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"CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES"

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"CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES"

". . . our educational system . . . has to foster the sovereign goals of living together, and working together, for the common good . . . Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help pupils to accept values appropriate to our kind of future .."*

*Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar Es Salaam, Government Printer of Tanzania, 1967), p.7.

In this declaration of 1967, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania emphasized the importance of teaching the people of his country to live and work together constructively within the national community as well as to learn productive skills for economic development. Such a comprehensive concept of education is rare among those concerned with the educational problems of the less developed countries who have given far more attention to the need for scientific, technological and vocational training to improve the material conditions of life than for education to improve community and civic relations among the citizens. Yet there is ample evidence that not only is civic and social improvement a necessary concomitant of material advancement but better material conditions will not by themselves cure many of the ills of the developing countries. The deep-seated sources of human prejudice, hostility, venality, cruelty, exploitation, and inefficiency which make it so difficult for men to live and work together are not automatically cured by economic progress.

What, then, can be done through education, in addition to other means, to prepare men to view their public, or community, problems in a reasonably peaceful and constructive fashion? This question, which confronts the more, as

well as the less, developed nations is not a new one. It was pondered at least as early as the days of Plato and Aristotle, but the many answers which have been propounded over the centuries are still far from satisfactory.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine this problem with particular reference to the developing countries. Because of limitations of space as well as the paucity of research in this field, it is impossible to describe, much less evaluate, a very wide range of civic education systems. The most that can be done here is: (1) to present a broad, conceptual framework explaining the general analytical approach of the paper and (2) to examine in detail the civic education system of one country, Chile, with supplementary references to relevant features of other systems, especially those of India and Ghana.

Analytical Framework:

Any consideration of the possibilities and limitations of civic education -- a hotly debated subject these days -- undoubtedly suffers as much from its friends, who claim too much, as from its enemies, who grant too little. It is the thesis of this paper that both theory and practice already show that some kinds of civic education can do a great deal to improve the quality of civic life, that, because of the key importance of civic development, the educational aspect deserves far more attention than it has received in the past, and, at the same time, no one should consider it a panacea and ignore its limitations.

If one delves into the more modern literature on the subject, which is far more plentiful in the more developed, than the less developed, countries, one finds that the chief disciple of democratic civic education was John Dewey. In his book, Education and Democracy, he repeated what the Greek philosophers had said: that the conduct of civic affairs is central to man's welfare and

that men can, and should, be educated to fulfill their civic responsibilities more effectively. Unlike the Greeks, however, Dewey was a modern democrat and urged that civic education be imbued with democratic values and practices.

Despite many serious difficulties, to be dealt with below, this bright vision has had tremendous impact not only in the United States, perhaps the citadel of democratic optimism, but in most other developed and underdeveloped countries. Much of the Dewey flavor is to be found in many of the formal pronouncements of educational objectives in the less 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."*

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

In this kind of analysis, it is important to confront squarely and early the problem of normative judgment. There are two major approaches to this question. One is the value-neutral function of simply analyzing existing reality for the purpose of understanding without making any normative judgment. The second approach, essential for evaluation or prescription, is to adopt a specific set of criteria as a basis for appraisal and recommendation.

In the latter case, there are various sources of such criteria. Some authors prefer to defer to an authority other than themselves in order to avoid seeming to impose their own preferences. Some look to a source outside human volition, e.g., some form of determinism -- technological, historical, or the alleged requirements of survival in the modern world. Others cite the conscious preferences of individuals or groups, sometimes expressed as "national interest." Finally, an author can supply his own criteria, implicit or explicit.

In this paper, I am concerned with evaluation as a basis for subsequent recommendations, and therefore I have chosen a set of criteria, stated in fairly broad terms, which express preferred characteristics of civic education consistent with the policies of the more progressive democratic countries -- both less and more developed -- and also consonant with my own personal values.

The fundamental objective of civic education should be to prepare citizens, at various levels of sophistication, to participate effectively in the civic system of their society. By "civic system" I mean the complex of public and private institutions and relationships which have the greatest influence in the management of community affairs, especially in resolving conflicts among competing interests. While most people concerned with development stress the importance of seeking solutions of major substantive problems -- industrialization, trade relations, land reform, and so on -- it is clear that ideal solutions are unlikely, that intense conflicts among opposing interests will exacerbate the problem, that demands will far outrun resources, and that the best that can be hoped for is some kind of compromise worked out through the civic bargaining mechanism, and that civic education can be a major means of improving that bargaining system.

It is my assumption that there should be four principal ingredients of such education: (1) civic values, (2) factual information relevant to effective citizen participation, (3) analytical skills necessary to thinking intelligently about community problems, and (4) action skills necessary to participate effectively in the civic process.

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The values which I assume should be emphasized are those necessary to modern democratic civic development. Stated in the briefest shorthand, these can be summarized as follows: cosmopolitanism (broadening and strengthening the sense of community), efficiency (modern rational behavior), democracy (including all of the basic aspects of democracy -- substantive, institutional, and procedural) and modern development (a commitment to progressive economic, social and political advancement, including the necessary institutional development to support these objectives).

The second requirement is fundamental and accurate factual information as a necessary basis for intelligent thinking about a citizen's relationship to his society. Ideally, this knowledge should deal with understanding one's self, one's own community, and the more remote communities of the province, nation, and, hopefully, other nations. The information should also be related to key problems -- economic, technological, social, political, and cultural -- which the citizen is likely to confront in the foreseeable future.

Training in analytical skills is required to enable a citizen to harness values and information to the task of analyzing major community problems in order to determine his own position on them.

Finally, action skills are desirable to enable a 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.

In addition to these key ingredients, there are the 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. While 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. Although people at that level usually have more education than the masses, they have normally received very 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 rich, as well as the less, privileged strata. But, because the rank-and-file of all levels cannot receive extensive civic education, the priority objective should be more intensive education of the leadership.

Many studies, such as The Civic Culture by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, testify to the critical impact of formal education on civic orientation, but it should be kept in mind that 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 which encourage more free and critical analysis, small-group work, direct field research, simulation, and operational experience.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind the major problems that place severe limitations on what can be done in the way of civic education.

