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PROSPOSED AID PROGRAM FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this report is to explore the possibilities and limitations of improving AID assistance to help advance "civic education" in the developing countries. The specific instruction to AID, contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969, is to "support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government."

Objectives, Limitations and Opportunities

Any consideration of future policies and programs must begin with the question: How does civic education relate to fundamental United States interests and objectives? The main points to be emphasized are:

(1) The purpose of United States aid is not simply to protect United States security but to advance the positive development of a healthy world environment--economic, social, and civic--which would be harmonious with the values and interests of the United States.

(2) While economic progress is a necessary part of this strategy, it is not sufficient by itself to achieve either greater world peace or positive development.

(3) An equally important ingredient should be the development of the civic systems of countries, i.e., the values, institutions, and relationships which are most important in managing public affairs and dealing with major national and international tensions. These are the mechanisms which will determine how effectively nations can cope with both their internal and external problems.

(4) The kind of broad economic, social, and civic development envisioned here relies heavily on the right kind of education--not only technological and vocational skills required for material progress but civic education to enable citizens to have a better understanding of their societies and to play a more effective role in the management of their community affairs.

Definition of Civic Education

Civic education is any system of training designed to develop values, knowledge, and skills relevant to the role of a citizen in a particular society. The assumption of this paper is that the basic values which should motivate and condition the kind of civic education which the United States should foster are those which are harmonious with United States interests and objectives discussed above. These can be summarized as follows: cosmopolitanism, efficiency, democracy, and modern development. To support these values and make them effective, civic education must strive to convey to the citizen sufficient factual information to enable him to have a better understanding of himself, his community, and the more remote communities of province, nation, and, hopefully, other nations, as the framework within which to think more intelligently about his own personal and group problems. Third, there should be training in analytical skills to enable the citizen to link values and information in analyzing major community problems in relation to his own interests. Finally, action skills are desirable to enable the citizen to play an active role in the civic process. Such skills would include both communication and organizational techniques and would require some practical operational experience.

Limitations and Opportunities

Civic education is highly sensitive and controversial, but many underdeveloped countries recognize its crucial importance and are trying to improve it.

There is opposition to United States involvement in some quarters, but in other cases there are opportunities for effective collaboration, especially where there is a substantial harmony of interests and values and where the host country is willing and able to give significant attention to this problem. The situation has been eased in some cases by dealing with civic education as part of a broader program of support for general educational development. It has helped to have cooperation between AID and private organizations which engage in complementary, and perhaps more sensitive, programs. External assistance can be made more palatable by mixing it with aid from other countries, through such means as special consortia or multilateral organizations. Although there is some sentiment that a more important and less controversial aspect of educational development is the fostering of scientific, technical, and vocational training, this orientation has become prominent only recently and, to a large extent, under United States influence. Such education is essential but not sufficient, and more attention should be given to civic education, not as a substitute for the other type of education but as a necessary complement to it. The present capability of most developing countries in this area is less advanced than in other fields, but there is still a considerable foundation on which to build, and far more could be done with the proper encouragement and support.

Strengthening the United States Capability

The most fundamental need is to reinforce the will and capacity of the United States government, particularly via AID, to fulfill the mandate of the Foreign Assistance Act to support civic education. This requires policy determination and appropriate staff, organizational and financial support.

It is particularly important that there be a strong core of people who are specifically directed to work on civic education and who have the necessary skills and experience to make an effective contribution. The main organizational units of AID in which such people should be located are: the Office of Program and Policy Coordination, Office of International Training, Office of Labor Affairs, Office of Public Safety, and the regional bureaus. To provide an adequate intellectual base for future progress, there is a need for fundamental research, general policy analysis, and programming regarding civic education.

Civic Education in Schools and Universities

The highest priority should be given to developing civic education at all levels of the general educational system, from primary schools through the universities. Many developing countries, probably a majority of them, endorse the same general civic education objectives emphasized above and have already taken some significant steps in these directions. The greatest progress has probably been made in stressing modern democratic values as well as factual information about one's country. The greatest weakness is that relatively little attention is given to the international scene, critical analysis of problems, and development of action skills, Teaching methods are still quite traditional and do little to encourage direct observation of, or participation in, real civic affairs.

There is great need of, and opportunity for, AID assistance in the area of civic education. Probably the most useful activities would be general encouragement of indigenous civic education efforts which have received little support in the past in comparison with the extraordinary emphasis on technical-vocational education. Beyond this, help is needed in research on civic education, planning, preparation of curricula and teaching materials, and teacher-training. In these endeavors, it is important to make use, whenever feasible, of third countries and multilateral organizations.

Mass Communications

Among other channels which can make an important civic education contribution, the mass media are of central significance. AID, in association with the Department of State and USIA, should do more, in consultation with the appropriate media leadership of the developing countries--owners and managers--to gain recognition of the need for more active, inventive and responsible development of civic reporting, analysis and education via the media. Second, the motivation and skills of the working staffs should be oriented more toward the civic aspect of their work.

Various types of supporting services and facilities can also help to strengthen the civic role of the media. These include: foreign travel and conferences, preferably within a multilateral framework; support for source materials including books and periodicals; and improved wire services, especially regional systems responsive to the special needs of the developing countries.

Interest Groups

An essential part of civic development is strengthening the organization and capacity of all major groups within a society, at lower as well as upper socio-economic levels, to formulate and promote their interests in relation to the rest of society. To avoid the dangers of irresponsible escalation of demands and explosive conflicts, it is important to help each group to be as rational and realistic as possible and to be motivated and prepared to negotiate with other sectors in order to evolve reasonable compromises.

While most groups have some kind of training program, they are usually quite feeble and narrow in subject matter and analytical approach. Much needs to be done to improve the general quality of these efforts and to expand their horizons to link their own immediate interests to broader civic concerns.

Educational opportunities, especially at more advanced levels, will need to be obtained from other sources, such as the more developed countries and multilateral organizations.

Support should be given for travel and conferences, both within and among countries, not only to improve communication with similar groups but with other types of associations which may have conflicting interests. Important mediating institutions for cultivating more effective dialogue among competing groups are government agencies and universities.

The capacity of these groups to study and formulate their own policy positions should be strengthened.

Political Parties

It is most difficult and dangerous for the United States Government to become involved in efforts to improve civic education directly through political party activities because it thereby supports specific partisan causes. In most cases, it would be well advised to depend primarily on the indirect effect of its contributions via the types of programs discussed earlier having to do with education, mass media, and interest groups. Strengthening the civic education functions of these institutions will inevitably influence the activities of political parties.

The Government: Civilian and Military

There is need for more adequate civic education for governmental employees, military as well as civilian, to help them to be not only better public servants but better citizens. This is obviously a sensitive area in which the United States must tread carefully. Nonetheless, there are opportunities for external assistance, some of which are already being dealt with but which can be more fully developed within the framework of the broader strategy of civic education suggested here.

The first task is to help achieve greater recognition on the part of host governments that civic education for their employees is an important and necessary aspect of development, in addition to narrower technical education which is currently the main emphasis.

Secondly, assistance can help to strengthen the major institutional channels for imparting such training, especially by broadening these programs to embrace more of the concept of general civic education discussed earlier. The principal instrumentalities for this task are: university programs which educate people for government service (not only law, administration and the

other social sciences but scientific and technical fields which are close to governmental interests), governmental training programs, private organizations that influence governmental education, such as the Institute for Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies and the Center for Applied Politics, both in India, and relevant foreign programs, including those of mulilateral agencies.

Members of legislatures are not inclined to think of themselves as students in need of formal civic, or any other kind of, education. Nonetheless, at least some of them would probably admit that they might benefit from such training, and there are even a few examples of organized activities which impart considerable civic education to legislators. These include special seminars and conferences in which legislative members or their staffs participate, political party programs, special services which provide information and analysis relevant to legislative business, and international and regional parliamentary associations.

Conclusions

The general pattern which one finds in the developing countries is: a failure to recognize the importance of education designed to develop and support a civic system capable of managing major national problems and conflicts, primary emphasis on education to improve the material aspects of development, a narrow and traditional approach to the teaching of civic affairs, and inadequate efforts to develop the civic education potential of other channels -- mass media, interest groups, political parties and governmental programs. The problem is further exacerbated by the grossly unequal distribution of educational opportunity.

All of this analysis suggests that civic education is one of the most crucial, and most neglected, aspects of educational development in the less developed countries. Surely, the most pressing problem in any national society is to improve the system of communication, negotiation, and, hopefully, conciliation among major groups in order to facilitate their coping with whatever problems arise in the future. The educational development strategies of AID and other appropriate agencies can, and should, do more to help meet this critical challenge.

PROPOSED AID PROGRAM FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

The purpose of this report is to explore the possibilities and limitations of improving AID assistance to help advance "civic education" in the developing countries. This mission is part of the broader program set forth in Section 207 of The Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 encouraging popular participation as an essential part of development. The specific instruction to AID is to "support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government."

This analysis is the culmination of a "Seminar on Civic Education and Development" commissioned by the Title IX Division of AID and administered jointly by The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, both of Tufts University. The seminar brought together twenty-five governmental and private development specialists who discussed the subject during a three-day meeting from May 1 to 3, 1970. The main bases for the discussion were the following five papers, which are available as appendices to this report:

(1) "Conceptual Framework for Civic Education in Developing Societies", by Professor C. Arnold Anderson, Comparative Education Center, University of Chicago;

(2) "Approaches to Civic Education in the United States", by Professor John S. Gibson, Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affaris, Tufts University;

(3) "Civic Education Programs in the Less Developed Countries", by Professor H. Field Haviland, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University;

(4) "The Current United States Approach to Civic Education in the Less Developed Countries", by Bernard J. Lavin, the United States Information Agency;

(5) "United States Foreign Assistance Policy in Civic Education: Constraints and Opportunities", by Dr. John R. Schott, Agency for International Development.

