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THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION

1952

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172136

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Note —The Editorial Board deeply regrets the loss which has been suffered by the YEAR BOOK through the death of Sir Fred Clarke and Dr. George Zook, who were long associated with it.

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INTRODUCTION

THE central theme of this volume of the YEAR BOOK is the reform and reconstruction of education since the war. Everywhere reform is in progress, though the actual proposals under consideration are influenced, naturally enough, by history, economic prospects and political doctrines. It is interesting to observe how many common features emerge despite this variation of form.

The theme has been studied in accordance with the well-established policy of the YEAR BOOK that each contributor should write on matters within his own knowledge with complete freedom and from his own political and national standpoint. It follows that, while the Editorial Board accepts full responsibility for the selection of contributors, it accepts no responsibility for the views they express.

The direction of educational reform in any country will depend very largely upon the trends of political thought, and these in turn will be determined by national philosophies and ways of thinking. It is with this in mind that the first section includes, in addition to the editorial article, a number of chapters dealing with this fundamental aspect of the theme. There are articles by the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler and Professor G. D. H. Cole representing contrasted Conservative–Socialist views in the United Kingdom. Since this picture does not fit the situation in the United States, there follow two articles from the American point of view by Dean E. O. Melby of New York University and Scott Buchanan. The last chapter in this section is by Dr. C. E. Beeby of New Zealand, who was at one time Assistant Director of Unesco.

For the rest, it has been the aim of the Editors to secure representative contributions from as many parts of the world as possible, having regard to the severe limitations of space in an already large volume. There are much-regretted omissions. Pakistan alone among the self-governing countries of the British Commonwealth is not represented; there are no contributions from Latin America, Sweden or the Netherlands, and the Middle East is inadequately covered. In a world-wide correspondence such as the Editors have to undertake, it is inevitable that there should be delays and failures of arrangements which sometimes result in the arrival of an article too late for inclusion. More often, articles produced in the earlier stages of the programme exceed their allotted length and either they have to be shortened or other articles excluded. The Editors are thus in a dilemma. There may not be time to negotiate

the shortening of an article and editorial condensation may result in a hidden form of the censorship that we wish to avoid. The Editors may, indeed, feel that condensation would diminish the value of the article. On the other hand, its inclusion may result in the exclusion of contributions from other countries with the hope that they may be represented in later volumes. It would assist towards the better balance of each volume if contributors would appreciate that the length apportioned by the Editors to their respective contributions is based on a carefully thought-out and balanced scheme for the volume and that, having regard to the total space available, any exceeding of that length, however desirable it may be in itself, is bound to create difficulties in the plan of the volume as a whole.

The Editors wrestle unceasingly with these and other difficulties throughout the year, and it is hoped that the reader will agree that they have succeeded in producing a worthy volume which, if it is not as fully representative as they would have desired, at least shows something of the diversity of form and thought with which educational reform is proceeding in many parts of the world.

This is the last issue of the YEAR BOOK which will be made under the happy arrangement dating from 1935, under which the publishing responsibility has rested with Evans Brothers Limited and the editorial responsibility with the University of London Institute of Education. There have long been close and valued links between the Institute and Teachers College, Columbia, as sister institutions on opposite sides of the Atlantic. It is by a natural evolution of this relationship that the two institutions have agreed between themselves and with the publishers that in future they should share the editorial responsibility in an equal partnership. We look forward to an era of greater influence and usefulness for the YEAR BOOK on this broader basis.

G. B. JEFFERY.

SECTION I

SPECIAL STUDIES

CHAPTER ONE

THE REFORM OF EDUCATION

THE Second World War accelerated social development everywhere and brought in its train tremendous political and economic changes, even in lands which were spared the ordeal of battle or which saw little of the movement of modern armies. When the uneasy peace returned it would have been impossible, or at least short-sighted, merely to attempt a return to the *status quo ante* in education. The two volumes of the YEAR BOOK published in 1948 and 1949 brought together from all over the world evidence that those concerned with the framing of policy felt it urgently necessary to attempt total reconstruction rather than mere patching up and restoration. Everywhere reforms were being projected and studied. The proposals put forward displayed common features which, in our introduction, we listed as follows:

(*a*) raising the minimum school-leaving age;
(*b*) extending the scope and the amount of secondary education;
(*c*) promoting technical and vocational education;
(*d*) regrading the school system;
(*e*) opening more widely the doors of higher educational institutions to able members of the working classes;
(*f*) distributing financial burdens more evenly and fairly;
(*g*) recognising regional differences more generously.

There was nothing new in all this: many of these features were already manifest in the educational policy pursued in various countries long before 1947. But they have now, it seems, been accepted as desirable aims almost everywhere. In many cases they have even been embodied in legislation and steps have been taken to realise them in practice. A photographic negative gradually becomes sharp and clear during development: in the same way our analysis can now become surer and based more firmly on factual information.

Among the influences which are transforming education, two are particularly powerful. First, a general and almost strident demand

for 'equality of opportunity' between social, ethnic, and religious groups. Secondly, the results of adjustment to new modes of making and distributing material goods. These two forces, of course, are related to each other. Indeed, they are simply different aspects of social adaptation. The nineteenth century was an era of small-scale enterprise and of competition between small *entrepreneurs*, farmers, and manufacturers—this was as true of countries depending upon a feudal-landlord agriculture as of those which had learnt to use coal, iron, and steam. Twentieth-century technology, however, is a matter of large-scale enterprise and of heavy capital investment. Economic policy is dominated increasingly by giant monopolies and by the state. As the group privileges associated with the old pattern dissolve or fade, the cry for equalisation of status grows everywhere louder. Not that the plea for equality rests its claim upon such sociological foundations: the appeal is rather to ideas of justice and brotherhood. Nevertheless, one must admit that the force of the appeal to basic principles owes not a little to ongoing economic and material changes.

The twentieth-century interpretation of the word 'progress' is largely that it implies a continually rising level of material satisfaction and a continually increasing command of material, especially manufactured, goods and commodities. But a rise in what is called the 'standard of living' on an increasingly crowded planet can be achieved only if all available human resources are mustered. This fact, together with our dependence upon complex machines and applied science, means that the total amount of planned instruction provided has to grow larger and that more stress has to be laid upon scientific, technical, and professional education. For apprenticeship is becoming obsolescent. It is no longer sufficient or even desirable for workers to become highly proficient in one particular kind of skill by simple imitation. A premium is put upon adaptability, readiness to change, understanding of principles, in a word upon qualities better developed in class and school than in workshop or field. The complexity of modern production, whether of foodstuffs or of appliances, is such that great diversity of skills is needed, of a kind that can be acquired only by a literate population and with the help of rather lengthy schooling.

Thus, where compulsory full-time education is not yet available for all, tremendous efforts are being made to provide it and for as long a period as seems practicable. Where it already exists, there is an insistent demand for increasing the period of compulsory attendance. In the U.S.A. nearly all adolescents go to school until 16 or 17 years of age, and in some states the compulsory age has even been raised to 18 years. In Northern and Western Europe 15 has become the usual age of leaving school and there is talk of raising this age to 16 as soon as possible. Nor is that all: in the U.S.A. a large proportion of young people—as many as a quarter—

continue their studies at college up to the age of 20 or 21. In Europe, there are proposals to provide part-time education, for example on one or two days a week, compulsory for all. In Asia and Africa, of course, such ideas cannot yet be seriously urged, because the economic basis is not as yet solid enough to support expensive systems. Yet here, too, the planners and reformers are thinking along such lines: for they realise that industrialisation, the application of modern science to the process of production, necessitates generous educational provision.

Everywhere, too, there is talk of developing facilities for the education of adults and for the social education of young people who have already left school (youth movements), as well as of providing nursery schools or crèches for very young children. The school, in a word, is extending itself at both ends of the compulsory period. All this is in part a response to technological change. For example, the demand for more nursery schools derives support from the realisation that it would be helpful to provide them if married women are to be persuaded to work in factories, and adult education helps to maintain the morale of our industrial army. But there are also spiritual forces at work. Many reformers genuinely feel that life could be made richer and more meaningful if the masses were better educated. They point out that rich and privileged persons have always tended to keep their children at school for a great many years: evidence of their belief that education is in itself a good thing. Just as the poorer classes now claim access to material facilities formerly reserved for the rich, so also do they claim access to things of the mind.

The spreading of general education to all classes is bringing about a change in its nature. The old dichotomy between liberal and technical, inherited from Aristotle, has lost some of its significance through the blurring of old social distinctions. The new society now being born will certainly have its status-hierarchies, but they will presumably tend to be based largely on a functional differentiation relevant to the new economic order. Old privileges of birth or wealth, carrying over into the new society the structure of the old, will matter less and less. In time, no doubt, fresh divisions and distinctions will arise and be accepted as self-evident and reasonable. Then, and only then, shall we be clear again as to the meaning of general education. For the present, discussion will continue to rage around the structure of the curriculum.

It is not only the radical or socialist reformer who nowadays uses the word 'democracy' to include social as well as political equality: the younger representatives of conservative or of Catholic groups do so just as readily, and they perceive the inner connection between the two concepts. However, in practice the two lines are still distinct. In Western Europe and North America, for example, 'liberty' tends to be a more powerful ideal than 'equality'. In

Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the latter idea almost entirely overshadows the former. In large measure, this divergence is presumably the result of different historical experiences. However this may be, it is important to stress that there is general agreement on the principle that it is both wise and just to mobilise the human resources available in all sections and classes of the people and that it is right to use natural resources for the satisfaction of human wants as fully as our knowledge permits. Here again moral and economic trends coincide and determine the main outlines of policy.

Though the two fundamental principles have been accepted everywhere and have even been embodied in the constitution of Unesco, national educational policies display a great variety of modes of approach. This is inevitable. Quite apart from different histories, different philosophies, different cultures, the universal enforcement of school attendance for the greater part of a century in North-western Europe and in the English-speaking world, and for a shorter time in other parts of Europe, has assured a certain level of literacy and education among the masses. On the other hand, in Asia, Africa, and in most of Latin America, the majority of children grow up away from the influence of school, many or most adults are illiterate and book-education is still the privilege of a minority. Thus, the more advanced countries can concentrate on reshaping their established school systems. Less-developed countries, on the other hand, must direct their efforts and resources into campaigns against illiteracy. In addition, the presence of linguistic, ethnic, or religious minorities complicates the manner in which general policy is applied. The simple acceptance of 'equality of opportunity' as a desirable aim is not usually sufficient as a guide in such cases, since there is no universally accepted solution for minority problems. One is not clear, for example, whether it is best to try to assimilate minorities into the dominant cultural pattern or whether they should be given the right to separate community life within the national state. Evidently, too, one has to take into account the size of the minority, its ability to preserve a separate culture, and its possibly disruptive influence on the unity of the state, as well as the cultural distance between the groups. The political doctrines in vogue are also fundamentally important. For example, a state whose social and economic structure is based upon the supremacy of a white population of European descent tends to favour segregation and to provide inferior educational opportunities for non-Europeans. On the other hand, where state and church are closely integrated into a single totalitarian regime, separate school systems do not flourish. Or again, a state which accepts a given ideology as its official creed will attempt to monopolise education and to prohibit private initiative. Whether variations of this kind can rightly claim to be 'democratic' is doubtful, though the answer is not as self-evident as might appear.

Administration and Finance

Rapid technical and economic change; the widespread desire to use education as a lever to raise levels of living; the general acceptance of equalitarian ideals; all these combine to affect and complicate administrative patterns everywhere.

In the first place, we witness what might be loosely called the socialisation of the administrator's function. The concept of the 'welfare state', the almost universal rejection of the old liberal view that the best state apparatus is that which carefully restricts its functions to justice and defence, exercises an obvious influence. A Ministry of Education is no longer merely an office distributing money and employing inspectors to make sure that teachers carry out their duties in the classroom. To an ever-increasing degree it plans and attempts to direct social progress. It is instrumental in promoting technical education and thinks of the ways in which adult education and youth services can be employed to maintain the morale and improve the efficiency of the industrial army. It draws up building plans and asks its co-ordinated local authorities to prepare schemes for the educational development of their own districts. It busies itself with the physical health, with the feeding and even with the clothing of pupils. It employs medical officers, dental officers, nutrition experts, and so on. Some Ministries even branch out into psychological services, employing psychiatrists, child-guidance officers, vocational-guidance specialists. A modern Ministry may even own or hire fleets of motor-buses to bring pupils to school. Eighty years ago—in 1877—Charles Bowen, Minister of Justice in New Zealand, introducing in Parliament an Act which gave his country her national system, described the Central Department which was to be established: "The expenditure on this", he said, "will be very small, because a secretary and a clerk will probably do all the work. . . ." What a remarkable transformation there has been since then in our idea of what national education means!

The fact that education has become an instrument of social and even of political action is shown in yet other ways. For instance, the path towards higher and university education is now more accessible to the children of workers than it was—largely because financial help is more readily available. The scholarships, fellowships, grants-in-aid paid to poorer students, sometimes considerable in amount, are often paid by the Ministry of Education. In England, for instance, the money received by students compares not unfavourably with the wages of manual workers or with the salaries of teachers. In a way, therefore, one might almost consider that these young people are employed by the Ministry of a nation which has learned the great lesson that preparation for participation in economic life is itself a form of participation: certainly this is a healthier and sounder view than thinking of grants as a form of

charity. But let it be noted that by acting in this way, the Ministry is helping to change the social composition, and thus the outlook, of the administrative and professional classes by introducing children of workers into them—which is surely a form of political action.

Or again, Ministries may pay grants to schools owned by private persons or religious denominations. By so doing, they help these to perpetuate their institutions and to extend their influence Whether they are right in this must be judged, in the last instance, by whether such schools really embody high ideals, whether they help to stabilise social functioning, whether they help the community to adjust its pattern of life to the conditions of a new age, whether they serve to increase general prosperity and happiness—all of them difficult and puzzling questions! On the one hand, the economic activities of a modern state, and in particular its taxation policy, may gravely injure institutions that still serve the community well, on the other, it is harmful to preserve what is no longer of value.

So far, then, we have taken note of the fact that the scope of the activities of educational authorities is everywhere expanding fast and in many directions. Such growth involves, of course, alterations in form and structure—it is not mere accretion but something more organic. There is, however, one aspect which is of general significance. the relations between central and local authorities and the sharing of duties and responsibilities between them

The relative strength of central and of local authorities, as well as the size and powers of the latter, are largely determined by history as well as by the facts of geography. Neither the highly centralised system of France nor the extremely decentralised system of the U.S.A. was originally created to discharge the responsibilities now laid upon it. Actually, both were established before democratic principles were clearly formulated in their present form. Rationalisation was added later and made to fit existing practice In France, centralisation can be traced back to the institutional experience of the Roman Catholic Church, and it was strengthened by the *Ancien Régime* as well as the Napoleonic system. Later, it was urged that centralised administration provided the best guarantee of equality between regions and between social classes. In the United States the tradition of decentralisation can be traced back to the conditions of the colonial period; it was strengthened by the experiences of the frontier and it is rooted in the old Puritan tradition. Later, it was urged that decentralisation was the guardian of freedom and equality.

The enormous expansion of educational services in the twentieth century has shown both rationalisations to be unsound. In France centralisation has led to a somewhat rigid uniformity, stress on an academic curriculum, and formalism at all levels of instruction.

The secondary system was in many ways well suited to the needs of the middle classes as they were years ago: it prepared young people for positions in the civil service and for entry into universities. But it trained few young technicians or budding scientists, and it largely neglected the needs of skilled labour and of agriculture. In addition, it left out of account regional traditions and local dialects or languages. In the U.S.A., on the other hand, the many very small local units were unable to provide adequately diversified facilities for secondary or technical education. In addition, financial burdens were very unequally shared. Even in England the presence of the Part III authorities was recognised as an obstacle to a more balanced and comprehensive organisation of secondary education.

We touch here an interesting point. Industrialisation, in its deepest aspect, is simply the application of scientific knowledge and methods to the process of production, whether of food or of commodities, whether carried on under the roof of a factory or in the open field. An industrial revolution affects rural workers just as much as town workers and promotes the development of the same kind of outlook on life in both groups. It would be foolish to suppose that the farmers of Ohio or the tractor drivers of rural England are nearer to the fellaheen of Egypt or the peasants of China than they are to the workers in the motor factories of Detroit, or of Birmingham, simply because they too produce foodstuffs. As the old-style subsistence farmer becomes the specialised producer of bacon, of wheat, or of milk, he turns into an industrial man who expects the same kind of satisfactions, the same kind of access to the good things of life, as does the town dweller. He is just as anxious as a clerk in an office to send his children to a good secondary school, thereby giving them a chance of social promotion. So the demand for secondary and higher education spreads even into the villages. It is complicated by the realisation that still further improvement in productivity necessitates the development of technical education adapted to food production —that is, agricultural education at all levels.

The justice of the demand for secondary education coming from country workers is generally conceded, since it is reinforced by the acceptance of the equalitarian ideal· "fair play for the agricultural worker". Let it be noted, incidentally, that we have in all this yet one more illustration of the fact that equalitarianism and socialism are not synonymous terms. On the whole, farmers are not inclined towards socialism—they cling to the idea of individual ownership of land and tools, moving only slowly towards that of common ownership and socialised direction. But they dislike great inequalities of wealth or power: their ideal everywhere rather obstinately remains akin to that which Thomas Jefferson nobly expressed.

All these social trends reveal themselves in apparently opposed

reactions at the level of administration and finance. Everywhere and simultaneously there are tendencies towards a relaxation of centralised control, and at the same time other tendencies towards strengthening the centre. It is not a matter of 'either . . . or' but of 'both'. One could, for instance, make out a case to show that the 1944 English Education Act greatly increased the responsibilities of the central, national authority. But one could also, though less easily, show how it involved a marked move towards full professional responsibility for educational developments on the one hand, and local control of each school on the other. It is interesting to analyse these tendencies more closely.

We begin by dividing the countries of the world into three groups. First, those which have a centralised system of administration, mostly Latin countries and predominantly Roman Catholic —France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, Latin-American Republics—and countries which have been under strong French influence—Muslim countries both Arab and non-Arab. The second group consists of countries of Germanic origin and predominantly Protestant—England, Scotland, Germany, Holland, Canada, U.S.A., Union of South Africa, and the Scandinavian countries. All have an old tradition of local self-government and have always been suspicious of the monopoly of the central authority. The third group had no definite tradition in administration and adopted one or other system in consequence of economic or geographical conditions or in accordance with a political doctrine. These are the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, China, and the old and new British Dominions—Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan. In the first group of countries, the centralised administration was comparatively successful in establishing equality of opportunity for the urban population, but failed to equalise educational facilities in rural areas and among linguistic minority groups. The uniform curriculum devised for the urban population proved to be unsuitable to rural areas. The imposition of a national language from the infant school upwards disregarded the special needs of minorities.

We notice in France a relaxation of the Ministry's grip on the curriculum and on methods of instruction. Local inspectors have received more freedom in adapting general requirements to local conditions and even begin to allow the rise of local dialects in school. On the initiative of the Ministry itself, comprehensive experiments aimed at applying new methods have been started throughout the country. The municipality of Paris was permitted to build up a municipal system of vocational and technical schools with its own inspectors and local administrators. The same tendencies are observed in Italy and Spain. The Muslim countries have also realised the inevitable neglect of rural areas by a highly centralised administration, and are taking steps to remedy existing

inequalities by paying more attention to local needs. It is too early to predict whether this tendency will lead in the future to regionalism or to a partnership between central and local authorities on the British pattern. The monopoly of the central Ministry is firmly established, and the local units, as a rule, have little administrative experience in taking over the responsibility and the financial burdens previously assumed by the central government. The initiative in devolution of powers comes from above, and it will take time to develop local authorities capable of becoming active partners in the administration of education. France leads in this respect, and her example will undoubtedly be taken into account by all countries accustomed to look to her for new ideas.

Another reason for devolution of central control is the demand from churches and religious communities for active participation in the education of the young. National authorities usually have to deal with populations which are far from being homogeneous in religious faith. In consequence the state is, as a rule, secular and neutral. The churches, however, and especially the Roman Catholic church, cannot accept solutions which result in providing only religiously neutral schools. They demand not only the right to maintain their own denominational systems but, owing to the rising costs of maintaining and expanding these systems, are forced to ask for subsidies from the national or local taxes collected by public authorities. In Belgium and Holland, the result has been the creation of two parallel systems—in fact, in Holland there are three —both maintained from public funds but in reality administered by two independent authorities. In post-war Germany, two different solutions have been adopted—in the West, collaboration with the churches, in the East a secular, or at least an official, system inspired by Marxist doctrines.

In countries where a tradition of local responsibility for local affairs flourishes and where local authorities are proud of their independence, the tendency towards centralisation has drawn strength in part from the necessity for subsidising the always expensive technical and vocational instruction, and in part from the realisation that there should be a greater degree of educational equality between the various areas. In the U.S.A. and in Canada the remedy was found in a policy of 'consolidation' of small into larger areas, as well as in that of increasing the subsidies from state or federal sources. It is becoming clear, too, that problems such as those which arise in connection with negro education in the poorer southern states or in the need for raising standards in the new province of Newfoundland can be properly handled only with federal help, and probably only under federal supervision. Then, too, the growing demand for large numbers of scientific and technical workers, such as are needed in the atomic-power projects or for building giant dams, raises fresh issues. Since such technicians

are usually geographically mobile, and since they tend to move towards new regions, their training and education involve national rather than local responsibility. It is easy to multiply instances. In England the Act of 1944 abolished the independent Part III authorities and strengthened the powers of the national Ministry. Private schools, as well as the old 'public' grammar schools, were brought within the system of central inspection and ceased to be quite as independent as they were. Even universities, through the policy of grants, are more dependent on the decisions of the central authority than previously. However, the gap between the centralised systems on the French model and the decentralised systems of England and North America remains and is unlikely ever to be bridged: different historical traditions have become part of the 'national character.'

In the third group of countries the decision to adopt either centralisation or decentralisation depended more on geography and on political considerations than on historical traditions. In the Union of Soviet Republics, during the first period, a policy of decentralisation was followed by creating independent ministries of education in each of the constituent republics as well as local educational authorities within each republic. Yet during the war, higher and vocational education were centralised at Union level by establishing two federal ministries, of 'higher education' and of 'labour reserves'. At present only primary and general post-primary education are under the direct control of republican (non-federal) and local authorities. Yugoslavia has adopted a somewhat similar federal scheme of administration with six republican ministries of education. Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, and Hungary, on the other hand, have chosen a centralised administration. In the new British Dominions, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, a form of administration was adopted which seemed best suited to local conditions and political needs. India chose a federal structure with provincial autonomy in education. Pakistan adopted a somewhat more centralised system with a strong element of federalism, partly in order to strengthen the cohesion between various parts of the new Dominion.

To sum up, it may be said that there is a tendency towards a more balanced combination of central and local powers, which gives a sound base from which to advance towards fuller equality. The extremes of central government monopoly and of total non-intervention of the state are giving way to centralised planning at national level and to the need for adapting to local conditions. In any case, centralisation was never followed to its extreme logical conclusion. Even in France, local authorities have always made their contributions to education—as much sometimes as 30 per cent. of the total cost. If to this one adds the contribution made by the religious communities and by fee-paying scholars, it is clear that the central government never paid more than perhaps half the costs of national

education. On the other hand, in the decentralised systems, the share borne by the central government grows constantly so that a large part—up to a half or even more—comes from state or federal authority. In a word, the distinction grows less sharp than it was.

Rearrangement of the School-system

We have already stressed the strength of the universal demand for equal treatment of all groups, whatever their race, creed, social origin, or sex. The old vertical structure corresponding to social classes—elementary for the masses, secondary and higher for the middle and upper classes—is clearly ill-adapted to providing equal educational opportunity for all the children of all the people. Thus, everywhere schemes known variously as *école unique, Einheitsschule, comprehensive school, common school,* and so on, were launched long before the war and were intended to do away with segregation of school children into the social classes to which their parents belonged. Such proposals received support from the political left, from trade-union movements, from generously-minded members of the middle classes, and from all those who had been impressed by the growing progress of the U S A., where a 'common school' had long existed. It was characteristic of these schemes that they should always propose a horizontal division of schools in accordance with the age of their pupils, thereby eliminating the two or three vertically parallel systems found in many lands. The first period of schooling, renamed 'primary education', would last up to 11 or 12 years. The second period, from 11 or 12 to 14 or 15 years, would be renamed 'secondary education' and thus the latter term would lose its select character; it would no longer be an education intended for a social or intellectual élite. This logical solution was at once challenged by psychologists, by religious authorities, and by practical administrators. Some psychologists objected by pointing out that the rate of growth and of development is not uniform and that abilities vary greatly among individual children. From their point of view a general transfer of all children at 11+ or 12 to 'secondary' schools, providing the old academic curriculum, was pedagogically and psychologically wrong. This objection was met by extending the definition of secondary education so as to include all types of education after 11 or 12, even those of the most practical and vocational content. Such a solution, however, appeared to some critics as a change of terminology only, since social differentiation would remain and the real aim of the *école unique* would be side-tracked. To preserve social unity, and to afford every child an opportunity of choosing a course in accordance with its ability, 'multilateral' and 'comprehensive' schools were created in many, indeed in most, English-speaking countries. It is to be noted that these are schools providing several different educational ladders, according to the abilities and aptitudes of the

pupils. There is no common curriculum for all, as there was in the old 'elementary' schools. To be efficient, such schools have to be large, and new difficulties of organisation and staffing arise.

In the U.S.A., in the larger cities, these difficulties were solved and large comprehensive schools were erected. Nevertheless, the achievement of social unity within the schools remained somewhat elusive and differentiation between the poorer and the wealthier families and their children was only slightly modified. Children of wealthier and better-educated families selected general academic subjects leading to college, whilst children of poorer homes selected vocational subjects leading to an immediate financial return. It was evident that differentiation followed family tradition more than it did intellectual ability. Similar results in the Soviet Union led the authorities to the total abolition of intelligence testing and the establishment of a uniform curriculum for all children up to the age of 15. New theories of heredity propounded by Michurin and Lysenko and officially accepted by the state administration assert that differences in ability are the result of material conditions during growth and of social environment only. Therefore, the differentiation of children at 11+ according to tests of intelligence which stress family influence perpetuate existing class divisions. This interpretation of facts was accepted in all countries controlled by communist parties, and they have all adopted a uniform curriculum both for primary and for the first cycle of post-primary education. Thus, two different varieties of the *école unique* have become apparent after the war. Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Western Germany, Italy, U.S.A., and the British Dominions accept a differentiation of post-primary education from the age of 11, 12, 13, or even 14, and subsequently retain as a unit the old academic stream leading to the universities, either as a separate grammar school or as separate classes within the comprehensive school. In order to satisfy the demand for equality of opportunity, they have established an intermediate stage of observation and orientation to facilitate transfer from one stream to another. On the other hand, the Union of Soviet Republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, East Germany, and Albania have adopted a compulsory uniform seven- or eight-year school, for ages 7 to 15 for all children, irrespective of their abilities or social environment. In those countries, therefore, an intermediate stage of differentiation according to ability and inclination does not exist. Differentiation comes later, after 15 years, and is governed mainly by the future social and industrial functions of the pupils.

