is a social identity like class identity or gender identity. It differs from other social identities by the belief in a common
descent, history and cultural heritage—including, for example, language and religion. Ethnic identity or ethnicity will here be defined as consisting of two main dimensions: an objective and a subjective one. The objective or social dimension refers to interaction with group members as well as outsiders. It defines membership in an ‘objective’ sense. The subjective or psycho-cultural dimension defines membership in a subjective way and gives meaning and content to this membership.

An important element in the subjective dimension is the degree of identification with a given ethnic group. A second aspect concerns the attribution of characteristics to ethnic groups, one’s own as well as others. These group images or stereotypes may contain references to character and status as well as culture. These attributed characteristics have an evaluative dimension: positive, neutral or negative. The third aspect or level of ethnic consciousness will be referred to as ethnic ideology. At this level the attributed characteristics of the second level are related, explained and justified.

A vision is presented of the past, present and future of one’s ethnic group in relation to others. Not all ethnic groups nor all members of ethnic groups will dispose of an elaborated ideology: in most cases it will be rudimentary. The subjective dimension as a whole constitutes a particular way of distinguishing ‘them’ from ‘us’. The definition of ‘us’ is in a sense the more crucial aspect of the concept, but it cannot exist without the contrast with ‘them’. Social identity is inseparable from social comparison processes.

#### Age at immigration and ethnic identity formation

Though migrant youth in Western Europe is often referred to as the second generation, those born in the country of immigration usually constitute the minority as far as the age-group under discussion (15 to 25 years old) is concerned. It is thus no wonder that social scientists have tried to explain variations in life-style and ethnic identity by looking at the age at immigration. Those who have studied migrant youth from the perspective of socialization theory have stressed the importance of this factor. Sometimes this leads, however, to overemphasizing this aspect. This is clearly so in the study of Schrader, Nikles and Griese in the Federal Republic of Germany. These authors argue that children who arrive in the new country before the second year will develop an identification with it and become (new) Germans, while those arriving after their sixth birthday will continue to identify as members of their culture and country of origin. The children who immigrate between the age of 2 and 6 will develop a ‘bicultural identity’. This model suggests the existence of homogeneous national cultures, does not sufficiently distinguish culture from ethnicity, and tries to explain too much of the variation in ethnic identity patterns by age of immigration.

Almost all young people in our research entered the Netherlands after the age of 6. The variety in ethnic identity patterns between individuals and small groups within ethnic groups is much greater than one would expect on the basis of the work of Schrader et al. This differentiation is due to already existing differentiation within ethnic groups before immigration as well as to a differential formation of ethnic identity after immigration. Ethnic identity formation turns out to be a process which does not stop at the age of 6. Schrader et al. underestimate the importance of later stages in personality development for the formation of ethnic identity as well as the importance of the school in this process.

Our research suggests that there is a difference between those arriving in their early teens and those arriving in their late teens. The age of 15 can be taken as a very rough boundary. What is important is not age as such, but the arrival at an age where participation in the educational system is still possible or arrival at an age where this is not the case. Those arriving late are likely to maintain their pre-immigration style of life and to look for support and company within their own ethnic group.
This seems to be particularly the case when they come from a peasant or urban lower-class background, have no knowledge of the language of the receiving society before immigration and are absorbed by a cohesive ethnic community. Children who participate at least for a few years in the educational system will have more chance to get to know the language and to develop relationships with peers outside their own ethnic group. Within this second category ethnic identity is somewhat more a matter of choice and the variation in patterns is greater. This element of choice is the positive aspect of what is usually only described as identity conflict.

Structural factors in the formation of ethnic identity

It has already been observed that ethnic boundaries become more salient and ethnic identities more pronounced when these boundaries coincide or overlap with other social boundaries, in particular socio-economic boundaries. Concentration of an ethnic group in a specific class or socio-economic stratum or in a particular occupation or cluster of occupations may provide a basis for intra-ethnic interaction and common interests and may influence the opinions and attitudes of outsiders towards the group as well as the group’s self-image. Hechter uses in this context the notion of a cultural division of labour.

The importance of this cultural division of labour and its historical genesis becomes evident when one compares the Chinese and Creole sections of Surinamese youth. The parents of the young Suriname-Chinese were almost all, usually small, traders and merchants in Suriname, while the majority of Creole youth in the Netherlands has an urban lower-class background. This relates to a remarkable difference between Suriname-Chinese and Creole youth: the former often attend school or university at an age when the latter work as wage-labourers or are unemployed. These differences in position within the socio-economic and educational system contribute to differences in processes of ethnic identity formation. Large sections of Creole youth are poorly integrated in the educational system and the labour-market. Their low socio-economic position reinforces already existing negative stereotypes among the majority and creates new ones. The orientation towards their own ethnic peer group and its culture among sections of Creole youth is to an important extent a result of their marginal position and a reaction to stigmatization and discrimination by the majority. Ethnic group formation and ethnic consciousness among Suriname-Chinese youth is hardly shaped by the experience of discrimination on the part of the majority. Among those Suriname-Chinese youths who have strong ethnic bonds and sentiments, a positive self-image as Chinese and the usefulness of intra-ethnic contacts for career purposes are very important.

Not only differences in ethnic identity patterns between ethnic groups, but also those within ethnic groups, can be better understood by looking at socio-economic differentiation within a historical perspective. The case of a small group of seven young Turks in Utrecht will serve as an illustration.

The fathers of these young Turks all belong to the first Turkish immigrants in Utrecht. Before leaving Turkey they were all small entrepreneurs in an urban environment. After working for years as wage-labourers in the Netherlands they set up small enterprises. They belong to the most influential families of the Turkish community in the city. The young Turks, their sons, have almost all reached a higher level of education than most Turks of their age within the community and those who work hold relatively good jobs. None of them is unemployed. When they came to the Netherlands, about ten years ago, there were still few Turks of their age. This is—they argue—the reason why they came into frequent contact with Dutch youth. They still have Dutch friends and interact mainly with the Dutch at school or at work. They spend, nevertheless,
most of their leisure time with each other or with Turks with a similar background. With the majority of Turks—those of lower socio-economic status and rural origin—they have almost no contact and they perceive them as being in some respects more different from themselves than their Dutch friends. They distinguish themselves, as modern Turks, from the Turkish majority, whom they see as traditional and backward villagers. Though they continually stress that they are modern, this does not make them feel less Turkish. Modern Turkey represents for them in a sense the real Turkey of today and they see themselves as its representatives. Though they believe Turks to be somewhat different from the Dutch—e.g. more hospitable and less impersonal in their relations with others—they do not stress differences between the Dutch and the Turks. In their view Turkish identity cannot and should not be defined in terms of the traditions, norms and values of the Turkish countryside. They do not consider the religious difference significant, though all consider themselves to be Muslims. Sometimes one gets the impression that they consider religion to be more important as part of their cultural heritage than as a belief system. What it means to be a Turk is for these young Turks difficult to define in concrete behavioural terms. They describe it primarily as a feeling or sentiment.

Young people in the age-group discussed here can be logically divided into those who are in school, those who are employed and those who are—for diverse reasons—not involved in one of these institutional spheres. How do these opportunity situations structure intra- and inter-ethnic relations? How do they influence the self-perceptions of young people as members of ethnic groups? In a study of Turkish girls in Utrecht an attempt was made to answer these questions. Here we will only briefly and tentatively indicate some of the differences between working girls and schoolgirls in the research. The school seems to provide a better opportunity than the workplace. By developing more and more intimate relations with their Dutch peers schoolgirls are more subject to the pressures of Dutch youth and school culture. The experience of the working girls suggests that the workplace is culturally less demanding and that there is somewhat less social control in the more private sphere of life. Schoolgirls experience more of a ‘conflict between two cultures’ (conflicting social pressures from concrete sources) than working girls. Discrimination plays a more important role in the awareness of the working girls and seems to colour their relations with the Dutch more than in the case of the schoolgirls. The reason for this seems to be that discrimination in the sphere of work may have more serious and more direct consequences—e.g. not getting a job, losing a job, getting less pay—than at school. Schoolgirls seem to have a somewhat more open attitude towards the Dutch environment as well as more conflicting identifications.

Though the foregoing analysis has been presented under the title of ‘structural factors’, it will have become clear that the attention paid to present socio-economic position and environmental constraints and opportunities is insufficient. The ethnic identity of the modern young Turks, for example, cannot only be understood as a result of their objective position. It is also a historical and cultural product.

Ethnic revival and reactive ethnicity

During the last decade social scientists have paid much attention to what many have called the ethnic revival. Though often considered to be a worldwide phenomenon, especially characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s, its occurrence in the industrialized West drew particular attention. Among immigrant groups with a long history in the United States an increasing number of people became interested in their ethnic origin and history and began to present themselves as members of ethnic groups with common interests. Given the recency of immigration in Europe there cannot be an ethnic revival in this sense of a revival of ethnic sentiments by a generation which has lost much
of its original culture. There are, however, similar phenomena. Some have referred to these as reactive ethnicity. Reactive ethnicity has a revivification character in the sense that it involves a reorientation towards one's own ethnic group and its culture after a period of orientation towards the dominant culture. This reorientation is often interpreted as a reaction to social and economic insecurity and, particularly, discrimination.

Revivalist tendencies may have different goals, forms and class bases. Ethnic group formation of this type may be political in the sense of being directed at defending political and cultural interests vis-à-vis the dominant society or it may aim at isolation from the surrounding society. These isolationist or emancipatory goals may or may not be phrased in a highly symbolic and religious idiom. An ethnic revivalist tendency or movement may, furthermore, find its support primarily among the middle-class section or the higher strata of an ethnic group or among the working class or lower strata. It would seem that these three aspects are not completely independent. Working-class ethnicity, the symbolic-religious idiom and the more isolationist tendencies seem to some degree to be related. This brief discussion of a strengthening of ethnic bonds and sentiments among migrant youth shows some similarities with discussions about youth culture, and particularly with the distinction between middle-class 'counter-cultures' and working-class 'subcultures' in the writings of the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. Studies of ethnicity often concentrate on its more extreme manifestations and tend to be confined to ethnic movements or organizations. In this way the impression is created that ethnicity is something which is either present or absent. Here we have tried to look at ethnicity as a variable, as something which is almost always present to some degree and which may manifest itself in diverse ways. Looking at ethnicity as a variable has at least two further implications. First, ethnicity may be a relevant dimension in some situations, but not or much less so in others. Secondly the different situations in which individuals or groups find themselves will shape their ethnicity in different ways. Ethnicity is, however, not only variable and situational, but also historical. By this we do not mean that ethnicity is a mere legacy or survival of the past, something outdated and anachronistic, but that ethnicity as an 'answer' to a specific situation can only be understood as being influenced by historical experience. Ethnicity is historical in yet another, related sense: ethnic ideologies themselves offer interpretations of the past.