The objectives I have set forth would be extremely difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances and can be only gradually approached over a long period of time. We are dealing with a highly sensitive area in which intense conflicts of interest are involved, and in which the opposing groups are not going to give way easily. The more radical elements consider the democratic bargaining model too conservative because they say it is designed to perpetuate an unjust status quo. The conservative elements oppose it because it is too democratic. Admittedly, the privileged classes may not be willing to make significant concessions to the masses. There is also the danger of overloading the system by simply emphasizing mass participation without adequate preparation to make that participation both enlightened and responsible and without developing channels of communication and negotiation. Nonetheless, the democratic bargaining model would seem to offer the best potential for reconciling antagonistic class interests with the best possibility of self-reform and low-violence change, but one must recognize that it may not work. In that case, an explosion is likely.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that governments and their citizens have not generally recognized the importance of this kind of education and have not given it psychological or material support. Priority has been given to other fields, currently scientific, technological and vocational education. And the situation will not change until authoritative recognition is given to the need for better civic education and commensurate attention and resources are devoted to it. But the inertia of existing arrangements and vested interests is great. One must also recognize that there are many other influences, in addition to education, especially family environment, that shape civic thought and action.

The problem of civic education is so complex that it seems desirable in a paper such as this to use one country as the major case in order to examine the subject in some depth, to see the relationships among the many facets of civic education, and to develop an analytical framework that can be applied to other countries. I have chosen Chile because it is among the more advanced democratic developing nations and therefore exhibits most of the aspects of civic education that need to be considered. At the same time, I shall draw on illustrative material from other countries. The principal institutional vehicles for civic education to be analyzed below are, in the order in which they will be discussed: the educational system, mass media, interest groups, political parties, and the government.

The Educational System

To understand the state of civic education in Chile, one must have in mind the general educational environment. As in all developing countries, the profile of educational distribution is a rapidly narrowing Eiffel-Tower type pyramid. Students enrolled in the first year of primary education account for 19% of the total primary and secondary enrollment, while those in the fourth year of high school account for only 3%. At the same time, the present government, under the leadership of Eduardo Frei, has made extraordinary progress in expanding enrollments at all levels. During his administration, 1964-69, enrollment at the primary level has increased 33%, at the high school level, 69%, and at the university level, 115%. To accommodate this rapid growth, there have been significant improvements in curriculum development, teacher training, textbooks and other materials, and physical facilities.

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Still the system suffers from many of the difficulties that have traditionally plagued most developing countries. Despite the improvement in educational opportunity, access to high school and university levels is restricted to a very small percentage of the population. This elitist pattern is accentuated by the fact that a large percentage of middle and upper class families send their children to private schools. (25% at the primary level, 28%, high school, and 36%, university). Control of the curriculum, teacher training and general administration of the educational system is highly centralized, and the substance of education is dominated by preparation for uniform nation-wide examinations rather than encouragement of free inquiry and critical judgment. Fields which 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 during the current reform movement to place more emphasis on scientific and vocational training and modern social science, but it will be some time before these innovations are fully digested.

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 radicalization of teachers. On the student side, there has been growing discontent and politicization, akin to similar trends in most other countries. 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 extremely high.

Primary and Secondary Civic Education

As long ago as 1954, the Chilean Ministry of Education adopted the following objectives for civic education: "...to study the characteristics of different cultures and take advantage of the possibilities of communication with the modern world,master the facts, concepts and scientific methods essential to understand the world of human relations; understand national conditions, the structure and functions of the State, and social and civic duties and rights . . . to develop the capacity to participate in the life of social groups,... to appreciate their interdependence; ... to understand the principles of economics ... and to appreciate the value and dignity of work ... and to develop valuable attitudes and habits such as ... responsibility, initiative, truth, courtesy, tolerance ..."* But practice has fallen far short of these noble aspirations.

*Republic of Chile, Ministry of Public Education, The Study Program for History and Geography (Santiago: Ministry of Education, 1964), p.5.

Probably the most important consideration is that, after many generations of following the classical pattern imported from Europe emphasizing general humanistic studies, the pendulum has swung rapidly toward science, technology and vocational training -- strongly abetted by the United States and other external influences. This is where the principal prestige, effort and money are focused, and far less attention is given to the social sciences. While the first two years of the four-year high school program are common to all and give equal time to science and humanities (including social science), at the end of the second year students must choose to specialize in one of these two areas. The overwhelming majority of students now opt

for science. In the principal high school in Santiago, when students were asked their preferred field of specialization, 372 out of 400 voted for science. Admission to the scientific major is determined largely by competence in mathematics, and it is generally regarded that the brightest students choose the scientific road. Once they have made that choice, the science majors devote only two hours a week to social science, compared to eight in science. Humanities majors follow the reverse pattern, eight hours in social science and two in science. Furthermore, until the Frei administration initiated major educational reforms in 1964, which are just beginning to bear fruit, the pattern of social science studies was characterized by extremely narrow and traditional content, poor teacher training, and superficial and dogmatic texts and pedagogical methods.

The content of the social sciences was organized into two major and two minor categories: history and geography, civics and economics. The history courses dealt with the usual periods -- ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary -- but the approach was quite traditional, mainly political rather than broadly social, cultural and economic. The curriculum gave heavy emphasis to Europe and rarely delved deeply into the contemporary period. Geography was designed to give some general understanding of the major physical and human characteristics of the world, again with a strong gravitational pull toward Europe. This material was presented first at a generally low level of sophistication during the first three years of a six-year high school program and then repeated at a higher level during the last three years.

A single course in civic education during the next-to-last year

of high school presented the bare bones of the constitutional and political system of the country: concepts of the state, nation, government, and rights and duties of citizens. One semester economics course in the last year exposed the students to some of the fundamental concepts of production, trade, finance, distribution, consumption, national accounts, economic development, and various economic philosophies, including socialism and communism.

Current Reforms

In 1964, the Frei government launched 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, eliminating 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 objective: 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 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 cosmos, (5) man, land, sea, urban society and commerce, (6) life in Chile and other countries, (7) social and political organization, 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.

The first semester of the first year will be devoted to the general physical characteristics of the earth -- land, sea and air. The second semester focuses on Latin America -- geography, indigenous cultures, advent of the Europeans, and colonial society.

The second year carries the analysis of Latin America, with special emphasis on Chile, up to the present time. First, there is an examination of the independence movement. Next, attention focuses on the political, economic and social development of Chile, from independence to the present, with reference to relevant developments in other Latin American countries. Then the course concentrates on the analysis of current problems: population, economic and social structure, agricultural problems, Latin American integration, dependence on foreign economies, economic instability, relations among different social levels and groups, problems of the lower-level strata, industrialization, and nationalization. Finally, the program turns the attention of the student to the task of applying all that he has learned in the analysis of his own community.