These differences of organisation reflect different interpretations of heredity and different social-political philosophies. Yet even the straightforward Marxian solution has not eliminated differentiation according to social origin. In spite of all measures, the rural-

agricultural population has fewer facilities than the urban population for the second cycle of secondary education, and the universities still have a disproportionately high number of students of 'non-proletarian' families. The question must be posed whether the equalitarian conception of humanity is a practicable or even a desirable one, and the two different answers given to it show that educational policy is closely bound with social philosophy. Inevitably, education as a function of society cannot be divorced from politics, but nevertheless one often wishes that one could learn to think of secondary school organisation as in the first place a question having to do with individual children and only in a derivative way a political or religious one. It is certainly regrettable to bedevil it by party-political arguments.

On the whole, since Western psychologists do not accept theories like those of Michurin they prefer an intermediate stage of observation and orientation for the age-range 12–15 before a final decision is taken This is the purpose of the American Junior High School, of the *Classes Nouvelles* in France, of the *Mellan Skola* in Scandinavia, of *Scuola Media* in Italy, and of the common curriculum for the first two years of secondary education in England. This organisation of schools, whilst recognising differences of ability, attempts to eliminate social injustice and possible mistakes. In spite of these measures, social differentiation according to origin takes place both in Western and in Eastern Europe.

To counteract this special attention has been paid to continuation schools. Originally established in Germany by Kerschensteiner as *Fortbildungsschulen* for pre-vocational and civic training, they have developed into a means of fostering social adjustment among those young industrial and agricultural workers who, owing to environmental drawbacks, have missed the opportunity of general secondary education. The war, with its universal dislocation and compulsory military service, was responsible for the interruption of regular education among large numbers of adolescents and young people, and the governments of all participating countries considered it their duty to provide secondary and higher education, at public cost, for ex-service men and women. The American 'G.I. Bill of Rights', the grants to ex-service men and women in Great Britain and other countries, and the special evening secondary schools for peasants and workers in communist-controlled countries, serve similar purposes. It appears that, originally devised as temporary measures of adjustment, these institutions are being accepted as regular parts of the educational system. The additional opportunity thus afforded to the industrial and agricultural population is, in effect, helping to change the social composition of the university student body and this is making necessary a re-formulation of the aims of higher education. The numbers of students in all countries have doubled since the end of the war, and most of the

new freshmen have come from social groups which have no tradition of academic training. Their interests tend to be more utilitarian and practical than those of previous generations of students coming from professional classes.

The universities have thus been confronted simultaneously with two new tasks: adaptation of their courses to new economic needs and integration of large numbers of newcomers into cultural traditions which previously had been the privilege of the upper and middle classes. In the West many representatives of conservative academic circles and of churches expressed their anxiety lest so large an influx of students from less-cultured homes would lower standards of academic training and influence adversely the formation of professional élites. That the danger is real is evident from the measures taken both in America and in the U S S.R. to preserve an adequate cultural level among the growing number of specialists required by the new technology. The universities are thus expanding their work in two directions The second industrial revolution, which involves developing new industries and which depends upon national planning and ownership, demands thousands of specialists with advanced technical and scientific training. Therefore many new branches have had to be added to the old engineering faculties, or entirely new technical institutes have had to be founded This specialisation, however, has to be countered by introducing general cultural courses for all students in order to preserve the standard of liberal education among the new intellectuals. Hence we witness the development of the junior colleges in America, the establishment of the University College of North Staffordshire in England, the introduction of cultural subjects in technical institutes in the Soviet Union, and similar measures in other countries. The universities have had to strain all their resources, their academic staffs are overworked everywhere, but it appears from the available evidence that standards of academic training have not been much lowered. It is clear, however, that further expansion at the same pace is impossible for the present, and that the universities should be given a breathing-space to stabilise themselves under the new conditions.

The Curriculum

From the point of view of those who teach in classrooms, the most important proposals for the reform of education are those which deal with the curriculum, that is with the whole range of activities promoted or made possible by the school and, more particularly, with what shall be taught and how. In the first place, we note that to introduce medical inspection and to provide school meals is, in effect, to alter the balance of the curriculum by shifting its centre of gravity. When such innovations are introduced schooling appears, *ipso facto*, as a less bookish affair. And this is certainly in line with the trend of the times. Most reformers feel

that more stress should be laid in school upon the useful, the practical, the technical, the social and less upon what is now thought of as the ornamental, the theoretical, the literary, the academic. Knowledge, so it is said, is for use: it should not be pursued for its own sake alone. Evidently, much of this has long been urged by a line of thinkers stretching back at least as far as Bacon or Comenius. Yet there are evident dangers. To suspect theory and abstract thinking and to prize above all action and empirical fact is not to attain balanced harmony but to emphasise one pole. It is a tendency which easily slips from healthy empiricism into a sort of conceptual nihilism—a trap which not every 'progressive' educator has entirely avoided. Or again, wise teachers and educators have long insisted upon the importance of direct experience, sense experience, as the source of true learning. But the number of possible experiences which the young may be made to enjoy is immense· criteria of exclusion must be applied. In the past, the general aim was to provide for the young experiences which might be made the source of intellectual enlightenment or moral formation. Nowadays, one notes a tendency to prize above all experiences drawn from economic life, from the spheres of production or distribution. We cannot be certain that merely bringing a postman or a factory worker into a classroom, or even taking the children into workshops or factories, is necessarily educative. It is this point which, at least in part, explains the anxiety felt by many sincere and liberal-minded educators and which has found expression, for example, in the Harvard Report on *General Education in a Free Society*. Our contributor, Scott Buchanan, in the paper we publish in the present volume, makes it perfectly evident that his own anxieties and his non-acceptance of the 'progressive' philosophy of education are in no way an indication of a reactionary social outlook.

On a more restricted plane, that of the content of teaching, especially the content of secondary education, the battle was long fought everywhere along the axis, language–natural science. Traditionally, the old humanistic education in Western Europe was based upon the teaching of Greek, Latin, and some mathematics. More immediately practical subjects, useful in some trades or professions, were taught chiefly in schools not really in the 'great tradition'. This 'liberal education' meant laying stress upon written and spoken language, and was a form of training not unsuited to future administrators, clerics, teachers, and so on. Arguments for paying more attention to 'natural philosophy' and to practical arts were urged largely from philosophical postulates by intellectuals or religious dissenters. It should be remembered that until the beginning of the nineteenth century the basic sciences of physics and chemistry were hardly well enough organised to be suitable for school instruction, while botany and zoology consisted mainly of

collections, rather than systems, of facts. Furthermore, industry was organised mainly upon empirical knowledge: systematised science as we know it to-day played hardly any part in industry before the advent of artificial dyestuffs and of the electrical industries in the 1860's and 1870's.

The arguments of those who wished to promote scientific studies thus fell upon somewhat ungrateful and sterile soil. A rather small, but growing place was made in the traditional curriculum for work in such subjects—as a rule, even in countries inclined to favour it, not more than a quarter of the school time. The position is now altered: everywhere there is manifest a keen desire to develop science teaching. The chief difficulty, however, is now a marked shortage of qualified teachers, since those who have obtained scientific qualifications in universities are drawn in ever larger numbers towards industry. Incidentally, there is a manifest desire everywhere to broaden, humanise, and socialise the scope of school science—evidence of a realisation that technical and liberal studies cannot be divorced without impoverishing both.

It is interesting to observe that, in many countries, industry is allowed or even invited to take an active part in technical and scientific education. The French *Loi Astier* of the 1920's stimulated other countries too: an interesting example is the Brazilian *Senai*, which trains annually tens of thousands of young people to become skilled technologists or scientific craftsmen. It is financed and controlled by the manufacturing industries themselves—a fact which reminds one that almost everywhere the larger industrial enterprises provide many-sided educational services for their workers. There is here evidence of a growing interpenetration of education and industry, a cross-fertilisation advantageous to both.

On the whole it may be said that educators, both theorists and administrators, have shown sensitiveness to the need for relating education rather closely to economic affairs, especially as regards production. But just as the community at large is very ready to adopt new machines, goods, and devices, from artificial vitamins to television, but rather slow to adapt its pattern of living and thinking to the new conditions, so also have educationists been a little slow to recognise the importance of providing modern courses which would serve to orientate the young in their social and political world. Nevertheless, here, too, progress is being made, as a glance at the American proposals and curricula will sufficiently illustrate —or, for that matter, if one thinks of the English proposals for 'social studies' or 'local studies', the French and Belgian *centres d'interêt*, or even the communist programmes for 'social and political instruction', which contain much else beside Marxian philosophy. The main drive in all such schemes is to provide courses of instruction dealing with problems important to modern industrial societies, from a standpoint which at a more sophisticated level

would crystallise out into anthropology, sociology, social psychology, civics, and so on.

It is largely in connection with these 'social studies' that efforts are being made to provide instruction or education 'for international life' or for 'world citizenship'. These are stimulated and co-ordinated by Unesco, which is doing pioneering work in many directions. There can be no doubt whatever of the desirability of all this, but it still remains to be seen whether the massive effort will bear fruit. It has to be admitted that the condition of the world is scarcely favourable. Nevertheless, it is certain, first, that the next development in world history will be the federation of small states into larger units such as 'Western Europe'. Secondly, that dreadful harm will be done to civilisation if these federations clash on the field of battle, armed with the panoply of scientific horrors. Anything which may serve to lessen this prospect deserves support and, in any case, education could aim at nothing more certainly noble than the establishment of brotherhood among men.

More science, more technology, more social studies, more attention to international attitudes—all these represent reforms chiefly in the content of education. But the method of teaching, too, is changing. The old, didactic, chalk-and-talk methods are no longer in favour anywhere. The cry is for activity methods, for projects, for centres of interest, for school visits or journeys, and so on. One has only to mention these to note how well attuned they are to the conditions of modern industry, which has become a process calling above all for adaptive skill, for ready co-operation in working groups, for small-scale initiative, for widespread interest—even if transient—in what is novel and strange. The new methods are approved and sanctioned by psychological and educational research, but it is not fanciful to point out that it is presumably the social change which has made us all receptive to their findings and ready to act in accordance with them. To say this is in no way to minimise the value of the work done by those who have devoted themselves unsparingly to the reform of the schools. We owe it to them that the life of children everywhere has indeed become a happier and healthier one than it was. Their labours have prospered, and the whole world stands in debt to them. One is delighted to note how, in all countries, the concept of happy and healthy living is being ever more widely accepted as a desirable ideal—a view officially stated by the British government in the documents which explained the purpose of the 1944 Education Act. And indeed one could do much worse than to use as the criterion for judging the curricula of schools whether and how far they promote health in all its aspects—physical, mental, moral, spiritual, social.

There remains one last and important point to note. The twentieth century has seen, at least in the advanced countries, a

massive invasion of the professions and of the universities by women. And at the secondary level, too, the education of girls grows more important everywhere. All this again is paralleled by similar changes in the economic field. The effect of the first industrial revolution was largely to drive women from the field of production, or at least of factory production, and from the offices where distribution was looked after. But now, factories are filled with automatic or semi-automatic machines which can be handled just as competently by women as by men. Dexterity, quickness of reaction, sureness of touch, are as important as muscular strength. Thus, women can once more play their part on a footing of growing equality with men. That under such conditions the demand for nursery schools seems insatiable is understandable enough. The point here, however, is that the growing influence of women and their presence in school and university are certain in time to alter the curriculum-pattern. Not immediately, of course. The first step to real equality is to accept blindly whatever the superior group has accepted in the past. But later, with full confidence, comes criticism followed by fresh demands. Already there are signs that women are beginning to expect and to demand an educational regimen which is more consonant with their emotional, physical, and vocational needs than the one available to them and which is still man-dominated. The oscillation of Soviet education between mixed schooling and separate schooling at the secondary level is no mere accident.

The Status and Education of Teachers

Inevitably, as the role of the school changes, so does the work of teachers. In every advanced country they are now expected to play a much more direct and significant part than formerly in socialising the young, in guiding their emotional development, and even in providing vocational guidance. It is no longer thought sufficient for them simply to teach book knowledge or basic skills· they are expected to have at least a modest equipment of psychological knowledge and to be interested in fostering not only the intellectual but the all-round development of their pupils. They supervise meals, arrange for the distribution of milk, see to it that their charges receive proper medical attention, direct towards psychiatrists or child-guidance experts those who show symptoms of maladjustment, arrange special classes for the backward.

Again, inevitably, the education they receive is being transformed —and chiefly along two lines. First, an 'inner reform' of content. Formerly, their training consisted largely of 'learning the tricks of the trade' by imitation of good classroom practitioners who knew exactly how to keep children quiet and busy at book-work. Now such work tends to recede in importance, while psychological, sociological, historical, philosophical studies everywhere tend to

predominate. In a word, what was formerly purely vocational training is becoming technical or even technological education—in the sense that the element of theory which justifies practice and facilitates change is being stressed much more than it was.

Secondly, we note an 'outer reform' of the structure of teacher education. Formerly, there were two entirely separate systems: one for 'training elementary teachers'; the other for providing some understanding of the process of education for those who intended to work in selective secondary schools, themselves closely linked, by examinations and scholarships, to universities. The students in the first class of institutions, called by such names as 'training colleges', 'normal schools', and so on, were not themselves the products of the secondary and university systems. They tended to come straight from the elementary school or to come to the college after a period of apprenticeship in the classroom. Then followed a three-, four-, or even five-year course from the age of 15 or 16. This system is still favoured in many countries, for example in Belgium. But with the quantitative growth of secondary schooling, more and more of these students come from secondary schools at the age of about 18 Correspondingly the length of their course has been shortened to two years—usually from 18 to 20—but it now tends to be lengthened again at the upper end to three or, as in the U S A., even to four years.

As regards the second group, those who intended to teach in secondary schools, whether secondary grammar schools in England or senior high schools in the U.S.A. or other secondary schools of like type, the usual thing until some thirty or fifty years ago in the more advanced countries—and even now in many—was for them to follow the usual general university courses and to listen to a few university lectures on the philosophy and history of education. In addition they were, so to say, apprenticed to a master craftsman for a year or two. The tendency now, however, is to set aside a whole year for serious pedagogical studies after completing the ordinary university course—and the content of those studies is much like that provided in training colleges, though appropriately at a more advanced and theoretical level.

It is clear from this that the way is well prepared for a closer assimilation and integration of the two types of teacher education. Just as the top levels of the elementary school and the lower levels of the secondary school draw nearer and nearer, so, too, do the forms of preparation for teaching in them. In the U.S.A., many of the state teachers' colleges award academic degrees, while in England an extremely interesting scheme has been initiated, spoken of as the Area Training Organisations or Institutes of Education.

The bearing of such development on the social status of the teaching profession is hard to define. On the one hand, the enrichment of their function, together with growing professionalisation

and the establishment of a definite hierarchy, tends to raise it in general esteem, though not yet to parity with the older medical or legal professions. On the other hand, salaries remain everywhere comparatively low, and their value constantly falls owing to world-wide inflation of prices. It has become true since the war that in many countries the median salaries of teachers approximate to those of manual workers, a fact which does not necessarily indicate a fall in the esteem accorded to teachers. However, these matters are complex and deserve much fuller investigation. Indeed, it is proposed to devote the next volume of the YEAR BOOK (1953) to a world-wide enquiry on the status and position of the teaching profession.

Adult Education

Just as it is difficult to describe briefly the trends of change in teacher education, so it is hard to summarise what is happening in the field of adult education. Briefly, it may be said that everywhere the old motives encouraging its growth are shrivelling and are gradually being replaced by new ones. Also, the old sources of financial support are drying up and the state everywhere growingly takes over responsibility. In the nineteenth century, one discerns in operation three powerful influences which led to rapid growth. First, the masses of workers in the new industrial towns were avid for the kind of knowledge, largely scientific or technical, which would help them to understand their jobs—it was this which led, for instance, to the establishment of mechanics' institutes in England. Secondly, these workers, when they began to organise themselves into unions, were desirous of understanding better than they did the operation of a complex industrial order which reduced them to the position of wage slaves. Usually, they turned to economics or else to political theory in schools or institutions organised or supported by their own clubs, unions, or societies. Thirdly, there was often a felt need for the development of national feeling or for the promotion of a particular social or political outlook—the sort of motive which led to the foundation of the People's High Schools in Denmark. But now these motives are mostly gone, and the social conditions which led to the flourishing of institutions aimed at satisfying needs of that kind exist no more. The development of elementary and secondary education, together with publicly supported evening courses and continuation schools meets the first and second needs quite adequately. The trade unions or co-operative societies now tend to concentrate on simple propaganda in defence of their own interests and do little true education. Institutions like the People's High Schools are also being transformed. They never appealed to city dwellers, and changes in the mode of engaging and employing rural labourers—for example, paying them by the week instead of by the season—make it difficult for the old clientèle to

attend them It is significant that the high schools now catering for the conservative small-holder in Denmark and inspired by evangelical and puritan Christianity flourish they embody a sort of protest against the domination of national life by somewhat cosmopolitan city dwellers

All this does not imply any diminution of the need for adult education On the contrary the conditions of modern life in advanced communities make it essential, because these societies have to be stabilised Furthermore, the complexity of political life has become such that democratic processes can no longer be maintained in full vigour unless growing numbers understand more clearly and at a more conscious level how they can be operated Thus the paramount necessity of the moment is to discover and to realise forms of instruction and education aimed at adults and effective in stabilising their mental life as individuals by giving them insight into themselves and into the social and political problems which face their country and the world

Let it not be thought that we are here taking an unduly narrow view of the nature of adult education It is evident that the Press, the radio, the film, cheap books, illustrated magazines, spread knowledge and help to form the climate of opinion Organ, the trade union, the church or chapel, the co-operative society, even the public-house, the milk-bar, or the cafe are institutions where adults gather and influence one another But such educative agencies are informal and unplanned They represent an elementary stage which gains significance and value only if completed and sustained by more formal, theoretical, enlightened, and balanced arrangements

In the discovery of appropriate forms, one is hindered as well as helped by the presence in the field, in all countries which have not vested the monopoly of education in the state, of voluntary and non-official bodies founded years ago to meet needs which exist no longer It has become exceedingly difficult for these bodies to finance their work, and the state, either directly or through the intermediary of universities, is more and more bearing the cost The gain will be the fact that this may bring about a change in their activities the loss, that the state is only very seldom bold in matters of cultural and educational exploration

Less-advanced Countries

All that has been said so far in this study applies particularly to Western and Eastern Europe, the English-speaking world, and those regions of Latin America where industrialisation has made substantial progress The rest of the world, however, contains nearly two-thirds of mankind organised politically into a large number of countries among which one can distinguish roughly four groups First, the Muslim lands of the Middle East, fully sovereign and

adhering to their own cultural and religious traditions though deeply influenced by the West. Then the Asian nations, the old countries of the Far East, and the self-governing states which have emerged from the British, Dutch, and French colonial empires. All these, too, cleave to their own cultural and religious traditions, though their educational systems have been deeply influenced by European and American models. The third group consists of those Latin-American republics where Indians and coloured people form a substantial part of the population, together with West Indian dependencies of similar racial composition. The fourth group includes the African colonies of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal.

Although each of these groups has its special problems, they share the same preponderance of illiterate masses and a low standard of economic and social development. In distinction from European countries, including oversea countries populated by Europeans, their main attention is directed to primary and mass education instead of to the reform of secondary and higher education. The European interpretation of equality of opportunity as meaning access to secondary and higher education for all social classes has little meaning in lands where the majority of the population has no opportunity even of elementary education. Yet, since the foundation of thousands of primary schools is impossible without a supply of teachers with secondary education, and since the training of teachers demands academically educated lecturers, the governments of these countries have had to tackle the problems of secondary and higher education simultaneously with the building up of an elementary system Their attention is thus divided and, whereas in advanced European societies the main problem is that of tidying up existing systems, in these less-advanced countries it is that of building foundation and roof at the same time. Furthermore, there is no time to be lost. The growth of intense, aggressive nationalism; rapid industrialisation, rather sudden acquisition of independence; all these factors raise problems which require immediate solution. The economic problems alone demand an enormous investment of capital which these countries lack. Hence there is a shortage of resources which leads them to concentrate on emergency measures. Fundamental education of the masses is, of course, the greatest need and should probably be accorded priority over secondary or higher and even over technical education. But this fundamental education, if it is to achieve permanent results, needs to be sustained by universal and compulsory elementary schooling, of four or five years' duration, at the child level. Now a common feature of all agricultural communities is that the family economy requires adolescent labour, and therefore children are allowed to stay only two or three years at school. The majority then relapse into complete illiteracy, wasting the efforts of their teachers and

the financial investment made by the community on their behalf.

A question inevitably arises: having limited resources and an insufficient cadre of teachers, would it not be wise to raise the quality of education by diminishing the number of children in school? Would it not be better to introduce compulsory attendance, for a sufficiently long period, for selected groups or individuals, abandoning the masses to their traditional illiteracy, at least for a time? In any case, most of them do in fact relapse into illiteracy in spite of all efforts. Yet a straightforward and realistic solution of the difficulty cannot be countenanced by any of the governments of those countries. In mediaeval Europe, indeed, the solution was adopted because it was accepted by all as part of the divine order. Furthermore, the idea of political or social equality was foreign to all groups of the population. In the modern world, with the coloured races awake and alert, with communist propaganda filling the air, with the sincere conversion of the European nations to the ideals of racial and social equality, the policy of educating only a select élite is quite impossible. Wastage and relapse into illiteracy must therefore be accepted as inevitable during the initial period of reform, and must be looked upon as a fine to be paid for centuries of neglect. This, then, in general terms, is the answer in India, China, Latin America, Africa. Given a long period of international peace, success will be achieved—but this is the necessary condition.

The time required will, of course, depend upon the situation in each country. For instance, it was possible for the Soviet Union to eliminate illiteracy among Central Asian nomadic and agricultural communities in a comparatively short period, because these communities formed only a small minority in the population of the whole federation, and the experience and resources of the Russian centre could be shared with them. It is hardly possible to attain equally spectacular results in China or India, where the overwhelming majority is illiterate and there is a grave lack of material goods and of money. To provide universal compulsory education of sufficient duration, these countries will have to raise their industrial production and to train the necessary technical cadres. In consequence, we witness the simultaneous adoption of two parallel policies. For ideological purposes mass campaigns against illiteracy are launched, which bring scanty results. For more utilitarian and realistic purposes a new system of technical education is built up. It is realised, both by native leaders and by colonial European administrators, that school attendance and literacy without accompanying changes of social organisation and of methods of production are no solution, and in the majority of cases bring only waste of time and effort. In this respect the experience of Europe and North America is of great importance to less-advanced countries. Technical inventions, psychological research, new methods of

instruction, can be borrowed to great advantage and without impairing national traditions or national independence. In the African colonies this policy is consciously introduced by European administrators. Much more questionable is the policy of introducing European ideologies, whether Christian or Marxian, into the countries of Asia and Africa. A sudden transition from fetishism to Christianity or from Confucianism to Marxism may prove to be disruptive rather than constructive.

The Statics and Dynamics of Education

The various essays collected in this YEAR BOOK provide source-material for the study of an educational problem vital at this period. what are the forces which tend to produce educational change and what are those which brake or block reform? Evidently, all that can be done here is to present a somewhat inadequate formulation. It would be futile to attempt an exhaustive and critical enumeration or an evaluation of the relative strength of the various factors involved. But even a crude answer may be helpful.

On various occasions in this study we have pointed to the power of the material and spiritual forces involved. Spreading from the Western European focus, an epidemic of change has swept the world for four hundred years. The tempo of this change has increased in an astonishing way during the last fifty years. Everywhere communities which had scarcely changed their mode of production or their way of life since the Neolithic Revolution are turning to modern science and technology. And the advanced nations, too, apply them in ever-extending manner to ever-new areas. The economic, social, and political difficulties which arise in consequence are enormous. One turns to all instruments of social action that can be brought into play to deal with them—among which education is paramount. Stimulus and response, challenge and answer. And note that without strong stimulus, change and progress are slow. In those fortunate lands which have not been challenged by the effects of war, education tends to stagnate and dullness spreads.

Among the factors which produce change in educational patterns, one stands out above all others; namely, the alterations which take place in social hierarchies as a result of a changed economy. Social power is distributed in new and different ways among the groups which make up the population of the different countries. The groups which rise, whether they be social classes or minorities, demand a larger share of the good things formerly reserved for the privileged—whether these be education itself or access to better posts. This demand is formulated as one for 'equality of educational opportunity', and it is the great slogan of the day.

In addition, marked progress has been made in the field of psychology and of educational research generally. This has proved

important in providing a compass, a guide, pointing the way towards what it is desirable to achieve. But it is not in itself an important cause of change. Knowledge may be amassed in treasure-houses without being necessarily used to enrich public life. In any case, the level of knowledge in the fields of human psychology is vastly higher than our use of it. What interests us here and now is why it is used or not, what helps and what hinders its application.

It is remarkable that forces of presumably equal intensity produce very different results in various countries. For instance, France is to-day even more strongly challenged by industrialisation and its consequences than is the U.S.A. Yet it seems to be relatively easy to produce change in the latter and remarkably difficult in the former. To say that it is the centralised administration of France or the political difficulties of that country which block progress is no doubt true—though the administrative system of the U.S.S.R. is also centralised, a point which is often used to explain why that Union can easily bring about change. Yet administrative traditions and political systems are only the symptoms or the end-products of other and deeper tendencies. The point is that the social climate of the U.S.A is one which favours changes, and Americans not only expect it but like it. The opposite is true of France. As an American poet put it: " I know that Europe's wonderful, yet something seems to lack . . . the past is too much with her and the people looking back. . . ."