Building on the foundation of these papers, this report looks mainly to the future and suggests policy and operational possibilities which might guide AID programming. The analysis begins with an examination of the civic education mandate in relation to basic United States developmental objectives and a discussion of general possibilities and limitations in this field. This is followed by detailed recommendations concerning potential AID civic education programs affecting certain major aspects of development: education, mass communications, the civic roles of major interest groups, political parties, and internal governmental organization and personnel.

Objectives, Limitations and Opportunities

Any consideration of future policies and programs must begin with the question: How does civic education relate to fundamental United States interests and objectives? Among the aims stated at the beginning of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969, the most relevant provisions are the following:

"Chapter 1 -- Policy. . .the Congress declares that it is the national policy of the United States to support the quest of the peoples of the world for dignity, freedom, and a decent standard of living and realizes that effective steps toward economic development and social justice may involve fundamental changes. The Congress further declares that this policy serves our national purpose to build a just, free, and peaceful community of nations. To this end, the United States should join with other nations to assist in building the necessary human and material resources, and economic and social institutions in those less developed countries which demonstrate the will to serve these aspirations of their people . . .

1 . . . Principles -- in carrying out the provisions of this act, the President shall -- . . .

(c) emphasize technical and professional assistance designed to build institutions necessary for long-term national development; . . .

(f) encourage broad popular participation by the peoples of the less developed nations in the planning, execution, and benefits of developmental progress; . . .

(i) assist the less developed nations to safeguard their internal and external security. . .

"... Popular Participation -- (a) in furnishing assistance under this part, the President shall place emphasis on assuring maximum participation in the economic, social, and political development on the part of the people of less developed countries through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions . . .

(b) in order to carry out the purposes of this section, programs under this part shall -- . . .

(3) support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government. . ."

As with any aspect of United States foreign policy, the most fundamental purpose of developmental aid is to serve the interests of the citizens of the United States. Those interests are stated succinctly and eloquently in the Constitution of the United States: . . . "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." United States aid policy is designed both to protect America against foreign injury and to maximize, on a world-wide basis, positive economic, social, and civic development consistent with the basic values of United States society. As nations have become increasingly interdependent, we have learned that our welfare is significantly affected by conditions in other countries, and therefore we have an obligation to ourselves and others to do what we can to help improve those conditions, hopefully through cooperative action with the people of those countries. A multilateral statement of these objectives, which has been approved by 126 countries, is contained in the United Nations Charter: "1. to maintain international peace and security . . . 2. to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. . . . 3. to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in

promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . ."

The main points to be emphasized in this review of objectives are:

(1) The purpose of United States aid is not simply to protect United States security but to advance the positive development of a healthy world environment -- economic, social, and civic -- which will be harmonious with the values and interests of the United States.

(2) While economic progress is a necessary part of this strategy, it is not sufficient by itself to achieve either world peace or positive development.

(3) An equally important ingredient should be the development of the civic systems of countries, i.e., the values, institutions, and relationships which are most important in managing public affairs and dealing with major national and international tensions. These are the mechanisms which will determine how effectively nations can cope with both their internal and external problems.

(4) This philosophy is strikingly similar to that which motivates United States domestic programs aimed at improving not only the economic and social welfare of the less developed sectors of American society but promoting their more effective participation in the civic process. It has become increasingly clear that, ideally, material and civic progress should go hand in hand; one without the other can lead to negative consequences.

(5) This is based on the assumption that both within nations and among them it will be difficult to have peaceful or productive relations among men so long as there are major gaps between rich and poor, haves and have-nots, in ar atmosphere of gross discrimination and hostility. Thus a major purpose of

United States development assistance abroad, as at home, is to help achieve a better balance, and better relations, between the upper and lower levels of society.

(6) This philosophy does not mean that the objective is to encourage the development of neighbors who will always agree with United States policies but rather neighbors who will be stronger and better equipped to deal with their own problems along lines consistent with the common values set forth above.

(7) The kind of broad economic, social, and civic development envisioned here relies heavily on the right kind of education -- not only technological and vocational skills required for material progress but civic education to enable citizens to have a better understanding of their societies and to play a more effective role in the management of their community affairs. The rest of this report is devoted entirely to this aspect of United States development assistance.

Definition of Civic Education

There are two basic approaches to defining civic education. One is value-neutral and embraces all kinds of civic education, regardless of specific cultural orientation and content. According to such a definition, civic education is any system of training designed to develop values, knowledge, and skills relevant to the role of a citizen in a particular society.

The other approach goes beyond this to specify explicit criteria to guide the value-orientation, content, and other characteristics of a preferred pattern of civic education. Such criteria are necessary if the purpose, as in this case, is to prescribe the kind of civic education to be encouraged. This can still be done in terms that leave significant room for variation of form and substance according to the predilections of various cultures.

It is the assumption of this paper that the basic values which should motivate and condition the kind of civic education which the United States should foster are those which are harmonious with the basic United States interests and objectives discussed above. These can be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) cosmopolitanism (broadening and strengthening the sense of community, both within and beyond the nation, as an essential basis for civic cooperation)

(2) efficiency (encouraging modern rational approaches in dealing with civic problems)

(3) democracy (broadening and strengthening popular participation in the civic process as the best long-range hope for reconciling major conflicting interests and facilitating self-correction via free inquiry and periodic opportunities for changing leadership)

(4) modern development (promoting progressive economic, social, and civic advancement, including the necessary institutional development to support these objectives)

To nurture these values and make them effective, civic education must strive to convey to the citizen sufficient factual information to enable him to have a better understanding of himself, his local community, and the more remote communities of province, nation, and, hopefully, other nations, as the framework within which to think more intelligently about his own personal and group problems. This information should also be related to key policy issues--economic, technological, social, political, and cultural --which the citizen is likely to confront in the foreseeable future.

In addition, there should be training in analytical skills to enable the citizen to link values and information in analyzing major community problems in relation to his own interests.

Finally, action skills are desirable to enable the citizen to play an effective role in the civic process. Such skills would include both communication and organizational techniques and would require some practical operational experience.

In addition to these key ingredients, there are matters of target audiences, channels, and teaching methods.

While the entire population should ideally receive at least some minimal civic education, the bulk of the people can, and will, receive relatively little. Although there is need to give special attention to the less privileged groups, which have been so neglected in the past, there is equal need for such education in the upper strata of society. People at that level usually have more education than the masses, but they normally have received inadequate civic education. If there is to be a viable reconciliation of conflicting interests between upper and lower levels, which is the principal source of tension in most societies, there should be better civic education among the more, as well as the less, privileged strata. Because the rank-and-file of all levels cannot receive extensive civic education and cannot devote much time to civic affairs, the priority objective should be more intensive education of leadership at all levels and in all major groups.

Many studies testify to the critical impact of formal education on civic orientation, but it should be kept in mind there are many other channels that can be utilized. A number of these will be discussed in this paper, including mass media, interest groups, political parties, and governmental institutions.

The traditional teaching methods have emphasized lectures, rote-learning, and a rigidly centralized and standardized examination procedure. There is some movement, however, toward methods that encourage more free and critical analysis, small-group work, direct field research, simulation, and operational experience.

General Limitations

Despite a clear mandate to foster civic education, AID must, at the same time, take account of the various factors that tend to limit what the United States can do in this area.*

Looking at the problem first from the point of view of a less developed country, there is obviously great sensitivity regarding any external effort to influence education that is so directly concerned with both the process and substance of national decision-making regarding interests of central importance. This sensitivity is heightened by extreme conflict over those issues within the host country which generate fundamental differences among major groups regarding both the ends and means of civic education. Furthermore, there is hostility toward United States involvement in this area not only because of opposition to American theory and practice concerning civic education but because of other aspects of United States policy, domestic as well as foreign, which are considered to corrupt whatever may be done regarding civic training.

*For a more detailed discussion of this subject, see the paper by John R. Schott "United States Foreign Assistance Policy in Civic Education: Constraints and Opportunities", prepared for the Tufts-AID Seminar on "Civic Education and Development", May, 1970.

A different, but related, problem is the preference on the part of many developing countries for United States aid in other fields of education, particularly those concerned with material development. It is often said that the United States is better equipped to provide this kind of aid and that it is more important and compatible in relation to the interests and needs of the less developed countries. Finally, there is the underdeveloped state of civic education in emerging countries which provides little counterpart capability with which the United States can work and meager resources to support a civic education program.

Reversing the coin to look at the problem from the United States' point of view, there is not only the effect of all the difficulties just mentioned on the United States' position, but other problems stemming from the United States' own characteristics.

In many quarters of AID, as well as elsewhere, there is a preference to concentrate on aspects of educational development other than civic education on the grounds that these aspects -- especially economic, technological, and vocational -- are more important in relation to the needs of the developing countries, that the United States is better equipped to deal with them, that they are more consistent with the main AID mandate, and that the decline in United States aid funds makes it difficult to develop new areas of activity.

Another line of reasoning stresses the fact that civic education is underdeveloped not only abroad but at home and therefore the United States lacks an adequate capability to provide assistance in this field. There are deep-seated differences among Americans regarding all aspects of civic education -- objectives, content, and methods -- and it is one of the least satisfactory

elements of United States domestic education. Furthermore, the United States does not have a sufficient cadre of civic education specialists who are adequately acquainted with the cultures of the less developed countries so that they can provide effective assistance. Others argue that the unfortunate state of current United States domestic affairs not only discredits our civic education efforts abroad but suggests that we need to do a better job at home before we peddle our wares overseas.