The theme of this exercise is: "The Local Region: Object of Understanding and Action." The purpose is to encourage the student to develop his own general understanding of his community in all its aspects: geographic, economic, social and political.

In the third year of high school, the students part company, as mentioned earlier, into two groups: the scientists and the humanists. For the latter group, the third-year program emphasizes history, geography and economics. The history section deals with the ancient and medieval periods in more depth and detail than at the primary level. Geography emphasizes the rational use of scarce resources. The economics section deals with general economics 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 century. 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 also 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 a remarkably constructive 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 social science preparation which they need to participate effectively in civic life. It will also take a very 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 encouraging 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

In universities, what is done about civic education is dominated by several basic characteristics of Chilean higher education. The dominant traditional way of thinking about the role of the university has been as the gateway to a lucrative, prestigious and elitist profession,

not as preparation for either civic participation or cultural enrichment. While this continues to be the primary orientation, with special emphasis on the fields of medicine, engineering and law, the current government has broadened the vocational preparation to include other aspects of science and technology and the more applied elements of social science, especially economics and administration. Still, stress is placed almost exclusively on education for a vocation, and each "faculty" imposes requirements of heavy specialization with a minimum of work in other disciplines (about 20%).

The faculties tend to be largely self-sufficient holding companies, often including several disciplines, e.g. the faculty of political and social sciences, and the faculty of philosophy and education, which attempt to administer within their own confines all of the courses their students are expected to take. There has been relatively little cooperation among the faculties and their constituent schools in either teaching or research. Although the quality of the faculties is improving, especially in the fields now stressed by the government, many professors continue to serve on a part-time basis, particularly in courses for the more junior students. Efforts are made to inject more discussion and independent inquiry, but the dominant pattern is still the lecture format. There is almost no graduate teaching beyond the Master's level, and opportunities for research are extremely limited, except in a few favorite programs. Current political tensions among students and faculty have emphasized the relevance of the university to national problems and, in the process, have tended to lay more stress on the social sciences. At the same time, the heightened partisan conflict has often discouraged

free and rigorous inquiry, hampered development, heightened animosity toward foreign intellectuals, and reduced support from the government and other sources.

There are eight Chilean universities of which the University of Chile is the dominant national institution, accounting for 47.5% (41,535) of the total university enrollment. There are two other important universities in Santiago: The National Technical University -- their "M.I.T." -- with 14.5% of the total enrollment, and the Catholic University with 14.8% of the enrollment. The others are considerably smaller, outside the capital, and less important. The following analysis concentrates primarily on the University of Chile.

University of Chile

Within the University of Chile, the programs most relevant for civic education are chiefly in the social sciences, administered by three major faculties: (1) Faculty of Economic Sciences, (2) Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences (including political science), and (3) Faculty of Philosophy and Education (including sociology, psychology, history and journalism). In addition, there is a Center of Labor and Cooperative Studies and an Institute of International Studies.

Economics

Clearly the strongest social science at the University -- similar to the situation in most universities in most developing countries -- is economics. The reasons for this lie not only in the advanced state of the discipline but in the view on the part of the modern sector of Chilean leadership, as well as external influences -- especially the United States Government and other agencies such as the Ford Foundation -- that economics

is of primary importance for the development of Chile. Thus the economics faculty is favored with considerably stronger financial support than the other social sciences which has made possible a stronger faculty, more fellowship aid, more research, and better facilities.

Within the faculty of economic sciences, there are four main units which are the principal centers of key personnel and activity: the Institute of Economics and Planning, the Institute of Administration, a Center of Socio-Economic Studies, and a Center on Economics and Mathematics. These bodies are mainly responsible for graduate training and research; they also provide some of the faculty for undergraduate teaching. At the undergraduate level, there are three programs: economics, administration, and technical economic training (accounting, statistics, commerce, and administration of cooperatives).

The vital core of the faculty is a group of 35 full-time professors attached to the Institute of Economics and Planning who represent a major investment in advanced training, much of it in the United States and other more developed countries. This is a far stronger capability than that possessed by any other social science in the University, and they enjoy the possibility of devoting approximately 80% of their time to research. The research program for 1970 consists of 18 projects dealing with key problems of Chilean and Latin American regional development. The faculty is also primarily responsible for a two-year M.A. program, two-thirds of whose students come from outside Chile, mainly from other Latin American countries.

At the undergraduate level, much of the teaching is done by another 40 faculty members who are largely part-time. Of the 40 semester-courses to be taken during the five-year undergraduate economics program, only

ten can be outside the field of economics; of these, six are specified -- in the fields of general social sciences, law, political science and sociology.

The Institute of Administration is not as strong as the Institute of Economics and Planning, but, compared to the other social sciences, it has an impressive faculty and program. While an effort is made to straddle the fields of business and public administration, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, the main orientation is toward business administration, including an active program concerning labor-management relations. The pattern of course distribution between the main specialization and outside courses is approximately the same as in the economics major.

The Center of Socio-Economic Studies has just been established as a direct result of the current reform movement and is designed to encourage more collaboration between these two disciplines. The faculty group involved is small (15), about evenly divided between the two fields, and of high quality. Their research focuses on various socio-economic aspects of Chilean development, e.g., the problem of "dependency" on the United States and other foreign countries.

The Center on Economics and Mathematics performs a similar role in facilitating the coordinated application of these two disciplines to economic problems. There is also limited cooperation with other programs outside the faculty of economic sciences, such as the Center for Labor and Cooperative Studies and the Institute of International Studies, but there is far less cooperation with other schools such as law and political science.

As for contacts with the world outside the University, these are mainly with fellow intellectuals and relevant governmental agencies, although relations with the latter are currently hampered by strong ideo-

logical differences between many leftist faculty members and the Christian Democratic Government. The faculty have also conducted a few conferences and seminars for businessmen, and collaborate with some of the more progressive organizations concerned with business opinion formation, e.g., the Chilean Society for Planning and Development -- somewhat analagous to the National Planning Association in the United States. But there is general consensus that these contacts are minimal and should receive greater attention.

Law

Within the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences, the Law School is the dominant force -- venerable, prestigious, traditionally conservative, but now vigorously challenged by the radicals. In comparison with economics, it has benefitted less from domestic and foreign attention and largesse. Thus, in relation to its needs, it is less well endowed, has a weaker faculty, a far larger and more heterogeneous student body, less progressive programs, and poorer facilities.