The climate of opinion is made up of a multitude of factors, of which we observe only the combined effect. When educational administrators are asked to define the nature of the obstacles they meet in adjusting systems to new conditions or in expanding the educational facilities they provide, the invariable answer is: " Shortage of money, shortage of buildings, shortage of teachers ". Now none of these answers is final. If teachers are required, large numbers of them can be provided in between five and ten years. All that one has to find is money for salaries or pensions or for the payment of those responsible for training. If buildings are required, all that is needed is to guide and direct builders towards the building of schools. If money is required, as a last resort, it can be raised by taxation or found by saving in the public expenditure in other directions, say on the armed forces, or on the civil service, or on subsidies paid to producers or consumers. Evidently, what is meant by the administrator's answer is that the community has an order of priorities, a hierarchy of values, in which education does not as a rule rank very high, or at least not as high as they think it should.

The somewhat low position accorded to education in the hierarchy of social goods is due chiefly to two features: first, the opposition to change by vested interests, who stand to lose privileges if it occurs, and secondly a not very widespread realisation of the

value of education, apart from providing access to good posts, on the part of the masses whose children would benefit from progress and reform. Let it be noted that when we speak of 'vested interests' we are not thinking solely nor even primarily of the defence of material or financial privileges or of social position. True, when the middle classes see themselves threatened by the entrance of proletarians into selective secondary schools or universities, they are disquieted. Generally, conservative political parties everywhere tend to object to 'common schools', 'comprehensive schools', and so on. Resistance at this point, however, is much weaker than might be expected. The real objectors to reform are administrators used to their routine, heads of schools anxious to defend their position against any weakening of authority or alteration of function, above all, teachers in school or university who have invested years of effort in studying particular subjects and who are used to particular ways of teaching.

As for the second point mentioned, lack of public interest, this will presumably be overcome gradually by persuasion and by the dissemination of ideas and information or by the normal work of parent-teacher associations, educational societies, and so on Certainly, the last fifty years have seen a marked growth of interest among the public in the work of the schools.

There is one last major hindrance, which is of great importance in countries such as France or Belgium or South Africa, namely sectionalism or particularism When a nation is divided in itself along lines of social class or religion or race, the right conditions for steady progress do not exist Education may then become a mere battle-ground where the sign of success is victory over opponents rather than service of the community. When every measure proposed is not examined to see whether it serves the interest of the nation as a whole or the welfare of all children, but whether it will or will not strengthen the defences or serve the advantage of this group or that, not much can be done. Every sensible measure will be postponed, every worthwhile reform blocked. Educational measures provide a long-range remedy for social diseases, and can be applied only when a certain degree of harmony in the body politic exists.

Conclusion

Anyone who studies with care the proposals for reform collected in this YEAR BOOK and who then reflects upon their implications, will be struck by a strange point. It seems as if everything that is tried tends to achieve not only what is aimed at, but also and simultaneously the precise opposite. One recommends fundamental education for the masses in order that they may be enfranchised and rise to greater heights. But literacy also makes them more vulnerable to irrational propaganda and to the lure of the ignoble.

One proposes more technical education in order better to equip populations to use the resources available. But stress on technical education helps to produce technicians with little understanding of the complexity of human problems, and less fitted than they should be to deal with the problems which their own activity creates. One proposes to do away with selective secondary education, in order to draw leadership from socially underprivileged groups, in order to enrich the common life by drawing upon larger reservoirs of ability. But thereby one impoverishes the educational offering, lessens the quality of the schooling available to the children of poor parents who need it most. And so on—it seems as if measures of educational reform are of necessity polar in their nature.

This is precisely one of the reasons which compel us to strive for greater clarity regarding our final aims in education, the fundamental values we attempt to realise. We have stressed over and over again in this introductory essay how social forces produce social reactions which express themselves in educational reform. Let it not be thought that we are blind to other notions or values. True, one aim of education is to ensure cultural continuity—it is social heredity. But society is nothing in itself. It exists only in the individuals that compose it and in no sense transcends them. Education is social action—yes—but it is action by and through individual persons on and with individual persons. And it is only through the person that can be realised the values which cultures should perpetuate and enrich.

It is peculiarly important to hold this truth constantly before ourselves in this age of the mass-man. Ortega y Gasset stresses the point in his *Revolt of the Masses*. There he points out, on the one hand, the remarkable fact that the ordinary man of the twentieth century, the heir of the ages, has available " an organisation of existence which has caused the masses benefited thereby to consider it, not as an organised, but as a natural system. Thus is explained and defined the absurd state of mind revealed by these masses; they are concerned only with their own well-being, and at the same time they remain alien to the cause of that well-being. . . . In the disturbances caused by the scarcity of food, the mob goes in search of bread, and the means it employs is generally to wreck the bakeries. . . ." Here Ortega y Gasset defines one of the social problems of education. How to make the masses participate actively in the culture upon which they depend. But he goes on immediately to point out that the process of civilisation cannot and will not be controlled unless out of these masses arise individuals capable of attaining to the noble life.

The socialisation of twentieth-century man—this is one task. But complementary to it, as one face of a coin to the other, is the need for personalisation of the 'common man'. And this, too, is the supreme task of education. To personalise by giving the vision of

greatness, to spiritualise by transmitting loyalty to what is highest, the ideals and values that have led mankind from the cave to the cathedral, from barbarism to the appreciation of the spiritual.

An American historian, Ralph Turner, divides human societies into those which turn their faces with hope to the future, welcoming change and adapting invention to the fuller realisation of their visions, and those which, turned inwards and backwards, shun novelty, seeking refuge in the old and habitual. The former, he says, flourish and prosper. The remains of the timid litter the pages of history. Let us again repeat, however—these societies are made up of individuals and it is they who compose it. The object, then, of all worthwhile reform in education is not simply to allow our modern societies to last, to endure on a level of mere materiality, but to promote a common life that is noble and upward-striving, because the individuals that compose it themselves strive for what is best, beautiful, and true.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION: THE VIEW OF A CONSERVATIVE[1]

THE intellectual ferment of the years of war produced some hazy but much clear thinking on the subject of education and, officially, the Green Book, the White Paper, and the 1944 Act. Showing their shoots at the end of our winter of discontent, these appeared as a brave promise of the life and colour of the spring to come. A little of that promise has been fulfilled: there is an extra year at school for every child, free and general secondary education, and, most important, because fundamental, the acceptance by the nation of a new perspective, in which education is seen as one continuous process of nourishing and developing the discoverable abilities and aptitudes of each individual.

Cynics may say, indeed have said, that the war was a good thing because it resulted in social reform of this quality and scope. This is cruel thinking. No war can be good; though some are necessary and inevitable evils. War requires the expense of blood, spirit, and treasure. This triple impoverishment places the standards of life and all the social provision of the nation in jeopardy. It is true, of course, that the hot-house atmosphere and apocalyptic vision of war-time favoured the early reform of the educational system. I was happy at that time to take advantage of these favouring conditions and to help refashion it nearer to all our hearts' desire. Yet, though we were able in this way to put forward, perhaps by many years, the acceptance of these reforms, we are now embarrassed by having to give them shape and substance in the aftermath of war, a period of grave difficulties and perplexities. Most of the troubles in education that now vex our minds—the restrictions on capital expenditure, the tightness of money, the shortage of teachers, even the redoubtable 'bulge in the birth-rate'—are consequences of our having been at war. If our opportunities were born of war, so were our problems. We were not endowed with prophetic vision at the Board of Education seven years ago, but we saw clearly enough that it would not be "roses, roses, all the way", and we were conscious of taking part in an act of high faith. I said publicly that work for a generation lay ahead, and prayed privately that the 1944 Act would not suffer the same fate as many of the

[1] The Editors wish to make it clear that this article was written before the General Election of 1951.

provisions of the Fisher Act after the First World War. Looking back, I am satisfied that we took the right, and only honourable, course then, for " we must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures ". Yet if we are not to lose them just the same, we cannot regard plain sailing as our inalienable right, and must be prepared to meet each new challenge with fresh minds and clear policies.

Purpose

Quite evidently if we are to do this we must know where we are going. To consider the means a good deal more closely than the ends is an occupational disease of almost anyone who is engaged in politics. The politician may not have been platonically educated to be a philosopher-king. He pursues his profession more likely by virtue of what Plato himself described as a sort of " divine madness ", a quality that some have, less kindly, equated with mere earthly folly. He is intent on the practicable and the possible, concerned that his approach should be, if not pedestrian, then at least not what Meredith described as " the deplorable half-inch above the common earth ". Nevertheless, because in education he is dealing not just with people's legal rights and pockets and stomachs, but, however indirectly, with their minds and souls, there is no sphere in which a greater obligation rests on the politician to declare the faith and the doubt that are in him. Education is well enough, but education for what? The answer to this question may be stated in terms of the individual or it may be stated in terms of society. I believe that it is better to state it in terms of the individual; but I must say frankly that to state it in terms solely of one or the other has always seemed to me to be mistaken. The antinomy between the two not only can but must be resolved. It is a false conflict between the two heresies of Socialism and Individualism. To look upon a nation from the educational or indeed from any other point of view as either a corporate ant-heap or else a macrocosm of what Bridges called " individual selfhood " is to lose touch with reality altogether. I recoil from the brave new world in which test-tube babies are to be indoctrinated with quasi-communism by a sort of osmotic process. Equally it cannot be regarded as a sound object of education to teach a boy modern languages so that he may live in splendid isolation or to encourage him to waste the sweetness of a higher technological training on the desert air.

The philosophy of educational reform, as I see it, must centre on the individual, in the sense that it must aim to bring out the best in the individual child. If this is done, however, it will benefit and enrich not only the individual but his relationships with other individuals and society as a whole, and the purpose of education is to benefit and enrich all. Of course, in using the words ' benefit ' and ' enrich ' one does not refer only, or even primarily,

to the vocation the individual will pursue when his formal education is complete or near completion, and to the worldly rewards he may receive in that pursuit. The process of education involves the development of the whole character and personality of the individual. Indeed, it is arguable that education, or the lack of it, as distinct from mere vocational training, shows itself less clearly in our work than in our play. Bertrand Russell is not the only philosopher who has thought that the ultimate purpose of education is to equip us to use our leisure intelligently. Clearly we have some need to be so equipped. About this, the researches of Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Lavers have left us in no doubt. I can think of few recent books more disquieting than theirs, perhaps especially to the educationist. But how shall we distinguish the disquiet we feel at the individual picture from that we feel at the social picture?—the tragic human pang we feel for the one life, meaningless and empty, from the social reproach of which we are conscious when we survey the life of a nation for whose idle hands Satan is finding more mischief than some of us had ever realised? There is no antithesis between society and the individual here. And for both, education can be part of the solution, helping men and women to fill their leisure and fill it more fastidiously, helping at the same time to create a more righteous society. That the fullest development of the individual will be to the good of society as well as to his own good may or may not be scientifically demonstrable; but Plato and others have assumed it, and I as a Christian believe it to be self-evident

It was in this belief that we headed the 1943 White Paper with Disraeli's maxim, "Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends", and that the White Paper began with the sentence:

> The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described in this Paper is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life, to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are.

The juxtaposition of the 'social' and the 'individualist' answer to the question 'Education for what?' was logical and intentional.

Variety

The fullest development of individual abilities and aptitudes demands variety of educational opportunity. We should not confuse being procrustean with being progressive. Narkover and Fagin's Kitchen must, of course, be reserved to fiction (or struck off the register of independent schools), but otherwise the richer the diversity of our educational provision and of our educational institutions the better.

By 'diversity' I do not mean the creation or acknowledgment of hierarchies of types of education in which, for example, to borrow a phrase from Sir Walter Moberly, 'Stinks' is subordinated to 'Literae Humaniores'. I attach very great importance to the provision of greatly extended facilities for technical and technological education. Too many of our technical schools are poked away in corners of technical colleges and are failing to receive proper recognition and support. Those whose "desire is in the work of their craft" must be enabled to fulfil themselves. At the same time the conditions of British leadership in the practical skills have to be satisfied. We must therefore build more technical schools at the best pace our resources will allow, give greater freedom to the technical colleges, and develop one or more higher technological institutions. These are tasks the British people owe it to themselves, and indeed to the world, to undertake. Since my views on this particular subject have sometimes been misunderstood in the past, let me make it clear that my purpose in advocating this policy is in no sense an attack on the humanities in whose ample bosom I was myself nurtured. It is certainly an attempt to provide a vital and substantial diversity of the best educational provision outside as well as inside the field of what Carlyle unkindly christened "gerund grinding."

Part of our efforts must indeed lie along the path of discouraging, too early or too much, a rigid specialisation in learning. But this has to be done the right way. The scientist who is incapable of communicating his thought, the historian who has never studied the history of technology—these may constitute a reproach to our educational system. But we have to avoid not only the proverbial fault of the specialist—knowing more and more about less and less—but equally the fault of the dilettante—knowing less and less about more and more. All will watch with interest the results of the compulsory curriculum of general education introduced by the new University College of North Staffordshire.

Another feature of diversity in education must be the preservation of that balance between town and country which Disraeli enjoined upon us. Here the future of the village school is an issue of some moment. We need to guard against the total urbanisation of education. The small country school is a well-nigh indispensable part of the village community, and it helps to maintain the contact of the children with rural life. The Act of 1944 contained special provisions by means of which it was hoped to keep many of these schools alive. Yet it is said that one thousand eight hundred are wincing beneath the Sword of Damocles. Indeed, about four hundred have already been closed. I hope that the development plans of local education authorities can be explicitly phased so that the position can be reviewed later in new economic circumstances. It may be that the small village schools might be used for infants

only, and that juniors could be transported to an adjoining village and so enjoy equally rural surroundings.

Diversity demands that the state shall have no monopoly of education, though it must satisfy itself that standards are maintained, and I hope that circumstances will permit Part III of the Act of 1944 to be brought into full effect at an early date. What are generically known as the 'public schools' have played and should continue to play their part in the life of the nation. It was hoped, as was indicated in the terms of reference of the Fleming Committee, to establish links between the public schools and the state system. These can scarcely be said to have materialised satisfactorily. At the same time rising costs and rising fees have made it increasingly difficult for those with moderate incomes and little capital to continue to give their children the education of their choice. This sector of the school front will want watching, with care and sympathy.

An even more important indication of our desire to avoid any single pattern of education is seen in the very generous and alternative types of assistance given to the voluntary schools within the public educational system. The churches have an historic role in the story of English education. In the past that role has often been the subject of controversy and hostility. On a light note, we remember with a smile the column of Anglican school children "priest-led and women-officered" bearing down on and scattering the column of Dissenting school children in Charlotte Bronte's *Shirley*. But we find little to smile at in recalling the fierce antagonisms aroused by the Act of 1902. That the religious settlement was written into the 1944 Act, with the general assent if not the complete satisfaction of the denominations, is something about which we may be very thankful indeed, if not necessarily complacent. I realise the special and to some extent unforeseen difficulties that the church communities have had to face since the war, particularly because of the continuous rise in building costs. A wise, tolerant, and sympathetic administration of the Act can do much to meet these very real difficulties. To amend the Act in such a way as to alter the religious settlement might be fraught with peril. It could involve the reopening of the whole question, and if that happened we might stir up old controversies and fail to reach agreement and the churches would in the end fare not better but worse. If the denominations and teachers, the authorities and the political parties can agree, most particularly on a re-definition of 'displaced pupils', which would take into account the real extent of the post-war movement of population, then some amending measure should certainly be introduced within the framework of the 1944 Act. This is a matter calling for tact, patience, and moderation, and it is not helped by some of the extremist statements I have seen published not only here but abroad.

'Secondary Choices'

Within the national system of secondary education we decided to base ourselves on the findings of the *Hadow Report* and to divide the schools into 'grammar', 'modern', and 'technical', again to provide for the variety of human needs. It has been said that this particular classification is in conflict with what are called, in a rather question-begging phrase, "the known facts of psychology", and that it has been established not to suit the children but to suit the existing educational set-up. I am happy to call in aid the wise words of an educational authority, who points out that "the existing set-up seems to have come to be what it is because the different types of children are what they are; because, that is to say, the evidence in experience for this broad classification is compelling". Now Mr. R. J. White of Cambridge has assured us in a brilliant if provocative essay that to legislate along the grain of human nature rather than against it is Conservatism. So it is; and it is common sense.

But the matter cannot rest here. We have to ensure that each of the secondary choices provides a genuine, distinctive, and full education which parents will be glad to have their children receive, and the children themselves thankful to have received. Equality in secondary education does not mean and cannot mean that we must all go to the same school. We have to eradicate the feeling that anything other than a grammar school education is an inferior article. But this must be done without at the same time debasing the standards of the grammar school. The object must be to increase the number and improve the status of the technical schools, to which I have referred, and to press on with the development of the modern school which many see as the most interesting feature of the 1944 provisions. Here in the modern school, free from external pressures, there is room for inventiveness in the content of education and a new approach to its methods.

A problem which has yet to be solved satisfactorily is how best to choose pupils for the various types of secondary education at the age of 11+, with the possibility of adjustment two years later. The present tests may not always be achieving good results. I personally am becoming increasingly doubtful about the tendency no longer to insist on what used to be called 'composition'; not just because English is fundamental to English education, but also because I feel there is no better guide to a child's character and ability than a piece of his original writing. The 'common' schools, which are favoured by the Labour Party—though not, I am interested to see, by a few of its most luminous intelligences—and recall the movement for the French *'l'école unique'* and the *'Einheitsschule'* of Weimar Germany, are an attempt to meet, though in fact they evade, this difficulty of selection. Certainly they may be given some trial. The 'school base', where separate grammar, modern, and technical

schools are built on a single site and share facilities, is possibly the best of these alternatives to 'tripartite' secondary education, though it involves serious and often insuperable administrative difficulties. On the whole, however, I regard these experiments with some anxiety. If the comprehensive and multilateral schools are small they are unlikely to be efficient; if they are efficient they may be so large as to become soulless educational factories. Those who advocate these schools do so very often on political rather than on educational grounds. The mover of a resolution supporting the policy of establishing comprehensive schools, which was carried at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party in 1950, said: "I believe that in the comprehensive system of education lies the basis of educating the next generation to form a Socialist society". I will be forgiven if I do not regard this as a very compelling argument. Perhaps no more was meant than that the comprehensive system might do something in itself to break down class distinctions and undermine 'intellectual snobbery'. Having taken some trouble to examine American experience in this field, I do not believe for one moment that it would have any such result. This view is borne out by the wide knowledge of Professor Kandel, formerly of Columbia University and now of Manchester, who says:

> The lessons to be learned from the American comprehensive high school are that individual differences of ability cannot be ignored, that different types of education best adapted to these differences cannot be successfully offered in the same school without sacrificing standards and values, and that mere juxtaposition of pupils in the same school or even in the same classroom does not produce mutual understanding and respect between different social classes

It is clear, too, that one of the worst failings of the comprehensive school in American experience is its apparent inability to provide adequately for the education of those pupils who are most gifted intellectually. To neglect the exceptional child is not only criminally unfair to the child but also, with a small and ageing population such as ours, an act of national suicide.

I read in a recent Socialist publication on the subject that, "if this is to be the 'century of the common man', it must be made the century of the common child". I do not like the phrase 'common child', which I should never be sufficiently haughty and inhuman to use of anyone save of an urchin wiping its nose furtively across the back of its sleeve. I like even less the idea behind the phrase. It is the philosophy of the soap-box, an iconoclastic and retrograde notion that the acknowledgment of excellence is undemocratic; part and parcel of the same mentality that has decreed that one can no longer pass the Certificate Examination with distinction. I yield to no one in my desire for equal educational opportunity; but equal educational opportunity is not identi-

cal educational opportunity, nor can it lead, unless by stunting and retarding the growth of the 'uncommon child', to equality of individuality, talent, and success. Professor Reid has warned us of the danger "that democratic society, instead of being served by the richness of developed differences, will die of the inanition of mediocrity". It is because I share that fear that I attach the first importance to variety of educational provision.

Freedom

In the 'new democracies' socialised training more and more represses individual self-expression. We are, I hope, disabused of any idea that democracy is just a quinquennial count. Carlyle, in his characteristic way, was among those who taught us otherwise long ago: "The notion that a man's liberty consists of giving him the vote at election-hustings, and saying 'Behold now I too have my twenty-thousandth part of a Talker in our National Palaver; will not all the gods be good to me?' is one of the pleasantest!"—by which he meant that it was not one of the most accurate. There are many freedoms, and freedom in society cannot exist without freedom in education.

Brougham said that education makes a people easy to lead, but difficult to drive; easy to govern, but impossible to enslave. But this is not necessarily true. There is a kind of education that has been the tool of tyranny from the days of Sparta to our own day. We have managed to avoid such extremes in this country, not just by dint of our native common sense and our instinctive feeling for liberty, but by wise use of institutional checks and balances. We have resolutely set our face against placing control of the whole educational machine in the hands of the central executive. H M. Inspectors still reserve for their book of guidance to the teaching profession the modest and cautious title of 'Suggestions'. Our universities rightly retain their independence, without sacrificing the interest and support of the state. We have insisted on the continuance of independent schools outside the national system, without divesting ourselves of all responsibility for their standards. Within the national system itself, we have shared and dispersed power among local authorities, drawing upon local reservoirs of talent and knowledge and deriving a considerable portion of their funds from local sources. It is true that the new conception of education implicit in the 1944 Act involved an increase in the power and authority of the central department. The object of this was not to detract from the status of the local bodies—indeed, they now have wider duties than ever before—but to see that so far as possible comparable benefits were available to the whole community. All the partners in this great enterprise—teachers, the managers and governors of schools, and local education authorities—have their rights and their roles, and I am sure that they will

remain fully vigilant against any tendency to diminish or corrode their authority.

I am, however, far from happy about some of the developments of the last few years. There is need for constructive thought at the highest political level if in the years that are at hand we are to keep our education free from fetters and at the same time of good quality. One disturbing instance of interference by the state where it had no business and no need to interfere was the decision to prevent children from taking the Certificate Examination at the age when their teachers consider them proficient to do so. I am not concerned with the particular merits or demerits of the decision as such. On the whole I feel that it had the weight of the best educational opinion against it, and it certainly appears to have added unnecessarily to the staffing and other administrative difficulties of some schools. Nor do I need to stress again the part that this must play in the levelling-down process, in which brilliance is distrusted and children must be 'common', not clever. What worried and still worries me most is that the state should have considered it its business, no matter what advice it may have received from no matter what body, to fix by its own arbitrary decree something which we had always understood to fall within the personal relationship between teacher and pupil. This was a single and large infringement of freedom. Cumulatively, it is the multiform and petty infringements that may be the most dangerous. It is perhaps always a little unwise to generalise, but I have come across far too many examples of schools and their headmasters being reined more tightly than should be necessary, and a lush growth of administration which has overspread and almost obliterated the voluntary services on which our schools depended for so long. It may well be that simpler and freer methods will come about only with the reform and strengthening of the structure and fabric of local government. Indeed, the necessity for such reform may be said to overshadow education at the present time.

The Crippling Qualities of Expense

Men prominent in the educational world have been saying that it is doubtful whether the Act of 1944 can be brought into full operation with our present rating system and form of local government, and that the working of the regional boards in the health services should be watched with interest, since teachers might be driven to ask for education to follow suit if rate incidence should prove a bar to educational progress. Expenditure borne on the rates by local education authorities in England and Wales in the financial year 1951–2 is nearly double what it was in the year 1945–6. It is only reasonable to observe that education costs are head-lined in local papers in a way in which the costs of some other social services are not, just because of the heavy burden

borne on the rates. The independent financial resources at present enjoyed by local authorities cannot normally be expected to increase. To the problem thus presented there may seem to be more than one answer. But before we suggest an answer let us make quite sure that we pose the right question. The question is not, how is education to live? It is, how is education to live and at the same time remain free? Education could live if it were transferred from the local authorities to the central executive or to appointed boards acting as its agents. This would reduce local rates very substantially and would enable education to live on national taxes which are more buoyant and expansible than local rates. Education could not, however, live freely under these conditions. Quite apart from the fact that taking it away from local government would be like tearing a vital organ out of a living body, I could never be a party to a solution which involved giving to the state the means to establish a monopoly of the mind.

Again, education could live on 'bigger and better' Exchequer grants. It has even been suggested that the state might assume the whole cost of education, while the local authorities continued to administer it. I was glad to see in the 'jubilee' *Report of the Ministry of Education* a warning that such a solution should be looked upon "with a critical eye". As Sir Frederick Alban has reminded us·

> Administrative control and financial responsibility must always go hand in hand and cannot long be separated, the degree of independence that may be left to local authorities must tend to be determined by the proportions in which local government expenditure is met out of national and local resources respectively

This is undoubtedly right. Making the state to a much greater extent, or altogether, the paymaster of education would, from the point of view of preserving educational freedom, be only one degree better than formally handing over control to the state.

Sometimes I wish I were less aware than I am of the difficulty of finding a reasonable and acceptable method of dealing with this problem. But we have found solutions in the past to bigger problems than this. Clearly one essential now is that we should adapt educational standards (in the physical sense alone) to the resources at our command.

Precepts

I turn now from the theory and practice of educational administration to the human side of the topic, to the personal work of educating children. Here I know that in some people's estimation I can scarcely hope to put a foot right, for I freely admit that I am not quite abreast with 'the best modern thought'. I say this without shame, perhaps even with a vestige of complacency. All

wisdom is not new wisdom; and I wish there were more of us sufficiently conservative, or even sufficiently modest, to realise that the fads and fashions of the passing moment are not necessarily superior to the accumulated experience of generations of our forbears.

Never a Baconian, I shall not ask that my readers "read not to contradict and confute", but I may be the more easily forgiven if I begin on the least disputatious of my cautionary notes. First, then, let us not undervalue our teachers. There is no more hard-working, no more self-sacrificing a body of men and women than these. Society has not always remembered this. Through ignorance and fear, society destroyed the greatest teacher of antiquity, and the Greatest Teacher of all. Through carelessness and meanness society can in our own day destroy the esteem and standards of the teaching profession. I want to see that the rewards of that great profession are such as will continue to attract men and women of high quality, and that special capacity and attainment are given their full recognition. We are all watching, with real interest, the application of special allowances and the 'pool' under the new Burnham award. I hope no one will pass any hasty judgment before we have managed to put the finances of local government, and indeed of the country, on a surer basis. Conditions of service must allow the teacher to do his work adequately. If education is, as has been well said, "essentially the influence of one person on another", we must have regard in more ways than one to teaching standards. There is, of course, an effect exerted upon the quality of education by good school buildings and equipment: what Thring of Uppingham called "the almighty wall". "Never rest till you have got the almighty wall on your side, and not against you. Never rest till you have got all the fixed machinery for work, the best possible. The waste in the teacher's workshop is the lives of men". The rate at which the nation can rebuild the teachers' workshops is limited, but in the meantime we cannot allow the excellent to become the enemy of the good. Mend and make do is second best, but it is something.