One of the central policy-relevant questions regarding ethnicity is whether an orientation towards one's ethnic group, its culture and history constitute an obstacle to emancipation to participation in the larger society and to communication across cultural boundaries. It seems to us that this is often thought to be the case, though it is not necessarily true. Ethnic communities may provide new migrants with a familiar environment, emotional and material support and a solid basis from which to explore the outside world. Such ethnic solidarity may constitute the basis for emancipating initiatives by members of the group. When the above question is posed people do, however, often have cases in mind in which there is a more explicit search for cultural roots as a result of a revitalization of ethnic sentiments. Such ethnic movements may represent a retreat into a traditional culture and a refusal to adjust
to new circumstances in a way that is unlikely to promote the emancipation of the group. Ethnic movements may also directly or indirectly promote participation and emancipation. These regressive and progressive tendencies may be present in the same movement. It should, however, not be forgotten that both progressive and regressive forms of ethnic revival are partly an answer to a lack of opportunity to improve one’s socio-economic position and a reaction to rejection and discrimination. Government policy should take account of this interrelatedness of ethnicity and social inequality. This implies a policy which promotes participation and emancipation and recognizes the positive role ethnicity may play in becoming aware of one’s subordinate position in society and in finding ways to overcome it. An assimilationist policy which does not sufficiently respect the ethnic factor may well lead to opposite results: the external threat may lead to isolation.

A policy such as we propose requires specific measures for ethnic minorities. Would this not arouse the jealousy of the majority? Is this jealousy not a good reason to emphasize integration or assimilation and de-emphasize ethnicity and inequality? Besides the arguments already put forward against such an assimilationist policy, it should be noted that other social movements that emphasize social identity and emancipation—e.g. the feminist movement—do get government support, at least in the Netherlands. Minority policy should not be too dependent on the conditions and approval of the majority.

---

**Notes**

5. A research project directed by Hans Vermeulen has provided the empirical material for this article. The research project was largely financed by the Dutch Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture. The results were published in Hans Vermeulen, *Verkenningen in etnische identiteit: onderzoek onder Chinezen Surinamers en Turken*, Anthropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum, University of Amsterdam.
TRENDS AND CASES
France has conducted a number of projects in media education arising out of different situations and initially designed to achieve different objectives. Now, however, they have begun to converge, in terms of their objectives and of the arrangements for incorporating them into the education system. We intend to describe two projects: one—the ‘Socio-Cultural Education’ programme—is being carried out in agricultural education establishments under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture; the other—‘Introduction to Communication and the Media’ (ICOM)—takes place in establishments attached to the Ministry of National Education, i.e. primary schools and lower- and upper-level secondary schools (collèges and lycées).

**Background**

General administrative, financial and educational measures have been adopted regarding socio-cultural education in agricultural training, with the result that this type of education is now well integrated into the system. In theory, it involves all students enrolled in this branch of technical education. The same is not true of the introduction to communication and the media project which remained at the experimental stage for a long time, a decision in favour of its gradual development being taken at the end of 1982.

**SOCIO-CULTURAL EDUCATION**

In its very early years, between 1964 and 1970 socio-cultural education was based essentially on an empirical approach. It consisted mainly of educational activities and initiatives that were strongly influenced by the non-directive teaching technique of the time. This school of thought, which advocated involving students more actively in classwork, giving them more initiative and even a share of responsibility in organizing their work, gained ground all the more easily in agricultural education because a number of teachers recruited at that time had participated in social education movements.

The official education system then tried to incorporate this educational trend and to ‘streamline’ its objectives, methods and forms of integration into the institutional set-up. During the period 1970–73 and, subsequently, 1973–77, an effort was made to organize this education on a rational basis and to define objectives and working methods in more precise detail. A series of educational documents (‘dossiers’) was then prepared at the Institut National de Recherche et d’Application Pédagogique (INRAP), in conjunction with the inspectorate (Inspection Pédagogique Nationale de l’Éducation Socio-Culturelle) and with organizers who had been active in the project since the beginning.

In 1979, a detailed circular laid down new...
specifications with regard to objectives, resources (personnel, premises, operating funds, etc.), methods, evaluation and inspection. This circular may be considered as confirmation of the official adoption of socio-cultural education; at the same time it laid down certain lines of emphasis which take into account developments in the communication environment and, more particularly, communication by the media.

This circular provides the institutional framework for the project and confers on it a degree of legitimacy equivalent to that of other disciplines. It should be noted, however, that this status is still entirely theoretical for two reasons, which we shall analyse below:

As there are no examinations in socio-cultural education, it is very frequently neglected in favour of studies that are 'more useful' for students, especially in the last years of upper secondary education.

'Timetable' provisions for teaching staff, consisting of hours of instruction, hours devoted to other activities involving students and hours assigned to co-ordination and consultation work, have been drawn up for socio-cultural education teachers but not for teachers of other subjects; this obviously raises difficulties with respect to co-ordination and consultation work for which provision is made in the timetable in some cases, but not in others.

INTRODUCTION TO COMMUNICATION AND THE MEDIA

The Introduction to Communication and the Media project came into being in 1964-65 (when it was known as 'Introduction to Audio-Visual Culture' (ICAV)) on the initiative of a research/action team set up in the Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique (CRDP) in Bordeaux. It was based on two trends of educational opinion: one emanated from groups advocating education concerning the film as an aspect of culture, which were closely associated with social education movements, particularly the Ligue de l’Enseignement et de l’Éducation Permanente, which was then introducing film-club activities on a wide scale in educational establishments; the other was developed by a research group in teaching methods which was investigating the significance of images in a programmed learning system using television.

This project has not yet been widely integrated into the national education system because the official provisions were only published at the end of 1982. Until then, the authorities had recognized it only as a provisional programme (a 1972 circular provided for the introduction of the project under the '10 per cent' arrangement*) or on an experimental or restrictive basis (1977 ministerial note). This reserve on the part of the administration did not have exclusively negative results, since it gave a fillip to team research activities and strengthened the determination of those in charge of the project.

As a result, the project tended to concentrate basically on searching analysis of the subject over a relatively long period. Introduction to 'Audio-Visual Culture' became introduction to audio-visual 'communication', a change which clearly reflects the transition from mere 'teaching of a culture' to a broader conception in terms of 'communication'. In 1975, the objectives were redefined, a distinction being made between the audio-visual as a medium for reflection on communication, and objectives fixed in terms of the understanding and use of communication situations and processes of conveying meaning.¹ This realignment led to a new definition of the 'Introduction to Communication and the Media' project, formulated and adopted in 1982 at a national meeting.

The two projects whose background has just been described originated, at least partially, in social education movements, a fact which would seem to indicate that the official education system was unable to generate new enriching elements from within and did not grasp the importance of new developments in

* A provision under which 10 per cent of teaching time was to be devoted to activities organized by the school and dealing with branches of knowledge not covered by the subjects in the school curriculum.
communication. It should not be concluded from this, however, that systems are incapable of regenerating themselves from within. A possible assumption is that proposals for change have come from outside because the system contains no internal regulating factors. Moreover, the fact that this new series of issues has been taken into consideration, for instance in the 'Introduction to Communication and the Media' project, by decentralized research teams seems to indicate that under some institutional circumstances the education system may be perfectly capable of taking new facts and conditions into account; experience indicates, however, that it has considerable difficulty in incorporating them into general procedures.

Furthermore, the fact that the Minister of National Education assigned the question of the Introduction to Communication and the Media to research or experimentation centres gave further impetus to theoretical analysis and enhanced the relevance of the project to such an extent that the activities of the ICOM group are mentioned for reference purposes in projects as varied as 'Jeune Téléspectateur Actif' (Young Active Television Viewer), 'Socio-Cultural Education', etc.

Objectives

In regard to public agricultural education, it is considered that future farm managers, administrators, technicians and employees in the agricultural and para-agricultural sectors will be faced with situations and have to establish contacts in a specific social and cultural environment; they must therefore understand and cope with these situations involving communication in the best possible way. Accordingly, the general objectives of the ‘socio-cultural education’ project implicitly include work on communication and the media and are designed essentially to provide vocational training.

Of course, the general education provided by the Ministry of Education would not repudiate these objectives, but it does not include vocational activities in primary schools or lower-upper-level secondary schools (except, naturally, in the case of specifically vocational or technical upper-level secondary establishments). On the other hand, the structure of such education is based entirely on a frequently very watertight division into subjects; objectives may indeed have been slightly realigned in the light of developments in communication (for example, approaches to teaching the mother tongue) but media development has, in virtually every discipline, been regarded as a form of competition. Most teachers of these subjects accuse the media of wasting their students' time since they have less time left over for legitimate cultural pursuits.

One final remark: while the objectives of the socio-cultural education project were established as part of the official provisions drawn up in the ministry's services, those of the Introduction to Communication and the Media project were formulated by research teams and the official provisions served only to indicate approval of the project and to establish the institutional framework for its development. These differences are quite important when it comes to accounting for the degree of development of each of the two projects today.

The objectives assigned to socio-cultural education in agricultural training were set out in the 1970 circular:

Within the framework of the general objectives, the personnel responsible for socio-cultural education must, working as part of the educational team, and in the context of classroom work and voluntary activities (clubs, workshops and services of the cultural and sports association),

Teach students to express themselves, communicate and be creative in all non-verbal idioms (sound, plastic, visual, audio-visual, body and other languages), but without neglecting oral and written forms of expression; to discover, use and master techniques and methods of group leadership, social research (interviews, surveys, questionnaires, sound recording, filming, etc.), use of the results of training courses, tours, etc. (photo exhibitions, audio-visual montage, display panels, etc.).

Inform students about cultural developments and familiarize them with the principal mass media: press, radio, television, cinema, etc.
Help them to carry out a voluntary (individual or collective) cultural project, a creation in the classroom setting of the association or the environment, in line with their inclinations and skills.

Involving them in administrative and organizational activities within the cultural and sports association, help them to take an interest in and inform themselves about the political system and political events at national, regional, departmental and communal level.