In part because it is an undergraduate, rather than a graduate, program, it has injected into its curriculum, mainly during the first year, a considerable element of the social sciences -- courses in political and constitutional theory, economics, philosophy, sociology, and the history of the political and social institutions of Chile. Still these account for only approximately 20% of the total course offerings; the rest are entirely in the field of law. The social science courses are quite limited in scope, taught at a fairly elementary level by part-time teachers, and administered by the Faculty

of Juridical and Social Sciences. The regular law curriculum covers standard law subjects, but is taught more by the traditional lecture than the case method, and many of the faculty serve on a part-time basis.

UNDERSTANDING

There are efforts to improve the program, including a Ford Foundation project, by modernizing the faculty, curriculum and teaching methods. One danger, however, is that some of this effort is designed to reduce the general social science material which would have the effect of making the curriculum even more narrowly specialized than at present.

A few innovations have been introduced to strengthen the Law School's research and teaching programs regarding national problems. These include a center to study legal aspects of Latin American integration, a few seminars on major policy areas, and an Institute on Law and Development being organized by the Inter-American Bank. Other than refresher courses, infrequent conferences, and individual faculty activities, there are no major organized collaborative efforts with important interest groups, such as business, agriculture, and labor. While all lawyers must belong to the Chilean Bar Association, that organization is not active in mobilizing systematic analysis of major national problems from a legal point of view.

Political Science

Political science is the ugly duckling of the social sciences -- latest and weakest in relation to its sister disciplines. Only during the last decade did it begin to show marked progress. While the School of Political and Administrative Sciences, founded in 1955, is still for-

mally within the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences and dominated by the Law School, the trend is for it to exercise greater independence and initiative. This is aided by the general reform movement in the university and the fact that the former director of the school, Ricardo Lagos, is now secretary-general of the university, second only to the rector.

When the school was founded, it was thought of mainly as a training program for civil servants, and this emphasis is still strong. As part of the reform movement, however, a group of younger faculty members, many trained abroad and also in other social sciences, is pressing for the development of a more comprehensive and modern political science program. Recently an Institute of Political and Administrative Sciences was formed to facilitate research and graduate training. Unlike some of the other disciplines, the school arranges internships in government agencies as an integral part of the curriculum.

The main curriculum of the school is still designed to produce a graduate with the title, "public administrator." At the same time, the courses include a broad range of social sciences, including economics, law, sociology, and appropriate quantitative methodology. Furthermore, the school is supplying political science courses to other schools and faculties. Still it is probably the weakest of the social sciences in the university, with the most inadequate financial resources, faculty, research and facilities.

Sociology

Within the Faculty of Philosophy and Education, one finds the School of Sociology which is probably the second strongest social

science in the university, after economics. The faculty is lively, heterogeneous, and torn by strong ideological differences, although the primary orientation is to the Left. Its financial resources are not as strong as those of economics, and therefore the faculty is weaker, research less developed, and facilities austere.

The first two years of the regular five-year undergraduate curriculum offer an exceptionally broad range of general social science, including courses on philosophy, cultural history, psychology, statistics, economics, human geography, political and social history of Chile, and an introduction to scientific method. The last three years concentrate more on the usual sociological subject matter. Of all the social sciences in the university, this school is probably the broadest in its approach and the most sensitive, and open, to related disciplines. As part of the reform movement, special emphasis is given to the study of the developmental problems of Chile, making considerable use of modern methodologies within the limits of scarce resources. Particular attention is given to the "sociology of under-development, labor, rural problems, industrialization, urbanization, education, public health, the family, and public opinion. There is also the Joint Center for Socio-Economic Studies mentioned above.

Leftist

Education

Within the Faculty of Philosophy and Education, the Institute of Education, which prepares its students to be secondary school teachers, has the largest number of students, a heterogeneous and uneven faculty, meager financial resources, and relatively low prestige. Frequently students who fail to gain admission to other faculties turn

to this school as a last resort. These circumstances have resulted in low morale and considerable ideological conflict with a pronounced inclination to the Left. Low prestige

Within the school the major civic education specialties are history and geography, the main traditional social science subjects offered in the high schools. Within each of these two fields, there is some minimal exposure to the following related subjects: philosophy, sociology, psychology, constitutional law, and economics. Training is also given in teaching methodology, although, until recently, the techniques recommended were quite traditional, emphasizing the usual lecture method with a minimum of free research and discussion.

Journalism

Within the remarkably elastic boundaries of the Faculty of Philosophy and Education, one also finds the School of Journalism which has the reputation of being the best of its kind in Chile, but the competition is not strong. Like the Institute of Education, this school receives many students who fail to be admitted by other faculties. Those who control the mass media place relatively little value on this education, although they acknowledge that they have employed some good people who have had this training. Because employment opportunities in the journalism field are limited and poorly paid, a majority of the graduates go into non-journalism jobs, including business. The school also suffers from the fact that it has not been given as strong encouragement and support as such fields as economics and administration.

Unlike most of the schools, journalism is a four-year, rather than five-year, program. During these years, the students are exposed to a wide range of both specialized communications courses and other fields. The latter account for about one third of the offerings, including at least one semester course in all of the major social sciences. There is also increasing emphasis on the newer communication techniques. Still there is evidence that the school suffers all of the usual deficiencies caused by financial anemia. Emphasis on Tech TR

Labor Program

The University of Chile has established in recent years a small program, in addition to the labor-management work of the Institute of Administration, to assist in the development of the labor movement. This is difficult because of the vast cultural gap between intellectuals and labor and because of the Marxist orientation of the principal labor confederation, CUT. Nonetheless, progressive elements of the faculty and student body have persisted in exploring possibilities of collaboration between the university and the main labor movement.

The first effort took the form of brief two-week extension courses for labor leaders, primarily on such subjects as labor economics, labor law, labor history, and organization and administration. In 1963, on the wave of the reform movement, a new Center of Labor and Cooperative Studies was created to give advisory assistance to the principal union organization, the United Labor Center (CUT) with regard to training, organization, and research. The new emphasis is to help develop a capability within the trade union movement to perform training and

research functions rather than conducting these activities within the university. A small staff of a director, Pedro Guglielmetti, formerly with the International Labor Organization, three economists, one cooperative specialist, one lawyer, and one adult education specialist, is now rendering this kind of assistance, especially in training instructors within the labor movement. There are also weekly seminars to bring together labor leaders, students and substantive specialists to discuss problems of interest to labor.