But a further caution is needed: beware of the assumption that the home is less important than the school. Most children spend more of their time at home than at school. Educationists with the best interests of those children at heart must agree that the provision of decent homes should have first claim on that part of the nation's resources which can be devoted to social ends. Let us strive for the day when the teacher will no longer have the heartrending job of educating children from the slums, because the slums themselves will have gone. But I have in mind the product of the 'good' home as well as the product of the 'poor' home. Things have moved since Dudley in his *Tree of the Commonwealth* enjoined all "honest merchants and other wealthy commoners" not to let

"the feminine pity of your wives destroy your children; pomp them not at home in furred coats". Prop them not at home before infernal television sets, we might now add. A headmaster is reported as saying that one can pick out in class the habitual victims: "They have a glazed look of courteous inattention. They have learned to ignore perpetual noise". Perhaps we shall not overcome this difficulty until television has become part of the regular machinery of visual aids in the school itself. But this problem is not confined to young children, some of whom I am informed are incapable of homework unless stimulated by dance music. It cannot be an isolated case of the frustration of further education which Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Lavers have recorded in their book:

> Mr M. is 25, the son of a bank clerk He is unmarried and lives with his parents. He has been studying economics for some years in his spare time in the hope of getting an external degree of London University His parents and sister have the radio on every evening from 6 p m to 11 p m Formerly he went to the house of a friend each evening to study in quiet, but the friend has left the district. As the radio prevents Mr M. from studying at home, he has now abandoned his efforts to obtain a degree.

I cannot here examine more closely the place of the parent in the child's education, but sometimes if the story be told, it is unnecessary to draw the moral.

My next precept applies to parent and teacher alike "He that spareth his rod hateth his son but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes". I can almost hear "the thundering hooves of the psychologists' hobby-horses" bearing down on me as I cite this ancient wisdom. Between the philosophy of poor Jane Grey's parents, who expected her to do everything "even so parfitly as God made the world" and if she failed—which in the nature of things cannot have been seldom—punished her "with pinches, nippes and bobbes", and the philosophy of those who seem to think it wholesome for a child to kick its parent or teacher in the teeth in order to express its 'ego', I should have thought that there was a fairly broad *via media*. Also, let us not get into the frame of mind in which we can suppose that a child can be educated without doing a little orthodox bookwork. I am in favour of new ways of teaching, such as 'activity methods'. But there are activity methods and activity methods. One of them, it will be remembered, was used at Dotheboys Hall:

> We go upon the practical mode of teaching, Nickleby; the regular education system. C-L-E-A-N, clean, verb active, to make bright, to scour. W-I-N, win, D-E-R, der, winder, a casement. When the boy knows out of the book, he goes and does it. It's just the same principle as the use of globes.

Perhaps we have suppressed Squeers; but there are too many instances of activity methods being used by people who have not

been trained to use them properly. Professor Rex Knight has warned us that "Active recall and constructive thinking are important, but they are futile unless there has been accurate assimilation of the relevant facts and principles", and has said that psychologists have no more desire than anyone else "to see schools turning out self-confident but ill-informed pupils who 'don't know when they don't know'."

Fundamentals

Finally, what are the fundamental things which we want our children to be taught? I can give only a personal answer to this, though I think I may be speaking for most thoughtful parents who want the best for their children. First, not wishing them to be less learned than the mock-turtle, we want them to have a good grounding in the three R's, and most particularly their emancipation into the freedom of using and enjoying their own language with accuracy and taste. Secondly, holding with the Greeks (and with Wellington) the importance of 'gymnastic', we want them to know how to respect their bodies and to keep them clean, healthy, and strong. Thirdly, we want them to be made to love and feel proud of the school to which we send them, knowing that out of such localised loyalties will best grow the wider loyalties to the nation, its institutions, and its way of life:

> . . . Thus, love of a country
> Begins as attachment to our own field of action,
> And comes to find that action of little importance
> Though never indifferent. .

Fourthly, we want them to be taught to feel that when they leave school their education is not ending but only beginning, and to feel this whether they are going on to a university or institute or will benefit—as we hope they will eventually benefit—from further education in the county colleges, or will learn all the rest of their lessons from the adventure of life. "The man we are proud to send forth from our schools", said 'Q' of a later stage of education, "will be remarkable less for something he can take out of his wallet and exhibit as knowledge, than for *being* something". We do not want examination fodder. We want right character. That is the purpose of the daily worship and constant religious instruction which we now insist upon in our schools. For what we want our children to be taught above all is that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge. This alone can give education real meaning, and life itself a real purpose.

R. A. BUTLER.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION AND POLITICS: A SOCIALIST VIEW

SOCIALIST theories—and Socialist theories of education as a part of them—have sprung mainly from three sources—the desire for social equality and social justice, the belief in the influence of environment upon character, and the attempt to interpret history in terms of the evolution of what Marx called "the powers of production". In Marxian theories, which treat the last of these as of preponderant importance, education, in any formal sense, is relegated to a secondary role. If the development of mankind follows a determined course, set for it by the growth of man's mastery over the forces of nature—of which man is himself a part—no *primary* creative function can be assigned to education in shaping the destiny of human society. According to Marx, the growth of the powers of production gives rise to a series of economic and social systems, each resting on the predominance of a particular class and involving the exploitation of the classes below it· each such system is an advance on its predecessor, because it rests on a higher development of the productive powers; and at last a point is reached at which the proletariat, the only class still subject to exploitation, becomes strong enough, because of the power conferred on it by the increasing 'socialisation' of the productive process, to overthrow its capitalist masters and to set about the establishment of the 'classless society'. Thereafter, what? Marx tells us no more than that "pre-history ends, and history begins". Of the nature of this new history of mankind he has nothing at all to say. Speculations about it he dismissed as 'utopian' until the final class victory had been won. In the meantime, the task of those who were on the side of the proletariat was to hasten the victory. "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." [1]

Accordingly, in Marx's opinion, education, as a socially creative force, could be only propaganda. The forces of history could be hastened along by man's understanding of them: education would be of help as far as it made proletarians, and sympathisers with the cause of the proletariat, understand the historic role of that class and afford it leadership and inspiration. The general educational

[1] Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*, XI.

system in any society, Marx held, could be only a part of the paraphernalia of class government and of indoctrination in the notions and attitudes required by the ruling class in its subjects in order to make its system of exploitation work smoothly, or mere technical training of the people in the tasks required of them in the processes of social labour. As far as education dealt with ideas, as distinct from mere techniques, the ideas would be derivative from the underlying realities of the economic order. They might be presented as autonomous, or as the teachings of religion or philosophy; but behind this façade would be their real substance as pillars sustaining the prevalent class system. Rebel ideas, where they were allowed to find expression, would be discovered on critical examination to be equally derivative, and to emanate from the needs of the class or classes that were challenging the established economic order as the representatives of alternative arrangements of the powers of production. To regard ideas—and therefore education—in any other way was to be guilty of the sin of 'idealism', or, in Socialists, 'utopianism'. Marx and his followers claimed to have advanced Socialism from its 'utopian' stage to the higher dignity of a science that could predict the future of mankind.

Marxists, accordingly, were not concerned to frame a philosophy of education until they found themselves in certain countries, after 1917, faced with the task of establishing an educational system for Socialist societies in which the social revolution had already taken place. Then, indeed, they were confronted with an immediate need to define their educational objectives; but not in utopian terms. In the backward countries in which alone Socialism, in the Marxian sense, has so far come to power, what the leaders of the new society had to face was the imperative need to build up as rapidly as possible both the technical and the administrative manpower required for the consolidation of victory and a popular indoctrination in the ways of life and thought which were the necessary props of the new economic and social order. Their educational arrangements were at one and the same time intensely utilitarian, or pragmatic, in an economic sense, and intensely ideological and, to use their own word, 'monolithic', in the realm of theory. The leaders of the new societies based on social revolution, feeling themselves under constant threat both of dissolution from within and of attack from without, had to treat education in both its technical and its general aspects essentially as an instrument of Socialist defence and construction. In carrying out this policy, they were no doubt moved by the desire to eradicate class inequalities and to give preference to proletarians over 'class enemies'; but even this motive appeared rather as a factor in revolutionary defence and construction than as an 'ideal': indeed, it found acceptance as an ideal by virtue of its correspondence with the practical needs of the new social order.

We must not, then, look to Marxism for any 'philosophy' of education save that which emerges directly from the doctrine of class conflict. A simple example of what I mean can be found in the conflict which has repeatedly rent the movements for adult working-class education in Great Britain—a conflict which was in full swing long before Marx had begun to write. In the 1820's two men—J. C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin—were mainly instrumental in setting up the London Mechanics' Institution—the ancestor of Birkbeck College. These two were strong opponents of capitalism and strong believers in the theory of the capitalist exploitation of labour. Hodgskin was an important forerunner of Marx in proclaiming the doctrine of surplus value he expounded this doctrine in the lectures on *Popular Political Economy* which he gave at the Institution in its early days. There were, however, other advocates of working-class education who were fervent believers in orthodox political economy, and looked to mechanics' institutes to explain to the workers the fundamental harmony of interests between employers and employed, as well as to aid the self-helpful workman to improve his technical and scientific knowledge so as both to contribute more fully to the general well-being and to rise in the economic scale. In the affairs of the London Institution, the adherents of these rival doctrines soon fell out, and the struggle ended in the victory of the latter group, which, helped by the subscriptions of middle-class supporters, drove out the class-warriors and converted the Institution into a mainly technical and scientific place of education offering no challenge to the capitalist order. Renamed after its principal benefactor, George Birkbeck, the once-revolutionary working-class institution became in due course a college of London University, providing mainly for part-time evening students. Probably few of the students who attend Birkbeck College to-day have any clear notion of how it began.

A century later, a contest, in some respects similar and in some different, was being fought out between two rival agencies of working-class education—the Workers' Educational Association and the National Council of Labour Colleges. In 1899 two well-intentioned Americans, Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard, helped to found a college for working-class students in Oxford and expressed their idealism in naming it after John Ruskin. Within a few years the new college was rent by a dispute about the kind of economics it ought to teach—really part of a wider dispute about its entire curriculum and social purpose. The quarrel culminated in a split the principal and a considerable body of students broke away, proclaiming the necessity for Marxist teaching, and set up a rival college—the Labour College—out of which presently arose a national movement—the National Council of Labour Colleges—offering Marxian education to the workers as an alternative to the

pink impartiality of its rivals. "I can promise to be candid, but not impartial", the new movement proclaimed; for, in the view of its sponsors, there could be no such thing as impartial education in face of the class war.

Before the split at Ruskin College, Albert Mansbridge, previously active in the Co-operative movement, had founded the Workers' Educational Association and had gone to the universities for help in building up a system of adult education that would meet the needs of intelligent working men and women. Mansbridge was no Marxist he did not set out to destroy *'bourgeois* culture' and to replace it by a new culture emanating from the proletariat as a class He thought rather in terms of a great cultural heritage from which the workers were for the most part excluded, and wished to find means of opening this heritage to them and, in doing so, of broadening it out to find room for their aspirations In this spirit he went to the universities—to Oxford first of all—and pleaded for a new kind of University Extension to be controlled in equal partnership by the universities, representing the teachers and the cultural tradition, and by the W E A , as the representative of the students and of their aspirations towards a more democratic culture. Out of this approach has arisen the network of university tutorial classes, summer schools, one-year classes, terminal courses, and W E A. branch activities that to-day constitute a major element in the adult-education movement.

Between the W E A and the Labour Colleges soon arose a bitter dispute. The N C L.C. accused the W E A. of being an agency for indoctrinating the workers with *bourgeois* ideologies, and pointed as evidence to the support given to it by the universities and, presently, by the state—both, according to the Marxian logic, agencies of capitalist domination The N C L C received no such financial aid it turned for support mainly to the trade unions, promising them help in the struggle against capitalism. The W E A also appealed to the trade unions, in the name of democracy, urging that the working-class movement should place its strength behind the demand for a more equalitarian and democratic educational system from primary school to university and should also itself aid the higher education of those whom the prevalent class system had excluded from opportunities of making the best of their mental endowments in childhood and adolescence. Trade-union conferences found themselves debating the rival educational policies of the two bodies, and voting now for the one and now for the other—or, sometimes, in view of the divisions in their own ranks, deciding to support neither or to split between the contestants such money—usually not very much—as they were prepared to devote to educational objectives. Long years—and, perhaps even more, the rift among Marxists themselves between Communists and anti-Communists, with the N.C.L.C. leaders taking

the anti-Communist side—have somewhat softened the earlier animosities; but the fundamental differences remain. Either education is a by-product of class, and each class must build up its own educational philosophy and practice to suit the needs of the class struggle—that is, as long as class divisions persist—or, alternatively, education rests on fundamental values which transcend class differences (though not uninfluenced by them), and stands for a social heritage which is to be developed and transmitted to coming generations rather than uprooted and replaced.

In Great Britain, where Marxism as a social philosophy has never struck deep roots, the Socialist tradition is mainly on the side of the second view. The word 'Socialism' was first used in Great Britain to describe the followers of Robert Owen, and they adopted it as their own. The social doctrines of Owen—who was essentially a 'utopian'—have their roots farther back, notably in the ideas of William Godwin, who in turn developed them out of eighteenth-century rationalist optimism. Godwin saw mankind becoming more and more rational with the growth of knowledge, for he thought that to know the good and to act upon that knowledge were but two inseparable aspects of a single process. Accordingly, his entire philosophy turned upon education as a means of making men more rational and therewith better; and he looked forward to a society from which all coercion, and almost all formal regulation, would have disappeared because everybody would agree and everybody do the right thing without being compelled by any force outside his own mind.

Owen added to this doctrine an immense stress on the importance of the social environment. He agreed with Godwin in assigning a vital function to education in the 'formation of character'; but he also put high emphasis on the evil effects of the competitive system in setting man against man and on the power of a co-operative economic and social order to alter the behaviour of men by appealing to their social, rather than their anti-social, instincts. As a great manufacturer at New Lanark, Owen made the education both of the factory children and of his adult employees, and also of their children long before they reached the age of employment, an integral part of the system which he set up; and when he began to preach his wider social gospel of Co-operative Socialism and to advocate the establishment of 'Villages of Co-operation' as a solution of the social problem, education for both children and adults continued to occupy a central position in his schemes. New Harmony and Queenwood were hardly less centres of education than of socialistic experiment; and when Owen's model communities had broken down, his disciples continued to give educational activity a foremost place in their later projects.

Owen's educational ideas have been often misunderstood. They had two aspects. On the one hand he insisted that education should

be regarded as an instrument for the formation of character from the very outset: on the other hand he was no less insistent on the need for the teacher to take full account of the individual nature of each child. By 'character' he meant mainly the structure of ideals and values in people's minds, and this he believed to depend almost wholly on environment and upbringing, and therefore to be capable of being brought under social control. He held that if children were brought up from the first in co-operative, as against competitive, ways of behaviour, the whole society could be permeated with the spirit of mutual helpfulness and fraternal goodwill. He did not, however, make the mistake—which has often been attributed to him—of supposing that a co-operative kind of education would turn his citizens out all alike, except to the extent of possessing a largely common system of moral values. He protested vigorously against the methods of mass-education advocated by Bell and Lancaster precisely on the ground that they ignored the important differences of nature between child and child; and he was most assiduous in urging his teachers to take full account of these differences and to be at pains to accommodate their ways of approach to the personal 'nature' and bent of each individual child.

Owen and his followers made strong attacks on established religion, accusing the churches of preaching a doctrine which made men responsible for 'sins' which were really the product of evil environment. But it was no accident that when, after the collapse of the Owenite movement, the Christian Socialists came forward with a new gospel of Co-operative Socialism resting on Christian foundations, many of the old Owenites joined hands with them. For F. D. Maurice and his friends, no less than Owen, had a deep belief in the central importance of education as a moral and social force; and, reacting against the 'other-worldliness' that dominated so much of contemporary Christianity, they set out to make education in good principles of social action a pillar of the Kingdom of God that they were seeking to establish on earth. Queen's College, and, still more, the Working Men's College in London were intended to be, above all else, places of education and culture resting on firm foundations of social morality. It may be said that the Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley can be called 'Socialism' only in a very extended use of the term; and it is true enough that its protagonists were not Socialists in the modern sense. But Socialism, in the modern sense, was then at the very beginning of its development; and the ideas of these early Christian Socialists had undoubtedly a great influence on later advocates of Christian Socialism, from Stewart Headlam to Charles Gore and William Temple. On the Continent, the sharp rift between Socialism and the churches—above all between Socialism and the Catholic church—involved a complete break between the

advocates of 'Christian Social' doctrines and the main body of the Socialist movement. In Great Britain there was no such absolute cleavage: only a small section of the modern British Socialist movement has been hostile to religion as a whole, and many of its leaders have been deeply religious in their personal attitudes. Accordingly, Christian Socialist influence has been able to operate, right up to the present day, inside the main structure of British Socialism and has not been driven into antagonism, and this factor has been important in obstructing the development of educational doctrines based on the Marxian conception of class war, just as it has acted as a force on the side of social solidarity and against revolutionism in many other fields.

For the most part, then, British Socialists in modern times have felt able to work without qualms for the democratic development of the existing educational structure, and have not felt impelled to denounce it as, in its very nature, an instrument of indoctrination in capitalist and anti-socialist beliefs and attitudes. They have, of course, often denounced particular parts or aspects of it as having such a tendency, but have done so, as a rule, with the purpose of agitating for reforms rather than of discrediting the entire structure. Revolutionism, in theory as well as in practice, has been weak in Great Britain ever since 1832. Even the Chartists, who had their revolutionary wing, thought for the most part in terms of making the state more democratic rather than of overthrowing it as a tainted agency of the capitalist class; and just as they demanded universal—or at any rate manhood—suffrage, so they demanded universal popular education—though some of them, including William Lovett, had serious fears about state action in the educational field because they were afraid it would carry with it the domination of the schools by the established church. After the decline of Chartism, the main body of the working-class leadership ranged itself behind the advocates of secular education not, in the main, out of any love for secularism as such, but rather as the only way of keeping out one-sided church control and of preventing educational advance from being frustrated by endless controversies between the sects.

After the decline of Owenism, Chartism, and Christian Socialism, which were all in eclipse by the later fifties of the last century, Socialism did not again become a force in Great Britain until the 1880's. Its revival in the Social Democratic Federation, under H. M. Hyndman's leadership, associated it closely with Marxism; and the S.D.F. was too much occupied with the class struggle to make any significant contribution to educational theory or practice. William Morris, who broke away from the S.D.F. in 1884 and founded the Socialist League, had more to say on the matter, but only as a Socialist 'utopian' looking forward to the new society that was to come after the revolution. In his utopia, *News from*

Nowhere, the educational problem had simply solved itself. With the parents living in love and friendship in a free society from which all economic difficulties had disappeared, the children were represented by Morris as simply picking up what they needed and wanted to know without any necessity for formal schooling. Their elders would have plenty of free time to help them; and the children would learn one from another and in the process of doing things co-operatively for themselves. This almost-anarchist vision of utopia found, in its educational aspects, few echoes in later British Socialist writing except in the work of Bernard Shaw.

For the most part, the new and wider Socialist movement that grew up in the later 'eighties and in the 'nineties, and found expression first in Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party and then in the Labour Party, made democratic educational advance a plank in its immediate programme of far-reaching social reform, side by side with the minimum wage, the eight hours' day, and the 'right to work'. The new Socialists agitated for free elementary education; for a raising of the school-leaving age; for medical inspection and treatment of school children, and also for school feeding for those who needed it; for public provision of secondary education open effectively to the children of the poor and aided by scholarships and allowances for maintenance; for fuller access to higher education, including the universities, and for the development of greater facilities for adult education; for better school buildings, smaller classes, better pay and more freedom for teachers. On the whole, they had remarkably little to say about the curriculum: they did not, like the Owenites, stress the significance of the school as a place in which the children should be taught the social values appropriate to a Socialist, or even to a fully democratic, society. They were much more concerned with demanding more education and better, in the sense of better-equipped, schooling than with criticising the positive content of education for any fault except its low level of quality. Of course, they often attacked the exclusive 'public schools' and the older universities as hotbeds of reaction, and often demanded that the 'public schools' should be liquidated and all children go to a common system of schools. But in relation to the elementary schools and to the small but growing number of higher schools conducted under public auspices they put forward no proposals essentially different—except perhaps school feeding—from those which were advocated by other advanced advocates of educational reform.

I am speaking here both of the Socialist and working-class movement as a whole and of the body of academic and middle-class fighters for educational advance who formed the backbone of the Workers' Educational Association. There were, of course, a good many Socialists among the pioneers of new educational methods in 'progressive' schools of various types; but these did not exert any

wide influence on the main body of Socialist thought. The main distinctive contribution which did come largely from Socialist sources was the movement for nursery schools, of which Margaret and Rachel Macmillan, both active in the Independent Labour Party, were the pioneers. In this field and in that of school feeding the Socialists took a prominent part. Over the rest of the field, they were claiming mainly that the benefits of the superior education open only to the well-to-do should be extended, at least by way of opportunity, to the children of the poor.

At the same time, there was a controversy in which the Socialists were all on one side, and some sincere educational reformers on the other, concerning two conflicting ways of looking at educational advance. The rival conceptions became crystallised in rival metaphors—'ladder' and 'highway'. The Socialists, and some other educational reformers, wanted a system that would open a 'broad highway' of education up to the higher levels, not merely to a chosen few clever children, who would thereby be educated to become members of a superior social class, but either to all or at least to all who were capable of travelling along it. Their aim, as against those who favoured the 'ladder' of promotion, was to raise the whole people by affording to every individual the fullest educational opportunity by which he, or she, was capable of benefiting. They did not want to reduce all to a level they recognised the need for the training of some in special skills and for the continuance of a group of devotees of the higher learning. But they wanted the basic minimum of education for every citizen to be raised to include higher as well as elementary schooling, and they expressed their main objective in the slogan 'Secondary Education for All', which Professor Tawney took as the title of one of his books written as a contribution to Labour policy. On this foundation of universal secondary education, the Socialists felt that it would be relatively easy to build a sufficiently democratic structure of still higher education in universities, colleges, and adult-education institutes and classes.

Undoubtedly one factor in drawing the attention of British Socialists away from the curriculum and in concentrating it on problems of quantity and quality, rather than of type, was the structure of the new educational system built up during the nineteenth century under the effective control of the local authorities rather than of the central government. Education, as a national issue, usually raised questions of curriculum only when the religious issue persisted in cropping up: in terms both of legislation and of central administration, the main issues had to do chiefly with the numbers and qualities of schools to be provided, and very little with what was to be taught in them. This, however, is by no means a sufficient explanation of the Socialist attitude; for the Socialists were active in local as well as in central government, and

indeed made a bigger impact in the earlier stages on the local councils of the bigger towns than on Parliament. Perhaps the most remarkable educational success of the Socialists was scored by Sidney Webb and his fellow-Fabians on the London County Council in its early days; and F. W. Jowett at Bradford is another outstanding name among the protagonists of democratic educational policies in local affairs.

Jowett was the pioneer of the movement for school feeding; but in other respects his attitude was not notably different from that of other advanced advocates of democratic educational reform. Equally with Sidney Webb in London, his main aims were to extend the public facilities for higher education and to make them more widely open to the children of working-class parents. On the London County Council, Webb is generally agreed to have done a really remarkable piece of work in the field of higher education; but no one has suggested that what he did involved any sharp break with the past in respect of the content of the curriculum or the ideologies taught in the schools.

Indeed, from the moment when Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society led by Webb and Shaw replaced the Marxian Social Democratic Federation as the principal exponents of British Socialist policy, the entire theoretical basis of British Socialism, except for a small band of heretics of the left, became evolutionary and reformist, even if its real tendencies were sometimes concealed behind phrases of revolutionary tone. Not only the Fabians, who harked back by way of John Stuart Mill to Jeremy Bentham and preached a doctrine of radical utilitarianism as a justification of state action and of Socialism itself, but also the main body of Keir Hardie's working-class followers, were reformers rather than outright revolutionaries. Even when they spoke, as they often did, of the class war or of the class struggle, they thought of it rather as an unpleasant fact of existing society than as the slogan of a revolutionary struggle destined to invert the entire structure of social values. They had in many cases come to Socialism by way of Radicalism and out of disillusionment with the Liberal Party, especially after Joseph Chamberlain's defection, and they had also come to it in large numbers from the Nonconformist chapels and without necessarily breaking away from them—though some found in the Labour churches founded in the 1890's a sufficient sublimation of their previous religious impulses. Trailing these clouds of Radical Liberalism and of democratic religious fellowship along with them, they were not at all minded to throw over all the values of the society which, in its economic aspects, they challenged on grounds of social injustice and denial of human opportunity. They carried with them the traditions of *bourgeois* liberty and religious equality, and wanted these good things to be rapidly extended to more and more of the people and given fuller

content by relief from under-nourishment of mind and body, and from the social insecurity of unemployment in a society almost devoid of public-welfare services except the detested Poor Law, with its taint of pauperism and degradation. They were, in effect, demanding not a brand-new social order, but a general diffusion of the advantages enjoyed by the privileged classes; and accordingly it came natural to them, even while they attacked the 'public schools' and the universities as haunts of class privilege, to attempt to remodel the inferior educational opportunities paid for out of public funds largely after the pattern set by the education of the middle class. To out-and-out Marxists, this attitude appeared to be sheer treason to the cause of proletarian revolution; but in Great Britain the out-and-out Marxists were few and uninfluential, and on the Continent the Marxian gospel was undergoing highly significant changes wherever its exponents were able to climb to positions of parliamentary influence or to perceive significant processes of democratic transformation occurring within the existing social order. German and French Social Democracy were alike influenced after 1890 by the British example, as well as by the internal developments of social relations under more advanced and productive techniques of capitalist industrialisation. In Germany these forces gave rise to the struggle within the Social Democratic Party between orthodox Marxists and 'Revisionists'—a struggle in which the 'Revisionists', headed by Eduard Bernstein, were formally defeated but in reality won the day. In France the new United Socialist Party, led by Jean Jaurès, relegated the more extreme Marxists to a secondary position—only to be challenged almost at once by the new-old gospel of Revolutionary Syndicalism, which went even beyond Marx in proclaiming the need for a new set of social values and a new way of life emanating directly from the proletariat.