Help them to take an interest and become involved in local social and cultural life, so that they gradually become agents of development in their own surroundings.

As far as the Introduction to Communication and the Media project is concerned, the reference documents (policy document drawn up in May 1982 by the project team) distinguish between general objectives geared to the cultural and environmental situation and operational objectives which relate to communication phenomena both outside the school and within the school itself.

According to those in charge of ICOM, education should cover all the media and all situations involving communications; it should, in short, provide students with a solid grasp of processes of conveying meanings and of communication. Moreover, it is clearly stated that this type of education should be extended to include all students, which is an extremely ambitious project, since almost 12 million students would be affected, compared with some 6,000 or 7,000 today.

'The primary objective is to create and develop the ability to deal responsibly and critically with the phenomena of communication, principally the media.'

The approach adopted takes into account the different communication situations experienced by the participants concerned, analyses them from all angles (networks, carriers, processes of conveying meaning, etc.) and reproduces them.

This same approach facilitates the gradual development of appropriate tools for a scientific approach and their utilization in studying different communication situations: audio-visual communication, verbal communication, communication using information technology, etc.

It may seem obvious that the Introduction to Communication and the Media project constitutes a cross-sectional learning process, the effects of which are felt no matter what the school or out-of-school communication situation may be. The aim is to develop human ability to communicate and not to provide a body of knowledge regarding communication.

Considering the problems of education, any approach which confines itself to an isolated phenomenon—television, the press, strip cartoons, etc.—must be found wanting. Likewise, any project that ignores teacher-pupil communication itself would be guilty of a kind of subterfuge—by glossing over the issue it would leave the basic educational pattern unchanged.

The second objective of the Introduction to Communication and the Media project is to make teacher-pupil communication a subject of study. The aim is to know how to act on the system of communication and the teaching methods derived from it, thus acquiring the means to correct educational processes. This is probably one of the most effective techniques in countering the phenomena of school failure and 'opting out' of the learning process.

This second objective of the Introduction to Communication and the Media project reinforces the first one; it also makes it possible to scale down the frequently decried inconsistencies between the approach to teaching communication and the approach to teaching other subjects.

In this context, ICOM provides the opportunity for a thorough re-examination of educational and social modes of communication and thus assumes a political dimension.

Its objectives are clearly designed to achieve something more than a harmonious relationship between the world of the media and the world of education and to do more even than prepare individuals to adopt a critical approach to the media. The ultimate aim is to equip people with the means to influence the system of communication both within and outside the school at the very centre of the social fabric.

Underlying this is the ideal of education for democracy (as opposed to democratic education)
cherished by the group in charge of the project and according to which the present system of communication—so-called 'revelation' as opposed to one which might be based on agreement—results in selection by failure in schools of children from socially deprived backgrounds and maintains the hierarchical structure and internal division of society through the influence of the education system and by its own impact.

This does not represent a basic difference from the objectives of socio-cultural education in agricultural training. In conversations with those responsible for that project, it emerges that they are entirely in agreement with this approach; however, theoretical research on communication in the ICOM group seems to have resulted in a clearer identification of the issues involved, better integration of these essential elements into the Introduction to the Media project and hence their more accurate formulation in social and political terms.

Methods

In a somewhat provocative document, one of the ICOM leaders asserts that 'the method is the content' and goes on to explain that 'teaching something to someone in a certain way is teaching him that way of learning'. If we take this aphorism literally, it follows that the substance of the two projects can best be grasped by examining the methods they use, which differ sharply. Socio-cultural education assumes many different forms, in spite of efforts to streamline the project, while ICOM is characterized by a desire for rigour and a fear of methodological deviation.

In terms of method, socio-cultural education is very similar to Freinet-type approaches to teaching: expressing opinions on the immediate environment; using social forms of expression. It also resembles the 'visual education' project conducted in Portugal (learning to see, to express oneself, to make proposals and to bring action to bear on the environment).

Appreciable differences are therefore found in socio-cultural education between what goes on in one establishment and what goes on in another. One may tend to concentrate on drama because of the personality of the group leader; others may give more attention to the audio-visual approach or social education. Introduction to communication, chiefly through audio-visual media, remains, however, in a secondary though prominent position.

Socio-cultural education in agricultural training does not follow a strict syllabus. It is the teachers who draw up graded work schedules in the light of factors such as the general aims of this particular education; the educational programme of the team of teachers; the kind of knowledge and skills imparted; the need for a human dimension to training no matter what a student's field of specialization; the level of students' attainment; their tastes, aspirations and needs; and the real-life situation constituted by the environment, the school and the association.

It is this very flexibility that leaves the teacher-organizer with considerable leeway for developing his activities and makes conditions so different from one establishment to another. This flexible approach is, however, subject to three constraints:

- Teacher-organizers must inform the teaching staff and pupils' parents, for instance in the establishment's advisory bodies, of the way in which the objectives of socio-cultural education are being given practical form in the classrooms, clubs and workshops of the association.

- Socio-cultural education staff must, just like other teaching staff, keep up-to-date records of the various activities carried out during a course.

- At the end of the school year, they must make a general assessment with a view to bringing socio-cultural education into line with the real conditions in which it takes place.

According to its designers, the methods used in the Introduction to Communication and the Media project reflect three lines of approach: (a) media education in terms of structures and operating network; (b) instruction in the practices of communication, preparation and ex-
change of messages; and (c) introduction to the 
problems of meaning: how does a message 
convey a meaning? (semiotics of messages, com-
munication situation, involvement of the sub-
ject, processes of meaning). It is interesting to 
ote that ICOM favours the third approach, 
viewing it as a pre-condition for real progress. 
In its view, the whole basis of educational 
action in this field is the ability of individuals to 
understand what messages are about and to 
analyse the processes used to convey meanings, 
for only then can new communication practices 
be developed and the networks through which 
the media operate realistically assessed. The 
approaches to be adopted in this project have 
been described in a number of texts which have 
been condensed in a publication regarded as the 
basic document for Introduction to Communi-
cation and the Media.4

The idea on which the ICOM method is 
essentially based is that individuals are pro-
ducers of meaning in given communication 
situations. Thus, every working session places 
students in a communication situation, in which 
each individual will seek to control to the 
greatest possible extent the processes of mean-
ging of which he is the author, the situations of 
communication he is actively experiencing and 
the processes of expression when he produces a 
message.

Work on meaning is usually carried out in 
three phases: 
Each student is asked to ‘verbalize’, i.e. to 
write down the meaning he attributes to a 
picture, a film, a page of cartoon strips, etc. 
These verbal descriptions are all brought 
together in a classroom situation and different 
interpretations are noted, without giving 
preference to any one of them. 
They are then compared and an attempt is made 
to analyse the processes of meaning which 
led such and such an individual to produce 
one meaning rather than another. 
According to those who run the ICOM 
project, the tools which individuals will use 
later on to understand and use processes of 
meaning are forged through this latter type of 
activity. The forms of message used range from 
television programmes to slides, posters, comic 
strips, ‘photo fiction’, etc. The situations also 
vary, e.g. reception, production or exchange of 
messages. In an exchange situation, there is a 
link-up with the second methodological level 
referred to above, the practices of communi-
cation. It is clearly important for this second 
level to remain closely associated with the first: 
new communication situations, more in line 
with the ideal of respect for human beings and 
responsibility of individuals in a context of 
exchange, can only be constructed on the basis 
of a critical understanding of the phenomena 
of meaning. From then on, familiarization with 
networks and the way they operate can have 
really crucial implications.

There are no notebooks and no marking 
system in ICOM courses. Strictly defined 
objectives and procedures are built into them, 
and this precision has had certain disadvantages 
in the past when the project was just getting 
off the ground. This is why a project such as 
‘Young Active Television Viewer’ (JTA)* was 
easily integrated into socio-cultural education 
as a new dimension of its method and objectives, 
but was frequently a source of conflict for the 
field teams of the Introduction to Communi-
cation and the Media project. Although this 
difficulty has been overcome (JTA’s contri-
butions now seem to have been fully assimili-
ated by ICOM), likewise those of ‘Pédagogie de 
I’Environnement’, the ‘Presse à l’École’ working 
groups, etc.), the fact remains that ICOM only 
welcomes new initiatives if they are in line with 
its theoretical and methodological stance. This 
is undoubtedly one of its major difficulties but 
at the same time one of its advantages when it 
comes to bringing about radical changes within 
the school.

The documents used in socio-cultural edu-
cation consist of a number of educational 
‘dossiers’ prepared by the Institut National de 
Recherches et d’Applications Pédagogiques 
(INRAP) in Dijon corresponding to the major

* See the article by Évelyne Pierre, ‘A French Experiment in Educating Young Television Viewers’, in Prospects, 
No. 46, 1983.—Ed.
Media education in France

Integration into the education system

Until recently, socio-cultural education and ICOM differed substantially as regards their place in the school timetable.

Socio-cultural education was treated as a discipline in the fullest sense of the term in all educational establishments (general and vocational upper-level secondary schools, vocational training and agricultural promotion centres) and was studied by some 30,000 students.

ICOM, on the other hand, was largely confined to lower-secondary schools (collèges), branching out to some extent into upper-secondary establishments (lycées) and primary schools. About 7,000 students were involved.

Moreover, this programme took place outside school hours, and teachers were paid on an overtime basis for their work. The number of teachers taking part in ICOM came to about 350 for all académies (educational administrative divisions) in France. There is therefore a marked quantitative difference between the two projects.

The status of the projects was, in fact, very dissimilar. One, socio-cultural education, was covered by official provisions of general scope, the other by temporary provisions designed to limit its scope and influence. The arrangement in the case of ICOM is that instruction is provided by teachers of various traditional subjects within the educational establishment, as a complementary activity. These teachers come under the authority of the Inspectorate-General responsible for their subject, which has long seen a danger in this dual set of duties, while recognizing the usefulness of the experience gained.

The possibility of conflict with the teaching of individual subjects prompted decision-makers to relegate ICOM to a closed experimental area. By contrast, socio-cultural education in agricultural training, which was established as a fully-fledged discipline, was assigned a special Inspectorate-General and immediately achieved normal status.

Matters have now changed considerably. Socio-cultural education has been integrated into the normal syllabus. It is a compulsory subject but with a certain amount of flexibility, as we noted above, for examination classes. Teachers of socio-cultural education have a timetable consisting of normal periods with class-groups, periods in which voluntary student activities are organized and periods for running and co-ordinating the cultural and sports association.