Institute of International Studies

In the mid-sixties, the university created a new Institute of International Studies under the direction of Claudio Veliz, which was inspired in part by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, where Veliz had been a guest scholar for several years. The main objective of this unit, like other institutes in the university, is to encourage more advanced training and research.

The Institute has had a substantial impact in fostering research, more effective collaboration among representatives of several disciplines concerned with international affairs, and exchanges of views through seminars and conferences with leaders outside the university as well as a publications program, including a journal entitled International Studies. On the other hand, it has not developed as rapidly as hoped, has had difficulty finding adequate funds, and has not succeeded in initiating a graduate program, due in part to opposition from schools already engaged in international studies.

Related International Programs

An important leaven in the Chilean loaf is the presence in Santiago of a small but vigorous and competent international social science program, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), founded under UNESCO auspices in 1957. The two main bodies within this organization are the Latin American School of Sociology and the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration.

As institutes serving the entire Latin American region, both entities perform the function of stimulating the development of the two disciplines throughout the area and encouraging communication and cooperation among relevant national programs, relatively free of national bias and prejudice, and frequently more acceptable to Latin American governments than individual national programs, including those outside the region. Their specific functions are to provide graduate training, research, and advisory services.

The School of Sociology was created earlier (1957) than the School of Political Science (1966), is more developed, has a two-year M.A. program compared with the latter's one-year program. In other respects, they are quite similar. In their curricula, both emphasize modern methodologies, courses concentrating on Latin American developmental problems, advanced teaching methods (tutorial work, seminars, field work), and research within a strong policy, as well as theoretical, orientation. Each school admits approximately 20 students per year. Both have good faculties, with a liberal injection of non-Latin American scholars and a higher level of advanced training and full-time faculty than the typical Latin American university. Still there are very few

Latin American professors in either school who have yet received their doctorates.

Both institutions have had a beneficial impact on Chilean, as well as other Latin American, universities by training their faculties, teaching courses on their campuses, collaborating on research, advising on the development of their social sciences, providing opportunities for their faculty to teach in FLACSO, organizing data banks, and generally facilitating region-wide cooperation.

Extracurricular Activities

As in most countries, there has been a trend in recent years toward increased political activity on the part of both secondary and university students which has been part of the increasing tension among competing social groups, especially between the "haves" and "have-nots." The principal organized activity along these lines takes place through the channels of both intra-university and extra-university politics. Such activities in Chile and other developing countries tend to be far more important in relation to national life than in the United States because students are regarded as a major intellectual elite which has the capacity and responsibility to provide leadership for the country.

Each "school" -- roughly the equivalent of a "department" in the United States universities -- of each Chilean university has its own student government in which there are generally competing "cells" linked to national parties. These school governments send representatives to an all-university student federation. The federation of the University of Chile is, by far, the most influential and prestigious in the country,

and the president of that body is an important political figure not only in the university but in the country as a whole. Elections to the federations are held annually and are the occasion for intense activity. During most of the year, no more than 10-20% of the students are active. The rest, like students everywhere, are mainly concerned with getting through the university as quickly and painlessly as possible. Organized extracurricular activity to analyze issues and to train cadres are conducted mainly on a party basis and will be discussed in the analysis of political parties below.

Another kind of civic activity is volunteer service outside the university, chiefly during vacations. This program was begun on a significant scale during the summer vacation of 1950, organized by students imbued with the Christian Democratic philosophy but officially on a non-partisan basis. The objectives were a mixture of service and education: (1) to engage in useful work in an underprivileged area, mainly in the countryside, (2) to improve general communication and cooperation between students and underprivileged sectors of the population, (3) to deepen the students' understanding of national problems, and (4) to formulate specific policy action programs. With the increasing strength of the extreme Leftists, especially within the University of Chile, a governmental Office of Volunteer Service, in the Ministry of Education, was established to run similar vacation service programs. In addition, a few university schools, especially the Medical School, administer field service programs as a supplement as to their academic activities.

Comparative Evaluation of Civic Education Programs

As one reviews civic education in Chile and compares it with other developing countries, one is impressed with the fact that what little education of this kind is available is restricted to a small elite and receives far less attention than other aspects of current educational development, especially science, technology and vocational training. In its philosophy of civic education, the current Chilean administration is markedly progressive and substantially consistent with the guidelines recommended at the beginning of this paper in relation to values, factual content, analytical skills and participatory skills. Even here, however, the factual information gives scant attention to Asia and Africa, inadequate emphasis is given to the critical analysis of key national problems, and very little encouragement is given to the development of participatory skills as an integral part of the program.

Most other developing countries have not gone as far as Chile. India's national effort is in accordance with the same general objectives, but has done far less to implement them, in part because of the independence of the state governments in this sphere. A National Commission on Civic Education was created in Ghana, but the Ministry of Education has done relatively little to fill the vacuum left in the wake of the Nkrumah regime. Governments and their populations have simply not recognized the importance of civic education, and, until they do, no significant progress will be made.

Normally the mass of the people, as in Chile, receive little more than limited exposure to primary education, and the civic component at that level is extremely restricted and elementary. At the secondary level, which is crucial because it is largely restricted to the elite which will dominate the country, an important consideration, common in developing countries, is the

current emphasis placed on science, technology and vocational training, overlaid on the traditional pattern of classical science and humanities. For those who choose the technocratic road there is little incentive to give attention to civic education, and the quality of that education is usually poor. While Chile is developing remarkably advanced plans in the civic field, it will be a long time before they find their way into the bloodstream of general practice.

In the universities of Chile, as in most developing countries, the social sciences are relatively anemic in relation to science and engineering. The recent emphasis on utilizing the social sciences for national development has helped, but it has favored the fields considered of most immediate utility, chiefly economics and administration. Little encouragement is given a more comprehensive and integrated development of the social sciences in relation to national and international problems. Multilateral programs, such as those of FLACSO, are important and useful adjuncts to national efforts, but they suffer from inadequate support.

Extracurricular activities could be a major laboratory for civic analysis and action, but they reflect the underdeveloped educational background of their participants. Only a small minority of the students are actively involved, and the task is made more difficult by the atmosphere of intense ideological conflict.

Other Channels of Civic Education

While the general education system just discussed is the principal forum for civic education, there are many other organizations and programs which play significant supporting roles. This paper will focus mainly on the mass media, major interest groups, political parties, and intra-governmental programs.