This Syndicalist gospel, reinforced by class-war doctrines developed largely among immigrants on the economic battlefields of the United States, where it took the name of 'Industrial Unionism', had its repercussions in Great Britain during the years of acute industrial unrest just before the First World War. But Revolutionary Syndicalism never came near to capturing the allegiance either of the main body of the British working class or of the leaders of British Socialism. Transmuted here, on the intellectual plane, into Guild Socialism, which was put forward as a reconciliation of Syndicalist and Socialist ideas, it lost its out-and-out revolutionary character, and discarded altogether the characteristic Syndicalist and Industrial Unionist denunciations of the moral code of *bourgeois* society. It became utopian rather than revolutionary, and set out to achieve its large ambitions for the creation of a libertarian Socialist society by building up, rather than uprooting, the libertarian and democratic traditions inherited from the past. Guild Socialism influenced many of the leaders of

the trade unions and some of the leaders of the political Socialist movement; but among neither group did it ever come near winning a majority. The Webbs, in common with most of the political leaders, while making some concessions to the Guild Socialist claims, held fast to their collectivism as well as to their evolutionary attitude; and after the troubles of the years immediately after 1918 had ended in the temporary defeat of the trade unions, there was an almost complete return to the older policies. Socialism, in practice, came again to mean in Great Britain a policy of social reform and social security complemented and guaranteed by substantial measures of industrial socialisation and by stiff progressive taxation levied upon the well-to-do. It carried with it, beyond this, no fundamental challenge to the values of the existing society, and accordingly no imperative to set about building a distinctively Socialist educational programme based on a new proletarian ideology.

To be sure, there were always, from 1910 onwards, groups which challenged this evolutionary attitude; and before long the newly founded Communist Party of Great Britain, under Russian inspiration, provided a rallying-point for some of these groups. But never for all of them; for many of the most ardent 'proletarians' in Great Britain soon found the yoke of Communist discipline too hard to bear and broke away, mostly to return to the Labour Party, and to become within it the advocates of a variety of left-wing doctrines which failed to shake the essential reformism of the main body of leaders and followers alike. Thus, the Socialist educational reformers, despite some skirmishing in the field of adult education by the Marxists of the National Council of Labour Colleges, were able to pursue almost undisturbed their campaigns for a 'broad educational highway' within the potentialities of the existing structure, without formulating any revolutionary notions about the desirable content of the education they were endeavouring to open to the whole people. Even the N.C.L.C., relying as it did on the trade unions for most of its support, soon tempered its Marxism and got rid of its Communists, who proceeded to build up their own system of party education on strict Leninist lines, while they also did their best to infiltrate into other working-class educational agencies, as they were doing in the case of the Labour Party on the political plane.

All this does not mean that the leaders of British Socialist educational opinion have been satisfied with the educational system as it is, or concerned merely to improve it and extend its higher opportunities more widely. It does, however, mean that, except for a limited number of practising Socialist teachers, the tasks of extension and development have seemed to be much more pressing than those of altering the content and the values—which latter have indeed appeared, for the time being, as impossible projects. The

Socialist teachers who have been most conscious of the problem of the educational *values* as distinct from the quantity and quality of educational provision, have focused most of their attention on the means to be adopted in eradicating, or at least greatly reducing, class differences in schooling, by attacking the regime of the 'two nations'—the social division between those who get their schooling through the local authorities and those who get it at the private preparatory and at the so-called 'public' schools. They have wished to make an end of class segregation by improving the elementary schools and forcing the private preparatory schools out of business, and to build up the state system of secondary education to a standard high enough to deprive the 'public schools' of their *raison d'être,* and to make the public grammar schools as good an avenue to the universities and the professions as any other. Therewith, in the interests of democratic values, they have advocated the 'comprehensive school' as against the segregation of 'grammar school', technical school, and 'modern school' pupils in separate institutions between which they see insuperable difficulties in bringing about any real 'parity of esteem'. By making the state system comprehensive enough to meet all democratic needs, and at the same time by insisting on 'comprehensiveness', in the second sense, as the alternative to segregation, they have aimed at building up by stages an educational structure which would have the effect of democratising the access to the universities and to other institutions of higher education; and by these means they have thought they saw their way to the establishment of the 'classless society' in the educational sphere.

Even these forthright reformers, however, have not set out to establish a new ideology, on the basis of a sharp break with the past. They have held rather that the progressive democratisation of the access to education and of its institutional structure would carry with it such transformations of social values as are needed for the building of a Socialist society. To the extent to which they have considered questions of curriculum and of social values, they have tended in most cases to stress the need for allowing each child to develop its individual bent and abilities rather than the need, no less emphasised than this by Robert Owen, to make the school a place of training in the collective attitudes and values needed for the successful working of a Socialist society. In this, as in most respects, there is in British Socialism a very strong element of individualist doctrine. There is no wish, as there is in Russia and as there has been in the past in many non-Socialist countries, to 'socialise' the minds of the people by indoctrinating them with a one and only correct social outlook and equipment of moral ideas. Indeed, any such notion would be anathema to such an extent that there is a danger of the very need for a society to possess a broadly common way of life and pattern of values being overlooked. This,

no doubt, has mattered the less in practice because the element of common tradition in the British way of living has been so strong, as a result of long continuous development without revolutions, as to stand in little need of reinforcement until quite lately. It is, however, doubtful whether British society can stand the considerable transformations which it has undergone from within, or the heavy impact made upon it in recent years by forces from outside—from America even more than from the Soviet Union—without more necessity than has existed hitherto to carry into its schools some teaching of the requirements of democratic living in the disturbed conditions of the present day.

Needless to say, I am not suggesting that British Socialists are in the least likely to take to totalitarian educational gospels—or that they should. What they are now facing is not the need to indoctrinate every child with a common social gospel, but rather to adapt their educational objectives to the changing structure of British society and to the changing place of Great Britain in the twentieth-century world. The educational programme of British Socialism was built up at a time when practically every industry was under capitalist control and accordingly nearly every road to promotion in industry was in capitalist hands; when the higher professions were for the most part close preserves for the upper-middle classes; and when there was a gulf fixed between gentlemanly schoolmasters and ladylike schoolmistresses and the ruck of mere 'teachers' in the state schools. To-day, the position in all these respects is much more fluid. The universities have become much more widely open (though they are shutting again a little just now), new and less gentlemanly professions have developed side by side with the old, and the class monopoly of the latter has been to some extent invaded; the lines between masters and mistresses and mere teachers have become to some extent blurred; and, most important of all, a number of important industries and services have been socialised, so that appointments to them and promotions within them have become to some extent matters in which considerations of public policy are involved. What remains unclear is whether these changes are to lead to the emergence of a new 'managerial' class, largely hereditary but open to talents from any social stratum, or will in due course of time really undermine class distinctions and bring about conditions of much greater social equality between man and man, irrespective of the nature of their several jobs.

The advocates of the 'comprehensive school' wish to prevent the first of these two things and to further the second. They wish to ensure that parental status, as well as parental income, shall count for little in the choice of a calling or in promotion to a higher post, and that each child shall be given as fully as possible a chance to prove his or her capacity at every stage of the educational process.

But even if the comprehensive school could be made a reality at both the primary and the secondary levels, even if private preparatory and socially superior 'public' schools could be liquidated or absorbed into the common system, this would not suffice to achieve what the Socialists have in mind—though it would of course mean a great advance towards the pre-conditions of a classless society. In order to avert the danger of the emergence of a new managerial class it is necessary to have regard, not only to schools and universities and colleges, but also to the principles to be adopted in providing for promotions for those who have left school or college and entered upon their life's work, to the opportunities afforded for the training of such persons, to the special case of 'late-developers', and to the social composition of the boards and commissions that are put in charge of the various enterprises, and of their leading executants.

It is a notable fact that when the British Labour Party embarked on its programme of extensive nationalisation it appears to have given almost no thought in advance to problems of this kind. Only recently has the National Coal Board produced what it has called, somewhat unfortunately, its 'ladder plan'—for the 'ladder' metaphor has for Socialist educationists an unhappy connotation of climbing out of one's class. Yet, in a sense, the 'ladder' is a correct metaphor; for in relation to the jobs to be done, only a few can climb up from the lower to the higher rungs. There must be a few who will occupy the managerial and executive posts, a larger number, but still a minority, who can reach supervisory positions, a considerably larger number who will achieve manual skill or clerical capacity—and yet others who will remain in the ranks of the less skilled. A structure hierarchical in this way is inherent in the very nature of most industrial operations and of many kinds of mass-produced service. The question for Socialists is how such a hierarchy of functions can be made compatible with social equality and, more particularly, with democracy in the educational sphere.

Socialist educational thought has hitherto paid little attention to this problem, largely because the Socialists have been thinking mainly about general and very little about technical or specialised education. The rift on this issue goes back a long way. At Robert Owen's settlement of New Harmony, in the 1820's, there was a great dispute about the type of education appropriate to a community setting out to establish a 'New Moral World'. Owen himself laid the main stress on education in the moral principles of co-operative behaviour: some of his lieutenants held that the children could be best educated in the principles of the good life by being taught a trade in such a way as to arouse their creative instincts and give them a sense of its social meaning. But most of the Owenites seem to have set little store by any education that could be called 'vocational'. The disastrous divorce between the exponents

of the 'vocational' and the 'cultural' was already beginning.

This divorce, made largely unavoidable by the conditions of the nineteenth century, has done much to hamper the development of a realistic Socialist educational policy. The school has been thought of primarily as a place in which, at the first formal stage, the rudiments of general education would be implanted, and at the higher stages the pupil who stayed at school would proceed beyond the rudiments to the acquisition of 'culture'. Technical education has always been treated as a relatively unimportant part of the public system of education, and has attracted but little attention from the educational idealists. Science was a late-comer to the schools, and edged its way in gradually to parity only at the higher levels. The cultural teachers who played a large part in framing Socialist educational policy were apt to look askance at any attempt to give schooling a vocational bias, because they thought of such attempts as meaning so much subtracted from 'culture' and alienated for the benefit of employers who, they felt, should see to the training of their workers in their own time.

This attitude, not a little of which persists to-day despite the great expansion of applied science, had in part an anti-capitalist and in part a 'snob' basis, and often united persons who fundamentally held sharply opposing views. It was tenable, as long as the training of skilled labour was carried out largely by means of apprenticeship on the job, and as long as it was taken for granted that most children would pass into employment very young, with barely time to master the rudiments of literacy before they left school. But such a view of education is entirely incompatible either with the establishment of any real 'secondary education for all' or with the conditions of the modern world, which requires from nearly all of us both an understanding of the general basis of modern productive techniques and a 'sense of the machine' which can serve as a foundation for more specialised training when and if it is needed.

What I am suggesting is that, in a democracy, there needs to be a close resemblance between the education of those who occupy the leading positions and of those whom it is their function to lead. If the promising young persons who are 'spotted' for positions of leadership and high technical expertness are removed from the rest at an early stage and given a segregated education, nothing can prevent them from developing the characteristics of a 'managerial class', even if the hereditary element among them can be kept within bounds. Nor can anything be done in such a situation to prevent the growth of a feeling of antagonism between those who have been thus selected for higher training and those who have been left behind. The comprehensive school has at any rate the advantage, from the Socialist point of view, of postponing the age of educational segregation, but over and above this there is need

for the fullest opportunity for those who have not been 'spotted' young to equip themselves later with the knowledge needed for promotion, in such a way that the upper ranges of management and administration come to be filled with men and women recruited in a wide variety of ways and through a number of different channels of promotion.

It will be impracticable to achieve this diversity, unless the higher forms of specialised education are developed upon common foundations appropriate to the type of industrial society in which we are living. This in turn will be impracticable as long as 'literary' and 'scientific-technical' education are allowed to remain, in the lower and middle ranges, as sharply separated as they are to-day. We are beginning slowly to realise that there ought to be more basic science and more basic teaching of practical ways of applying it in our general school curricula, and more mixture of the scientific and the literary in our technical schools and in the technical colleges conducted by the local authorities. Perhaps we should start thinking of getting rid of 'unilateral' colleges as much as of 'unilateral' schools, and of merging the technical colleges in people's universities at which every range of subjects would be taught—as, indeed, is half-happening already in a few of the more recent local colleges set up by certain local authorities.

On matters such as these, however, it can hardly be said that there is as yet any distinctive Socialist theory. Nor have Socialists yet at all clearly made up their minds about the problems of education in citizenship. It has come to be fairly generally understood that it is a part of the business of our schools, at all stages, to teach 'civics', or something of the kind, and to give the pupils some understanding of the manner in which the main political and social institutions of our society actually work. But as we operate under a parliamentary system which involves alternations in power of the main parties, and as these parties differ very greatly about the principles on which our society ought to be conducted, it is necessary for the teachers to do their best to carry on instruction in these subjects 'impartially', and not to give a collective preference to the views of one side. Indeed, as the teachers differ among themselves nearly as much as the rest of the population, there is no possibility of their following a common partisan line except under a compulsion which it would be quite inconsistent with our kind of parliamentary democracy to apply. A totalitarian regime, be it Communist or Fascist or Catholic, can order all its teachers to preach such doctrines about society as the leaders of the regime desire: we in Great Britain can do no such thing—nor would the vast majority of British Socialists wish to, if they had the power.

Yet there is in this something of a real dilemma—which is the dilemma of the whole society and not merely of its educational institutions. The capitalist and the Socialist ways of life are

different: they require for their working different sets of values and appeals to different motives. Just as a whole society poised between Socialism and capitalism suffers unavoidably from a divided mind, and is in some danger of getting the worst of both worlds, so teachers who are allowed to preach the virtues neither of Socialism nor of capitalism run the risk of giving their pupils no lead at all in the art of good living and of turning them loose without any adequate equipment of assured values. If, over a period, the contest between the two systems in the whole society gets sufficiently resolved to make the one or the other the established norm of social behaviour—as capitalism actually was until a little while ago—the teachers will no doubt find themselves adapting their teaching to the tone of the social environment, and either teaching again, as they used to, within the assumptions of a capitalist structure of values or substituting a set of values based on the changed environment of a Socialist society. They will find themselves doing this, even if individuals among them dissent from the victorious doctrine—just as in the past teachers who were Socialists used to adapt themselves to a capitalist environment (and some still do). But in the meantime, with the issue unsettled and capitalist and Socialist parties acting on the assumption of alternating spells of office and opposition, it is impracticable for Socialists who accept this state of affairs as necessary to formulate any clear ideas about the kind of moral and civic education that is needed to serve as a firm basis for a Socialist society. The Socialist society has to be created first, before they can begin, except quite tentatively and purely as a personal matter, to educate the rising generation in its values.

This, of course, is where the Russians have the advantage of us, though we may hold that they abuse their advantage. They can set out without hesitation to plan a school system that fits in with the needs of their monolithic society, assigning whatever place they please to the 'vocational' and to the 'literary', to science and to techniques and to the arts, to education in citizenship and in the uses of leisure. They can set out to make their schools training-grounds for Communists, who will imbibe in them the rudiments of the Marxian gospel and the Marxian way of life, fully as much as the child in a Catholic school in a Catholic country is indoctrinated in a different faith from theirs. To most British Socialists, the way in which the Russians approach this opportunity is abhorrent; for it seems to us to involve a monstrous suppression of dissentient opinions, and even a good deal of straight lying about sheer facts. British democratic Socialists have no hankering after any such form of totalitarian teaching; but at the other extreme I think a good many Socialist educators are aware of the vacuum of social values in which the present situation of Great Britain compels the schools to exist.

For the 'liberal' Socialist, from the days of Robert Owen and of Fourier, the Socialist way of life has meant a co-operative, as against a self-seeking or competitive, social pattern. It has involved an educational system designed to play down the self-seeking and aggressive impulses and to give the fullest possible encouragement to the impulses making for mutual aid. At the same time, the 'liberal' element in non-Marxian Socialism has carried with it a stress on individual development and freedom for each person to grow in his or her own way. These aims have seemed to be compatible; and as means of combining and reconciling them emphasis has been put on self-government in the school, on group activities in and out of school hours, and on friendly, co-operative relations between teachers and taught—and also between teachers and parents. The desire to make the school a place animated by the spirit of mutual help, rather than of relentless competition, has been, in practice, continually at war not only with the need to use competition as a spur to effort, but also with the intense competitiveness of the struggle for access to higher education as a means to material and social advancement. Socialists for the most part strongly disliked the conditions which made entry to a secondary or higher technical school, for most children, dependent on success in a single examination which was not merely 'qualifying', but keenly competitive. They stood, as we have seen, for 'secondary education for all', as a general right; and they were led, by their desire to promote social equality, to insist on the need for 'parity of esteem' between different kinds of secondary school, and beyond this on the need for 'comprehensive schools' open to all normal children whatever their scholastic abilities. But when they came to face the practical issues of educational reform, they could not help knowing that, in the short run, it was impossible to offer to all children, or even to most, a secondary education equal in sheer quality to that offered by the better 'public schools' to the children of the well-to-do. This was only in part a matter of cost—of better buildings and equipment and of higher staffing ratios of teachers to pupils—though considerations of cost were formidable enough. It was also a question of absolute shortage of really able teachers and therewith of rival demands from education, industry, government, and other professions on the limited total supply of high quality in the population. The number of men and women who take to teaching because they love it as a vocation is, and is likely to remain, small in relation to the numbers needed; and for a high proportion of its manpower, education is bound to depend on persons who feel no special calling, but weigh teaching in the balance against other opportunities of earning a livelihood. This means that there is bound to be a scramble for really good teachers, and that any system applicable to all children is bound to put up with a large complement of the second-rate. A general system of

comprehensive schools could not in the short run possibly attract, *on the average,* as high a quality of teachers as have been recruited to the limited number of expensive 'public schools' conducted in the interests of the well-to-do. In the long run, this difficulty *might* be overcome, if the numbers of the able and well-educated could be greatly increased. In the short run it cannot.

Accordingly, there is a dilemma, of which Socialists belonging to the 'intellectual classes' are apt to be particularly conscious. Many of these see the need for a Socialist society to train its own élites up to very high levels of capacity and responsibility, and stress the need for forms of higher education which will produce the requisite supply of leaders. Some of these 'intellectuals' are afraid that, if the emphasis is laid heavily on equality, the quality of higher education will fall off as its quantity is rapidly increased, and are disposed to tolerate, for the time being, a continuance of the 'public schools' in a special position, subject to access to them being effectively opened by means of scholarships to a sufficient proportion of poor men's children. Some go even farther and wish to retain a special kind of school for the special purpose of training an élite, while insisting that access to it should be made to depend, as soon as possible, on personal prowess and not on the means or social standing of the parents.

Most Socialists, I think, find this attitude inconsistent with their aspirations towards social equality, and dislike the notion of segregated groups of able children being trained for leadership. It is often pointed out that the middle-class 'public schools' owe not a little of their virtue as places of training for leadership and responsibility to the fact that they are *not* reserved for specially able boys and girls, but include a mixture of the clever, the average, and the fairly stupid, within the limits of the classes from which their pupils are drawn. To turn them into preserves for the very clever, or into places where selected pupils (however selected) would be specially educated for positions of command, would be entirely inconsistent with the Socialist desire to stimulate a spirit of democratic co-operation and a type of leadership based on democratic fellowship rather than on authoritarian command.

Socialists cannot, however, by any means afford to accept a lowering of the quality of higher education in the interests of social equality. They must accordingly refrain from destroying what they cannot speedily replace, and must for the time being condone the continuance of class elements in the educational structure, while doing their best to work out a satisfactory adjustment to the requirements of social democracy. This means experimenting with comprehensive schools of the highest quality, working out new, democratic ways of deciding which pupils are to stay at school past the minimum leaving-age, and which are to go on to a university or to a full-time college education elsewhere; discovering what means

can best be used to give a good chance to 'late-developers', including adults who have been following regular trades or professions; and also, at the other end of the scale, doing what can be done to reduce, by special educational methods, the numbers of the 'subnormal', so as to fit them for the tasks of citizenship and make as many as possible able to play a normal part in the life of the community.

Whatever may be done to make the school more a place of training in attitudes of good citizenship and mutual help, it will, of course, be impossible to extrude from it the consideration of material advancement. However 'cultural' education may be, it has to prepare boys and girls to face the work they will need to do when they enter on employment. The schools must not turn out too many clerks and typists and too few who are prepared to enter manual employments: nor, at higher vocational levels, must schools and colleges produce supplies of qualified persons irrespective of the demand for different types of service. All organised education, in any society, is bound to be greatly influenced by vocational considerations. indeed, the education we think of as representing 'culture' in its purest form was in origin mainly education for the recognised 'learned professions' of an earlier day.

What has happened now, and what will continue to happen in a Socialist society, is an immense multiplication of higher professions needing special knowledge, and therewith an immense increase in the number of lesser professions which also call for such knowledge at lower levels. At the same time there has been a considerable shift from the learning of skilled trades by means of apprenticeship 'on the job' to learning them, at least in part, in technical institutions. These developments, together with the decline in the numbers of the unemployed rich and well-to-do—especially among women—have tended to emphasise the vocational character of education and to make its helpfulness towards getting a better job much more present to the minds of both parents and children. Thus, the Socialist cannot set out to eliminate considerations of self-advancement from the educational process—and could not, even if the payments for different kinds of work were to become much less unequal than they now are; for differences of prestige would persist even in face of equality of rewards. The aim cannot be that of taking the 'success' motive wholly out of education: it can be only that of making success more dependent on co-operative, as against merely self-seeking, behaviour. The education that will achieve this will call for very high personal qualities in the teachers.

The nearer a society advances towards Socialism and social equality, the greater the difficulties of establishing a satisfactory educational system appear. The class system has simplified the educational problem by the assumption that higher education should be the monopoly of a limited class, with exceptional chances

for a few gifted individuals, or children of gifted individuals, to climb up the ladder from the classes below. Socialism, on the other hand, involves the initial assumption that talents and capacities for service ought to be sought out and discovered wherever they exist, and that no valuable talent or capacity should be allowed to run to waste because of parental poverty, ignorance, or neglect. A Socialist school system has therefore to be so designed as to give every child its chance, but at the same time to avoid the creation of a new class structure based on differences of ability. Just as in a family or in an aristocracy the individual members belong to the same class whether they are clever or stupid or merely ordinary, so in a Socialist democracy it is necessary to prevent differences of ability from being converted into differences of social class. This can be done only if there is a foundation of common schooling at the primary stage, followed up by some form of 'comprehensive' secondary schooling in which differences of curriculum and standard in the classroom are combined with equal participation in mixed activities on the playgrounds, in clubs and societies, and in any sort of out-of-school activity.

It cannot, however, be expected that the school should advance towards social equality out of step with other parts of the social system. The educational advance is only one aspect of a development that has to be achieved simultaneously in many different fields. In the last resort, the school system is bound to reflect the general characteristics of the social and economic structure of the society within which it exists. Socialist educational objectives and policies are only an element in the wider policies that are being pursued in the fields of political and economic policy, and can develop in practice only *pari passu* with these. The Socialist educator of to-day can dream dreams of Utopia, as his predecessors have done from Sir Thomas More to H. G. Wells. The practical realisation of his dreams depends on the actual structure of the society in which he works—on the jobs it offers to his pupils, on the degrees of economic inequality it allows and recognises, and on the extent to which, in its general behaviour, it accords prestige to money-making or to hereditary or acquired social status. There can be no practical Socialist educational policy except in conjunction with a general policy making for social equality in every part of the structure of communal life. That is why Socialist educational ideas are so difficult to disentangle from general Socialist conceptions of human relations in other fields. All education that is not meaningless is education *for some end*; and the ends which schools and colleges must serve are set for them by the general pattern of living in the societies whose purposes and values they exist to serve.

G. D. H. Cole.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

U.S.A.

No visitor from abroad seeking to appraise the present status of progressive education in America can be blamed for reaching the conclusion that he faces an almost impossible task. In the Press, he will read denunciations of progressive education. He will see and hear this movement blamed for moral laxity, political corruption, and vocational incompetency. 'Neo-nativists' call progressive education 'communist' or 'pink'. Super-patriots blame it for an assumed failure on the part of our schools to teach American history. Representatives of various religious faiths call it 'Godless', and condemn John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick as arch-apostles of atheism and collectivism. This same visitor from abroad sees forward-looking superintendents of schools dismissed presumably because of their espousal of progressive education. From a wide range of sources he hears the call for a return to the 'three R's', a re-emphasis on the fundamentals, and a dependence on a disciplinary concept of education. He will not need to talk to many people to find those who believe that the whole American approach to the education of all the children of all the people is wrong, and that education should be made the property of the select few who have the intellectual stature to profit from it Could anyone be blamed for concluding, after reading about and listening to such an array of opinions, that progressive education is on the way out in America?

Such a conclusion, however, would be fallacious indeed, for it would fail to take account of a much more impressive set of facts going to show that the solid elements of progressive education have already been built into many aspects of American education, and that actually more change has been made in 'progressive' directions than progressive leaders visualised thirty years ago even in their fondest dreams.

Respect for the Sacredness of the Individual

For example, American educators often shake their heads when the child-centred school is mentioned, yet the average American school is more child-centred than it has ever been in the history of our country. That is to say, individual children in America receive more individual attention, their personalities are more respected, and are treated more sympathetically and understandingly than at

any previous time in the history of American education. This whole trend towards a better treatment of individual pupils and students has taken place so gradually, and has profited from so many separate influences, that almost without our realising it a near revolution has taken place in our profession.

In pre-progressive education days, children in American schools were not studied as individuals. There was a fixed curriculum. The school stood on a high place. The child came to it. He took or left what it had to offer. If he was unable to master the materials the school laid before him, that was his fault, and he was considered lazy, irresponsible, or stupid, or perhaps all of these in combination. Rarely did it occur to the teacher or the school to raise questions about the school's own offerings, its own procedures, or the effectiveness of its own efforts. What is equally important, neither the teacher nor the school as a whole made any very careful study of the individual child to determine possible reasons for his educational failure. Such study is not as common to-day as it should be, but it is vastly more the order of the day than it was in pre-progressive education days.