Periods with class-groups should not account for more than two-thirds of the total. Other members of the teaching staff may take socio-cultural education classes provided that the specialized staff ensures that teaching methods are closely co-ordinated. Moreover, in some cases freelance personnel may be called in, for
instance to organize certain voluntary socio-cultural activities.

As far as students are concerned, provision is made for two consecutive hours a week or two consecutive hours a fortnight, depending on their section or level.

Official provisions make it possible to regroup weekly classes in monthly or quarterly periods in the interests of more detailed and cohesive work.

There should not be more than twenty-five students in any one socio-cultural education class. When this number is exceeded, the class is split in two. Each establishment has a socio-cultural centre. In most cases, the premises are looked after by students, who are responsible for organization and maintenance with the assistance of the group leaders.

The ICOM project has passed through several different phases in the past fifteen years. At the outset, it was conducted in special socio-educational establishments and teachers were paid on the basis of hours of supervised activities; later on, it was treated as an overtime activity for teachers and supplemented the students' normal timetable; finally, since the beginning of the 1982–83 school year it has formed part of the regular timetable. As there has been no corresponding increase in hours, the time allotted to other subjects and devoted by each teacher to his basic subject has been reduced.

New official provisions dated 14 October 1982 indicate that it has been decided, as a general principle, to move on from the experimental stage to a 'phase of gradual development'. With this in view, it was decided to include ICOM both in students' timetables and within teachers' maximum hours of service. Furthermore, a team arrangement designed to facilitate extension of the project is to be introduced in each establishment under the guidance of a teacher who has already been trained. Provision is also made for spreading the introduction to communication and the media course to new establishments.

The practical teaching arrangement is as follows:

- The responsible teacher-organizer conducts an Introduction to Communication and the Media session for one hour a week with a particular class.
- The other teachers in the team, in turn, participate with the teacher-organizer in one of the instruction periods allotted to his own subject with the same class.

This means that the class period for Introduction to Communication and the Media shifts from one timetable to another among the various teachers in the team. The object of this arrangement is to integrate ICOM efficiently into the practices used in teaching the various subjects so as to have a beneficial influence on students' activities and progress.

Recent notes issued by the Ministry of National Education specify that the entire project is directed by the CNDP network.* Centres in départements and regions are responsible for the technical implementation of the project in those areas in conjunction with the corresponding administrative authorities; the CRDP in Bordeaux is responsible for the scientific and technical aspects of the project at the national level.

These two projects have certain implications for the training of teachers. In the case of socio-cultural education, teachers receive special training in an institute known as the INPSA (Institut National de Promotion Supérieure Agricole). Future teacher-organizers receive audio-visual training which consists, in the first year, of a five-week audio-visual course and a one-week photography course and, in the second year, of a two-week media course and a one-week audio-visual course.

The training focuses on utilization of the media, the production of media material and familiarization with communication systems. In addition, participants are trained in techniques of content analysis in order to put them into

---

* Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique, a public establishment under the authority of the Ministry of National Education, which is responsible for innovation, especially with respect to new educational techniques.
practice with students when using radio and television.

Teachers responsible for ICOM on the other hand, receive no specific initial training but have in-service training in the team attached to the establishment where they work and subsequently in the educational district; furthermore, they have the opportunity to attend in-service training courses organized in the general context of teacher-training facilities.

The approach to training ICOM teachers is perceptibly different from that used for teachers of socio-cultural education. It is considered essential that they should have a firm grasp of the techniques of media utilization but the major part of their training has to do with processes of communication (psychological, semiotic, sociological, relational and other aspects) and appropriate methods and procedures for helping students to reach a sound critical understanding of the phenomena of communication.

There is no specific lesson to be learnt from a comparison between socio-cultural education and ICOM, but a number of comments may be made.

The aim of helping students to establish themselves in their working life was instrumental in having socio-cultural education officially incorporated in agricultural training. Media education in this context is taken in a very wide sense as promoting awareness of communication and information and comes closer to non-formal education.

The more formal objectives of the national system of education tended to hamper for a time the development of educational processes in less established branches such as ICOM. On the other hand, they probably encouraged an in-depth theoretical approach to communication as an object of analysis and study.

The highly flexible and diversified teaching methods used in socio-cultural education made it possible to assimilate new material, such as the Young Active Television Viewer (JTA) experiment, whereas in the national education system ICOM and JTA have sometimes been regarded in terms of rivalry and competition, and these two projects have not yet been entirely integrated.

ICOM is run by a network of public establishments (Centres Départementaux and Centres Régionaux de Documentation Pédagogique); there is no inspectorate for ICOM classes but systematic permanent assistance is provided. The administration of socio-cultural education, on the other hand, is centralized and an Inspectorate-General is responsible for the sector.

Notes

3. 'L'éducation visuelle au Portugal', SELICAV, December 1977 (Papier Gris No. 27).
The life, work and thought of José Martí may be viewed from many different angles. Our intention here is to present a profile of him as an educator and to outline his main educational ideas. The greatness of his style is revealed in everything which he produced, from the versos sencillos ('simple verses') to the most impassioned of his revolutionary speeches, whereas his thoughts on education are scattered throughout his writings and emerge in the most unexpected places. However, their importance justifies examination, even though they are very often hidden away in his literary works or among his political ideas.

**The Teacher**

Marti was a professional teacher only by accident, but it should be noted that his personality was so structured that in him what was incidental gave rise to the expression of permanent truths.

Marti was influenced by great figures such as José de la Luz y Caballero, whom he did not know personally, and Rafael María Mendive, who sowed within him the seeds of a humanistic vocation which never ceased to grow and develop.

José de la Luz had been the teacher of the generation which preceded Martí's and, as Martí himself admitted, taught him the fundamental lesson that 'sitting down to produce books, which is not difficult, is impossible when one is consumed by worry and anxiety and there is no time for the most difficult task of all, which is to produce men' (I, 854). However, while de la Luz was a legendary figure, Mendive was for Martí an everyday example of a poet and teacher.

Marti received his early schooling in a small district school in Havana, but made such rapid progress that when he reached the age of 10 his parents decided to send him to a larger school where he could study English and accountancy. However, his family's means were so straitened that his father very soon decided that 'he already knew enough', and took him away to work in the fields. At this point one of his godparents insisted that he should be introduced to Mendive who, in 1865, had recently become principal of the Havana High School for Boys. In this school Mendive created such an atmosphere of poetry and learning that Martí felt that all his deepest longings in this respect were satisfied, while at the same time there was revealed to 'him his own creative activity which became conscious of itself as a result of such fruitful contacts'. In this atmosphere he not only responded with enthusiasm to the life of sentiment...
and spirit, but also acted on occasion as teacher, taking on responsibility for the school during the absences of the principal.

With the assistance he received from Mendive he was able to complete the first two years of the secondary-school course, taking his leaving certificate at a later date in Spain, together with his university course. In Madrid he began his studies of law, philosophy and literature, and, to eke out his financial resources, gained his first experience as a private tutor to two children when he was barely 18 years old.

From Madrid he went to Saragossa, where he obtained degrees in civil and canon law, philosophy and literature. From Saragossa he proceeded to Paris and then to England, before leaving for Mexico. It was in Mexico that he came into contact with the confrontation between romanticism and positivism; he attended the discussions held in 1875 in the Liceo Hidalgo, which provided a forum in which the ideas of the reformers Benito Juárez and Lerdo were aired. Martí took part in these discussions to outline some of the ideas which he was to develop more fully at a later date.

Martí was in Mexico until the end of 1876, when he moved to Guatemala, where he became teacher of literature and composition at the Central Teacher Training College, whose principal was his fellow-countryman Izaguirre. He also taught German, French, English and Italian literature at the university. Notwithstanding the success of this teaching experience, which was the most systematic he ever acquired, in December 1878 he returned to Havana, where he was granted temporary permission to teach at the Hernández y Plasencia College of primary and secondary education, while at the same time working part-time in a lawyer’s office. A year later his teaching permit was withdrawn and he was forced to take up a minor position in law. However, as an indefatigable conspirator on behalf of Cuban independence, he was imprisoned for a second time (the first occasion had been when he was hardly more than 16 years old). Subsequently he sailed again for Spain, and thereafter Paris and, in 1880, New York.

In 1881 he sought refuge in Venezuela where, soon after his arrival, the Colegio de Santo María employed him as a teacher of French language and literature. Guillermó Tell Villegas allowed him the use of classroom where he was surrounded by students who—in the words of Lisazo—felt themselves captivated by a kind of magic. However, this too was to come to an early end, since the President, Guzman Blanco, disapproved of this passionate Cuban who preached the doctrine of freedom so energetically.

Returning once more to New York, he began to work actively for his country’s independence, displaying incredible energy and fighting spirit, which went hand in hand with boundless compassion. The result was the publication of La edad del oro (The Golden Age), a monthly publication for the entertainment and instruction of the children of America, as it was described on the cover of the first issue, which appeared in July 1889. Martí’s language did not lose in beauty, nor did it fall into petulancy or sentimentality, when addressed to children. This is shown by charming biographical studies such as Tres héroes (San Martín, Bolívar and Hidalgo); poetical gems such as Dos milagros; stories, such as the story of the man recounted by the houses he has lived in; translations of stories, such as Menique or El camarón encantado; adaptations from The Iliad, and many other works.

What was Martí trying to achieve with La edad de oro? He stated his intention himself in indicating those for whom the publication was intended:

... so that American children may know how people used to live, and how they live nowadays, in America and in other countries; how many things are made, such as glass and iron, steam engines and suspension bridges and electric light; so that when a child sees a coloured stone he will know why the stone is coloured. . . . We shall tell them about everything which is done in factories, where things happen which are stranger and more interesting than the magic in fairy stories. These things are real magic, more marvellous than any. . . . We write for children because it is they who know how to love, because it is children who are the hope of the world. (II, 1207-8)

La edad de oro ceased publication in October 1889. However, Martí’s active feeling of compassion continued to find expression, and whereas previously children had been the object of his attention, it was now the turn of the poor. He became the driving force behind the New York La Liga de la Instrucción (The League for Education) for coloured workers, and he returned to teaching as a Spanish teacher at the Central High School.