Mass Media

The general impression one has of the mass communications in relation to civic education is that they have a vast potential which is largely unfulfilled. Yet Chile is better in this respect than the average developing country. Of the ten newspapers, one, El Mercurio, is a comprehensive and serious publication. La Nacion is second in quality, with a bias in favor of the Christian Democratic movement. The other eight papers are more like tabloids, with limited and superficial coverage and often extremely biased reporting. There are also a few good magazines, including Ercilla, similar to Time in the United States, but the mass sales consist of less serious publications, favoring the public's fascination with sex, cinema, and sports. Even in the best of these publications, El Mercurio, more attention is given to sensational current news than solid long-range analysis, and the general news and editorial slant is decidedly toward the right. Furthermore, because of the high rate of illiteracy and because of the thin newspaper circulation in the countryside, the newspaper audience is small, urban, and restricted largely to the middle and upper classes.

The more mass-oriented medium of radio suffers from too many stations (137), too much advertising (all are commercial except the university stations), relatively limited and superficial reporting of current news, and little basic education or long-range analysis of national problems.

Television, which began only in 1962, is developing as a more important mass medium, especially because four of the five channels are

administered by four of the principal universities. The fifth channel, administered by the government, began only in 1968, but is already setting a relatively high standard. There is a growing amount of strictly educational material designed especially for, and coordinated with, the formal school programs, though with scant emphasis on social science. There is little educational programming for the general adult audience.

The television channels also seem more serious than radio in reporting news and analyzing current problems. On Channel 13, administered by the Catholic University, there are three daily news programs, from ten to thirty minutes apiece. There is also a separate program on the forthcoming national election, approximately one and a half hours long, with help from the university faculty. Another program analyzes "Chile in the Seventies" on Sunday, one and a half hours long, organized as a seminar. On Monday night, there are lectures by academic faculty members. Every afternoon there is a one and a half hour program for women, including commentaries on public affairs. The staff of Channel 13 available for this kind of work totals twelve, ten with professional journalistic training. The major needs for the future are more educational programming for the general audience as well as the schools, better quality analysis of public affairs, and more international coverage.

Future progress in all of the media depends, in large measure, on the efforts made, in addition to university training, to improve the preparation of personnel concerned with the reporting and analysis of public affairs. While there is considerable technical training, both in school and on the job, the substantive education of most media personnel is quite limited. The principal associations of owners, the National Press Association, and workers, the College of Journalists, function more as

"trade unions", concentrating on immediate bread-and-butter issues rather than the study and discussion of media responsibility regarding national problems. There are a few study opportunities abroad available to working journalists as well as university people, e.g., the International Center of Higher Journalistic Studies at Quito, Ecuador, under UNESCO auspices, various programs in the United States, especially at the University of Texas and Columbia University, and the Thompson Foundation in England. There are also shorter tours abroad, especially the international visitor grants given by the United States to enable journalists, as well as other leaders, to go to the United States for an average of forty-five days. Finally, there are a few special seminars, lectures and conferences given for media personnel by the universities, often in cooperation with foreign governments and institutions.

Economic Elite

As one explores the intricate mechanism of national civic participation, one expects that a major, if not dominant, source of influence is to be found in the economic elite, chiefly among those who control the principal material resources of the country -- including businessmen, bankers, land-owners, and their allied professions -- engineering, law, and other technical specialties. This group is far from monolithic and encompasses many differences in power, interest, type of activity, education, effective civic participation, 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 party of Chile. Within this complex, the focus of this paper is on both the education and organization of economic leaders

to analyze their relation to public policy and to participate in the civic process which produces public policy.

Most 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 elite. The fundamental governing assumption about the purpose of that education is that it is mainly a gateway to a job -- 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, Latin American integration -- going beyond the range of immediate business interests, such as production, marketing, labor and taxes. After they leave the university they have only 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 limited 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.

In Chile there are three major national associations representing the principal sectors of economic leadership: the Confederation of Production and Commerce, the Society for Industrial Development, and the National Agricultural Society.

The Confederation is most similar to the United States National Chamber of Commerce with the largest and most heterogeneous membership. Its current president, Jorge Fontaine, is a well-educated progressive businessman who would like the Confederation to be more active in studying and acting on major public issues. There are a few commissions established by the Confederation to study areas of business concern, including one on social policy, but there is no substantial research conducted under Confederation auspices and very little organized discussion of national problems.

The Society for Industrial Development is more analagous to the National Association of Manufacturere in the United States. It is smaller than the Confederation, represents major industries, is quite conservative, and has shown less interest than the Confederation in any systematic consideration of the broader aspects of business civic responsibility. The National Agricultural Society, which represents the large land-owners, is equally traditional in its operations.

In addition to these associations, several special organizations have been created in recent years to undertake more serious research, analysis, conferences, publications and some pilot action programs regarding major national problems. Five of these deserve mention.

The Chilean Institute of Rational Business Administration (ICARE), founded in 1951, is similar to the American Management Association. It

concentrates primarily on conducting various types of management courses to supplement university and in-service training. Almost all of this activity, however, is focused on the main concerns of business - production, distribution, labor, and finance - and very little attention is given to the broader political and social, as well as economic, environment within which business operates.

The Foundation for Economic and Social Progress was founded in 1960 to act for the private business community in studying, and initiating pilot projects regarding, national social and economic problems, particularly the discontented (the Foundation says, non integrated) sectors -- labor, farmers, civil servants, women, and students. The principal projects at present concentrate on urban community development, malnutrition, birth control, and labor-management relations. The organization cooperates closely with counterparts in other countries, including the Council for Latin America and the Pan American Foundation, both of which have given some assistance.

The Center of Socio-Economic Studies was founded in 1965 as a private research organization to engage in economic and social studies and to organize discussions of their findings by business, governmental and other leaders. The special values stressed are preservation of a free society, growing production and standard of living, greater economic stability and development, and a higher level of employment and opportunity. Current studies deal mainly with economic and social subjects, and 80% of the income results from studies done under contract for various organizations. Current topics include: specific industry studies, agricultural policy, youth problems, social security, and human resource

development. The only political studies are of opinion polls regarding elections. The staff consists mostly economists and engineers, it also includes a few sociologists and lawyers but no other social scientists. The Center is also developing a data bank and provides information to trade associations and the mass media.

The Chilean Society for Planning and Development, created in 1963, is similar to the United States National Planning Association. Its main functions are to conduct studies and hold meetings to analyze major national policy problems, with primary emphasis on economic and social development.