A sizeable contingent of Americans feels that any effort along these lines would be a form of "cultural imperialism." This sentiment is often reinforced by the argument that the kind of education which the United States would export would not be compatible with the cultures of the less developed countries, especially in fostering democracy. Where United States assistance might be accepted, there is a danger of its being used to shore up a status quo which many consider undesirable.

Policies and Programs of the Developing Countries

Any attempt to evaluate these difficulties must begin with a careful appraisal of the situation in developing countries, among which there is a wide spectrum of conditions ranging from the most inhospitable to United States civic education assistance to the most receptive. While the factors that tend to impede such assistance are formidable, there are countervailing considerations that are often underestimated and that will be discussed here in an effort to present a more balanced picture of what may, and may not, be feasible.

Granted that civic education is highly sensitive and controversial, many underdeveloped countries recognize its crucial importance and are trying to

improve it. The situation is similar to that confronting the United States regarding a domestic problem as controversial as race relations. It is difficult to deal with it through educational channels, but it is more dangerous not to do so. Hence, we have begun in recent years to devote greater effort and ingenuity to trying to do a better educational job in this field. The same approach is being adopted by a number of developing countries, such as India, Chile, and Ghana, regarding the general area of civic education. An approach which eases the task somewhat is to emphasize basic values, knowledge, and skills which are generally useful in grappling with whatever community problems may confront a nation without going directly and deeply into the most volatile current issues.

While there is opposition to United States involvement in some quarters, in other cases there are opportunities for effective collaboration, especially where there is a substantial harmony of interests and values and where the host country is willing and able to give significant attention to this problem. This is true in such countries as Chile, Venezuela, Malaysia, South Korea, India, Ghana, and Nigeria. There have even been occasions when less developed countries have requested civic education assistance from the United States, and we have refused such aid, as in the case of the Center for Civic Education in Ghana.

The situation has been eased in some cases by dealing with civic education as part of a broader program of support for general educational development, including an important emphasis on civic education, as in Chile. It has also helped to have cooperation between AID and private organizations which engage in complementary, and perhaps more sensitive, programs such as those of the Ford Foundation in India. Far more, in fact, has already been done by the United States than many people realize, especially in those substantive areas

that have seemed the most directly related to economic development, mainly economics, administration and law. Still the United States has given far less support to this aspect of education, even where the developing countries are receptive, than would seem warranted by its importance.

Another way in which external assistance can be made more palatable is to mix it with aid from other countries, through such means as special consortia or multilateral organizations. The Friederich Ebert, Konrad Adenauer, and Wilhelm Naumann Foundations of Germany, for example, have done good work in adult education which has helped to train labor, political and other leaders for more effective civic roles in a number of developing countries. Multilateral organizations, such as UNESCO, ILO, FAO, the International Bank, and the Inter-American Bank, have also assisted civic education in ways which will be discussed in greater detail below.

Although there is some sentiment in the developing countries that a more important and less controversial aspect of educational development is the fostering of scientific, technical, and vocational training, this orientation has become prominent only recently and, to a large extent, under United States influence. The thesis of this paper is that such education is essential but not sufficient, and that more attention should be given to civic education, not as a substitute for the other type of education but as a necessary complement to it. Hitler's Germany is a good reminder of what can happen with a high level of scientific-technical education and poor civic education. Furthermore, some developing countries are beginning to give greater attention to civic education, as in India.

Granted that the present capability of most developing countries in this area is less advanced than in other fields, there is still a considerable foundation

on which to build, and far more could be done with the proper encouragement and support. The usual elements of strength are those disciplines which have already received significant aid because they were considered most relevant to economic development. Disciplines which have been neglected but which should be strengthened are: history, sociology, political science, social psychology, anthropology, philosophy, and the policy aspects of the natural sciences.

Current United States Policies and Programs

From the United States point of view, the argument that other aspects of education are more important for development than civic training can, and should, be balanced by the obvious need for more adequate civic development to permit and support economic development. If one looks at any developing country, it is clear that economic development is seriously impeded by inadequate civic development--poor public understanding of national and international problems, deficient community involvement and organization, and weak governmental performance. Better civic education, at all levels and in all sectors of society, especially at the leadership level, is an absolute necessity to enable people to deal more effectively with the inevitable conflicts, problems and frustrations that will afflict their nations for generations to come. The shortcomings of material development are as much a consequence as a cause of inadequate civic development, including education.

This reasoning is reinforced by the recent broadening of the legislative mandate of AID which now gives as much emphasis to such values as "dignity", "freedom", and "social justice" as to economic development and views these several objectives as interdependent. The current legislation contains a separate section, coequal with the others, authorizing the President, not only AID, to

"place emphasis on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic, social, and political development on the part of the people of less developed countries through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions." There can no longer be any doubt that civic and social development is an AID objective equal in importance to material progress.

The fact that financial support for the aid program is currently declining makes the problem more difficult but is no excuse for neglecting the mandate just cited. Furthermore, civic education can be a relatively low-cost program compared to major capital investment, and may help to alleviate the consequences of reduced economic assistance. Agencies other than AID have some responsibility for civic education, but AID should play a major role because of its key activities with regard to general educational development.

Although civic training is still relatively weak within the United States, judged by ideal standards, it is more advanced than in most countries.* One indication of this is that many nations have paid the United States the compliment of voluntary imitation without external persuasion. AID is not yet well equipped in this field, but it could develop the required capability if it should decide to devote greater attention to this part of its mission. Other government agencies which already are making some contribution to civic education and could do more are: the Department of State (especially the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs), the Department of Defense, USIA, and the Office of Education in HEW.

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*A recent study of the more progressive civic education programs in the United States is: Donald W. Robinson, Promising Practices in Civic Education (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1967).

Many private organizations are capable of assisting, but they have received little encouragement or support. Institutions which deserve mention are: leading schools of education such as those at Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago; other university programs concerned with the favored disciplines of economics, administration, and law; certain foundations, especially Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie; and other institutions involved in direct operational programs such as the American Institute of Free Labor Development, the African-American Labor Center, the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, and the Education Development Center.

In response to the criticism that United States aid for civic education is a form of cultural imperialism, there are several countervailing considerations. Any collaboration in this field between the United States and developing countries requires a substantial consensus on basic interests, values and objectives. Without this there is no adequate foundation for cooperation. Fortunately, many developing countries, such as Chile, India, and Ghana, agree with fundamental United States ideas, even though they may be critical of specific aspects of United States policy. Such countries have requested and accepted United States governmental aid for civic education. Even the most controversial aspect of civic development, democratization, is endorsed by most developing countries, although they interpret and practice it in different ways -- as do various sections of the United States and other developed countries. Typical is a statement which appeared in a major recent Indian study of educational requirements: ". . . special emphasis has to be laid on the development of values. . . which will enable us to adopt democracy, not only as a form of government, but also as a way of life." *

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*Government of India, Ministry of Education, Report of the Education Commission 1964-1966 (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1966), p. 17.

The kind of civic education assistance envisioned here does not assume that the United States has a ready-made blueprint which it will export to all developing countries. Rather it has certain basic values and concepts which it shares with many developing countries, and it should encourage and support more concentrated efforts by those nations to develop their own civic education programs consistent with these shared values. This still leaves ample room for national experimentation with various institutions and practices to suit different cultural characteristics.

The fact that the United States does not fully live up to its own values is no reason for it to neglect further development abroad as well as at home. The United States has no monopoly on wisdom, but it does have some sound values, concepts, and practices to contribute to a common effort with other countries. In such a collaborative enterprise, it can learn as well as teach.

Strengthening the United States Capability

Against the background of these general considerations, the balance of this report sets forth recommendations addressed primarily to AID but with relevance to other governmental and non-governmental institutions. These suggestions deal first with strengthening the United States capability in this field and then with the following major institutional channels in the developing countries for educational development: the general educational system, mass communications, major interest groups, political parties, and governmental agencies.

The most fundamental need is to reinforce the will and capacity of the United States government, particularly via AID, to fulfill the mandate of the Foreign Assistance Act to "support civic education and training and skills re-

quired for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government." This requires policy determination and appropriate staff, organization and financial support.

It is the responsibility of the highest level of AID to recognize the importance of civic education in relation to the general developmental strategy of AID and to give this task the attention and resources it deserves. This, in turn, requires taking full advantage of the best expertise and analysis currently in existence as a foundation for future development in this field. It is particularly important that there be a strong core of people who are specifically directed to work on civic education and who have the necessary skills and experience to make an effective contribution. The main organizational units of AID in which such people should be located are: the Office of Program and Policy Coordination, Office of International Training, Office of Labor Affairs, Office of Public Safety, and the regional bureaus.

To provide an adequate intellectual base for future progress, there is a need for fundamental research, general policy analysis, and programming regarding civic education. The fact that at the present time there is no major governmental or non-governmental analysis of the concepts, organization, content, and methods of civic education in any underdeveloped country argues for immediate action to fill this gap.* There should be studies of relevant programs in the United States and other more developed countries as well as those

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*There are several studies which analyze civic attitudes and activities, but without any significant examination of the relationship between these phenomena and the content and methodology of education. An example is The Civic Culture by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. A study still in process, which delves more deeply into civic education in two Latin American countries, Chile and Venezuela, is currently being prepared by Kalman Silvert under the auspices of the Brookings Institution.

of the multilateral organizations mentioned earlier. The main objectives of such research would be to develop further the main lines of analysis suggested in this project, describe various kinds of past and present civic education programs, compare and evaluate them in accordance with stipulated criteria, and propose possible directions of future development.