The reader may object that this trend towards the more careful study of individual children came as a result of the scientific movement in education rather than as a residue of efforts under the banner of progressive education. To be sure, the scientific movement furnished the tools, the techniques, and the procedures, but the present attitude towards individual children goes far beyond the employment of scientific devices. It is a matter of the heart as well as of the mind—consideration for the child as a growing personality, affection for children on the part of teachers and parents, a sympathetic attitude in relationships between administrators and teachers, and an openly hospitable attitude on the part of teachers towards parents and the community. All of these have their origin in the progressive movement, with its conviction that affection, security, and freedom are the conditions for learning, growth, and development on the part of children and adults.

At this point the reader should be reminded that rarely are these conditions and attitudes spoken of as 'progressive' in character. Administrative officers and educational leaders simply stress the importance of good treatment of individual children and try constantly to improve the human relations of the educational enterprise. Whatever individual parents and citizens may say about progressive education, few of them to-day would want teachers to abandon the spirit of kindliness and understanding that they have come to take for granted in the average teacher.

Support from Other Areas

While the progressive school has been attacked from many sides in America, its basic programme has received substantial support

from many circles little heard from in the earlier days of the movement. Few groups in our society understand both the physical and psychological problems of child growth and development as well as the pediatricians. Medical men might be presumed to have a rather exceptional understanding of the physical nature of the human organism. But the pediatricians have gone much beyond the physical organism and have generally made an organismic approach to the study of individual children. In some instances, their leadership in the direction of building a creative environment for child growth and development is the richest and perhaps the soundest in our society. Here we have no sentimental attack on the problem. The pediatrician is a scientist seeking ever to discover more knowledge of the human organism and the conditions for its maximum growth and development. His studies tell him that love is essential to the growth and development of the child. His researches also tell him that in the absence of security and freedom for creative development the individual child is not likely to grow into a well-adjusted man or woman. To the doctor, these are not matters of sentiment or superficial theory, but constitute the best practice based on thorough-going studies of the nature of the human organism and human behaviour. Medical men are thus exercising a profound influence on the quality of home life in America and are influencing the pre-school years of the child's life in directions harmonious with the progressive education movement. The young mother who has tried to follow the advice of her physician with regard to a creative environment for her child in her home is likely to demand a similar environment when this child enters the nursery school, kindergarten, or first grade.

The medical influence in the direction of progressive education enjoys what seems to teachers to be a rare privilege. If the doctor says something about kindness and love in relation to children, the public attitude seems to be that it must be so. If a teacher or educator expresses the same point of view, he is often charged with being a soft and unscientific pedagogue. Thus, there has been relatively little criticism of those elements of progressive education that have been espoused by pediatricians and members of the medical profession.

Modern educational practice has, however, received support from another arm of the medical profession. Psychiatry, still a controversial subject, has made itself increasingly felt in American society. Though there are sharp debates over the beliefs of the various schools of psychiatry, and though there is often much ridicule of Freudian approaches, the plain fact of the matter is that more and more attention is being given to mental hygiene, to the care of the mentally ill, and to the whole problem of mental health in industry and in the community. Intelligent citizens with social concern are appalled at the high proportion of Americans who find

their way into institutions for the mentally ill. Industry has an increasing concern with mental illness and mental health. Studies in this area indicate that bad educational practice may be an important factor in widespread mental illness. Again it must be pointed out that the mental hygiene movement does not carry the name of progressive education, but beyond question it is helping to give children the kind of school and community environment which the early progressive educators advocated and sought to exemplify in their relationships to the child.

Curricular Contributions to Progressive Education

Many broad curriculum developments have also furthered the objectives of progressive education. Few subjects have made as rapid progress in American education as have music, art, and physical education. Visitors from abroad who saw American education at about the time of the First World War and who see it now after an interval of time must be impressed with the tremendous developments that have taken place, particularly in the fields of music and art. It is true, of course, that not all of this work in the fine arts is in a creative direction. Some of it is mechanical, rigid, and far from creative in its impact, but a great deal of it is creative in character, and this broadening of the school curriculum has done much to provide an education that concerns itself with the whole child. No longer is school success dependent on the child's ability to be successful in the three R's. Now the pupil who does poorly in arithmetic may be a shining light in the field of music, or in art, or some physical or athletic activity. Again without calling it by the name, those who have furthered more music, art, literature, and recreational activity for children have advanced the movement pioneered by the progressives.

One characteristic of work in the fields of art, music, literature, and physical education is its community impact. Few other subjects in the school curriculum are as readily noted by parents and citizens in the community. Choruses, orchestras, art exhibits, and athletic events are so much appreciated by parents and citizens in the community that it is probably doubtful whether these subjects can again be removed from the curriculum in the case of a depression, as they were in the early 'thirties.

The Influence of Buildings and Equipment

Early leaders in progressive education inveighed against the bookish character of American education. They deplored the barren schoolrooms, the rigid desks, the dull books, and the meagre learning equipment that characterised the schools in the early part of the present century. Here great progress has taken place. Few current elements in American education have felt the impact of the

progressive education movement more than that of school-building construction. No one can visit one of the recently constructed buildings without sensing the manifold devices and arrangements for the comfort, convenience, and fullest effectiveness of both teachers and pupils. Lighting is immeasurably improved. Colour schemes are carefully studied and interesting ones are developed.

Not many areas have seen as much development as the area of visual education. The Second World War was responsible for a good deal of it in that the military forces employed visual equipment on a scale never before realised in education. Much of this has come into the schools. Here we are referring not only to the more typical visual devices such as motion-pictures and slides, but to many kinds of visual aids such as greatly improved blackboards, bulletin boards, and three-dimensional models (often constructed by children), to say nothing of various types of publications that employ pictorial art in its many forms.

One cannot view all of this development in the visual and auditory field without some concern. Not all of it is educationally sound. Its exact relation to other learning activities is not as yet well defined. Some specialists in the area of visual education tend to become experts on the various types of equipment and seem so concerned with the mechanical devices themselves that they lose sight of the educational goals of child growth and development. Perhaps this is to be expected in the early stages of a movement. Our keenest leaders in this area are cognisant of the danger and are seeking to minimise it by improved programmes of preparation for those who are to lead in the use of audio-visual aids and through a constant critical examination of our programmes, materials, and equipment.

One other danger in connection with audio-visual aids needs to be pointed out. Used to excess, these devices might serve to make the school more and more of a sitting and listening enterprise. Sitting and listening might come to characterise schools to such an extent that Professor Crawford's remark about the school's being a "sit-stillery" might become even more apropos than it is at present. Learning by doing was and is one of the cardinal principles of progressive education, and to the degree that excessive utilisation of visual and auditory devices may limit active participation by students, it needs to be viewed critically. There can be little doubt, however, that improvements in educational equipment have vitalised educational experiences, made the school a more attractive place in which to live and work, and overcome in some part at least the narrow bookishness of earlier schools.

Progressive Education and the Social Scene

There is probably no area in which it is as difficult to appraise the current status of progressive education as the broad area of

citizenship and character education. The greater stress on the social studies, and a widespread public feeling about the importance of American citizenship, in view of current attacks on free societies, have paved the way for broadening the experiences of children in areas of human relations and social understanding. In other words, we may safely assume that now most Americans want the schools to turn out good citizens. We may also assume that if teachers are aware of this feeling they will be likely to bestir themselves in the direction of providing such education.

However, a careful review of the current educational scene in America in the area of citizenship education will reveal many strange contrasts. The hysteria over loyalty probes, the rise of neo-nativism, and the widespread loose charges of communism and socialistic leanings have unquestionably frightened a large proportion of American teachers into a position of caution and even inaction in the discussion of and treatment of controversial issues. Everybody seems to want education for good citizenship but every individual seems to have his own notion about how such education can best be carried on. The neo-nativist wants indoctrination in 'free enterprise' and 'the American way of life'. He usually wants no mention of any of America's weaknesses or unfinished tasks. At the same time, he wants no treatment at all of communism, or in any case a highly critical and derogatory treatment with no mention of any possible success that communists may have achieved. In other words, he wants an education that says American democracy has no failures and Russian communism has no successes. He may not say it, but what he is demanding is an education that constitutes indoctrination.

Current hysteria has also focused attention on textbooks and instructional materials which are in any way critical of certain aspects of American life. While a number of the conflicts over materials have been won by educational authorities, so that the materials continue in the libraries and in use in the schools, there are also instances where censorship has continued. One case in point is the banning of the magazine *The Nation* in the public schools of New York City. Another has been the removal of the Rugg *Social Science Textbooks* from schools in many parts of the country. A third is the recent incident at Ohio State University, where all prospective speakers on the campus must have the approval of the President of the University.

It is not a simple matter to appraise the rise of neo-nativism and its impact on American education against the backdrop of the progressive education movement. Those who equate progressive education with socialism or even communism have short memories, and usually an almost complete misunderstanding of the progressive education movement and the quality and the character of its leadership. We must remember that the progressive education

movement began with an emphasis upon the importance of meeting the needs of individual children. In a sense, it was a highly individualistic enterprise. It saw individual children as unique organisms, and it addressed itself to the task of creating an educational environment in which each unique organism could make the most of its potentialities. Those who have followed the movement from its earliest days know that in earlier years the movement was criticised for excessive individualism and for advocating the development of the individual at the expense of his social responsibility and his capacity to contribute to the group as a whole.

Following the great depression in the 'thirties, however, many leaders in progressive education became greatly concerned over problems in the social field and their impact on education. It is probably true that no group of educators in the last twenty years has been as concerned about the relationship between education and social change as the group one might refer to as the progressives. Some of these people advocated the direct utilisation of education as an instrumentality of social change. Others visualised the development of a more collective society and advocated an education which would prepare children and young people for more effective life in a society characterised by collective action. With such instances before them, the critics of progressive education forgot all about Dr. Kilpatrick's insistence upon the right of every child to an education which met his unique individual needs.

The proportion of teachers and educational leaders in America to-day who believe that we can visualise the future of society with sufficient accuracy to forge an education designed to prepare people for this exact kind of society is indeed small. Most of the leaders in the progressive education movement to-day are convinced that a free society is essentially a creative endeavour, that its exact future form depends on the fullest development of its present citizens and of those who will take their places in the future, and that just as we are unable to predict the development of these individuals and their unique qualities and capacities so are we unable to predict with any exactness the implementation of our future free society. Since we cannot be sure about the exact nature of our society in the years to come, our best educational procedure is to help each individual to become all he is capable of becoming and to equip him to meet the responsibilities of an ever-changing and developing social pattern. We, therefore, educationally speaking, seek the development of a creative individual who makes a creative impact on an ever more creative society.

One would think that the representatives of American business who overwhelmingly believe in economic freedom, in individualism, originality, and initiative would like such a programme, and that in consequence they would be the strongest advocates of progressive education. Yet they have often been its most severe critics. This is

due in large part to the fact that they have little or no understanding of the origins of the movement or its true emphasis. They have listened to the few people who advocated the use of education as an instrumentality for shaping people for a predicted form of society rather than the overwhelming numbers who have seen progressive education as an instrumentality for producing a more self-reliant, original, and creative citizen.

The same misunderstanding has brought about the grossly unfair and unjustified characterisation of John Dewey and William H. Kilpatrick as the apostles of collectivism and statism. All informed persons know that no two men in American history have done more to free the individual for creative efforts than Dewey and Kilpatrick. If they are the apostles of any particular creed, they are the apostles of human worth and dignity, orginality, initiative, self-reliance, and co-operative effort in the true American tradition. Moreover, what we have said about them goes for the vast majority of the leaders in the progressive education movement.

It is easy to be misunderstood when one talks about education for creative individual development. Those who think first of education for social responsibility are likely to be quick to remind one that education for individual development overlooks the social side. If the problem is fully considered, there is less danger of misunderstanding. For human beings are social organisms. They derive their humanity and individuality from this circumstance. In our kind of society, individual development and social development are interdependent. Without social responsibility there can be little freedom, and freedom itself has limited significance in the absence of a rich social environment. Dewey saw this clearly, and those who criticise Dewey for individualistic excesses and for moving in statist directions simply do not understand him. Dewey seeks both *individuality* and *community*. Similarly, while Kilpatrick focused much of his attention on the learning process and was constantly concerned with individual children, he was constantly aware of the social character of individual human beings and of education. Democracy wants neither the *communist* with his statist view nor the *individualist* with disregard for social responsibility. It is of the essence of the Dewey-Kilpatrick outlook that *individuality* and *community* enrich and support one another.[1]

It should be unnecessary to point out that it is highly implausible that we can develop originality, initiative, and self-reliance in individual children by subjecting them to a coercive, rigid, and narrow education throughout their childhood and youth. One cannot be a dominated, mouselike creature for the first eighteen years of his life and then suddenly blossom into a dynamic, vigorous individual who participates effectively in a free economy.

[1] Samuel Tenenbaum, *William Heard Kilpatrick, Trail Blazer in Education* (New York. Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 221.

I have no doubt that if American business leaders could be helped to understand the real character of the progressive education movement they would be for it and not against it.

In the current scene, however, serious misunderstandings may have critical repercussions in public attitudes and resulting educational development. In December of 1951 we cannot tell about the power of neo-nativism in America. It may have reached its peak and may subside from now on with a return of sanity and a gradual disappearance of the hysteria of the post-Second World War years. In the opinion of some, however, it is just beginning. These same people believe that we are going to see increasing influence exerted by the neo-nativist movement as long as the Russian communistic threat continues. Should these people be right, we are in for serious trouble. If censorship attacks upon teachers and textbooks, and demands for an education of an indoctrinational character become nation-wide, and should they be acceded to by educational authorities, we could easily usher in a totalitarian kind of education, American style. Such a movement would, of course, within a few years destroy the major contribution of the progressive education movement to-day. For, under the impact of such education, few of the gains described earlier in this section would survive.

There are signs, however, that the anti-democratic forces will not win their battle easily. On the whole, the universities are still academically free. A great many Boards of Education and school administrators have vigorously resisted thought control and censorship. Many leading educators and statesmen have warned against the adoption of communist tactics in our own effort to fight communism. Here and there, we find signs of rising courage in the teaching profession. I believe that American education will resist the current menace and emerge with democratic values triumphant. I also believe that it will face the most difficult battle in the entire period of its existence.

Let us return now, for a moment, to the wider area of citizenship and character education in relation to the current status of the progressive education movement. There can be no doubt that the greater emphasis upon social studies, upon problems of human relations, upon preparation for citizenship, and especially upon those methods of teaching that encourage teachers and children to participate more actively in community affairs, has left a definite imprint on American education. It is, of course, true that many teachers who take their children on trips to visit industries, who organise clean-up campaigns and the like, do not refer to themselves as progressive teachers or necessarily think of their activities as constituting progressive education. Nevertheless, they are doing the things that leaders in the progressive movement advocated. If the current hysteria subsides, and if education in controversial

areas emerges triumphant, we can expect much greater achievement in the area of social education.

The Mobilisation of the Total Community

In one respect, at least, current education in America seems to be getting ready to move beyond the fondest dreams of the leaders in the progressive movement. While progressive educators inveighed against the bookishness and the narrowness of the then existing curriculum, not many of them visualised a full utilisation of the total community as an educational laboratory. Many of them saw the schoolroom as the primary battleground of education. The educational changes they advocated were essentially school changes, though they were often advocated with an awareness of the total social scene. In the main, however, educators were thinking of schoolroom procedures. In recent years the overwhelming complexity of the American community, particularly the urban community, has made a sharp impact upon the schools. A great many social, economic, and political developments have focused attention upon the inadequacy of any school as the primary instrument of education.

According to Professor Henry Commager, no country has ever expected as much of its teachers as has America, and he could probably also have said that no teachers have expected as much from their own efforts as have American teachers. We have, in reality, functioned under two somewhat devastating illusions. The first is that knowledge is power. We have believed that if children were given the knowledge relating to health, good citizenship, and the like they would act upon this knowledge and our various social problems would be solved or at least reduced in importance. Slowly but surely we are reaching the conclusion that we were in error, that knowledge is not power—not for good, at least—unless it carries with it the disposition to use this knowledge for the common good. We are coming to realise that one may use his knowledge of arithmetic, for example, to serve his fellow men if he has the disposition to do so, but that he may also use it for socially undesirable purposes. There are, of course, many in the penitentiary who know their arithmetic very well. We are gradually coming to see that the most important part of education is that part that goes beyond knowledges and skills, and influences the individual in the direction of socially desirable action.

Another illusion seems somehow to exaggerate the power of the school. We have had a sort of blind faith to the effect that within the four walls of the school house we could do something to and with children that would so influence them that they would move into a larger community and, as a result of their activities, change that community's life to a higher form of social living. Too often, we as teachers discover in later years that the community has taken

the products of our schools and shaped them into something which we are hardly able to identify. Gradually we are coming to see that the total community is an educational enterprise of far greater power than any school that ever was or perhaps ever will be. As we recognise this, we are coming to realise that we shall never be effective in building an education for a free society that does not use all the resources of that same free society.

Other developments have, however, focused the attention of the teacher on the community as an educational resource. Particularly in the large city, the cement that holds people together in the smaller local communities seems to be lacking. The increasing power of the federal government in American society, the development of large aggregates in labour, in business and in the professions is causing the average American city dweller to look beyond his own immediate environment to the government in, let us say, the state capital or in Washington, or to some national organisation to which he may belong. Increasingly, the individual sees himself as a part of a large national aggregate, and not as a participating member of the community. He sees himself as a representative of labour, of business, or of some profession. He does not see himself in relation to the representatives of other groups and as a participating member of a cross-section of a community that has a certain unity and integrity of its own. This tendency on the part of the average citizen makes the local community a less and less vital element in our society. There are many of our social leaders who believe that some revitalisation of the local community is essential if freedom is to survive.

In many parts of the country, the community leadership and development movement has been sufficiently successful to challenge the attention of the country. Examples might be mentioned: The work of the Kellogg Foundation in Michigan, the Committee for Kentucky in Kentucky, the New York State Citizens' Council in New York State, the work of Brownell in Montana. In Virginia, Jess and Jean Ogden have been successful in utilising the resources of the University of Virginia Extension Division in vitalising the life of many Virginia communities. Other examples could be mentioned, and the movement is developing with sufficient rapidity so that many excellent projects have not as yet been reported to national circles.

From an educational standpoint, the community movement in America has real substance and many potential contributions. Thus far, it has carried a number of definite contributions towards a goal advocated by leaders in the progressive movement.

The Community School

Leaders in progressive education early sought ways of utilising the community in education. They also tried to find ways

whereby the school and the community might work together in co-operative endeavour. The community school is making excellent contributions in this direction. Under this movement, school buildings are being designed with a view to their service to the total community. Auditoriums, cafeterias, and meeting-rooms are provided. An effort is being made to make the school a cultural centre for the community. The school is kept open in the evening for community activities, and committee rooms are available during the school day while the classrooms are being utilised by the children. In certain ways, the community school has gone beyond the thinking of the early leaders in progressive education. We are concentrating our attention more and more on the out-of-school-room activities of the individual children.

However, from the standpoint of citizens who wish to participate in the determination of educational policy and share in the conduct of educational programmes, the community school still has some limitations. It is conducted primarily by the school system and the school leadership, and ministers to the needs of the community rather than being a single part of it; it is allied in a common endeavour with other agencies. Some leaders in this field are convinced that the school will never assume its rightful place until the community in its entirety takes on conscious educational purposes and utilises schools and other agencies in attaining these purposes. Under this concept, councils are organised on a community-wide basis with considerable autonomy. This leaves such councils in an independent position, such that they can draw upon the schools, the voluntary associations, government agencies, and other resources without being dependent on the leadership of any single agency or resource. Should this concept receive wide acceptance, a tremendous motive power would be put back of schools, since it may be assumed that communities will gradually develop more and more conscious purposes which they will seek to realise not only through schools but through other community agencies. Such a programme will place great resources of moral support behind teachers and schools. It will ally the schools with other community agencies, and leave teachers and schools less isolated and vulnerable than they now are.

Arguments for an educational system that mobilises the total community and develops conscious educational purposes on the part of this total community are to be found in many current characteristics of our society. In the first place, the educational task is enormous. If freedom is to be preserved, this task must be met by the current adult population. We cannot wait for the arrival of the children. The amount of educational work to be done is so enormous that every possible community agency must be mobilised. It is, in fact, hard to see how the future of freedom can be guaranteed without such a total mobilisation.

Widespread changes will be necessary, however, in the attitude of teachers and school administrators before such a concept can have wide acceptance. Teachers and school leaders must become listeners, and be more co-operative in their relationships to the community, the leaders, and the parents. Educational leadership must acquire a better understanding of community organisation and of the whole process of community growth and development. Far-reaching changes probably must take place in the various concepts of educational administration whereby a superintendent of schools sees himself not only a superintendent of schools but a superintendent of the total community education programme. In many facets of this programme, he will find himself without authority and will be completely dependent on his capacity to serve as a catalytic agent, bringing about interaction between the various individuals and groups of the community that will result in united action. Such united action as is secured will have to be secured through voluntary association, and acceptance of co-operative effort, rather than through any form of authoritarian coercion.

In several cases of heated controversy, citizens' commissions working with superintendents and boards of education are rendering yeoman service. One example is that of Scarsdale, New York,[2] where, following an attack on textbooks for communistic leanings, a commission of outstanding citizens helped the Board of Education and superintendent to fight off censorship successfully Such citizen participation gives stability to an educational programme and increases public confidence in the schools.

Should the concept of total community mobilisation become a widespread reality, many of the fondest dreams of progressive educators will be realised. Parents will be educated simultaneously with children Teachers will work with both children and adults Homes will play a larger and more vital part in the education of individual children, and the work of the schools will be more closely related to the ongoing life of the community. A far greater vitality will be infused into the educative process. Adult education and the education of children will cease to be separate undertakings. Also, subject-matter specialisation will be less of an obstacle when it comes to mobilising our resources, for you cannot work on a community problem on a subject basis. It is too early as yet to project the success of this movement, but there are important beginnings, and the movement constitutes one of our greatest stimulants to educational progress.

Progressive Education and Religion

Religious issues are being injected into current discussions of progressive education. Such injection takes many forms. One of

[2] Robert Shaplen, "Scarsdale's Battle of the Books", *Commentary*, Vol 10, No 6 (December 1950), pp 530–40

the most common is to refer to progressive education and progressive education leadership as "godless and anti-religious". This seems to me one of the most ill-founded of all charges, and one that on careful examination will hardly stand the light of day.

Several of the critics are referring to John Dewey and his philosophy as a primary reason for the secular and 'godless' character of the public school. No small part of the blame is likewise placed upon Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, as the most famous and effective apostle of the Dewey philosophy.

In both cases the charge is a monstrous libel Probably few would deny that the central element of Christianity is respect for the worth, dignity, and sacredness of individual human personalities If this principle is Christian in nature, then no one has done more to express Christianity in action than have Dewey and Kilpatrick. Kindness on the part of teachers to children, special attention to their needs, and careful study of their problems are all in the spirit of Christianity No one has ever given a higher place to the worth and dignity of individual children than these educators

The same can be said for the principle of human brotherhood It is a notable fact that Professor Kilpatrick has been a leader in intercultural education and in human relations work generally. He has been active in the Urban League, an organisation devoted to the improvement of the status of Negroes in our society. He has played an active part in building the kind of educational programme which assumes all human beings to be brothers regardless of skin colour or racial origin. This principle of human brotherhood is certainly Christian, and both Dewey and Kilpatrick should be recognised for the services they have rendered in the translation of these Christian principles into the reality of everyday life in our schools. What we have said about Christianity applies with equal force to Judaism.

What has been said about human brotherhood and respect for the worth and dignity of individual human beings can also be said about respect for truth. It has been a principle of progressive education to avoid dogmatic indoctrination and to depend upon the method of intelligent search All our major religions, it seems to me, oppose falsehood, misrepresentation, and dishonesty in all forms. So does progressive education. It seems a strange anachronism that the progressive movement and its leaders should be blamed for having destroyed the very thing they have sought to build into the schools of our country.

Currently, religious matters are being lifted into the foreground of educational thinking. As this is being written, the New York State Board of Regents has requested that schools be opened with a salute to the flag and a simple prayer. There is a widespread public feeling that moral and spiritual values should receive greater

emphasis in our schools. If this emphasis continues and takes intelligent directions, it will further the progressive movement, for progressive leaders have held for several decades that character education was in large part a concomitant learning, and that anything which was to be learned must be actually lived. It is hard to see how we can be successful with education in moral and spiritual values unless we adopt this principle. I notice that under one name or another it is advocated in many quarters; for example, considerable stress is being placed upon the fact that whatever we as teachers want our pupils to be and do, that we must be and do ourselves.

The reader may well ask, "If these many and substantial gains in the direction of the achievement of the aims of progressive education have been made in the schools of America, how can the argument over progressive education continue unabated and with so much heat?" The answer is probably to be found in the widespread tendency to debate the question on philosophical grounds In a great many instances, the debaters themselves have only slight contact with the practical expressions of whatever philosophy they espouse Another reason is to be found in the character of the training and experience of the protagonists of the different philosophies.

Philosophical Conflicts

Educational administrators are familiar with the fact that it is much harder to get people together on what they believe than it is to bring them together on a programme of action Not infrequently people who disagree widely in philosophy find themselves working together in a co-operative spirit on a project of common endeavour Perhaps the most prominent philosophical conflict is that between pragmatism and absolute values. Those who believe in an absolute-value system blame relativists for moral breakdowns and brand relativism as an atheistic philosophy. On the other side of the coin, followers of Dewey hold devotees of absolutism responsible for unscientific dogmatism, and see sets of absolute values as obstacles to free intellectual progress. When one reads articles by these contending philosophers, no reconciliation seems possible. Yet, if you study the schools in which some of the same individuals operate or for which they have responsibility, you will often find more common elements than you would expect. Even those who hold to a system of absolute values do not carry the absolutes to every facet of human affairs. Some hold to these absolutes in religion but take an open-minded, scientific attitude in matters of politics or economics Thus, it is a notable fact that many Catholics, who are generally assumed to hold to absolute values in the field of religion, take very liberal positions in economics or politics. Similarly, there are individuals who hold pragmatic positions in the fields of educa-

tion and philosophy who are conservative, if not reactionary, in economics and politics Someone may point out that this indicates something less than the desired amount of personal integration. But in the American educational scene, this situation prevails and must have consideration in appraising the status of the progressive education movement.