It was in this way, while continuing his struggle for Cuban freedom, that his life was spent during the agitated period from 1890 to 1895. Finally, on 31 January 1895, he sailed from New York on a voyage from which he was never to return. Fighting for his country at the battle of Boca de Dos Rios, he was killed on 19 May 1895. His death seems almost to have been a voluntary and creative act, such as he had always wished: “as a good man, with my face to the sun”.

We have not attempted here to provide a full biography of the ‘Cuban apostle’, merely to indicate the periods during his life when he was able to work systematically as a schoolmaster and teacher. To sum up it is clear that he had no time for the sort of teaching which was enclosed in the four walls of a classroom. America was his real classroom, in which he was the supreme teacher as a liberator of peoples, although there always existed deep within him the other teacher who emerged only from time to time.
HIS EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

Two factors help to explain the scanty attention which has been paid to Marti's educational ideas. In the first place—a characteristic which he shares with almost all those who helped to build America—the thinker was overshadowed by the man of action, and it is hard when attempting to penetrate into the difficult terrain of purely intellectual matters not to be carried away by the charm of his humanity and poetry. The second factor is to be found in the interpretation of the term 'pedagogy', based on the relationship now being established between education and life. Seen from this approach, unknown to the educational theories of the past, Marti's personality and achievements form a whole, and everything he expressed in writing or in his political activity helps us to understand him as an educator and as an educational theorist.

In fact, he wrote comparatively little on pedagogy, though too much for it to be possible to give an exhaustive analysis in a brief survey such as this.

THE IDEA OF EDUCATION

Among the many definitions that Marti gave of education, we have chosen the following: 'Education ... is a way of equipping people to acquire a comfortable and honest livelihood in the world in which they live, without thereby thwarting the sensitive, lofty and spiritual aspirations which represent the best part of the individual human being' (II, 495). 'Education has an inescapable duty towards man ...: to adapt him to the age in which he lives, without turning him aside from the great and final objective of human life' (II, 497). 'To educate is to entrust man with the whole of human experience which has preceded him; it is to make each man a summary of the living world, ... to prepare him for life' (II, 507). 'To educate is to give man the keys to the world, which are independence and love, and to give him strength to journey on his own, light of step, a spontaneous and free being' (I, 1965).

In the four concepts quoted above we find two ideas which are central to Marti's concept of education: education is a preparation of man for life, not forgetting his spiritual side; and education is the adaptation of man to his times. This may be interpreted to mean that education represents for each individual the mastery of his autonomy and the development of his natural and spiritual self.

Marti clearly distinguishes education from instruction. The former is concerned with the feelings, while the latter is related to thought. However, he also recognizes that there can be no good education without instruction, since 'moral qualities increase in value when they are enhanced by intellectual qualities' (I, 853). It is this distinction which helps us to understand the importance of education as an attempt to 'entrust man with the whole of human achievement', and to 'make each man a summary of the living world up to his own time'. Education, in the sense of a summing-up, is impossible unless it is accompanied by instruction; but by adapting man to his times and providing him with the capacity for liberty and the life of the spirit, education fulfills no more than its basic task, namely the cultivation of all the human faculties as a whole.

In Marti's educational theory none of the ideas summarized above has had greater impact than the idea that education should adapt man to his times. His statement that 'the divorce which exists between the education given during a particular period and the period itself is simply criminal' (II, 507) in fact contains two meanings. One is direct and literal. Marti sees the period as the time in which it is given to us to live in common with all our contemporaries; this reveals the keen historical awareness which permeates all his pedagogical thought. Each period requires educational institutions and patterns which are suited to it, and this needs to be clearly stated with respect to higher education: 'For the New World we need a New University' (II, 507).

The second meaning conveyed is more figurative and indirect, though as real as the literal meaning; its purport is to project the time plane on to the historical one in such a way that they merge into each other. The period is not only a 'time' but also an 'environment'. In an article published in Patria (2 July 1883), Marti says:

The danger of educating children away from their homeland looms almost as large as the need for the children of ill-fated countries which are still struggling into existence to be educated abroad, where they may acquire the knowledge necessary for the full development of their emerging countries. ... The danger is great, because it is a mistake to grow orange trees and then transplant them to Norway, or to plant apple trees which are expected to bear fruit in Ecuador; a transplanted tree must be able to conserve its native sap so that when it returns to its native soil it may take root. (I, 863)

Referring to his reasons for publishing La edad de oro, he wrote to his Mexican correspondent, Manuel Mercado:

The magazine is concerned with serious ideas, and as I have taken this upon myself ... its aim must be to promote what I seek to promote, which is that our countries should be inhabited by people with original minds, brought up to be happy in the country in which they live and to live in harmony with it, not divorced from it like citizens in name only, or disdainful foreigners who regard their birth in this part of the world as a punishment. (II, 1201)

This is not a xenophobic attitude, since few people have believed as firmly as Marti in solidarity between peoples. Nor is it arbitrary, because the natural development of man is itself conditioned by the...
atmosphere existing in a particular society, for the reason that ‘the purpose of education is not to form an individual who is inexistenteither because he disdains or because he is unable to adapt to the country in which he has to live; it is to prepare him to live a good and useful life there’ (I, 864). This means forming people in accordance with the ideal which Martí proclaims for America: ‘people who are good, useful and free’ (I, 866).

For Martí this raises three questions. How can you form goodness, except through love? How can people be made free, if they are not allowed to live in freedom? How can they be made useful without a scientific knowledge of the forces of nature?

EDUCATION AS AN ACT OF CREATION

Martí’s view of education as an act of love is illustrated throughout his own life and in the ideas which he expressed on this subject. In his opinion, the act of education is a specific relationship between human beings nurtured by love. It was this belief which was behind his call for the establishment of a body of ‘missionary’ teachers who would be able to ‘launch a campaign of tenderness and knowledge’ (II, 515), a body of itinerant teachers, not pedantic schoolmasters, who would engage in dialogue.

Even more specifically, education is a constant act of creation, and for Martí the main creative agent is the teacher. He expressed this poetically when recalling his stay in Guatemala: ‘I had come some months before to a beautiful village; when I arrived I was poor, I knew no one and my spirits were low. Without affronting my self-respect or offending my pride, the sincere and generous people of that village gave shelter to me as a humble pilgrim: they made me their teacher, which was the same as making me a creator’ (II, 205).

EDUCATION AND THE CHILD’S DEVELOPMENT

While this was how Martí saw the act of education from the teacher’s viewpoint he also saw it as a relationship, whose opposite pole is the pupil. The four published issues of La edad de oro sufficiently indicate his thorough knowledge of the child’s mind, but in addition his writings contain a series of ideas on the development of the child and of education. He held that education should not disturb the child’s development, and schools should be ‘places for the cultivation of reason’ where, through judicious guidance, children gradually learn to form their own ideas.

The principle of individuality as a basic factor in education is precisely one of the key ideas in Martí’s educational thinking. In effect, he describes individuality as what European pedagogues at the beginning of the twentieth century were to call the ‘regulating element’ in education. He argued that ‘Education is the road, but the child’s character and individuality are the motive force’ (I, 1961). He thus came to formulate the general concept of self-education that ‘Education is the use of learning to guide one’s own powers’ (II, 737); and to view education in general—the reference to Rousseau is obvious—as ‘growth from within, which begins at birth and ends only with death’ (II, 1261).

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DIMENSION OF EDUCATION

José Martí also had a clear view of the social dimension of education as both a phenomenon and a process. This he expressed in his ideas on the sociology of education, which in themselves constitute principles for an educational policy.

‘Of all the problems which are nowadays considered to be of paramount importance, only one is in fact so. It is of such tremendous importance that all the time and energy in the world would hardly be enough to solve it, namely the ignorance of the classes which have justice on their side’ (I, 737). These words provide us with the key to his socio-political thinking on education. While he himself expressed his thoughts in terms of action, love and creativity, nowadays we prefer to express it in more specifically sociological, political and democratic terms.

With this in mind, Martí highlighted one of the ideas which characterized liberal democracy in Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century, that of ‘popular education’. Almost all his socio-pedagogical ideas take this kind of education as their starting-point for the progress of people; although it is defined in extremely wide terms: ‘Popular education does not mean only the education of the poorer classes; it means that all the classes of the nation, in other words the people, should be well educated’ (I, 853). In addition, such education is the only way of achieving democracy, since—to quote his own words—‘An ignorant man is on the way to becoming an animal, whereas an educated and responsible man is on the way to becoming God; and no one would hesitate between a people of gods and a people of animals’ (I, 854). Martí had boundless faith in education as the remedy for the ills of society, especially if its objective was to arouse people to an awareness of their solidarity (cf. II, 510).

Martí’s educational policy never became the vain dreams and ideals of a lifelong exile excluded from any part in the government of his country. In his conception of educational policy, he attached overriding importance to the principles of ‘national education’, ‘freedom of education’ and ‘compulsory education’; although he significantly reversed the order of the last two concepts, giving priority to compulsory education over freedom of education on the grounds
that he considered ‘the beneficial tyranny of the former to be worth more than the freedom of the latter’.

**SCIENCE EDUCATION**

In an educated society, which for Marti is the same as ‘a free people’, people are educated for freedom, in the same way as the good man is formed by love. However, in addition to goodness and freedom, he required men to be useful; and to train them to this end, he proposed science education as paving the way for the development of the intelligence, as an instrument for individual autonomy and the cornerstone of the progress of peoples.

Marti constantly emphasized the importance of science education, contrasting it with, or distinguishing it from, education which he called ‘classical’, ‘literary’, ‘formal’ or ‘ornamental’. In this approach he revealed the influence of Herbert Spencer, although in Marti’s case it was broadened by a poetic love of nature. His naturalism was spiritualized, not biological or materialist; it was closer to Rousseau than to Spencer.

Be that as it may, in his view education was not merely formal or rhetorical, but was based on the study of nature. This promoted social progress, because ‘to study the forces of nature and learn to control them is the most direct way of solving social problems’ (I, 1076). Science was the only path leading to nature, and it was essential to introduce science education ‘wherever new men are to emerge’ (I, 1829).