Finally, a publication called Panorama Economica provides a channel for quite progressive views --- considered Marxist by many business leaders --- to be aired before the business community and discussed in continuing seminars under the auspices of this publication.

To summarize the general profile of business civic orientation and participation, the dominant characteristics are: limited systematic analysis of major national and international developments; a narrow and conservative concept of civic responsibility, weak educational background regarding such matters, a hostile and defensive attitude toward, and absence of effective dialogue with, the government and movements representing the less privileged sectors of society. The major business associations are too large, heterogeneous and traditional to encourage much serious study and discussion of the relationship between the business community and the rest of the nation. During the last decade, however, there has been a remarkable increase in concern among a small group of progressive business leaders about these matters and the establishment

of several business-connected institutions to engage in more systematic research and discussion, but these efforts are still quite limited.

Mobilization of the Poor: Community Development

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. Thus the question is not whether or not the masses will play a more important rôle in civic life, but how much and how soon. A major aspect of civic development, therefore, is the organization and education of the lower levels of society to participate in community life.

There are at least two major 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. This section will discuss the first type, and subsequent sections will discuss urban and rural labor organizations.

In many developing countries, community development has been a major 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. While a few such councils developed spontaneously some years ago, the movement was greatly accelerated and refined by the administration of President Frei with a strong Christian Democratic flavor. 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 power, economic power and effective organization.

The law of 1968 authorized the creation of neighborhood councils in all municipalities as the principal form of "territitorial" community organization. Membership is limited to between 300 and 20,000 in urban areas, 100 to 1,700 in rural. All men and women over 18 may belong. The officers, elected by the membership, are a president, vice president, secretary and treasurer, plus a board of directors (nine elected, three chosen by other community organizations). The principal governmental arm responsible for stimulating and guiding the organization of the councils is the National Council of Popular Promotion within the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism. It is estimated that there are currently about 5,000 councils in existence. While the Christian Democratic party

has dominated this development, the other parties are anxious to exert influence within these bodies, and there is lively competition among various partisan interests.

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.**

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

This training is designed for different levels of sophistication, organizational function, and patterns of intensity and duration. The main emphasis is on organizational skills, and the training staff has developed a remarkably sophisticated armory of materials and methods. Subjects dealt with include: the general aims and techniques of training, organizations and functions of the officers of a council, how to run meetings, public speaking, group relations, teamwork, and audio visual resources. Teaching procedures are relatively advanced and include not only lectures but small discussion groups, psycho drama, and direct field observation and practice. The principal difficulties are the inadequate educational background of most participants, the vast dimension of the job to be done compared to the limited resources available, partisan conflict, limits

imposed by the generally underprivileged position of the participants, the difficulty of satisfying their aspirations, and the failure of the Popular Promotion educational program to go into any depth regarding the basic economic, social and political problems of Chile.

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 "concientization" 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 to improve one's condition.*

*T. C. Sanders, Letter, Institute of Current World Affairs, June 6, 1968

Organized Labor: Urban Sector

In the less fortunate strata of Chilean society, organized labor is the elite -- the more advanced, prosperous and secure elements of the masses. The Chilean labor movement is one of the oldest and most developed in Latin America. It is also one of the best organized and most influential in national policy-making. In 1966 there were approximately 3,000 unions with some 400,000 members, comprising approximately 25% of all wage-earners. Relations among unions, even in the same industry, are rather tenuous. While the largest confederation, by far, is the United Labor Center (Central Unica de Trabajadores) with an alleged total of 300,000 members and a strong Marxist orientation, its influence on its constituent unions is uncertain. At the same time, the dominant orientation of labor is quite Leftist, and there is great hostility toward the upper levels of society. There is no effective dialogue

between labor and management on either immediate or long-term issues. Major disputes frequently end in stalemates which are settled by the government.

As for education, the general schooling to which laboring people are exposed was described earlier. The rank-and-file seldom complete primary school, and leadership rarely completes secondary, not to mention university education. Many of these go to special technical schools, including the large post-school technical program, INACAP, which provides vocational courses to supplement formal school training. On the whole, therefore, labor receives relatively little formal education, and most of this is oriented toward vocational training. Thus the working man receives precious little civic education, and that is largely at the primary or early secondary level.

In addition, there are a few courses to impart basic values, knowledge and skills relevant to immediate labor concerns. This kind of effort, assisted by the University of Chile, was mentioned earlier. There have also been trade union training 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. While the American Institute of Free Labor Development is primarily of foreign design and support, it is pertinent to mention briefly the orientation of its training program which has helped to inspire CUT to develop its own program. The bulk of the American Institute of Free Labor Development training is done in Chile in week-long night courses, concentrating on the immediate "nuts-and-bolts" interests of labor: labor history, legislation,

union organization and administration, collective bargaining, and union cooperative management. During the summer vacations, there is a week-long seminar designed to give more advanced leaders exposure to a broader range of subject matter, including Latin American integration, economic and social problems of Chile, and the international labor movement. In addition, six to eight individuals are chosen each year to go to the United States for more intensive six-week training in one of several fields: collective bargaining, training, cooperatives and community development, and communications. The most ambitious course is a nine-month program on labor economics at Georgetown University in Washington.

Organized Labor: The Rural Sector

In all countries, rural labor has usually been the most deprived, least educated, most exploited, and most conservative. Chile is no exception. But during the last decade, there has been extraordinary progress in the rural areas, chiefly as a result of an ambitious program of land reform and peasant unionization instituted by the Frei administration in 1964. An aspect of this development relevant to this paper is the unionization movement.

A new law passed 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. As a result, membership

rose from 2,000 in 1967 to 100,000 in 1970, out of an estimated potential membership of 400,000. As usual, ideological conflict is involved, and the three major national union organizations reflect quite different orientations. The largest union, the National Farm Workers Confederation (46,000 membership), is closely tied to the Christian Democratic administration and strongly influenced by INDAP. The second largest is the Farm and Indigenous Ranquil Confederation (30,000) which is Marxist and allied with the major urban labor organization, CUT. The third largest, National Farm Union Confederation (24,000), is relatively independent and middle-of-the-road.

In keeping with the intensely reformist orientation of INDAP, the stated objectives of its 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 causes of his prior condition and a critical understanding of the process in which he is involved."*

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

In order to fulfill this lofty mandate, INDAP has launched a massive training program, varying according to level of sophistication, functional requirements, and 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's also technical education concerning production and marketing. Finally, there is concern with improving the skills of training and communication.