Even the most extreme pragmatist is rarely without a set of values that have broad implications if not absolute applications. For example, such concepts as faith in the common man, respect for the worth and dignity of the individual human being, respect for truth and the role of reflective thought, and the concept of human brotherhood run very strongly through the thinking and the action of those who take a pragmatist position. They may not be absolutes in the usual philosophical sense, but it would be far from accurate to say that the pragmatist takes a completely relativist position and that he has no moral or spiritual guides In fact, in a certain way, the relativists seem more concerned about fundamental values than are those who believe in absolutes, for relativists usually insist that pupils must not only learn subject-matter but must develop desired traits of character in terms of some generally accepted sets of democratic values, whereas there are many who take the absolutist position who seem quite well satisfied if the pupil learns the three R's or some other body of subject-matter Thus we tend to get one thing in a philosophical discussion and perhaps something else in practice when the contestants move into the classroom or the community.

Subject-matter Means or End?

One striking example is the conflict over the primacy of subject-matter in the educative process. Dr. Robert Hutchins has come to be known as the leader of the 'great books' movement. This movement seems to be based on the assumption that there is in existence a body of subject-matter the mastery of which constitutes an education. I take it that it is Dr. Hutchins's view that the great books make the best claim to being that body of subject-matter. Presumably, then, we might conclude that a person is educated if he has mastered the great books. If he has not mastered these books, he is not an educated person A corollary might be that any competence or proficiency which this individual shows in other directions would have little bearing on the question of his being educated or not educated Thus, an individual not knowing the great books might be a good citizen, a good father, an effective participant in his community, even a great scientist, and yet not be an educated person Clearly, there are problems of both semantics and substance in such a discussion. Perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the fact that the word 'education' means something different to the members of the two groups. The

primary reason why it means something different to the two groups is that by and large their programmes of training have been markedly different. It would, I think, be difficult to find an educator who is a comprehensive student of the human organism, who advocates an absolutist position, or an extreme subject-matter concept of education, or both. Most of the advocates of the 'great books' theory are not students of the human organism or of human behaviour. They are students of the classics, of history, or of some professional field like law. They have had little or no opportunity to think about the process of education in relation to human development. Consequently, to them, learning to read is education, so are learning to prove a proposition in geometry and the recall of historical dates and facts. In other words, education in this view is a process of acquiring knowledges and skills.

To the student of the human organism and human development, each individual being is a unique organism. Since he is a unique organism, he is creative and capable of doing something which no other human being can do. Education thus becomes a process whereby the individual human organism becomes all it is capable of becoming. All subject-matters and all educational experience become secondary. That is, they become means and not ends. To this group of educators, the great books are important educational means. But they are not the only means, nor for every pupil the most important means.

We can now see two things about the current educational scene. The leaders differ widely in philosophy because they have different backgrounds of preparation. The argument continues unabated because we conduct it in terms of philosophy rather than in terms of action programmes. In the second place, the action programmes themselves are often not as radically different as one might assume, since both groups want subject-matter learning, but one group sees it as the major objective and the other sees it as a means to an end.

In the public schools, the conflict rarely seems as real and immediate as it sounds when debated on a philosophical level. Teachers and administrators are daily confronted with living children. The children present wide variations in native ability, interests, and rates and ways of learning. These solid facts daily confront teachers with problems that must be faced at the action level. To the teacher, Mr. Mortimer Adler and the great books both seem in the somewhat distant rarefied atmosphere. While this teacher has more basic sympathy with Dr. Kilpatrick and his idea that we learn when we live, he is daily confronted with parents and citizens who want children to learn to read and write and do their sums in arithmetic. There is also the parent who wants to send his child to an eastern college which is difficult to enter. Thus college entrance requirements become at least as potent in determining what is done in high school as either Dr. Kilpatrick or Mr. Adler.

Current Attacks on Education

A brief return to the character of the current scene as mentioned in our opening paragraph may be in order. At present, American public education is being attacked rather savagely by super-patriots and reactionaries. These attacks are giving teachers and administrators a great many headaches, but in the end they will probably have a salutary effect on our profession and on the whole structure of education. For one thing, they are revealing to all of us that the battle for an effective programme of public education in America has by no means been won. We are identifying elements in our population who do not, for one reason or other, believe in public education. It is important for us to recognise that such people are present, and we must learn how to deal with them in our kind of society. In the second place, we are learning that lack of understanding of education on the part of the public can be extremely dangerous to educational progress. A few destructive critics of public education, largely without substantial backing and with little financial or moral support, have received attention out of all proportion to their significance, chiefly because they have been able to mobilise larger numbers of people who have worries about education—at least some of which stem from a lack of understanding of what schools are really attempting to do.

We see now how isolated we have been as a profession, how ineffectively we have talked and written about what schools are doing. Our leaders have been writing what people were forced to read in our university classes. They have not learned how to write the kinds of materials about education that people will want to read—materials that are bright and interesting. We have talked about education in a professional jargon that obscures the issues for the layman and even confuses the professional educator.

What we need now goes far beyond the ordinary conception of public relations and various efforts to improve public understanding. A partnership between community, people, and professional educators must somehow be built. The total community must, as we have already indicated, be welded into an educational enterprise. When this is done, our people will understand our education because they are participants in it. It will then be harder for super-patriots and other reactionaries to mislead the average citizen.

The Outlook for Progressive Education

The present apparent reaction against the progressive education is thus part of the apparent reaction in America against all forward-looking social devices and procedures. The whole movement, however, is more apparent than real on both the educational and the social fronts. The absence of strong roots for nativism in relation to social progress and education is shown in the aftermath of the

Pasadena school situation.[3] In a recent school board election, the Goslin supporters were overwhelmingly victorious. The public has thus repudiated the leaders who, by their short-sighted tactics, catapulted the school system of Pasadena into national prominence as the most striking example of the current attacks on progressive educational practice. If one takes a backward look he finds that enormous change has taken place in America in social, economic, and political directions. In spite of the Chicago *Tribune*, the Hearst Press, and Senator McCarthy, America is a liberal country. Its traditions are liberal, the vast majority of the people look in liberal directions, and even while McCarthyism and neo-nativism are rampant, the liberal movement goes on After the present hysteria has run its course, the American people will tackle the unfinished tasks and look back on the current hysteria as a bad dream. When this happens, education will feel the impact of the fresh air of free educational inquiry. One need not be a prophet to predict what is likely to happen. When one thinks of the distant future, one can safely bet on the progressives. One can do this because they have science on their side. Rapidly accumulating bodies of knowledge concerning the nature of the human organism and human behaviour emphasise the worth and dignity of the individual child. Studies made by pediatricians and psychiatrists tell us how important it is to treat each child with kindness, consideration, and concern for his uniqueness as an organism. The growing interdependence of all individuals in our rapidly changing society emphasises the need for an education which gives us a well-adjusted and socially effective personality on the part of each of as many of our students as possible. A subject-matter-centred pattern of education simply will not give us the kind of citizen we need. Pediatricians and psychiatrists can tell us now that this is so. It will take a little longer for the college professors of English and mathematics to realise it, but sooner or later the evidence will be so overwhelming that the forces of educational reaction will be overcome.

It is entirely likely that we shall drop the word 'progressive' as attached to the word 'education'. It may well be that the Progressive Education Association (now the American Education Fellowship) will be replaced by "The American Association for the Scientific Study of Education". No matter. The progressives built solid substance into American education. It lives now and will continue to live by whatever name future educators and laymen attach to it.

E. O. MELBY.

[3] David Hurlburd, *This Happened in Pasadena* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1951).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIBERAL ARTS AND THE GREAT BOOKS

ALTHOUGH this is a story of an attempt to find a reasonable practical alternative to progressive education in the United States, its plot will best follow the pattern that is central to the progressive theory of learning. It begins with the very generally recognised trouble-situation in adult education in the late 'twenties, the failure to assimilate science into the Western cultural tradition. A few of us then saw that the so-called popularisation of knowledge in hundreds of books and hundreds of orientation courses had produced an epidemic of quackery in the common mind. Some of us had tried our hands and tongues at this kind of writing and teaching, and we were conscience-stricken at the results. The attempted diagnosis of the trouble threw us into a tangle of hypotheses, at the centre of which we thought we discovered an idea, the idea of the liberal arts, the absence of which had caused the miscarriage of our teaching. We rapidly and rather feverishly tried to recover the idea by tracing the thread of its history from the Greeks through the Middle Ages to the time in the nineteenth century where it had disappeared in all but its name. The application of the idea, as we grasped it, has involved novel extensions and inventions to connect its traditional formulae with new materials and circumstances. We are told that it is a moderate claim that the trial-runs at the University of Chicago and at St. John's College in Annapolis have many by-products throughout the American educational system. No college, university, or secondary school can now consider its curriculum without first discussing, and often rejecting, the great books. We had not expected so much.

The opening scene of this story is the People's Institute of New York City, a thirty-year-old institution of popular education originally founded by Charles Sprague Smith with the intention of raising the temperature in the American melting-pot by lectures and discussions of comparative literature. Although it was a separate organism it operated under a clause from the charter of Cooper Union, which imitated the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in teaching technology to the youth of the city. The clause stipulated that lectures in social ethics and politics should be delivered for the benefit of the public in the Great Hall of Cooper Union. The People's Institute had a unique history of popular education in this

country, a generation of popular liberal learning and teaching, first through comparative literature, then sponsoring and supporting thirty clubs for foreign-born immigrants who were thus enabled to rally, collect, and transmit their skills in handicrafts, literature, and the arts to their new American community, and finally through the direction of Everett Dean Martin, who each year gave a series of lectures, one on each Friday evening from November to May, to audiences of over a thousand people on philosophy, psychology, and ethics. Mr. Martin had been a Unitarian minister and then a socialist soap-boxer in the Middle West, and had come to New York in the middle of the First World War to write editorials for a newspaper. In 1916 he had become the Director of the People's Institute, and by 1925 had found himself loaded with lectures and discussions in other trade schools and the public libraries of the city, and needing assistance in meeting the intellectual appetites and demands that he had stimulated in his lectures. I accepted the assistant directorship of the Institute in 1925.

These were the days of high expectation for adult education in the United States as in many other parts of the world The Carnegie Corporation, under the presidency of Frederick Keppel, was making a nation-wide survey and stimulating the organisation of the American Association for Adult Education. There were plans for the merging of the People's Institute and the New School for Social Research in a People's University which would become the model for the country in supplying the facilities for learning to each citizen throughout his life. It was widely recognised that an age of science and democracy indicated the extension of 'universal education' to the college level. For various reasons these plans and ideas did not work out, but for five years the People's Institute worked and taught as if they were the guiding principles.

We tried to find out how science and the humanities could be taught to everybody. Everett Dean Martin's lectures in the Great Hall of Cooper Union on Friday nights, two other parallel series on Sunday and Tuesday nights with a wide range of subjects and a variety of lecturers, and long periods of questions and discussions by the audience provided a kind of hopper and sorter of curiosities and interests. Acting as chairman and interlocutor allowed Mr. Martin and myself to see and judge the intellectual qualities and defects of what was commonly called the best-read and most intelligent audience in New York City. In response we continually revised our lecture schedule and filled the other nights in the week with series of special lectures on topics in science and literature at one of the branches of the New York Public Library. Our judgments on subjects and lectures differed from many of the policies of the fast-growing profession of 'adult educators' in this country in that we kept only one eye on the 'interests' of the audience; we kept the other on the gap between these interests and the

interests they would have if the students had well-balanced, growing minds. We also watched the break in the tradition of learning due to its failure to assimilate science and the consequent split in the modern mind.

Among the lecturers whom we regularly invited back there were two young instructors from Columbia University who had been members, both as students and as teachers, of the Columbia General Honours Courses in which the reading and discussion of the great books had been introduced by John Erskine after the First World War. These men, Mortimer Adler and Richard McKeon, teaching psychology and philosophy, became deeply interested in the work of the Institute, and after some intense teaching experience with us made the strong recommendation that the reading and discussion of the great books be offered to the general public through the branch libraries of the city under the auspices of the People's Institute. They offered to enlist their fellow students and teachers in the Columbia Honours Courses as teachers in the proposed enterprise. The Columbia scheme involved two teachers representing different specialities for each group of twenty-five students, merely leading a Socratic discussion of the reading, not lecturing. We were successful in persuading thirty teachers to lead fifteen discussion classes in fifteen branch libraries in the New York area. The teaching staff met regularly for critical reports of progress, and the Institute learned much that we needed to know from the whole enterprise. We also learned much from the branch librarians, who reported a spectacular shift in reading habits among their patrons.

But there were deeper and more searching discussions that went on between Adler and McKeon and the members of the People's Institute administrative staff, discussions concerning what we were teaching and what we were failing to teach. Adler, McKeon, and I were philosophers by training and habit, and by different routes had come to be concerned about mathematics and scientific method. I reported from my experience of soliciting lectures, hearing them delivered, and listening to the students' questions, that in my opinion the whole teaching process was diverted and stalled again and again by a fear on the part of both teachers and students that anything mathematical would not be understood if it were mentioned. I proposed to give a series of lectures on mathematical concepts for the general reader; I had found it impossible to get anyone else to do it, least of all a mathematician, and although I was far from being a mathematician, I would try to talk fundamental mathematics. I worked very hard in the preparation of these lectures, and found to my surprise that the most successful expositions resulted from finding some poetic or literary analogy for the mathematical concept in question. I later wrote a book, *Poetry and Mathematics,* in which I made the parallel continuous.

McKeon, who had been a student—under Professor Gilson at the Sorbonne—of the intellectual history of the Middle Ages, mildly remarked that this analogy was based on one of the main principles from which the trivium and the quadrivium had developed the system of the liberal arts in the mediaeval university. Adler and I, listening to McKeon's exposition of the mediaeval model, set to work, with the help of the mathematical logic and literary criticism that we knew, to construct the modern equivalent of the liberal arts. Together we three delivered a series of lectures in the Great Hall of Cooper Union on the *Higher Learning in America*. We had also become acquainted with Ogden and Richards, who had recently published *The Meaning of Meaning* as the programme of the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method. Our arguments with them pushed us farther into the forgotten history of the liberal arts

It was during this period, 1927–9, that Mortimer Adler, through the good offices of C. K. Ogden, met and began to work with Robert Maynard Hutchins, who was then Dean of the Yale Law School. This association opened a new and fateful phase of our enterprise; from being an amateur team of teachers, we became advisers to administrators. If this story were a classical tragic drama, this turn in events would mark the entrance of *hybris* and the complication of the plot.

Adler had been collaborating with members of the faculty of the Columbia Law School in the psychology and logic of the law, he now divided his collaborative activities between Columbia and Yale. Whereas the work with Columbia involved attention to the comparatively formal law of evidence, the new view of law at Yale as the instrument of policy led to wider and deeper problems, problems that involved the combination of many subject-matters and academic disciplines. Dean Hutchins had already added many non-legal specialists to the faculty of the law school and was with their help breaking through many academic partitions. In fact, this process had gone so far that it had already erupted into the foundation of a new institute at Yale, the Institute of Human Relations. Dean Milton Winternitz of the Yale Medical School and Dean Hutchins of the Yale Law School had conceived a new kind of research which would study man in all his relationships, and by combining expert specialists would bring some kind of unity to the graduate schools of the whole university. It would take the term 'university' literally and turn all special studies back to their proper subject, the human being. It may be remembered that the sociologists in the late 'twenties had decided that 'human relations' was the right term to designate the missing unity in their field of knowledge. It was a monstrous sort of conception, with rhyme rather than reason to hold it together, although there was a good instinct in anchoring it to law and medicine, and suggesting

that theology, the other part of the traditional university, was the missing basic discipline.

No one, I imagine not even Mr. Hutchins himself, knows the motives of the next move. Whether it was the monstrous conception itself, the prospect of carrying it out at Yale, or merely the lure of the presidency of the large university of the great plains, something made Mr. Hutchins accept the offer from the University of Chicago and to leave the Institute in Human Relations to Dr. Winternitz at Yale. There may be something in the story that Abraham Flexner, acting for the Rockefeller Foundation, had, before the revival of learning at the Yale Law School, picked Mr. Hutchins out as the young man who should be sent abroad to make a study of European higher education and brought back as the President of the University of Chicago, which would then become the model of higher education for this country. Mr. Hutchins had spent his time well at home, while Mr. Flexner made the European study and wrote his book on *Universities*, and now Mr. Hutchins accepted the Rockefeller assignment at Chicago. This is legend, but it is told often enough to show that the plot needs it.

Mr. Hutchins immediately invited Mortimer Adler to join him as philosopher and friend, and intermittent guide. Friendly philosophers have often enough been good tutors to princes, but the guiding function has often met with catastrophe. We who have had secondary roles in this story admit that this attempt at philosopher-kingship is no exception. The faculty at the University of Chicago immediately had deep suspicions, and when tentative invitations were offered us to join the Chicago faculty, they were technically cancelled and a Stop-Hutchins Committee was set up to protect the university from dictatorship. The plans which Hutchins and Adler had made for an Institute of Philosophical Studies to pursue the history and theory of the liberal arts and to provide a working method of finding unity in the scattered academic subject-matters, these plans were put on the shelf, and in their place one seminar in the reading and discussion of the great books was offered to the students at the University of Chicago. Hutchins and Adler taught the seminar, and some members of our group were invited from year to year to give the oral examinations. Meantime the funds which had made the expansion of the People's Institute in New York possible were discontinued. I went to the University of Virginia to teach philosophy, and Richard McKeon continued at Columbia University. It seemed for a time that only the fragments of the idea of the liberal arts would survive in the minds of the scattered members of the team.

Almost unawares, at least without deliberate efforts, we began to recapitulate in twentieth-century America the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. Starting with apparently the same premises or postulates and a deep common concern about the whole

intellectual enterprise, but teaching at three different universities, Columbia, Chicago, and Virginia, we began to generate separate schools of thought. At first our differences seemed to arise merely from our temperaments and the accidents of our teaching assignments; bridging the differences, when we occasionally met, made exciting and fruitful arguments. One series of such conversations led finally to a full exposition of a kind of dialectical history of the liberal arts from the Greeks to the present; the exposition was made by McKeon and was based on an early guess he had made in a lecture at Cooper Union. It was easy to see that the age of the sophists in Athens was dominated by the rhetorical use of symbols, persuasion in words and the application of ratios in mathematics. The Socratic revolt and the resulting discoveries of Plato and Aristotle led to the reign of logic and dialectic. The Alexandrian period put both these parts of the trivium to work for grammar and the transmission of encyclopaedias of learning. A similar cycle can be traced through the late Roman teachers of rhetoric, and the writings of the church fathers through the dialectical development of doctrine in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to the dominance of nominalism and empiricism in the late Middle Ages. Similar epicycles revolved around teachers and schools within the major cycles. At the ends of the big cycles there had occurred outbursts of mathematics in the Alexandrian and Renaissance periods, and the apparently consequent reigns of mathematics as the queen of the sciences.

The three of us tried to place ourselves in a small epicycle of the big modern cycle, but discovered to our chagrin that we could not find the big cycle in the tangle of epicycles, and we wondered if this would not have been the case for any individual in the past who had tried to find his historical identity and role. It did, however, appear incontrovertible that we each wanted to be either logician or dialectician, and took it as an insult when any called another a rhetorician or grammarian; I felt the criticism most acutely, because I did not deny that my concern was with modern mathematics, and my critics, rightly I had to admit, detected a radical grammatical and rhetorical thread in modern analysis.

By a process which a philosopher will think he understands because it is familiar in his own experience I finally found myself in the position of a Platonist corrupted by positivism, while McKeon and Adler together claimed they were Aristotelians and realists. This meant that a modern battle of the liberal arts had been set, and that no quarter would be given. These positions were reinforced by the daily work we did: Adler read St. Thomas and taught the great books as footnotes to the philosophers, eventually writing a best seller, *How to Read a Book*, to justify his reading. McKeon read texts with his students with a master's skill and worked on his dialectical theory of intellectual history. I read

Plato with my students and took courses at the University of Virginia in advanced mathematics.

But schools of thought in the United States, as in other parts of the world, are soon recognised as aspirants to administrative power in the colleges and universities. Professorial chairs are not labelled with politics as they are said to be in France, but an old-established school of thought feels the threat of a new school and stages an aggressive defence of its position. Chicago and Columbia were well labelled, at least in philosophy and education, with the pragmatism of John Dewey. In both universities they sensed the threat of a recrudescent mediaeval intellectualism in the work and teaching of Adler and McKeon, but they preferred to oppose it first by calling it Thomistic verbalism, a modern translation of logic chopping with overtones of witch-torture and burning. McKeon was invited to become the Dean of Humanities at Chicago, and Adler was chiefly honoured by the continuation of the committee to stop Hutchins. With less sensitive hostility at the University of Virginia, I was invited to join a committee of the faculty at the University of Virginia which had the assignment of finding better subject-matter and discipline for the Honours students. On this committee were also Stringfellow Barr and six other representatives of the faculty, and we agreed at the outset to make a broad interpretation of our assignment; we proposed to take considerable time and trouble to find out what an undergraduate college as a whole should be teaching and learning.

The concrete problem that the University of Virginia faced in its undergraduate college did not call for the exhaustive surveys of its history that many American colleges need when they decide to overhaul the curriculum. As in many southern institutions of learning, not much had happened at the University of Virginia from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century; symbolically enough only one building had been added to the Lawn, as the original Jeffersonian campus is called, during that period. Edwin A. Alderman, the president who had named our Committee on Honours, was the first president of the university, the chief administrative officer up to his time having been a triennially elected chairman of the faculty. Alderman had been one of three barnstorming evangelists for education in the state of North Carolina, and had brought that institution to the front rank of state universities. He had been at the University of Virginia twenty-five years and during that time had raised money from Foundations, put up buildings, made many strategic additions to the faculty, and the university had 'caught up' with the times. A few members of the committee remembered all these changes—with mixed feelings. The facts of the problem could be quickly supplied by the dean, who was a member of the committee.

The committee sat regularly for two years, with intervals between

the sittings to allow for the maturing of the persuasion that occurred in the meetings. The result of this process was a report in three parts. The first part stated the problem. The elective system had followed Harvard and the northern colleges in offering students hundreds of courses with finer and finer divisions of subject-matters, until, no matter how well balanced the whole offering might be, an individual student would have to choose some lopsided fragment to fit a tight schedule of time and perhaps his interest or pleasure. At the same time the growth of the graduate schools, including law and medicine, and the pressures they were putting on the undergraduate to fulfil prerequisites, were forcing the student to 'choose' a sequence of required courses which would ensure the banalities of specialism, and make it impossible for him to profit from a liberal education. This set of conditions, common to most American colleges and universities, had come into being so rapidly at the University of Virginia that the college was obviously struggling for its very life.

The second part of the report did not propose a new curriculum for the whole college of liberal arts, nor did it accept the assumption that the bored and harassed students were dumb, and therefore not deserving a liberal education. Rather it proposed a small college within the college for which there would be two years of required common studies, and two years of special Honours work under tutors This was a fairly moderate proposal for the time; many colleges, particularly Swarthmore, were requiring concentration on major subjects to bring increasing order into the elective system. But the main body of the second part of the report made the radical proposal that the first two required years be devoted to the application of the seven liberal arts to the great books; that the learning of four languages, mathematics including the calculus, and the repetition of the crucial experiments in the modern sciences, be done for the sake of the good reading and understanding of a required list of books, the classics of the Western tradition, including the great books of science, from Euclid to Freud. The arguments in the Committee on Honours had repeated the themes of the lectures on the higher learning in New York, but the application of these themes to the great books as the best medium within which the liberal arts had been practised was an additional novelty. It supplied a kind of matrix or frame of reference within which the search for a modern curriculum in the liberal arts could be pursued.

The third part of the report was intended to preserve the libertarian principle of the elective system and at the same time to absorb and control the pressures that the professional graduate schools were exerting on the liberal arts college. In the last two years a student, who had been initiated in the general practice of the liberal arts, would under the advice and guidance of a tutor

undertake a kind of apprenticeship in specialisation, choosing his special subject-matter and the methods by which he would pursue it. Presumably the tutor would balance the professional with the liberal dimensions of such an exploration. The report made it clear that the two positive proposals, the tutorial system and the preceding required curriculum, were mutually dependent and corrective. They were in effect an American translation of the Oxford ancient and modern Greats, *artes liberales in litteris humanioribus.*

But in American colleges, which administrations govern by weak democratic rules, committees propose and authorities divide and rule. In this case the administration saw the necessity of raising extra funds for a new college within the old and the trouble of persuading competitive departments to a compromise of interests. This seemed too high a price to pay, particularly since an interregnum acting presidency had followed the death of President Alderman. The third part of the report, providing a tutorial system for the better students, was accepted, but the rest of the report was put on the shelf for later consideration.

This report of the Committee on Honours at the University of Virginia survived the administrative shelving there to become the leading hypothesis of a country-wide search for a liberal college. It was as often passionately rejected as followed, but it epitomised a critical tension and uneasiness in educational affairs. In the long run it may be important to note that it was written by the three Rhodes Scholars on the Virginia committee, Stringfellow Barr, Robert K. Gooch, and myself; it is still perhaps a little early to record it as another in the long list of Oxonian lost causes.

The Virginia Plan, as it came to be called, soon migrated to the University of Chicago, where an ordeal for it had been prepared. President Hutchins had given the annual Storrs lectures at Yale, and they had been published in a book under the title *The Higher Learning in America.* The book showed that Mr. Hutchins's concisely artistic mind had been informed by the portrayal of intellectual unity and integrity in Newman's *Idea of a University,* had been further articulated by Whewell's distinction between permanent and progressive studies in *Cambridge Education,* and with the help of these was working on the idea of a modern university which would lead an intellectual, moral, and spiritual revolution in the human community. There was living fire in the book, matched to a high theme which made one recall the Platonic Academy, the early mediaeval university, and Renaissance Academies of Europe. It threw light on the struggles of Horace Mann to establish the American system of public education, the political skill of Charles William Eliot of Harvard in introducing the elective system in American colleges, the attempt of Amherst College under Alexander Meiklejohn to find a common intellectual

and educational purpose, on the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, and on our own efforts to reformulate the liberal arts with the help of the great books. The reference that the book made to a revolution echoed with ambiguities in the 'thirties. The sickening feeling of a breaking world was in the air, and revolutions had to be sorted between the two threats that were already in evidence. Since President Hutchins's proposal of revolution sounded traditional themes and came from a Rockefeller university with all the power implications that that might have, it was quickly labelled pre-Fascist and dictatorial. No guess could have been farther from the truth unless that the proposal had been inspired by Moscow. Some of us, who knew that Mr. Hutchins was innocent of any of the considerations which Thorstein Veblen ironically reported in his book, *The Higher Learning in America*, in 1916, economic and institutional considerations that dimmed any expectation of leadership and revolutionary change coming from colleges and universities, were neither disturbed nor inspired by the proposal, rather it made us prepare ourselves for tempests in teapots.