Marti contrasts ‘scientific humanism’ with ‘classical humanism’, arguing that education based on the latter is out of date and only offers ‘ornament and elegance’ (cf. II, 495–6). Commenting on the meeting of the principals of the Massachusetts schools in 1883 he noted that

Traditional education, based on Greek poems and Latin books, or on the histories of Livy or Suetonius, is now taking its last stand against a rising new type of education. This is now establishing itself as the legitimate expression of the impatience of men at last set free to learn and to act, who need to know about the creation and movement and progress of the earth which is theirs to cultivate, making it yield by their labours the means of universal well-being and of their own sustenance. (II, 496)

To refute the argument in defence of the study of dead languages as providing mental exercise, he asks whether contemplation of ‘the admirable and harmonious order of nature would not be more beneficial to the mind than that of the inversion of the normal order of words in a Latin sentence or the comparative study of Greek dialects’ (II, 496).

The strange thing is that in fact Marti did not regard the study of Greek or Latin as useless; of those who argued that they were totally useless, he said that ‘they have savoured the delights of neither Greek nor Latin; neither the books of Homer which seem like the first forests on earth, with their huge trunks, nor the fragrance and delicacy of the epistles by the friend of Maecenas’ (II, 496). He nevertheless adduced powerful arguments against classical education. The first was that he wished America to have not merely rhetoricians and aesthetes, but men capable of making the earth yield happiness for its peoples. The second was clearly of a political nature: he considered that these languages helped to form a caste system, and that to continue to teach them alone would be to encourage those who still maintained ‘the need to construct a barrier of an exclusive highly educated class against the universal assault of new and vigorous currents of social thought which are carrying all before them’ (II, 593).

This profound belief in science education explains why Marti constantly demanded a radical reform of contemporary education. It also explains his enthusiasm when he visited an engineering school in Saint Louis in the United States, and when he wrote down the syllabus of the school of electrical engineering; and when he learnt that Nicaragua, in celebration of an anniversary, was opening an Arts and Vocational Training School on the lines of those already existing in Guatemala, Honduras and Uruguay, and about to be opened in Chile and El Salvador (II, 507–10). It also explains the reforming zeal which he showed in his unflagging support for the establishment of agricultural schools (II, 501) actually in the countryside; his insistence that each school should have a workshop adjoining it; his belief in the educational value of manual work (I, 1969 and II, 510); his reference to the importance of physical education (II, 537); his aim of raising women up to be a spiritualizing force in society by means of education (II, 500–1); his keen interest in the methods used in a Mexican school for the deaf and dumb (II, 814); his brief comparison of the old system of education with the new system he dreamt of: ‘At school we were beaten into learning by heart; but where we learned most was on the journey there through the snow’ (II, 97).

The question arises as to whether Marti’s pedagogy was strictly science-based. As regards the origin of his interest in science, we have already said that the importance he attributed to science education arose solely from his desire to make Americans useful and independent. However, the influence of Spencer is undeniable: Marti knew his work, and even left us an outline of his thought (I, 952), ascribing to him a major role in the intellectual liberation of America (II, 101). Nevertheless he did not accept his system as dogma, and rejected positivism on the grounds that it was ‘an immoral negation of being as something improveable and permanent’ (II, 1777). Marti’s positivism was in any case one which had been filtered through his own creative personality.

Mention has also been made of Marti’s pragmatism,
based on John Dewey's ideas. Saul Flores, who is one of the proponents of this theory, claims that there is no other way of explaining Marti's call for the replacement of 'role learning in school' by 'practical learning'. However, in Marti's work there is no mention either of Dewey or of his predecessors Pierce and William James. In addition, although Dewey's ideas has already begun to circulate during the period when Marti was in New York (with interruptions, from 1880 to 1895), Marti's first important books (My Pedagogic Creed and The School and Society) appeared only in 1897 and 1900.

More to the point is the opinion of Diaz Ortega, who maintains that the United States and Europe provided Marti with the foundations of an educational culture which he was able to use to criticize and compare the educational policy of Latin America; while it was Latin America which gave him the setting in which he could see and experience the basic educational problems facing its peoples. In addition, although there are similarities between Marti and Dewey, it is not going too far to assert that Marti's pedagogical ideas are imbued with a guiding principle reflecting what might be called 'spiritual activism'. Santovenia said that Marti is, above all, 'the man who seeks harmony', and his ability to find harmony and take an overall view is also apparent in his pedagogical approach: starting with what is useful in American terms, it continues via the ideas of nature and freedom until it comes full circle to all that is spiritual in man.

Marti's educational thought encompassed the most advanced ideas of his time. Yet in the context of Latin American history his thought anticipates the future, since it contains such modern principles as the use of national education as an instrument for achieving the autonomy of peoples; science education and the critical outlook; the relationship between education and work; and the principle of active pupil participation as the basis of learning. Like other great Latin American educators of the period, with a host of great writers and political leaders, Marti was a pioneer in education, blazing a trail along which we still have a considerable distance to travel.

Ricardo Nassif (Unesco)

Notes

1. In order to avoid making the notes too long, I have added after each quotation from Marti's works, in parentheses, the volume and page number (e.g. I, 807) of his Obras completas (Havana, Edición del Centenario, Editorial Lex, 1953, 2 vols.).
BOOK REVIEWS

Essays on youth in the Federal Republic of Germany

Jugend '81: Lebensentwürfe, Alltagskulturen, Zukunftsbilder
[Youth in 1981: Plans, Culture and Future Prospects]
Hamburg, Shell Germany, 1981, 3 vols.

Jugendprotest im demokratischen Staat
[Youth Protest in a Democratic State]
M. Wissmann and R. Hauck
Stuttgart, 1982
(Enquiry Commission of the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany)

Die verunsicherte Generation: Jugend und Wertewandel
[The Generation of Doubt: Youth and the Change in Values]
SINUS INSTITUTE
Leske & Budrich, 1983
(Report prepared for the Federal Ministry of Youth, the Family and Health)

If 1981 was not the year of youth in the Federal Republic of Germany, it certainly was the year of youth studies. All three publications represent rather big studies: the 'Shell' study is a major survey, the Bundestag committee submitted a major report itself and also commissioned a large qualitative study from the Prognos Institute of Basel, and the SINUS study, a very wide survey supplemented by qualitative material, was commissioned by the Federal Ministry of the Youth, Family and Health.

Why was there such a sudden growth in youth studies at that point in time? It seems that in early 1981 the political and media élites in the Federal Republic began to perceive a youth problem. A great deal of public attention was given to the house squatters in Berlin and elsewhere. There was a good political reason for this: the youth vote seemed to be crucial for the upcoming elections in Berlin and elsewhere. Of course, the youth problem, if there was one, did not begin in 1981.

Whereas the student rebellion of 1968 was definitely the work of a minority, in the following years there was a good deal of diffusion of the spirit of this rebellion. Age became a new political cleavage line, and was established as such when in 1978 a new party, the Greens, appeared on the scene. While ecological in its programmes, it drew its support predominantly from young voters. Thus, politicians slowly began to take notice, as youth became important for the issue of power. When these factors merged with the news about the apparent youth rebellion in Zurich, the last of all places one would expect such a thing to happen, the new youth problem became a fact. The studies followed.

This is not quite true for the Shell study. Since the early 1950s, the branch of the oil multinational in the Federal Republic has commissioned studies of youth as a public service. This one received more attention than any of its predecessors, however, as it certainly appeared timely and seemed to catch the spirit of the period rather well.

The study focuses on the new youth culture, bypassing traditional issues such as socialization in favour of extensive research into the symbols of the youth cultures, plans for the personal and collective future and the like. The study has mainly two components: qualitative interviews with a small number of teenagers and a national standardized survey with a quota sample of over 1,000 youth, this being defined by the age limits 15 and 24. This is supplemented by a literature review and a history of the study. The report of the study originally consisted of three volumes, which were available on a complimentary basis from Shell. There was such a demand for this publication that after several reprints the study was given to a normal publishing house, which combined the first two volumes into one. The third volume is not available through bookstores, though one can obtain copies from Shell. This is a pity, since this third volume contains the more technical information about the study (questionnaire, basic frequency distributions, etc.), without which the results of the study cannot be evaluated.

In order to appreciate this study, one has to know a little about the Shell youth study of 1979. It had been conducted by a commercial polling agency specializing in market research among youth. One of its main concerns was youth attitudes towards capitalism, the market economy, etc. It concluded that young people in the Federal Republic were rather well integrated in the society in which they lived, and that most of them approved of capitalism, though they might be somewhat fearful of expressing their political views. These conclusions were greeted by some with satisfaction, while others voiced strong criticism of the whole study, the main objection being that the survey appeared not to tackle the real concerns of young people. The Shell management apparently listened more to the critics, and commissioned the next study in 1981 not from the same group of youth pollsters, but from a different agency, Psydata of Frankfurt, together with a consulting group of academics from several universities and research institutes.

We find out a great deal about the history of the study, a lot of superfluous information about the
mass-circulated publications with multimillion audi-
ences that are reported with amazing candour. An example of this candour is the discussion of the extreme distortion of the quantitative pre-test. Readership figures for various magazines are presented that show that this ‘sample’ was well outside any reasonable range of sampling error. Obscure local counter-culture magazines had more readers than mass-circulated publications with multimillion audiences, according to the pre-test. We learn of the groups concern and hope to avoid this bias for the main study, though there is no data available in the published study to check this bias. The highly informative readership questions were simply not collected. The study has, however, not been subjected to closer methodological scrutiny to date.

The study does have a number of unusual strong points. It is highly ambitious and attempts to blend theoretical concerns, issues in the sociology of youth, diverse methodological orientations and a progressive outlook in order to produce a new picture of youth in the Federal Republic. Looking at the attempt is extremely worthwhile, in particular since the whole study was subjected to the normal time pressure for commercial research—unthinkable for academic studies—but with the theoretical ambitions of academic studies. This is particularly true for the qualitative part that uses unstructured interviews, documents and whatever was available to give access to the life of a handful of young people from the Frankfurt area who were willing to be transformed into data in this manner. This is no small accomplishment as it is standard practice for quite a few qualitative researchers in Germany to blow their horn in methodological controversies without ever delivering on their promises. The Psydata group delivered. The results indicate that certain promises had better be withdrawn—like the claim of authenticity.

The quantitative part suffers from two shortcomings. One is the almost complete absence of a meaningful analysis of the data. Psydata presents marginals for all questions and some basic breaks. But some results make no sense at all without careful analysis. For instance, one of the real innovations is the use of symbols to assess opinions and group learnings. The study did ask the respondents what they thought the symbols meant and what their attitude towards the symbol was—but their analysis does not combine these two variables! Thus, a good deal of nonsensical numbers are presented. The second shortcoming is the probability that the sample of the main study is almost as distorted as the pre-test. Party preferences, which can be checked against actual voting statistics of this age group, deviate so far from the known reality that the results in related areas appear suspect as well.