At least one of the three major national farm confederations, CNSC, has an important and effective training program of its own, somewhat similar to that of INDDAP, but reflecting its own independent, centrist philosophy. A training department of nine instructors is divided into three teams to cover the major areas of the country -- north, center and south. In a single year, this group administered 600 short courses (usually limited to several days, evenings or weekends) for a total of 20,000 participants. As usual, the format concentrates on matters considered of immediate practical concern: labor history, legislation, organization and administration, collective bargaining, and basic rural economic and social problems. After considerable difficulty in developing this program, the staff is now well organized, and the materials are effective, including emphasis on practical organizational skills. This lower-level education is supplemented by more sophisticated and intensive training of the national officers and staff through such programs as the American Institute of Free Labor Development and the Loyola leadership courses in the United States.

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 Agricultural Organization located in Chile. It has provided a major input of training for the staff of INDAP as well as other Chilean agencies, and some farm unions. The major 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 also produced here.

Despite all of 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 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 a distrust of educated people. For example, in the CNSC, none of the officers has a university education; only one or two specialist members of the staff. 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, including the intelligentsia.

Political Parties

Political Parties are extraordinary, and relatively recent, human 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 interest groups, their main objective and occupation are politics -- to promote

the political 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.

In Chile there are six major parties, in order of current strength in the Congress: Christian Democratic, Radical, Communist, Socialist, and Popular Socialist. This paper will concentrate on the educational activity of the party currently in power, the Christian Democrats, which is considered better organized than most of the other parties.

Under the national leadership of the Christian Democratic Party, the Congress and the National Council, 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 philosophy of the party is set forth in a Manual of the Fundamentals of Christian Democracy. The 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 the governmental ministries and deal with the same range of subject matter.

Ancillary activities deal 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, political strategy and tactics, and student organization and operations. An example is a seminar held in May 1970 in Chile, drawing students and faculty members from various countries, to discuss "University Students and Politics." Topics to be dealt with include: political history of the Latin American student movement in the last fifty years, the international political context of the last twenty years, social conditions affecting the politicization of the student movement, sources of political radicalism in the student movement during recent years, the influence of teachers and researchers on the student

movement, national university student organizations, the ideological socialization of university students in various countries, and student participation in national politics. Reinforcing these efforts is a publications program which has produced both periodicals and special reports.

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 policy 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 more organized educational efforts within the structure which deserve attention. For the purpose of this paper, I shall not deal with the legislature and judiciary, but shall concentrate on the executive branch, civilian and military.

Most civilian employees in the upper levels of public service have some university education, either before or after entering the government. The university social science programs to which they are exposed have already been described, and in most of these schools there is a significant contingent who study at the university while they are working full-time in the government. Others are given leave for this purpose. There is no strong university institution of public administration, as in countries such as India, the Philippines and Indonesia. Closest to this are the relatively new and underdeveloped schools of political science, which put heavy emphasis on public administration, and the schools of administration,

attempting to serve government as well as business.

Within the government, the main approach is to leave training primarily to each ministry which has the effect of stressing specialized and technical education appropriate to each agency. There is a National In-service Training School, but this also emphasizes relatively low-level and technical training, concentrating on the practical skills required by the ministries. Very little attention is given to broader and more sophisticated education, especially for the higher strata of the service.

In the case of the Ministry of External Relations, to cite one example, the recruitment of foreign service officers is by examination, and most of those who enter the service have a background of university specialization in law or economics. Within the ministry, a Diplomatic Academy Andres Bello was established in 1964 to help compensate for inadequate international training by conducting one-year courses, occasional lectures and conferences, and some research. The newer members of the service are expected to take these courses which deal with such subjects as international law, economic development, and regional integration. The ministry also makes it possible for officers to participate in university courses and other activities, including those of the Institute of International Studies at the University of Chile which the ministry helps to support. Approximately 50 to 60% of the officers also have an opportunity, at some stage of their career, to study abroad, assisted by a substantial number of foreign national scholarships. A spokesman for the ministry has indicated that the present administration would like to make it possible for its officers to receive more adequate university training, both undergraduate and

graduate, would like to strengthen the Diplomatic Academy Andres Bello which is currently quite weak, and would like to improve the selection and educational process at the mid-career level.

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 in Chile, as in other developing areas, are a major, if not the dominant, ultimate arbiter of the civic life and can exert crucial influence on the civic system, whether or not they choose to intervene actively. It is the assumption of this paper, shared by many progressive leaders in the developing countries, that the military should receive far 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, 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, mainly law and economics. There is also increasing interest in university social science programs, especially at the Catholic University, which is considered more palatable ideologically. Finally, toward the top of the career ladder, there is a one-month "seminar" for senior officers, something like a brief version of United States War Colleges, which includes lectures on civic affairs, especially international relations. From this review, it can be seen that these military officers, as in other developing countries, receive very little comprehensive or rigorous social studies education and thus have an inadequate basis for understanding the civic development of their country.

Conclusions

The general pattern which one finds in Chile, and in most other 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 current 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.

The traditional pattern of education most relevant to civic life has been narrow and authoritarian. The 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 integrated part of the educational program.

Chile, as well as a few other democratically-inclined countries, including India and Ghana, are trying to improve their civic education along democratic lines, but their progress is slow and receives little support, indigenous or foreign. As one of the most advanced in this regard, Chile is planning more emphasis on democratic values and cosmopolitanism, is broadening and deepening the factual information made available regarding major aspects of national and international development, is encouraging more independent and critical analysis, and is fostering the development of civic action skills. A number of other countries are making similar efforts, but seldom as boldly as Chile. Nonetheless, 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. Major interest groups are the principal actors in the national 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 the civic

process, but they have not begun to do an adequate job of mobilizing and training the leadership necessary for their purposes. Finally, the government itself should make a significant investment in education, not only technical but broadly civic in order to prepare its personnel to have a better understanding of their role in relation to the general environment. Instead, the emphasis is chiefly on technical training concentrating on content and skills which seem most immediately useful.

All of this analysis suggests that the crucial problem of civic education is probably the most neglected aspect of educational development in the under-developed countries. Yet the most pressing problem is to improve the system of communication, negotiation and, hopefully, collaboration among the major groups in any national society in order to facilitate their coping with whatever problems arise in the future. Educational development strategies should do more to meet this challenge in addition to the current concern with training for scientific, technological and vocational progress.