Such an effort will require, and provide additional bases for, a further refinement of the concept of civic education. This paper suggests a conceptual framework for planning this type of training and providing possible guidelines for both evaluation and prescription.* AID must define for itself what it considers a desirable pattern of civic education, leaving room for national variation, as a basis for appraising past activities and planning new ones.

Against the background of fundamental research and general policy formulation, AID needs to do more specific sorting of civic education priorities in relation to other developmental goals. The priorities emphasized in this paper are, in the approximate order of their importance: general civic education through schools and universities, development of the civic education capability of mass media, civic education via major interest groups, concentrating mainly on the leadership level, and civic education among the ranks of governmental employees, including the military. Regarding content, the priorities are suggested by the earlier definition of civic education: values, knowledge, analytical skills and action skills. The emphasis is not only on seeking better solutions for community problems but improving the civic system for mediating among the conflicting interests of major groups within and among nations.

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*For additional commentary on the concept of civic education, see the papers cited earlier by Arnold Anderson, John Gibson, Field Haviland and Bernard Lavin.

In fulfilling this role, it is important that AID not only engage in its own direct activities but act as a leader in coordinating its efforts with those of other governmental and non-governmental institutions and in stimulating supplementary activities by these other agencies. Such ancillary resources would include "third countries" and multilateral organizations.

Civic Education in Schools and Universities

The highest priority should be given to developing civic education at all levels of the general educational system, from primary schools through the universities. It is in this area that basic research, analysis, policy formulation and operational programs can be undertaken which would not only govern what is done through the schools but can provide guidance for other channels outside the educational system.

The first task is to work with key national decision-makers, both governmental and non-governmental, to achieve recognition of civic education as a crucial aspect of national development and to support the necessary policy and operational activities required to advance such a program. This calls for fundamental re-thinking of educational objectives since most developing countries, strongly influenced by the Unites States and other donors, have placed far more emphasis on scientific, technological and vocational training than on civic education. The latter should not be thought of as a substitute for scientific-vocational education but as a necessary supplement. Until developing countries recognize this need and commit themselves to doing something about it, there is no basis for fruitful international collaboration.

Such a strategy will require strengthening key parts of national educational systems to give more adequate attention to civic education, especially within ministries of education, teacher-training programs, and the social sciences,

as well as other appropriate disciplines, in the universities. This effort needs to be reinforced by supporting contributions from the United States, other more developed countries, and relevant multilateral organizations, especially UNESCO, the international and regional banks, ILO and FAO.

As developing countries come to grips with this problem, one important step, that a few have already taken,is a comprehensive comparative analysis of relevant national civic education systems in order to gain a better understanding of the broad range of different approaches from which individual countries can choose features appropriate to their own needs. Such a comparative study is currently being conducted by eleven African countries with the financial support of the Ford Foundation and the technical advice of the Education Development Center in Newton, Massachusetts.* A key planner in the Indian Ministry of Education has suggested a similar worldwide study, but thus far no action has been taken along these lines.

Before considering more detailed possibilities of improving civic education in developing countries , it is important to keep in mind the nature of their general educational systems which impose serious limitations on what can be done within the civic education area. Perhaps the most fundamental consideration is that the profile of educational distribution is an Eiffel-Tower type of pyramid. Despite some improvement in educational opportunity, access to high school and university levels is generally restricted to a very small per-

*For background on this project, see Report of a Conference of African Educators, EDC and CREDO on Social Studies held at Mombasa, Kenya, 19th to 30th August 1968. (Newton: Education Development Center, 1968).

centage of the populations. This elitist pattern is accentuated by the fact that a large percentage of middle and upper class families often send their children to private schools. Control of curricula, teacher-training and general administration of the educational system is highly centralized, and the substance of education is normally dominated by rigid preparation for uniform nation-wide examinations rather than encouragement of free inquiry and critical judgment. Fields that have traditionally had the greatest prestige and support have been general science and humanities courses at the lower levels and medicine, engineering, and law at the university level. A major effort has been made in recent years to place more emphasis on scientific and vocational training and modern social science, but it will be some time before these innovations are generally adopted.

Teachers are poorly paid with consequent damage to prestige, recruitment and morale, especially at the primary and secondary levels. This helps to explain the increasing unrest among teachers. On the student side, too, there has been growing discontent and politicization. One can discern both good and bad consequences flowing from this ferment. There is increased student and faculty participation in educational decision-making and growing interest in the relevance of education to national problems. At the same time, serious study and research have suffered, and the general level of partisan conflict is high.

Given this situation, improved civic education should begin at the lowest level of the pyramid, primary school, especially because the most fundamental aspects of civic orientation are acquired very early in life and because a great majority of the population seldom goes beyond the primary grades. All elements of civic education which were discussed above - values, knowledge, and skills - should be taught at the primary level but in a simplified form.

Values

It was suggested earlier that the values which should be encouraged, and which are endorsed by many developing countries, are: cosmopolitanism, efficiency, democracy and modern development. For a young child starting up the educational ladder, the value of cosmopolitanism can be interpreted mainly as widening his sense of community to embrace those who live in his local community, regardless of distinctions such as property, status and ideology. This is an essential first step toward developing community relations which will facilitate cooperation in dealing with whatever problems may arise. The cultivation of this and other values is, in turn, dependent upon other aspects of civic training: factual knowledge regarding other individuals and groups, analytical skills involved in thinking about this problem, and action skills aimed at improving community relations.

The value of efficiency begins with the appreciation of the need for careful and rational utilization of scarce resources. The school may be able to build on relevant home training on this subject and can extend it to studying other aspects of civic life, including the school itself. Students should understand what it takes in material resources to make a community function effectively, what these resources cost, where they come from, how their utilization is organized and might be improved, and the consequences of waste.

Democracy is frequently said to be the most controversial value, and yet it can often be found in quite traditional forms at the local level. In village life there is generally a good deal of participation, mainly by the adult male population, but occasionally with some female and youth involvement. At the same time, there are countervailing considerations such as the superior influenc

of some individuals and families on bases such as age, wealth, hierarchical status, or religion. This is an excellent laboratory within which to study the rationale for democracy, its organization, performance, future potential, and ways to improve it. The school itself can be considered as a small sample of the problem.

Finally, there is the value of modern development. One of the most revolutionary trends in the emerging nations is the growing recognition that the status quo is not immutable and that conscious improvement of economic, social and civic conditions is possible and desirable. At the same tin e, the drive for modernization can have consequences at least as unfortunate as the status quo if aspirations are unrealistic, modernization is badly managed, conflict escalates among competing individuals and groups, and mediating institutions are ineffective. This is a very complicated problem to communicate to young children, and yet much can be done by using sin ple illustrations from their own local situation.

Information

To make values operative, one needs to have a framework of factual information which relates values to actual conditions of life. In the case of civic education, the knowledge required is what a citizen should know about his society in order to understand it and to interact effectively with it according to his own interests. This is a difficult task not only because of the complexity of any society, but because of the lack of reliable information, the difficulty of agreeing on what the "facts" are, and the problem of transmitting this information to students within severe limitations of time, sophistication, and interest.

This information should be related to major problems that a citizen is likely to confront. It should include information about other nations, at least the major countries, as a basis for understanding the international environment and for being aware of the range of different cultures and ways of coping with similar problems.

Analytical Skills

Values and facts mean little unless they are harnessed to analytical techniques which help to explain past phenomena and deal with current and future problems. The principal intellectual tools required are those of logical reasoning - how to understand causal relations, evaluate alternative ways of coping with problems, and predict likely courses of events. These skills can be reinforced by quantitative methods, survey research, and certain disciplinary approaches such as economics and psychology. Such an array of skills can be extremely complex at the most sophisticated level, but certain basic elements can be imparted even at the lowest educational level.

Action Skills

In addition to values, knowledge and analytical skills, there is the problem of putting ideas to work through social interaction. Experience in more developed, as well as less developed, countries indicates that one of the reasons why most people never get involved in civic action is that they don't know how, and the absence of such involvement dampens their interest. Those who participate in real civic action early in life are likely to develop both motivation and skills. This can happen spontaneously, but it can also be planned and organized as purposefully as any other aspect of education.

Action skills vary with one's role, organizational framework, and substantive concerns. Nonetheless, there are certain general participatory techniques which are broadly relevant and can be imparted through the educational system at various levels of sophistication. These include: communication skills, general participatory skills useful in group interaction, parliamentary techniques, leadership skills helpful in directing group action, and, perhaps the most crucial and relatively rare, mediatory techniques.

Teaching Methods

In addition to content, there is the matter of teaching methodology. The traditional approach of uniform readings - usually texts - lectures, and centrally controlled, largely factual examinations is not a very effective way of conducting civic education. To achieve the objectives discussed above, it is important to encourage freer critical inquiry and more direct contact with the students' environment. This suggests emphasizing more independent and critical analysis, including awareness of different conceptual and policy approaches and involvement in active debate of the alternatives. Participation in team projects is important to take advantage of specialization of function and to develop group skills. Use should be made of a broad range of primary as well as secondary sources to escape the prison of the predigested, restricted and often highly biased textbook approach and to make the student aware of the complexity of any social phenomena. This approach should encourage more direct contact with real situations. Some use might be made of simulation as a means of approximating and analyzing extra-academic situations. Finally, the teaching of participatory skills requires some involvement in action experiences, either inside or outside the school.