The report from the Bundestag committee is something rather different. It combines a careful compilation of almost all known data and studies on youth, presents its own qualitative study conducted by Prognos of Basel (a few group discussions with groups of different leanings) and a history of its own proceedings. The committee was all-partisan (the Greens were not in Parliament yet) and mostly unanimous. Being made up of junior politicians, backbenchers and outside ‘experts’ on youth, the committee’s recommendations are quite moderate, frequently rather general, but attempt to be attentive to the needs of young people as they perceive them. While the committee began with the shared conception that youth protest meant house squatting in some combination with concern for the purpose of life in modern Germany, it later turned its attention to bread-and-butter issues such as youth unemployment. The problem with the report is not that it covers too little, but the contrary: it does spread the intellectual resources of members and staff too thinly by attempting to deal with almost everything—just because youth problems are related to almost anything, according to the committee and the expert witnesses in its hearings.

The SINUS study is different again. It was commissioned by the then Social Democratic Minister of Youth, the Family and Health, but before the results could be delivered the government was replaced by a coalition of Christian and Free Democrats. In 1983, the now Christian Democratic minister decided that the study should be published. It would have been a pity this has not been so, for it is the soundest empirical study of German youth in the last decade. It is based on a national random sample of considerable size (about 2,000), methodologically sound and useful in correcting some stereotypes about youth. It includes a more qualitative study of young people without jobs. This is not only new in this form, but it deals with a problem of enormous importance. The Federal Republic of Germany has a curious demographic structure. Cohorts now entering the labour market are large by any standard—the result of the ‘baby boom’ of the 1960s and this at a time when economic growth is slow at best. Thus their occupational and educational prospects seem grim. It appears certain that youth unemployment will be a persistent problem in this decade at least. From the SINUS study, we learn about the psychological consequences of this condition.

SINUS attempted to replicate some of the questions asked in the Psydata–Shell study, and some results are spectacular. For instance, according to Shell, 47 per cent of youth interviewed support squatters. The identical question asked by SINUS shows that 14 per cent support squatting. A difference of this magnitude cannot be explained away by the passage of time.
between the two studies, as SINUS suggests in an apparent attempt to back off from public controversy. The most likely explanation of the discrepancy is that the Shell sample is hopelessly distorted due to the quota sampling in connection with the composition of Psydata's field staff. The SINUS study is a welcome addition to the empirical studies of German youth, as it is informative and sound.

The three studies, taken as a whole, contain much information—not only about youth in the Federal Republic of Germany, but also at the same time about the political structures attempting to deal with 'youth problems'.

Klaus R. Allerbeck
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität
Frankfurt am Main
(Federal Republic of Germany)

A Critical Analysis of School Science Teaching in Arab Countries
J. E. Arrayed
Beirut, Longman, Librairie du Liban, 1980

This is an interesting and useful review of the status of science teaching in the Arab region. As the research work on which it was based was conducted in the mid-1970s and the field with which it deals is a rapidly developing one, some of its findings are already out of date. However, it provides a substantial factual basis of comparison for future studies and activities in this field.

In approaching his subject, the author, Rector of the University College of Arts, Science and Education, Bahrain, and former Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education, posed a number of inter-related questions which can be categorized as follows: What, at the time of conducting the survey, was the nature and content of Arab school science teaching and how far had it developed in the course of the preceding decade? What was the nature of the changes in the content and approaches in school science in various parts of the Arab world, and to what extent were they in line with current thinking elsewhere?

How far had the inter-Arab conferences and seminars held during the late 1960s and early 1970s, particularly under the auspices of ALECSO and Unesco, contributed to science teaching development in Arab countries? What were the possibilities for the future development of Arab school science at regional level as reflected by the then current inter-Arab efforts and plans?

How effective had the strategies for curriculum change in school science been at local and regional levels? Should the Arab States have developed curricula through some kind of regional or sub-regional action; or should science teaching in each country be developed through experimentation with material designed in accordance with selected goals set to suit the country's particular needs?

What are the possibilities for the future development of Arab school science as exemplified by a selected country, and which strategy and lines of action can this country follow in order to ensure that its science education meets the needs of the people?

To contribute to an understanding of these problems, questions and issues, the author has presented his study in three parts. The first consists of a review of the status of science education in the Arab region. It includes the nature and aims of science teaching in countries of the region and the purposes and nature of the supporting practical work. In the course of this review the author makes a comparison of this status with the situation ten years earlier. The second part consists of a review of the various inter-Arab efforts to develop science education and their results in particular Arab countries. The book concludes with a case-study of science education in a selected country, Bahrain, and includes suggestions concerning strategies and lines of action for the future development of science education in that country.

In his methodology, the author makes extensive use of questionnaires. He also undertakes a thorough analysis of science syllabuses, textbooks and examination papers. Although he cannot be expected to answer all the questions which he poses, he comes to some interesting conclusions. He has produced a thorough, well-documented study which is of significance for all concerned with science education in the Arab region.

Sheila M. Haggis
(Unesco)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Distributor Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALBANIA</td>
<td>N. Sh. Botimeve Naim Frasheri, Tirana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALGERIA</td>
<td>Institut pédagogique national (IPN), 11 rue Ali Haddad, Alger; Office des Publications universitaires (OPU), place centrale Ben Aknoun, Alger; ENAL, 3 Bd Zirout Youcef, Alger. Periodicals only: ENAMEP, 20 rue de la Liberté, Alger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGOLA</td>
<td>Distribuidora Livros e Publicacoes, Caixa Postal 2848, Luanda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>Publications: Educational Supplies Pty. Ltd., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, N.S.W. Periodicals: Dominic Pty., Subscriptions Dept., P.O. Box 33, Brookvale 2100, N.S.W. Sub-agents: United Nations Association of Australia, P.O. Box 175, 5th Floor, Ana House, 28 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne 3000; Hunter Publications, 58A Gipps Street, Collingwood, Victoria 3066.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAHAMAS</td>
<td>Nassau Stationers Ltd., P.O. Box N-3138, Nassau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANGLADESH</td>
<td>Bangladesh Books International Ltd., Itefaq Building, 1 R.K. Mission Road, Hathkola, Dacca 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARBADOS</td>
<td>University of the West Indies Bookshop, Cave Hill Campus, P.O. Box 64, Bridgetown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOLIVIA</td>
<td>Los Amigos del Libro, casilla postal 4415, La Paz; Avenida de las Heroinas 3712, Casilla 450, Cochabamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOTSWANA</td>
<td>Botswana Book Centre, P.O. Box 91, Gaborone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRAZIL</td>
<td>Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Serviço de Publicações, caixa postal 9.052-ZC-02 Praia de Botafogo 188, Río de Janeiro (GB).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BULGARIA</td>
<td>Hemus, Kantora Literatura, boulevard Rousky, 6 Sofija.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURMA</td>
<td>Trade Corporation no. (9), 550-552 Merchant Street, Rangoon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
<td>Renouf Publishing Company Ltd., 2182 St. Catherine Street West, Montreal, Que., H3H 1M7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAD</td>
<td>Librairie Assounout, 24 av. Charles de Gaulle, B.P. 388, N'Djamena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILE</td>
<td>Bibliocentro Ltda., Constitución n.º 7, Casilla 13731, Santiago (21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHINA</td>
<td>China National Publications Import and Export Corporation, P.O. Box 88, Beijing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOMBIA</td>
<td>Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, Carrera 3A N.º 18-24, Bogotá; El Ancora Editores, Carrera 6A n.º 54-58 (101), Apartado 035832, Bogotá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMOROS</td>
<td>Librairie Masiwa, 4, rue Admed-Djoumi, B.P. 124, Moroni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONGO</td>
<td>Commission Nationale Congolaise pour l'Unesco, B.P. 493, Brazzaville; Librairie Populaire, B.P. 577, Brazzaville (branches in Pointe Noire, Loubomo, Nkayi, Makabana, Owendo, Ouesso and Impfondo).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSTA RICA</td>
<td>Librería Trejos S.A., apartado 1313, San José; Librería Cultural 'García Monge', Ministerio de la Cultura, Costado Sur del Teatro Nacional, Apartado 10.227, San José.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUBA</td>
<td>Ediciones Cabanos, O'Reilly No. 407, La Habana. For 'The Courier' only: Empresa Coprefil, Dragones No 456 e/Lealtad y Campanario, Habana 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYPRUS</td>
<td>'MAM', Archbishop Makarios 3rd Avenue, P.O. Box 1722, Nicosia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENMARK</td>
<td>Munksgaard Export and Subscription Service, 35 Nørre Søgade, DK 1370, København K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECUADOR</td>
<td>Periodicals only: Dinacur Cia. Ltda, Santa Prisca n.º 296 y Pasaje San Luis, Oficina 101-102, Casilla 112-B, Quito. All publications: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, Núcleo del Guayas, Pedro Moncayo y 9 de Octubre, casilla de correos, 3542, Guayaquil; Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, av. 6 de Diciembre n.º 794, casilla 74, Quito; Nueva Imagen, 12 de Octubre 959 y Roca, Edificio Mariano de Jesús, Quito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>Unesco Publications Centre, T Talaat Harb Street, Cairo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETHIOPIA</td>
<td>Ethiopian National Agency for Unesco, P.O. Box 2996, Addis Ababa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINLAND</td>
<td>Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 1, SF-00100 Helsinki 10; Suomalainen Kirjakauppa Oy, Koivuvaaran­kuja 2, 01640 Vantaa 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH WEST INDIES</td>
<td>Librairie 'Au Boul' Mich', 66, avenue des Caraïbes, 97200 Fort-de-France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GABON</td>
<td>Librairie Solalivre (Libreville, Port Gentil and Franceville); Librairie Hachette, B.P. 3923, Libreville.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC</td>
<td>Buchhaus Leipzig, Postfach 140, 701 Leipzig or international bookshops in the German Democratic Republic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC</td>
<td>S. Karger GmbH, Karger Buchhandlung, Angerhofstrasse 9, Postfach 2, D-80344 Germering/München. For scientific maps only: Geo Center, Postfach 800830,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GHANA: Presbyterian Bookshop Depot Ltd., P.O. Box 195, ACCRA; Ghana Book Suppliers Ltd., P.O. Box 7869, ACCRA; The University Bookshop of Ghana, ACCRA; The University Bookshop of Cape Coast; The University Bookshop of Legon, P.O. Box 1, LEGON.