Primary and Secondary Programs

Obviously few schools in either more or less developed countries can come close to achieving these ambitious goals. They are recommended here as ideal objectives, subject to continuous re-examination and development, which can serve as stimulus and guide, and toward which, to the extent they coincide with the objectives of the developing countries, schools can begin to move little by little. One should also recognize that at least some of the more progressive leaders of many developing countries have already endorsed similar goals and have initiated various programs along these lines.

In India, despite extraordinary problems of size, poverty, conflict, and tradition, the Ministry of Education, largely through its National Council for Education Research and Training, began in 1966 to develop a more modern approach to civic education involving new curricula, teaching materials and teacher-training. The rationale for this program is stated in a Teacher's Handbook of Social Studies published in 1969: "Democracy . . . needs a body of citizens who are better prepared to shoulder the responsibilities that go with freedom. To have such citizens tomorrow, we must develop in our children and youth of today the knowledge, competence and sense of values that would make them effective members of the nation. . . . The subject-matter of Social Studies is closely associated with life and centered around 'man and his life on earth'. It tells us how man is related to his environment: how he lives and works in the physical conditions of the village or city, the neighborhood, the country and the world, and how he stands in relation to the family, the group, the states and humanity at large.

"Through this subject-matter, Social Studies teach children how to participate effectively in society and seek to develop in them the skills, habits, and attitudes that are needed for this."*

In the spirit of this philosophy, the National Council has recently produced some new social studies texts for the early primary grades and secondary schools and has retrained some teachers. But this effort has only scratched the surface. While the program is strong in relation to modern democratic values and factual knowledge, it is weak in critical analysis of major Indian problems, including religious and class tensions, and in developing civic action skills. Furthermore, the central government has great difficulty in influencing some of the states which are hostile to it and have great autonomy in matters of education.

In Tanzania, President Julius Nyerere has written in a foreward to a secondary school civics textbook: "Since we have chosen a democratic, that is, a people's government, we shall learn, at the same time, more about ourselves. Throughout the book we shall come across a most important term: it is the key word 'responsibility'. Responsibility means that citizens who wish to rule themselves have rights and duties. Democratic government is a precious gift; it is, even more, a tremendous task. . . .

"Civics is the study of our democratic responsibilities. It is more than a collection of facts; it must build up in us a strong conviction: to use all our talents and energies for the building of a nation that is, and will be, truly democratic."**

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*(New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1969), pp. 1-2.

**Hildebrand Meienberg, Tanzanian Citizen: A Civics Textbook (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. viii.

The chapter headings of the text give some idea of the approach: "The State and Government; Our Government and Constitution; Our Government Works for the People; Our Government and Rights; Our Duty towards the Community; Work, the Dignity and Wealth of our Nation; and Tanzania, Africa and the World." Again, this effort stresses modern democratic values and basic factual information but not critical analysis of problems or civic action skills.

In South Korea, USIA has assisted the national government to develop a citizenship education program, inspired by the Citizenship Education Project initiated by Teachers College of Columbia University. The Korean Program is described in Education for Responsible Democratic Citizenship (1968) published by the Central Educational Research Institute of Korea.

In Chile, the national government has launched one of the most ambitious modern democratic social studies programs to be found in any developing country, and AID has given its support as part of a general educational reform movement. In 1964, the Frei government began a major renovation of the entire primary and secondary educational system, including the social sciences. The new emphases are: more stress on Chilean and Latin American society, more attention devoted to the contemporary era, elimination of the repetitious two-cycle pattern, a broader approach embracing social and cultural as well as political and economic aspects, greater use of modern social science methodologies, more realistic study of society, including some direct field work, and more critical analysis and discussion of key problems.

A new plan for the social sciences at the primary level, announced in August 1969, stated the following objectives: adjustment to group life in accordance with the values of tolerance, cooperation, responsibility, participation in

a pluralistic democracy, and respect for legitimate authority. Regarding the techniques of education, the plan stated the following aims: (1) knowledge of relevant facts and theories, (2) understanding and use of social science techniques, (3) keeping well informed, (4) understanding one's self and successful participation in social groups.

The major themes for the primary grades, now eight years instead of six, are as follows: (1) understanding one's own community, (2) work and communicating with others, (3) health and science, (4) discoveries, inventions and the earth in the cosmós, (5) man, land, sea, urban society and commerce, (6) life in Chile and other countries, (7) social and political organizations, and (8) historical evolution of civilization and current problems (resource utilization, economics, technology, education for a career, and maintenance of peace).

The plan for the first two years of high school, common to all, is to focus primary attention on general world geography and Chile within the framework of Latin America. As supplementary inputs, the techniques of the social sciences are to be introduced as tools useful in analyzing this subject matter.

In the third year of high school, the students part company as they are divided into two groups: the humanists and the scientists. For the first group, the third-year program emphasizes history, geography and economics. The history section deals with the ancient and medieval periods in more depth than at the primary level. Geography emphasizes the rational use of scarce resources. Economics presents general theory and the analysis of a "mixed system" such as Chile, including problems of state control, inflation, human resource development, income distribution, state intervention, money and banking, unemployment, international trade, and economic development.

The economy-size social science program for the scientists (two hours a week instead of eight) concentrates on modern history and economics. The history section deals mainly with Western development from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The economics program touches on population, human resources, mineral resources, agriculture, industrialization, energy, ocean resources, and the organization of the economic system.

The plans for the fourth year are not yet complete, but the general outlines have been agreed on. For the humanities majors, the historical analysis will be continued to the present, with the main emphasis on Europe and North America. During the first semester, half of the time will be devoted to the study of modern political institutions, processes and problems. Half of the second semester will concentrate on contemporary international relations.

The separate program for the scientists will devote half of the time to historical analysis from the 18th century to the present, and the other half to political problems.

Considering the difficulties involved in designing such a system and comparing it with other countries, both more and less developed, one is inclined to conclude that this is an exceptionally progressive and imaginative program. Nonetheless, its architects are among the first to recognize its continuing problems. Perhaps the most crucial is the division between the science and humanities majors during the last two years. This reinforces the separation of the "two cultures" and restricts the social science training of the technocrats to an extremely narrow range of subject matter which robs them of important preparation which they need to participate effectively in civic life. It will also take a long time to put the whole reform into effect, especially to train or retrain teachers and to prepare good texts. Furthermore, it will be

difficult to fulfill the noble aims of direct field work and critical analysis of contemporary problems. Field work is troublesome and time-consuming to administer, and critical analysis is both difficult and explosive. Finally, there is virtually no attempt to teach the students participatory skills as a way of developing motivation and operational ability in civic affairs.

Civic Education at the University Level

Above the primary and secondary schools stand the universities which should be the most important institutions for imparting civic orientation to those who will provide the most crucial element of national leadership. Unfortunately, civic education is probably the least developed aspect of university education and is far from fulfilling its potential role.

In most developing countries, university education is regarded primarily as the gateway to a lucrative job and superior social status, not as a source of civic training or general cultural enrichment. In the past, the favored fields of learning have been the more profitable aspects of science - engineering and medicine - and social science - mainly law - plus a smattering of classical studies - history, philosophy and literature. The more recent emphasis on modernization has given new encouragement and support to other aspects of science, technology and the social sciences regarded most useful for economic development, mainly economics and administration. Little attention has been given to a general strategy of civic education, involving a broad range of social sciences, rigorous analysis of policy issues and civic action skills.

In addition, the social sciences suffer from the general difficulties that afflict all aspects of university education. Teaching methods follow the traditional lecture-examination pattern, and a large portion of professors

serve only on a part-time basis. Faculties are relatively isolated from each other and require heavy specialization in their own fields. Graduate training and research are extremely limited. And, in recent years, the level of intra-university conflict, usually linked to national politics, has increased and seriously damaged the quality of education.

Proposed Programs

To help improve this situation, the first step is to act in concert with the educational leadership of the recipient countries - ministries of education, university personnel, and other interested parties - to rethink developmental strategy regarding the social sciences and other relevant subjects in relation to civic education. This would involve two major emphases: (1) to re-examine university educational programs across the board to see how they might contribute more significantly to civic education - not only regarding values and factual knowledge but the analysis of policy problems and the development of civic action skills, and (2) to improve the balance among relevant disciplines, especially by strengthening those that have traditionally been neglected: sociology, political science, history, social psychology and anthropology.

As an example of this kind of general social science strategy, with heavy emphasis on policy-oriented teaching and research, we can cite the example of a program initiated at the Catholic University of Chile as the result of a major reform movement in 1968. Key elements in this enterprise are the creation of a new political science department and a Center for the Study of the National Reality. In India, a similar attempt is being made, but with more limited results thus far, under the direction of an Inter-Ministerial Commission on National Integration to see how university education, among other instrument-

alities, can make a more effective contribution to alleviate major national tensions which have generated such disastrous conflicts. In the Philippines, the Public Administration College of the University of the Philippines conducts an exceptionally good program of training, research, advisory services,and conferences for public and private leaders regarding a broad range of national problems.

There are many activities which AID might support to advance such efforts. Perhaps most fundamental would be studies of past and prospective social science development not only within individual countries but in a number of relevant nations. Although such comparative studies have been conducted at the primary and secondary levels, we have no indication of any similar operationally-oriented analysis at the university level. It would be well to administer such a study under multilateral auspices, possibly UNESCO or a regional organization such as the Latin American Council of the Social Sciences. Against this background, each participating nation could formulate its own plans for developing the social sciences in relation to its own requirements for advanced civic education.

As an integral part of such a plan, one of the first needs is substantial investment in the preparation of competent teachers in the requisite disciplines. This calls for active support by university leadership and some commitment regarding future employment. Such training is frequently done in the more developed countries, especially in the United States, but advantage should also be taken of appropriate facilities within developing countries, including regional programs such as FLACSO (Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences). These efforts should be coordinated with the improvement of teaching methods and materials, along lines similar to the comprehensive approach of the Ford

Foundation's support of a new political science program at the University of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

Once these foundations have been constructed, attention should be given to building a stronger capacity for indigenous research and graduate training. These activities can be primed by foreign participants, but as soon as possible they should be manned primarily by local personnel. Outstanding examples of such development are the economics faculties of the Catholic University and the University of Chile, both in Santiago, and the Asian Institute of Management in Manila. An ancillary concern should be to strengthen communication and cooperation between the universities and extra-academic groups, including government agencies and important interest groups. The Center for Applied Politics and the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies in India, both supported by the Ford Foundation, are channels for this kind of collaboration via activities such as conferences, special study groups, consultative services and publications.

Finally, consideration should be given to extra-curricular activities, especially during vacations, which put students into closer touch with national life. Several countries, including India, Ghana, Peru and Chile, have developed some form of national youth service which serves several objectives related to civic education: (1) to engage in useful work in national development, (2) to improve general communication and cooperation between students and other sectors of the population, (3) to deepen the students' understanding of national problems, and (4) to formulate specific policy action programs.

Conclusions

It is evident from these examples that many developing countries, probably a majority of them, endorse the same general civic education objectives emphasized above and have already taken some significant steps in these directions. The greatest progress has probably been made in stressing modern democratic values as well as factual information about one's country. The greatest weakness is that relatively little attention is given to the international scene, critical analysis of problems, and development of action skills. Teaching methods are still quite traditional and do little to encourage direct observation of, or participation in, real civic affairs.

Thus there is great need of, and opportunity for, AID assistance in the area of civic education. Probably the most useful activities would be general encouragement of indigenous civic education efforts which have received little support in the past in comparison with the extraordinary emphasis on technical-vocational education. Beyond this, help is needed in research on civic education, planning, preparation of curricula and teaching materials, and teacher-training. In these endeavors, it is important to make use, whenever feasible, of third countries and multilateral organizations.

Mass Communications

Among other channels which can make an important civic education contribution, the mass media are of central significance.* The most important

*The best operational discussion of the role of mass media in developing countries, though with unfortunately little attention given to the civic education aspect, is Wilbur Schramm, Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Education in the Developing Countries (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965).

functions, seldom well developed in the emerging nations, are: reporting, analysis, and training. Printed media usually do the most comprehensive and intensive job in reporting and analysis but reach a relatively small audience. Their crucial role should not be underestimated, however, since they exert powerful influence on the leadership and most developed sectors of the nation, and even penetrate the illiterate population through indirect communication. The radio traditionally has been the major mass medium, but it is usually poorly developed, and its performance is relatively superficial. Television is a rapidly growing force and is likely soon to surpass radio in all aspects of civic reporting, analysis and training.

In the past, no United States Government agency has done very much to develop the civic educational role of the media. AID has given only limited attention to this problem and that primarily as a means to advance particular developmental programs, especially in agriculture and population control. It is often assumed that USIA has the major developmental responsibility in the media field, but it devotes most of its attention to transmitting information about the United States and gives only minor support to basic media development, chiefly via limited training, travel grants and some technical assistance. The contribution of the Department of State is primarily via a modest number of travel and training grants administered through the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in Washington and the USIS in the field.

Recommendations

It is evident that this approach is grossly inadequate, and, as part of the fundamental rethinking of the civic education mission of the United States Government, AID and other relevant agencies, especially the Department of State and USIA, should re-examine their stance regarding the development of mass com-

munications in the emerging countries. In thinking about this problem, it would be well to begin with the reporting function. Consistent with the basic concept of civic education stated above, the media ideally should gather, organize and transmit as objective, comprehensive, balanced and detailed information as possible to the general population regarding all major aspects of national life--economic, social, political, cultural and strategic. This is the raw material which the citizenry needs as a basis for thinking intelligently about national and international problems. Obviously this is a tall order, and such standards are closely approached by only that small minority of exceptional media, such as The Times of India and El Mercurio of Chile. Nevertheless these extraordinary media prove that, where there is determination on the part of the management and the necessary material and human resources, a surprisingly good performance can be achieved.

Next, there is the analytical function: to help the audience understand the causes and consequences of past events and foresee and shape future events. While the media make some contribution to understanding the past, though usually from only a partial, narrow and often biased point of view, they do relatively little to assist with the latter two functions. Occasionally, however, one discovers exceptional examples of advanced analysis that show what can be done. In the Philippines, for instance, a blind radio analyst runs a program entitled "As I See It" which offers a tribunal for receiving complaints about poor public service and for discussing what remedial action should be taken. This program has had a salutary effect on the conduct of national and local officials. In the Dominican Republic, during the first free election following the overthrow of the dictator Trujillo, the two main presidential candidates engaged in extraordinarily rational and well-planned television debates, which were widely

viewed via receivers installed in village squares and which systematically analyzed the major issues of the election.

Finally there is the function of formal education which is particularly appropriate for television but can also be done through the other media. Rapid progress is being made in this area, particularly with the advent of transmission via satellite in such countries as the Ivory Coast and India, but thus far the overwhelming emphasis is on technical-vocational training rather than civic education. Nonetheless, there are examples of the latter, especially in a mixture of technical and civic material, as in the Indian radio programs designed for labor and farm audiences. Radio has also lent itself to basic adult education, as in Colombia, with a combination of literacy, technical and civic training. Far greater emphasis, however, should be given to the civic component.

Operational Measures

To further these objectives, there are several operational approaches which need greater attention. First, AID, in association with the Department of State and USIA, should do more, in consultation with the appropriate media leadership of the developing countries--owners and managers--to gain recognition of the need for more active, inventive and responsible development of civic reporting, analysis and education via the media. This consultation can take place not only in private discussions but through institutional channels such as trade associations, university programs and trips abroad.

Second, the motivation and skills of the working staffs should be oriented more toward the civic aspect of their work. Of fundamental importance are the career rewards--pay, status and general support--given for specialization in

the civic field. At the outset of their careers, training and recruitment patterns should emphasize this objective. In most communications schools, more stress seems to be placed on technical training than on substantive education in the various relevant disciplines, especially the social sciences. Nonetheless, in a few schools, such as the School of Social Communication Sciences at the Javeriana University in Colombia, a substantial proportion of the courses is in the basic social sciences. Third country and multilateral programs also make constructive contributions, as in the UNESCO communications schools in Strasbourg and Quito. Other useful measures are internships in the more advanced media, travel and study opportunities abroad, mid-career advanced study such as the Nieman program at Harvard, and emphasis on the civic function in professional association activities.

Finally, various types of supporting services and facilities can help to strengthen the civic role of the media. These include: foreign travel and conferences, preferably within a multilateral framework; source materials including books and periodicals; and improved wire services, especially regional systems responsive to the special needs of the developing countries.

Interest Groups

Another essential part of civic development is strengthening the organization and capacity of major groups within a society, at lower as well as upper socio-economic levels, to formulate and promote their interests in relation to the rest of society. To avoid the dangers of irresponsible escalation of demands and conflicts, it is important to help each group to be as rational and realistic as possible and to be motivated and prepared to negotiate with other sectors in order to evolve reasonable compromises.

Because the upper strata of developing societies have exercised such dominant control in the past and the less fortunate elements have been so submerged, a special effort must constantly be made to improve the relative balance between these groups, gradually moving toward a more egalitarian situation. This strategy also calls for strengthening key channels of inter-group communication and negotiation. Such a strategy is not likely to succeed, however, unless the elites are prepared to make substantial concessions to the underprivileged. If such an approach does not work, the bargaining model may not be viable, and there may be an explosion. Unfortunately this may lead to a more repressive, rather than progressive, regime, but history indicates that the long-range trend is likely to be egalitarian.

While interest groups are usually not thought of as instruments of education, they can, and sometimes do, make such a contribution as they influence the development of both their leadership and followership. They have the advantage of special appeal and access to their members because the latter see them as their chosen instruments concerned mainly with serving their own interests. On the other hand, it is difficult for them to be as detached and objective in their approach as some other institutions, such as the schools. Nonetheless, a comprehensive civic education strategy should try to develop as enlightened a civic education role as possible for these associations. The following analysis deals first with general guidelines and then discusses various categories of groups.

General Guidelines

The fundamental requirement of such a strategy is consultation with key group leaders to identify, and help strengthen, civic education as an important function of such associations. Granted that there are difficulties involved in a

foreign government's participation in such efforts, it is possible in some situations, and it is already being done to a limited degree. The United States Government has given assistance, directly or indirectly, to most major types of groups for educational purposes that have some civic education significance. This may take the form of foreign travel grants extended to leaders of major associations, support of formal training programs, such as the Asian Labor Education Center in the Philippines, support of the League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund to train women civic leaders in Latin America, or financing the training of farm union leaders in Latin America. In most cases, it would seem desirable to channel such assistance through non-governmental counterpart groups. Other institutions which should be used more intensively are third country groups and multilateral organizations. An example of the latter is the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) in conducting training programs of a civic as well as technical nature.