GREECE: International bookshops (Eleftheroudakis, Kaufmann, etc.); John Mihalopoulos & Son S.A., International Booksellers, 75 Hermou Street, P.O.B. 73, THESSALONIKI.

GUATEMALA: Comisión Guatemalteca de Cooperación con la Unesco, 3.ª Avenida 13-30, Zona 1, apartado postal 244, GUATEMALA.

HAITI: Librairie 'A la Caravelle', 26, rue Roux, B.P. 111-B, PORT-AU-PRINCE.

HONDURAS: Librería Navarro, 2.ª Avenida N.º 201, Comayaguela, TEGUCIGALPA.

HUNGARY: Akadémiai Könyvesbolt, Váci u. 22, BUDAPEST V; A.k.V. Konyvtárosok Boltja, Népköztársaság utja 16, BUDAPEST VI.

ICELAND: Snaebjörn Jonsson & Co., H.F., Hafnarstraeti 9, REYKJAVIK.

INDIA: Orient Longman Ltd., Kamani Marg, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY 400 038; 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA 13; 36a Anna Salai, Mount Road, MADRAS 2; 80/1 Mahatma Gandhi Road, BANGALORE 560001; 5-9-41/1 Bashir Bagh, HYDERABAD 500001 (AP); 3-5-820 Hyderguda, HYDERABAD 500001. Sub-depots: Oxford Book & Stationery Co., 17 Park Street, CALCUTTA 700016; Scindia House, NEW DELHI 110001; Publications Section, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 511, C-Wing, Shastri Bhavan, NEW DELHI 110001.

IRELAND: The Educational Company of Ireland Ltd., 28-1 Water Lane, KINGSTON; University of the West Indies Bookshop, Mona, KINGSTON.

ISRAEL: A.B.C. Bookstore Ltd., P.O. Box 1283, 71 Allenby Road, Tel Aviv 61100.

ITALY: Licosa (Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni S.p.A.), via Lamarmona 45, casella postale 552, 50121 FIRENZE; FAO Bookshop, Via delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 ROME.

IVORY COAST: Librairie des Presses de l'Unesco, C.N. Ivoirienne pour l'Unesco, 3800 STUTTGART 80. For ‘The Courier': Mr Herbert Baum, Deutscher Unesco Kurier Vertrieb, Besalstrasse 57, 5300 BONN 3.

JAMAICA: Sangster's Book Stores Ltd., P.O. Box 366, 101 Water Lane, Kingston; University of the West Indies Bookshop, Mona, Kingston.

JORDAN: Distribution Agency, P.O. Box 375, AMMAN.

KENYA: East African Publishing House, P.O. Box 30571, NAIROBI.

KUWAIT: The Kuwait Bookshop Co. Ltd., P.O. Box 2942, KUWAIT.

LEBANON: Librairies Antoine, A. Naufal et Frères, B.P. 656, BEYROUTH.

LESOTHO: Librairies Antoine, A. Naufal et Frères, B.P. 656, BEYROUTH.

LIBERIA: Cole & Yancy Bookshops Ltd., P.O. Box 286, MONROVIA.

LIBERIA: Cole & Yancy Bookshops Ltd., P.O. Box 286, MONROVIA.

LIECHTENSTEIN: Eurocan Trust Reg., P.O.B. 5, FL-9494 SCHAAN.

LUXEMBOURG: Librairie Paul Bruck, 22, Grande-Rue, LUXEMBOURG.

MADAGASCAR: Commission nationale de la République Démocratique de Madagascar pour l'Unesco, Bole poste 331, ANTANANARIVO.


MALI: Librairie populaire du Mali, B.P. 28, BAMAKO.

MALTA: Sapienzas, 26 Republic Street, VALLETTA.

MAURITIUS: Nalanda Co. Ltd., 30 Bourbon Street, PORT-Louis.

MEXICO: SABSA, Insurgentes Sur n.º 1032-401, MEXICO 12, DF; Librería El Correo de la Unesco, Actipán 66, Colonia del Valle, MEXICO 12, DF.

MONACO: British Library, 30, boulevard des Moulins, MONTE-CARLO.


NETHERLANDS: Publications: Keesing Boeken B.V., Postbus 1533, TEHRAN.

PERIODICALS: Dutch & Faxon B.V., Postbus 1118, 1000 BC AMSTERDAM. Periodicals: D & N-Faxon B.V., Postbus 197, 1000 AD AMSTERDAM.
UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON: Le Secrétaire général de la Commission nationale de la République-Unie du Cameroun pour l'Unesco, B.P. 1600, Yaoundé; Librairie des Éditions Clé, B.P. 1501, Yaoundé; Librairie St Paul, B.P. 763, Yaoundé; Librairie aux Messageries, avenue de la Liberté, B.P. 5921, Douala; Librairie aux Frères réunis, B.P. 5346, Douala.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA: Dar es Salaam Bookshop, P.O. Box 9030, DAR ES SALAAM.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: UNIPUB, 205 East 42nd Street, NEW YORK, NY 10017. Orders for books and periodicals: UNIPUB, Box 433, Murray Hill Station, NEW YORK, NY 10157.

UPPER VOLTA: Librairie Attie, B.P. 64, OUAGADOUGOU; Librairie Catholique 'Jeunesse d'Afrique', OUAGADOUGOU.

URUGUAY: Edilyr Uruguaya, S.A., Maldonado 1092, MONTEVIDEO.

VENEZUELA: Librería del Este, Av. Francisco de Miranda, 52, Edificio Galipán, Apartado 60337, CARACAS; DILAE C.A. (Distribuidora Latinoamericana de Ediciones C.A.), Calle San Antonio entre Av. Lincoln y Av. Casanova, Edificio Hotel Royal—Local 2, Apartado 50.304, Sabana Grande, CARACAS.

YUGOSLAVIA: Jugoslovanska Knjiga, Trg Republike 5/8, P.O. Box 36, 11-001 BEograd; Drzavna Založba Slovenije, Titova C.25, P.O.B. 50-1, 61-000 Ljubljana.

ZAMBIA: National Educational Distribution Co. of Zambia Ltd., P.O. Box 2664, LUSAKA.

ZAIRE: Librairie du CIDEP, B.P. 2307, KINSHASA; Commission nationale zaïroise pour l'Unesco, Commissariat d'État chargé de l'Éducation nationale, B.P. 32, KINSHASA.

ZIMBABWE: Textbook Sales (PVT) Ltd., 67 Union Avenue, HARARE.

UNESCO BOOK COUPONS

Unesco Book Coupons can be used to purchase all books and periodicals of an educational, scientific or cultural character. For full information please write to: Unesco Coupon Office, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris (France). [39]
To place your subscription

To place your subscription to Prospects' English, French or Spanish editions, send in the order form below. Post it, with cheque or money order in your national currency, to your national distributor, who is listed at the end of this magazine. (For subscription price in your currency, consult your national distributor.)

To my National Distributor (or Unesco, PUB/C, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France).

Please enter my new subscription (4 numbers per year) to Prospects, Quarterly Review of Education.

☐ Arabic edition  ☐ Spanish edition
☐ English edition
☐ French edition  ☐ 1 year: 68 F

The sum of ______________ is enclosed in payment.

(For price in your national currency, consult your National Distributor.)

Name __________________________________________
Address _________________________________________

(Please type or print clearly)

Signature

To my National Distributor (or Unesco, PUB/C, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France).

Please enter my new subscription (4 numbers per year) to Prospects, Quarterly Review of Education.

☐ Arabic edition  ☐ Spanish edition
☐ English edition
☐ French edition  ☐ 1 year: 68 F

The sum of ______________ is enclosed in payment.

(For price in your national currency, consult your National Distributor.)

Name __________________________________________
Address _________________________________________

(Please type or print clearly)

Signature
### Contents of preceding issues

**Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1983**

**Landmarks**

**VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES**

- Mikhaïl I. Kondakov Research, theory and practice in the USSR
- Keith Lewin, Angela Little and Christopher Colclough Effects of education on development objectives (I)

**OPEN FILE**

**TEXTBOOKS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

- Philip G. Altbach Key issues of textbook provision in the Third World
- Douglas Pearce Textbook production in developing countries
- S. Gopinathan The role of textbooks in Asian education
- Pacífiço N. Apríeto The Philippine Textbook Project
- K. C. Yadunandan Nepal: for better planning of textbook production

**TRENDS AND CASES**

- Chuka Eze Okonkwo Bilingualism in education: the Nigerian experience re-examined

**Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1983**

**Landmarks**

**VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES**

- János Timár The new crisis in education seen in the developing countries
- Keith Lewin, Angela Little and Christopher Colclough Effects of education on development objectives (II)

**OPEN FILE**

**AID STRATEGIES AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

- Paul Hurst Key issues in the external financing of education
- Hyung-Ki Kim Lenders, borrowers and educational development
- Hans Reiff International co-operation in education with the least developed countries
- Ananda W. P. Guruge Unesco-UNICEF co-operation for educational development
- Akhilu Habte and Stephen Heyneman Education for national development: World Bank activities
- Daniel N. Sifuna Kenya: twenty years of multilateral aid

**PROSPECTS**

**Alexander H. ter Weele** China/World Bank: university development

**Robert G. Myers** External financing of foreign study: the Ford Foundation in Peru

**TRENDS AND CASES**

- Andrew A. Moemeka Radio's role in non-formal education
- Antonina Khripkova Extended-day schools

**Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1984**

**Landmarks**

**VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES**

- Czeslaw Kupierswicka School and the mass media
- Mary Alice White The electronic learning revolution: questions we should be asking

**OPEN FILE**

**MOTHER TONGUE AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**

- William Francis Mackey Mother-tongue education: problems and prospects
- Joshua A. Fishman Minority mother tongues in education
- György Szepe Mother tongue, language policy and education
- Chadly Fitouri Biculturalism, bilingualism and scholastic achievement in Tunisia
- Ayo Bamgbose Mother-tongue medium and scholastic attainment in Nigeria
- Grazziella Corvalán Education in the mother tongue and educational achievement in Paraguay
- Miquel Siguan Language and education in Catalonia
- Melanie Mikes Instruction in the mother tongues in Yugoslavia
- Iris C. Rotberg Bilingual education policy in the United States

**TRENDS AND CASES**

- Wang Yi-shan China's radio and television universities