Inevitably one must face the problem of the difficulty of encouraging independent roles for such groups in societies in which the host governments, as well as foreign governments, political parties and elitist groups may use this kind of aid to control and exploit the less privileged strata. Whatever the United States can do is inevitably limited by the surrounding environment, and it must decide whether the situation is sufficiently promising to warrant involvement or not. If there is a basis for collaboration, the United States can often help to strengthen the independence of such associations. On the other hand, the United States cannot expect precisely the kind of pluralistic system that prevails at home but must be prepared to work within more collectivist environments so long as they are moving in directions basically in accordance with fundamental United States values.

The assumption of this paper is that the substantive objectives of whatever is done within these groups should be the same as those discussed above in relation to schools and universities. It will often be difficult to encourage a more cosmopolitan, democratic and rational approach to national development, but the task will be made easier by demonstrating that such an approach is to the self-interest of the membership. It is especially important to concentrate on the leadership because they play a crucial role, require the most advanced training, set the tone for the rank-and-file and necessitate a less massive and expensive investment. At the same time, the followership needs at least minimal attention, at a less sophisticated level, so that there will be an effective link between the upper and lower strata.

Many techniques and channels can be developed to achieve these objectives. While most groups have some kind of training program, they are usually quite feeble and narrow in subject matter and analytical approach. Much needs to be done to improve the general quality of these efforts and to expand their horizons to link their own immediate interests to broader civic concerns. It is important that they strengthen their own training capability and not depend primarily on someone else. This is the philosophy behind the work of the Center for Labor and Cooperative Studies at the University of Chile and the Asian Labor Education Center at the University of the Philippines.

At the same time, educational opportunities, especially at more advanced levels, will need to be obtained from other sources, such as the more developed countries and multilateral organizations. Ruskin College in England and the German foundations have engaged in these efforts, as well as specialized international agencies such as the ILO and FAO. Support should also be given for travel and conferences, both within and among countries, not only to improve

communication among similar groups but with other types of associations which may have conflicting interests. Important mediating institutions for cultivating more effective dialogue among competing groups are government agencies and universities. Unfortunately, such communication is extremely rare, but one finds a few pioneering efforts, such as those of Dr. Aristides Calvani, Professor of Sociology at the Catholic University in Venezuela, who for many years conducted successful seminars for labor and management leaders. Finally, interest groups can help to provide scholarship aid for their members, as in the case of the well-developed textile workers union of India.

Another objective should be to strengthen the capacity of these groups to study and formulate their own policy positions. For this they need not only competent staffs but at least a minimum of research infrastructure including source materials, office equipment and a publications program.

Economic Elites

As one explores the intricate mechanism of national civic participation, one expects that the dominant source of influence is to be found in the economic elite, chiefly those who control the principal material resources of the country -- businessmen, bankers, landowners, and their allied professions (engineering, law, and other affiliated specialties). This group is far from monolithic and encompasses many differences in power, interest, type of activity, education, civic effectiveness, and ideological orientation--including those inevitable "traitors to their class" who provide crucial leadership for the extreme left, e.g., Salvador Allende, a wealthy doctor who leads the major Marxist coalition of Chile.

Many economic leaders have had some kind of university education, either national or foreign, frequently majoring in subjects such as engineering, law, business administration, economics or science. In addition to what was said earlier about the national educational system to which these people are exposed, it may be well to emphasize certain aspects of that system especially relevant to the elites. The fundamental governing assumption about the purpose of that education is that it is mainly a gateway to a superior job and status--not preparation for civic participation or cultural appreciation. These people are exposed to considerable technical training, but they receive very limited education in the critical analysis of major contemporary problems--land reform, educational development, urbanization-- going beyond the range of immediate business interests, such as production, marketing, labor and taxes. After they leave the university they have very limited contacts with the university community, except for a few personal relations, indirect exposure via the mass media, and rare university seminars and conferences.

Beyond formal education, there are a few organized channels for the analysis of public policy questions, including a modest amount of systematic research. There are two main categories of such institutions, trade associations and ancillary organizations established by various sectors of the economic elite to engage in systematic research and action regarding national problems. These channels are the most promising for civic education purposes and deserve far more attention than they have received in the past.

Lower Socio-Economic Strata

A fundamental aspect of current development is the accelerating rise of the masses stimulated by egalitarian ideologies--whether Christian, Jeffersonian, or Marxist--and the possibilities and requirements of modern technological and

economic progress. The question is not whether or not the masses will play a more important role in civic life, but how much and how soon. Major elements of civic development, therefore, are the organization and education of the lower levels of society to participate in community life.

There are at least two types of organization for this purpose: (1) general community organizations open to all residents in a particular area, and (2) more specialized organizations composed of people sharing certain characteristics, usually occupational.

In many developing countries, community development has been an important vehicle for general citizen organization at the lower level. In India, for example, community development was given strong support by Prime Minister Nehru, but, after his death, the enemies of the movement, including bureaucrats, technicians, and politicians, succeeded in clipping its wings. In Chile, this approach has taken the form of a program called Popular Promotion which has fostered the creation of thousands of neighborhood councils, juntas de vecinos, to provide centers for identifying, analyzing, and dealing with local problems. President Frei expressed the essential philosophy of the program when he announced the passage of enabling legislation in 1968: "It is indispensable. . . that between governmental authority and the most modest and remote citizens . . . there be channels of communication whereby the government. . . may receive and know the thoughts of the common man." The underlying assumption is that the "marginal" groups must be given more equitable treatment, or society will suffer. Such progress is unlikely, however, unless the disadvantaged are given the essential means to bring pressure to bear on the upper levels of society, especially political and economic power and effective organization.

To develop the necessary motivation, knowledge and skills, Popular Promotion has organized a massive educational program which reaches approximately 200,000 persons a year. The announced purpose of this education is to "achieve a change of mental attitude and to provide skills which will permit the integration of the popular sectors in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country in a form which is organized, responsible, creative and efficient."* This kind of program gives some indication of the potential of the community development approach from a civic education point of view.

An adjunct of these efforts is a large-scale adult literacy program administered under the Department of Special Planning for the Education of Adults in the Ministry of Education. This campaign has been strongly influenced by the philosophy of Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator who has injected into literacy training a substantive content designed to stimulate the "conscientization" of the masses. By this he means the inculcation of the motivation to change and cooperate with one's fellow men, to think freely and rationally, to understand one's community and its problems, and to do something positive to improve one's condition.**

In the less fortunate strata of society, organized labor is the elite--the more advanced, prosperous and secure elements of the masses. The Ghanaian Trade Union Congress, for example, is one of the oldest and most developed in Africa. It is also one of the best organized and most influential in national policy-making.

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*Promocion Popular: Instrumento del Desarrollo Social (Santiago: National Council of Popular Promotion, 1968).

**For a brief description of this program, see T. G. Sanders, Letter, Institute of Current World Affairs, June 6, 1968.

As for education, the general schooling to which laboring people are exposed was described earlier. The rank-and-file seldom complete primary school, and the leadership rarely completes secondary, not to mention university, education. Many of these go to special technical schools which provide vocational courses. Thus the working man receives precious little civic education, and that is largely at the primary or early secondary level.

Outside the general educational system, there are a few courses to impart basic values, knowledge and skills relevant to immediate labor concerns, including programs affiliated with foreign entities, e.g., the International Labor Organization, the Friedrich Ebert and Konrad Adenauer Foundations of Germany, and the American Institute of Free Labor Development of the United States, but these have limited outreach.

In all countries, rural labor has usually been the most deprived, least educated, most exploited, and most conservative. In a few cases, such as Chile, however, there has been substantial progress, including land reform and peasant unionization. A new law passed in Chile in 1967 greatly stimulated and strengthened the farm labor movement, including authorization for national confederations of farm unions and a compulsory dues check-off system. In addition, the government launched a major effort, administered chiefly by the Institute of Agricultural Development, to stimulate and guide the organization and development of farm unions.

In keeping with the intensely reformist orientation of the present Chilean government, the stated objectives of this educational activity are quite ambitious: ". . . the creation of a consciousness in the farmer of the social structure and its dynamic quality in order to develop his thinking about the causes of his prior

condition and a critical understanding of the process in which he is involved. In order to fulfill this lofty mandate, the government has launched a massive training program, varying according to level of sophistication, functional requirements, resources and time available. The major subjects stressed are: the government's general approach to change and development, agrarian reform, the farm labor movement, organization and administration of farm unions, economic aspects of agrarian reform, cooperatives, and the farm family. In addition, special topics are dealt with in programs designed for different organizations: e.g., unions, cooperatives, and women's groups. Special training is provided for more sophisticated agricultural planning, and there is also technical education concerning production and marketing. Finally, there is concern with improving the skills of training and communication.

An important international partner in this effort is the Institute of Training and Research in Agricultural Reform (ICIRA) which is an arm of the Food and Agriculture Organization located in Chile. It has provided a major input of training for Chilean governmental agencies and some farm unions. The principal emphasis is on economic, social and administrative aspects of agrarian development. Some of the most important research, providing intellectual capital for the training program, is produced here.

Despite this progress, serious difficulties remain. Conditioning all the reform efforts is the depressing effect of centuries of exploitation and repression. It is only in the last decade that a significant portion of the masses have gained access to primary education, not to mention the secondary level. The cultural

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*Marco Nacional de Programacion, 1969 (Santiago, INDAP, 1969), p. 27.

difference between these people and the elite must be measured in light-years. Even among the farm leadership, there is a sense of inferiority, insecurity, diffidence and distrust of educated people. This helps to explain the relatively narrow and unsophisticated scope of policy and training and the lack of adequate communication and collaboration with the upper levels of society. This experience underlines the need for intensified work on civic training, as well as other aspects of education.

Additional types of groups that deserve attention, but which cannot be treated in detail here, are: women's groups, religious movements, ethnic-tribal-family groups, and regional associations.

Political Parties

Political parties are extraordinary, and relatively recent, inventions to provide organizations whose sole function is to serve as a two-way channel between a portion of the citizenry, who share certain interests and attitudes, and the government. Unlike other groups, their main objective and occupation are politics--to promote the interests of their constituents within the government, to facilitate communication between the government and their adherents, and occasionally to help the government carry out its policies when they are considered compatible with the welfare of the party. As part of this process, parties devote considerable attention to communication at various levels and for various purposes, but the major effort is propaganda to win friends and votes. In most parties, developed or underdeveloped, there is precious little activity that could be called serious education.

Under the national leadership of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, for example, there is an educational program which conducts a number of

activities varying according to audience, function and subject matter. The most intensive format is a week-long "seminar" for groups of thirty leaders, usually four per year, or a week-long "course" for up to one hundred individuals, usually twenty per year. The normal objective is to discuss various mixtures of general philosophy and strategy, specific issues, current tactics, and organizational problems. The basic doctrine of the party is set forth in a Manual of the Fundamentals of Christian Democracy. Discussion of substantive issues is based, in part, on special studies and reports prepared by thirteen "technical departments" of the national party secretariat which are largely counterparts of governmental ministries and deal with the same range of subject matter.

Ancillary activities are concerned with special sectors of the party, including students, business, labor, farmers, women, and so on. One of the most active programs along these lines is conducted for university students by an organization called the Corporation for University Promotion, which is officially non-partisan but is motivated by the Christian Democratic philosophy. This movement was begun in 1960 to mobilize and educate students, from a Christian Democratic point of view, with regard to university, national and Latin American regional problems. The activities have included: 1) relatively long courses (nine-months and six-weeks) in Chile for thirty to forty student leaders from all over Latin America; and 2) shorter seminars (twenty days) for approximately eighty students held in Chile and other Latin American countries. The subject matter embraces general doctrine, specific issues, strategy and tactics, and student organization and operations.

It is most difficult and dangerous, however, for the United States Government to become involved in efforts to improve civic education through such

political party activities because it thereby supports specific partisan causes. In most cases, it would be well to avoid direct efforts of this kind and to depend primarily on the indirect effect of the types of programs discussed earlier having to do with education, mass media, and interest groups. Strengthening the civic education functions of these institutions will inevitably influence the activities of political parties.

The Government: Civilian and Military

The national government, with its local appendages, is the central mix-master of the civic system where the bargaining process on national policies is most intense, complex and crucial. While one assumes that the civic education of the major actors in this drama takes place outside the government--family, school, religion, etc. -- or is affected unconsciously by the governmental process itself, there are organized educational efforts within the structure which can have an in portant impact on the civic orientation of governmental personnel. This paper will not deal with the judiciary but will concentrate on the executive branch, civilian and military, and the legislature.

Executive Personnel

Most civilian employees in the upper layers of public service have some university education, either before or after entering the government. University social science programs to which they are exposed have already been described, and there is a significant contingent who study while they are working in the government. Others are given leave for this purpose. There is often a university institution of public administration, as in India, the Philippines and Indonesia, which conducts training,research and training programs especially designed to meet governmental needs.

Within the government, the traditional approach is to leave much of the training to each ministry which has the effect of stressing specialized and technical education appropriate to each agency. Little attention is given to general civic education, even for the higher strata of the service.

Standing beside the civilian bureaucrats are their military brothers-in-arms, who are encouraged to stay out of civic life, except as "defenders of the constitution" under civilian direction. At the same time, it is clear that the military are a major, if not the dominant, ultimate arbiter of civic life and can exert crucial influence on the civic system, whether or not they choose to intervene openly. It is the assumption of this paper, shared by many leaders in the developing countries, that the military should receive more adequate civic education-- not to tempt them to assume political power but to give them a better understanding of their society and to help them comprehend and accept the concepts and requirements of democratic civic development.

In Chile, for example, the main military education takes place at four stages of the typical military career. At the earliest and lowest level, there is the Military School, which is the equivalent of the last three years of high school and exposes the cadets to a very limited and relatively traditional mixture of history, geography and civics. At the next stage, young officers are frequently given an opportunity to participate in short courses, chiefly military in content but with some elementary civic orientation, in foreign countries, especially in the United States programs in Panama or the mainland. After ten to fifteen years service, officers enter a one-year program at the War Academy, which again is mainly military but encompasses a small dose of social science, chiefly law and economics. There is increasing interest in university social science programs, especially at the Catholic University, which is considered more congenial ideologically. Finally, toward the top of the career ladder, there is a

one-month "seminar" for senior officers, something like a brief version of the United States War Colleges, which includes lectures on civic affairs, especially international relations. Thus these officers, as in other developing countries, receive little comprehensive or rigorous social studies education, and therefore they have an inadequate basis for understanding the development of their own country and the surrounding international environment.

Clearly there is need for more adequate civic education for governmental employees, military as well as civilian, to help them to be not only better public servants but better citizens. This is obviously a sensitive area in which the United States must tread carefully. Nonetheless, there are opportunities for external assistance, some of which are already being dealt with but which can be more fully developed within the framework of the broader strategy of civic education suggested here.

The first task is to help achieve greater recognition on the part of host governments that civic education for their employees is an important and necessary aspect of development, in addition to narrower technical education which is currently the main emphasis. Secondly, assistance can help to strengthen the major institutional channels for imparting such training, especially by broadening these programs to embrace more of the concept of general civic education discussed earlier. The principal instrumentalities for this task are: university programs which educate people for government service (not only law, administration and the other social sciences but scientific and technical fields which are close to governmental interests), governmental training programs, private organizations that influence governmental education, such as the Institute for Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies and the Center for Applied Politics, both in India, and relevant foreign programs, including those of multilateral agencies.

Legislative Personnel

Members of legislatures are not inclined to think of themselves as students in need of civic, or any other kind of, education. Nonetheless, at least some of them would probably admit that they might benefit from such training, and there are even a few examples of organized activities which impart considerable civic education to legislators. These include special seminars and conferences in which legislative members or their staffs participate, political party programs, special services which provide information and analysis relevant to legislative business, and international and regional parliamentary associations.

As part of its civic education program, AID should consider possibilities of improving the effectiveness of these and other instrumentalities for giving legislators the information and skills they need to cope with the many problems they face. In addition to the institutions we have already discussed, it is pertinent to consider additional activities that can minister most directly to the needs of legislators. For example, the Public Administration College of the University of the Philippines provides training, research and advisory services which have been extraordinarily successful in gaining a favorable reception from many members of the Philippine Congress. The Institute for Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies in India has initiated an internship program in the Indian Parliament, similar to that conducted by the American Political Science Association in the United States Congress, which gives scholars and journalists an opportunity to work in the legislative environment and gives intellectual assistance to Indian Members of Parliament. In the Chilean Congress, there has been established a Legislative Reference Service, similar to the one in the United States Congress, which provides general research, advisory and speech-writing services to the legislative members.

Conclusions

The general pattern which one finds in the developing countries is: a failure to recognize the importance of education designed to develop and support a civic system capable of managing major national problems, primary emphasis on education to improve the material aspects of development, a restricted and traditional approach to the teaching of civic affairs, and inadequate efforts to develop the civic education potential of channels other than the schools -- mass media, interest groups, political parties and governmental programs. The problem is further exacerbated by the grossly unequal distribution of educational opportunity.

The traditional pattern of education most relevant to civic life has been narrow and authoritarian. Values stressed have concentrated more on patriotism and obedience than on democracy and expanding the sense of community. Content has stressed national and Western history, geography and the bare bones of constitutional law and political structure. Little encouragement has been given to independent critical analysis, and virtually none to training in participatory skills as an integral part of the educational program.

Some countries, such as India, Chile and Ghana, are trying to improve their civic education along democratic lines, but their progress is slow and receives little support, indigenous or foreign. The most advanced developing nations are planning more emphasis on democratic values and cosmopolitanism, broadening and deepening the factual information made available regarding major aspects of national and international development, encouraging more independent and critical analysis, and fostering participatory skills. Still it will be a long time before such reforms are generally accepted.

As for the other channels available for such education, there is great potential but little development. Healthy mass communications are an essential ingredient in a viable democratic system, but the general pattern is one of superficial and biased coverage of news and inadequate education of the personnel responsible for such coverage. Interest groups are the principal actors in the civic process, but few of them have done much to prepare their leadership, not to mention followership, to analyze intelligently the interests of their organizations in relation to the national and international community and to deal effectively with the other major segments of their society, governmental and non-governmental. Political parties are important mechanisms in civic life, but most of them have not begun to do an adequate job of mobilizing and training the cadres necessary for their purposes. Finally, the governments themselves should make a significant investment in education, not only technical but broadly civic, in order to prepare their personnel to have a better understanding of their role in relation to the national and world environment. Instead, the emphasis is chiefly on technical training, concentrating on content and skills which seem most immediately useful for material progress.

All of this analysis suggests that civic education is one of the most crucial, yet most neglected, aspects of educational development in the less developed countries. Surely the most pressing problem of our time is to improve the system of communication, negotiation, and, hopefully, conciliation among the major groups in any national society in order to facilitate their coping with whatever problems arise in the future. The educational development strategies of AID and other appropriate agencies can, and should, do more to help meet this critical challenge.