And so there were—tempests in many teapots. The apparent dogmatism of the book, rising as it did from the mere mention of the high purposes of institutions of learning, precipitated many quarrels in many faculties all over the country. At the University of Chicago, President Hutchins began to realise what Socrates must have suffered when his jury prescribed hemlock. But Mr. Hutchins also had a few sympathetic rich friends, and they encouraged him to proceed with the search for the pattern of a university laid up in heaven. In his book Mr. Hutchins had proposed that the aggressive and overgrown establishments for specialised research be partially detached from the teaching activities of the university and set up as independent institutes of theoretical research, the aim of the proposal was to protect teaching from power complexes that go with modern research, particularly in the natural sciences, and also to allow the scientist to concentrate his attention upon the abstract objects of science instead of the gadgets with which American scientific habits are so constantly involved. An institute of philosophical studies, which would be devoted to speculation in metaphysics, had earlier been imagined and proposed for the University of Chicago. With funds that were offered by sympathetic friends Mr. Hutchins now proposed to start a small pilot plant for such an institute in the form of a Committee on the Liberal Arts. It was to be a small beginning and it was to be independent of departments and divisions in the university; therefore not expected to revive former suspicions of conspiracy to seize power.

As any reader can guess, such expectations were not fulfilled. Stringfellow Barr and I were invited to join the committee with two of our graduate students who had become interested in the

project. The two other members of the threesome in New York, McKeon and Adler, joined with some of their students. It turned out that their official connections with the university could not be eliminated to clarify the independent status of the committee. It was known to be the favourite project of President Hutchins, and therefore probably a potential 'brain-trust' or 'kitchen-cabinet', something new for the Stop-Hutchins Committee to nip in the bud. Because I was least connected with university affairs, I was chosen as Chairman of the Committee on the Liberal Arts, and I tried to clarify its status, but each attempt resulted in further complications. The detail of this background is full of interesting academic gossip, but does not advance the narrative. Suffice it to say that the complications thus generated became intolerable before the first year was out, and the committee was discontinued.

The internal affairs of the committee, its actual work, were important, and belong very much to the story. The assembly of the committee was the occasion for the reunion of three schools of thought which had gone their divergent ways for a period of six or seven years; starting from close and intense collaboration in New York in a common teaching effort, they had arrived at quite different positions with respect to the still common problem. Periodic meetings had begun to fail to be fruitful; we were all aware of this divergence, but we found it difficult to share even explanations of our differences. Even now there would probably be three different explanations of the three-way split. Where at first my interest in mathematics and the sciences seemed to have carried me to something between positivism and Platonism as against a common Aristotelianism defended by Adler and McKeon, here now was an additional split between the other two, a split that had something to do with the true Aristotelian doctrine and the history of the Aristotelian tradition. We bravely decided to make Aristotle our common reading and subject of discussion in order to plumb the depths of the chasm, at the same time accepting the common responsibility with all members of the committee to read the other authors of the great books.

The first few, and actually only, full meetings of the entire committee were devoted to the discussion of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Physics* as samples of subject-matter and method in the application of the liberal arts. The meetings ended invariably, not merely in explicit disagreement, but in passionate outrage, each at the other's distortion of the text. My own explanation of this is that we were using the Oxford translations of Aristotle, and that we had different degrees of competence in referring to the Greek text. But I realise that intelligent men would allow reciprocal teaching to overcome such difficulties if there were not other causes of passionate disagreement. I think we all now more or less recognise the nature of these causes, but we would not be sure we could overcome them

if we started all over again. Historic European thought would not seem to have resulted in the degree of mutual understanding which we failed to achieve. Our capacities and temperaments had led to habits and skills which in turn involved us in differing traditions which no finite effort to master the liberal arts could compose. There is evidence here for the traditional general proposition that the healthy condition of the liberal arts is warfare.

Knowing better than to add violence of fists to the violence of words, we arranged a truce. McKeon continued to work with his members of the committee as a research team whose product could be used for the remaking of the liberal arts college in the university. Adler continued to read the *Physics* with students at the university. Barr and I met our Virginia apprentices in a tower room on the campus to read Plato, St. Thomas, Euclid, and Kant in order to discover the strategy of reading and discussing all the great books.

But the truce did not mean that we left the line of battle. We each read more and repeatedly of Aristotle, whose writings have increasingly become recognised among us as the bridge of asses for those who aspire to become masters of the arts For Adler, Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was and has continued to be, as his friend Maritain has said in his *Introduction to Philosophy*, the revelation of truth to the natural intellect. McKeon and I would see in this the effect of the use of St. Thomas as a lens in the reading of the Oxford translation. For McKeon, Aristotle is the father of the sciences, and as such, he uncovered the categories and formulated the methods for each subject-matter and discipline; there are different methods for different subject-matters and there is only confusion in finding common methods and subject-matters. Adler and I see a somewhat arbitrary postulation of the first principles of a history of thought in this position. I am fascinated by the dialectical processes by which Aristotle arrives at his extraordinary insights, but I shall not be satisfied until I can master the dialectic and arrive at further insight that will throw more light on the modern problems, particularly in mathematics, that neither Adler nor McKeon thinks necessary. These philosophical positions as they stand are no more important than any other scholastic prejudices so familiar in the profession, but in terms of the common task to find the intelligibilities that would make good teaching possible they all seem highly relevant and their incommensurability rather tragic.

For me personally there is a happier by-product of the frustration in Chicago, a kind of unconscious learning that we achieved because of the battle. I think it is something that we all share, but I would better speak for myself. I became aware of the deep theory of learning that underlies all the passing schools of thought regarding teaching and learning. Perhaps the theory is best stated as a series of questions, the series of questions that are asked in the

opening speech of Plato's *Meno*: "Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue can be taught, or is acquired by practice, not teaching? Or if neither by practice nor by learning, whether it comes to mankind by nature or in some other way?" If, for the sake of generality, we substitute 'habit' for 'virtue', we have here the question that has been with varying degrees of articulateness asked by all teachers and learners in the history of European education, and the agreement on the question amounts to an accepted truth, namely, that learning by whatever means is the acquisition of habits. The Platonic Dialogues and the Aristotelian Treatises are almost everywhere reasserting this truth and exploring its implications. Because of these master explorations the truth has become an educational commonplace, brought from the background to the foreground of discussion only when an educational crisis has been recognised and controversially considered. The Chicago battles had been fought on this common ground, and we were finally facing the questions that arise from it, questions that were torturing our arguments and had turned our teachings each to its own way. Our answers to the questions came from the habits we had acquired in our own learning and the habits we had developed in our own teaching.

Our agreement to discontinue the Committee on the Liberal Arts and to return to our own ways resulted from an accidental meeting of former friends. I met Francis Miller, a former Rhodes Scholar and then the Executive Secretary of the National Policy Committee, at a conference of theologians at the Virginia Theological Seminary, which had been called to consider the threatening world situation. This was the spring of 1937. Between sessions we discussed each other's affairs. He had recently been persuaded by his friend and associate in the National Policy Committee, Richard Cleveland, the son of Grover Cleveland, to join the Board of Trustees of St. John's College in Annapolis. Together they were struggling to pull the little college out of a deep tangle of troubles, financial, educational, and moral. They had decided that an educational idea would be the only thing that would save the institution, and that the trouble they were in constituted an opportunity to dare and do something important for American education. I demurred at the obvious suggestion that the Committee on the Liberal Arts might have the idea that was needed; we were trying to get our idea clear enough for action, and at the moment we were failing. With a typically American turn of mind, Miller suggested that action might be the only way to get the idea clear. There then began a series of conversations and negotiations that ended in the decision of the Virginia components of the Committee on the Liberal Arts to move to Annapolis and to undertake the rehabilitation of St. John's College according to the proposals of the Virginia Plan, which was quickly renamed the St. John's Programme. The

decision was made with difficulty, since the internal frustrations and the external hostilities at Chicago could not be judged permanent and hopeless, and the institutional difficulties at St John's on closer view looked insuperable. On the other hand the trustees at St. John's pledged full support to the programme and in effect gave us the mandate to rebuild the college with it as its foundation.

The withdrawal of the Virginia contingent further loosened the bonds between the Adler and McKeon schools of thought at Chicago, and they went separate ways. McKeon, as Dean of the Division of Humanities, was able to incubate and hatch a programme of great books and liberal arts within the elective scheme in the college of the university. Adler, who had been nominally Professor of the Philosophy of Law, found his status in the university weakened and began an intense regimen of association with the Catholic Philosophical Association and Catholic institutions of higher learning which was based upon their traditional concern with Thomistic philosophy and the classics. The stories of these two divergent developments are important and interesting, but are beyond the limits of this paper, and should be told by Adler and McKeon themselves They are organic parts of the whole story, as the account of the St. John's development will indicate. The organic connection of Chicago and St. John's took many forms, including important help from Adler, McKeon, and Hutchins, although the formal administrative and financial affiliation that outsiders commonly assumed was never the case. We always hoped that Mr. Hutchins would give up the presidency at Chicago and take charge at Annapolis, but he never really approved of our going there, although he sat on the Board of Trustees for a time and personally contributed financial aid. McKeon and Adler lectured at St. John's regularly, and we regularly called on them for advice.

It would be good to point to St. John's as the crucial experiment for the hypothesis of the liberal arts that we entertained; it would make a better story and it might be more important for education in general if that were the accurate description. There were many conditions that were favourable for making it such an experiment. The institution was in such a low state of morale and organisation that there was little necessity for conserving traditions and personnel, an obligation that so often chokes a new enterprise We did accept the obligation to students, who had started their college course there and would have found it hard to continue elsewhere, to supply instruction that would fulfil their degree requirements in the old elective programme. But on behalf of the new programme we were allowed to cut the threads of other obligations, particularly in matters that concerned the replacement of members of the faculty and the Board of Trustees. We made it clear that we were proposing to carry out drastic changes, and we did carry them out,

reorganising the Board, slowly replacing a large fraction of the faculty, abolishing fraternities and intercollegiate athletics, and refunding a large mortgage on the college property These cleared the ground and set the conditions for a decisive trial of the idea, but it must be remembered that we were single-handedly fighting for the life of an institution with many unforeseen events, including the world war, deciding the issues. Educational institutions usually suffer most acutely from economic, social, and political upheavals. It is doubtful to me if anything in educational trial and error should be called an experiment. St. John's did not feel like an experiment to those that were involved in it; it had more of the marks of a moral ordeal, although it never rose to the height of genuine tragedy.

In July 1937, Stringfellow Barr and I took up our duties as president and dean respectively in Annapolis. We had had very little experience as administrative officers· he had been editor of the *Virginia Quarterly* and I had been Assistant Director of the People's Institute in New York, but neither of us had even been a head of a department in a college or university. Under the mandate agreed upon by us and the Board of Trustees we were encouraged to become strong executive officers in what we had to admit would be a revolutionary policy not only for St John's but in any American college. We decided that Barr should be the chief executive of the whole college, holding office from day to day on a basis of confidence between him and the Board such that he could be fired or could resign if either side decided to hold to its position in the case of a vital disagreement. I was to be officer in charge of instruction on a basis of confidence between me and the president We agreed to work from this to positions of officers elected by the faculty and holding office on a basis of confidence between us and the faculty as soon as the programme became the constitutional educational policy in a self-governing republic of learning. The transition from benevolent constitutional monarchy to self-governing republic was to prove an inescapable and heart-breaking problem we had to face. But at the start there was no choice, if the assignment were to be carried out, but to do it ourselves. So from thinking about the place of poetry, history, mathematics, and science in a well-balanced curriculum, we began thinking and doing things about rats in the kitchen and lighting and plumbing in the dormitories, as well as about the funds that would keep us out of the sheriff's hands.

It was only by keeping our eyes on the central educational aim that we kept our minds from slipping into an exciting confusion. It naturally enough appeared to many outsiders that the rapid imposition of a completely pre-formulated curriculum was our aim, and that the dictatorial methods were simply falling in with the spirit of the times. But I think we can claim that we never made

this mistake. The programme was for us, and for a few that we were successful in persuading to join us, the barest initial and minimal implementation of a faith, a faith that we had discovered in ourselves in the painful attempts that we had made to answer the question in the *Meno*. I suppose our answer was Platonic We accepted the general truth that learning is the acquisition of habits, that probably all the ways mentioned in the question are relevant, and that teaching consists in respecting and using all these ways to facilitate the process in the individual. We had also come to the conclusion that among all the habits or virtues, the artistic, the moral, the intellectual, and the theological, the intellectual habits are the proper ones for the teacher's attention; and among these the habit of insight is the essential end for all the others. This we knew from our own experience, particularly in the labours for our own re-education at Chicago, and from our teaching We had also managed to formulate a reason for this, not a new reason, but discovered anew for ourselves; the intellect by an act of understanding establishes a habit which then becomes an internal teacher for all the other powers in the individual that are to be realised in experience Anything that induces, facilitates, and frees the insight is a part of a liberal education It was in the light of this continually contemplated end that we understood our programme of liberal arts and great books, it was an initial, bold, and incomplete proposal of a total pattern of arts and materials that would, if we could embody and organise them, induce the act of the intellect. The precipitation of a key-set of such insights in prospective bachelors of arts would make them their own best teachers for the rest of their lives, and teachers of others as well.

The announcement of the programme in the local papers, with its proposal of an all-required four-years curriculum with no electives, the re-education of a faculty in a new kind of teaching, and the admission of all grades of students with the normal range of abilities, not merely the top *x*th per cent. of college and preparatory school graduates, this announcement, much to our surprise, almost instantaneously caught the attention of the whole country. Robert Havighurst, then of the Rockefeller Foundation, came to see me and invited me to take ten days off in the middle of a hot preparatory summer to write for him and his colleagues as full a statement as possible of the theory and reasons behind the programme. I had notes that I had written as reports of the Committee on the Liberal Arts at Chicago, and I accepted the offer. The title of the piece, which ran to the length of a book, was *In Search of a Liberal College*.

When a foundation issues such an invitation, it is usually interpreted as indication that the foundation wishes to find grounds for a grant of financial aid. In this case such an offer was made, but it carried with it the condition that we or the Rockefeller

Foundation would make educational measurements of the results of the experiment. We rejected the offer because we could not accept the condition. Educational measurements have to be set up in relation to going concerns which show regular operation and standard products; we were, as the title of the writing showed, only in search of these things. We were collecting a faculty that would learn to teach by teaching, and the results would be radically unpredictable, as they indeed were. We had already decided that the use of any of the crude statistical methods of measurement, even those represented by the conventional system of grading and calculating degree credits, would confuse and distort the sharp critical judgments that we would need to make in maintaining our course and correcting our mistakes Any refinement that we might make of these devices of measurement to adapt ourselves to the general aims of the General Education Division of the Rockefeller Foundation would only further threaten the workmanship that we hoped to exercise in our radical efforts. We hoped that any influence we might have on the rising interest in 'general education' throughout the educational system would take place in more basic ways than mathematical demonstration of results. We had a conference with a few advisers to the Rockefeller Foundation, but it resulted in no grants and in rather deep disagreements concerning our educational aims.

I mention this episode briefly to illustrate the general rule that any such innovation as ours is subject to many such temptations and pressures through the mediums of power and opinion in a free society. Foundations, particularly, exert a subtle and all-pervasive influence.

The paper written for the Rockefeller Foundation on the eve of reopening St. John's College presented the Programme as a planned search for a real liberal arts college that might be reopened if the seeking resulted in finding. Because our seeking up to that time had to be redirected and continued in an institutional framework, with institutional responsibilities, and our leading idea had for most of us taken on the full dress of a tradition whose roots went far back in forgotten history, it did not seem too fantastic to take the pattern of the monastery as the model and even the possible origin of the modern college. Historically the monastery had accepted the social and intellectual function of reviving and transmitting a tradition which contained in addition to religious symbols and practices the seeds of modern learning, and these latter elements had been explicitly recognised as the liberal arts. Out of these rational seeds, which had been allowed to germinate and grow in the soil and atmosphere of the Scriptures and the classics, had come the schools and universities which now needed revival. The idea of the monastery turned out to be a dangerous literary device, but it seems a more relevant working hypothesis now, when the

signs of decay in our culture are more vivid, than it did then.

The founders of the monasteries, such as St. Benedict, saw that the cause for which they were founded needed more than simple devotion; it needed a full, real life, a good, human life, in a community as well as a division of labour. To the sacraments and liturgies that cultivated the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, they added the liberal arts and sciences and the manual arts of industry for the sake of the intellectual and moral virtues as well. It was in the rotation through all these activities that a whole man could be re-created as the home and agent of the arts and their resulting virtues. It seemed to me that a college would make a mistake in attempting less than this as its end. Modern colleges and universities revealed vestiges of this integral pattern which with suitable revisions and substitutions could be revived and reintegrated. American colleges were showing an increasing interest in the fine arts which have taken the place of the divine arts in our culture; the laboratory has taken the place of the manual arts; the liberal arts have shown a decline that might be expected from such shifts in their environment. On the other hand, with proper subject-matter and appropriate disciplines, a new fulfilment of the pattern might be found.

I have often been told by friends and colleagues that this vision, mixing antiquarian and utopian features as it does, and antagonising the modern mind as it will, was an unfortunate idiosyncrasy of mine. I leave it to the judgment of others, as far as public relations were concerned, but it still seems to me the most adequate way of passing from the abstract conception of the liberal arts to the institutional operation. Some such hypothesis or bench-mark, whichever it may be, is necessary as a working criterion for the day-to-day decisions of the administrator, the teacher, and even the student who partake in novel enterprises. The danger that it will be taken as a sentimental utopian ideal is always present, but even the psychic energy that may thus be generated can be absorbed if the enterprise gains enough momentum and forward motion in the work to be done. To a remarkable degree the work at St. John's did absorb the enthusiasm of the idea, which was more often felt than explicitly mentioned, and the emotional residue went into meeting the external antagonism that renaissance and reform always stimulate.

Religion, the fine arts, sports, and manual work remained elective activities on the fringe of the curriculum, and the community of interest became the required curriculum itself. Required daily work in small classes on languages, mathematics, and in the laboratory was intended to generate the basic skills that were only partly supplied by college preparation and were obviously needed for the first reading and discussion of the great books. The seminars in which this discussion went on became lively, serious,

and gay occasions, worthy ends for which the hard tutorial work was done. In fact the spirit of the seminars spilled over into the tutorials, forcing the tutors to invent and use all sorts of teaching devices to bring customary exercises and practice into functional relation with understanding. As energies were released, so friction and controversy appeared not only between students but also between tutors, and between students and tutors. We experienced all the dangers of dialectic for young men that Plato warned of; meeting and facing these dangers became the life of the college community as it had been for Athens.

This may seem surprising to those who have suffered from the latter-day banalities of classical education, when Greek, Latin, and mathematics were taught with the aim only of acquiring so-called intellectual skills. It may seem surprising even to those who have read and re-read their favourite classics for pleasure. The secret here is not in the quality or quantity of items read and discussed, but in the new medium that their combination makes, a medium in which the minds of adults as well as adolescents move in poetic, dramatic, and revolutionary ways. Revolutions in the past have so often been precipitated by the new reading of an old book, for instance the reading of the Bible by the Reformers, or the reading of Plato's *Timaeus* and Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* by the Renaissance scientists. Reading twenty-five books a year together produces a more complex and dramatic revolution in thought, and the release in young minds of more complicated energies. Our critics who saw in the imposition of a required reading-list a drive towards orthodoxy could not have been more wrong in their alarm; our alarm arose from the release of curiosity and scepticism amounting at times to explosions.

Such an effect from such causes is of course not new. The Athens of Socrates, the Alexandria of Euclid, Philo, and Galen, the Rome of the great orators and lawyers, the mediaeval university, the University of Pisa in the Renaissance, and the Paris of the French Revolution had common reading and discussion of lists of great books. As each of these lists had a long history in which a succession of scholars and students selected the great from the many books, so the St. John's list has a rather long period of editing. Americans naturally think that our list goes back to Charles William Eliot's Five-Foot Book-Shelf, but, if only because that set is made up mostly of excerpts from the great books, one has to look elsewhere for our origin. As far as we know, that origin would be in a schedule of publishing announced by George Routledge and Sons, London and New York, in 1895. The initiator and editor of that series was Sir John Lubbock, who says in a letter to the publisher, "The series is I think well adapted for Literary and Mechanics Institutions, and for free Libraries". They were therefore associated with adult education at the start. John Erskine was

familiar with this list through his association as a student with Professor George E. Woodberry, at Columbia University. Professor Erskine's adaptation of the list was made for the university which was set up for the American Expeditionary Force during the armistice in the First World War at Beaune, France. When Professor Erskine returned to teach at Columbia University, he collected a staff of young teachers to lead the Course in General Honours for the students of the last two years at Columbia College, and for ten years they revised the list as they taught the seminars in this course. The rest of the processing and editing of the list is implied in what has gone before in this story. The greatest revision that has taken place is the elimination of the Oriental classics in Sir John Lubbock's list, and the introduction of the scientific classics. Forty years of reading and discussion under at least three hundred teachers are represented in the St. John's list. It seems to be a fact of general incidence that the state of the liberal arts at any given time explicitly or implicitly selects a list of books which provide their proper material.

Thus it was that we understood the books that we selected at St. John's. Great books, as we used the term, meant the best products of the liberal arts as far as we could judge them by the tools and criteria of the liberal arts as we knew them. Some of them were historic expositions of the formal liberal arts and sciences; these tend to be classified as philosophy in the modern period. Some are masterpieces of the liberal arts, in poetry, history, and science. Another category came to be known by us as the great failures in the liberal arts. All of them were conceived as materials for our practice and training in the liberal arts. But of course they are not formless materials. In analysing and criticising them, in attacking and defending them we met resistances, marks of their substance and vitality; their defenders and attackers get caught, informed, and finally emotionally, imaginatively, and intellectually involved in the network that ties them together in the tradition. But the figure of a network is only partially valid; the student is not so much caught as taken up into a conversation, a conversation that has its poetic and mystical heights and its body of impressive evidence, but a conversation that is fiercely and continually controversial. Traditions do not live unless they are renewed, and every renewal involves a revolution. Belonging to this conversation involves not only taking a position, or point of view, but advancing or retreating to new points of vantage when the persuasion and the evidence demand it. Each author seems to be aware of each other author, even those that follow him, and there is no hiding-place to escape the battle.

It is difficult adequately to communicate in writing the powerful and exciting impression that the spirit of this academic community, generated and styled by the common reading and discussion of great

books, made on the older members of the faculty who had tried to teach in other institutions where instruction was half salesmanship and half nursing for reluctant young men. Seminar conversation, which was as much with the author of the book as with tutors and fellow students, was like a rotary pump in a hydraulic system drawing minds into a central acceleration and shooting them out to every organic part of the community. It was felt not only in tutorials, laboratories, and lectures, not only in each student's and tutor's study, but also in the bookshop, the coffee-shop, the administrative offices, and wherever two or three students got together to initiate or pursue a common theme or practical purpose. It has often been said that the best education that has happened in our colleges took place in informal 'bull sessions'; at St. John's the great books had captured the 'bull sessions' and permeated the college.

This would seem to be an enthusiastic report of success, but I must insist that I am reporting a spirit which was only partly due to progress towards the main aim; much of it was due to the excitement that goes with initiation to novelty. There were some symptoms of success in difficult tasks, both in students and in faculty. Perhaps the most impressive signs of this sort were in the several assignments of translations and in their fulfilment, particularly the translations of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Kepler, which were never before available in English. These astronomers, who made so much of our modern scientific tradition and to whom many pious and ignorant allusions are customarily made, became members of our teaching staff, once removed, through the overtime efforts of Catesby Taliaferro and Charles Wallis, and there were about twenty other texts that we added to our list by similar labours. Beautiful new hand-made apparatus for the laboratory came from the workshop, old and forgotten teaching devices were revived and new ones invented in the classrooms. But such contributions were gifts of a spirit and promises of a future, and we have to report impressive failures as well.

Perhaps these failures can best be presented by quoting the most frequent compliment that was paid us—and accepted by us. We were a talking college; there was more and better talk at St. John's than at any other place that our visiting lecturers had seen. Put in reverse, it seemed to us that we had given our all to good talk and had little time or attention left to give to other things that are equally, if not more, important. There were some bits of extremely good writing, but we had the suspicion that the authors had learned to write elsewhere, and it was often said that our best writing came from the laboratory. We made very little headway into the most serious problems in subject-matter and disciplines, those educational means that have been broken up, ground down, and exploited for professional and pragmatic ends, and which must be processed by the liberal arts if they are to be used for the

education of free men. We had some extraordinary conversions of teachers of literature into mathematicians, and scientists into teachers of language, as well as students who were sure they could not learn mathematics or language but found them both profitable and interesting. But for the most part these were shifts in elective emphasis, not movements of free dialectical minds, remaking themselves as they learned new things.

Religion and the fine arts played their usual devouring roles, setting themselves up as public mentors or private enterprises. These were such serious monopolists of the intellectual enterprise that we were soon convinced that they needed institutional establishment and limitation that we could not provide. We could easily understand why educational institutions have in the last hundred years written articles on religious freedom into their charters, as St. John's in spite of its name had done, and why artists live in Latin Quarters. Music, which we chose to encourage and support as most universal and nearest the liberal arts, turned out to have a deep need for both religiosity and licence.

But to me the most distressing failure was in science. The great books in science were read in the seminars and the techniques of measurement and experiment were practised in the laboratory. The first year which initiated these practices went well from the start. The laboratory exercises nicely supplemented Euclid's geometry with work on the drafting-board that made geometrical insight and imagination steady and sure, reaching far into the science of ratios and proportions and the method of exhaustions which mean so much in the European tradition. The balances, the inclined plane, and the optical instruments were constructed and analysed, and several of the famous crucial experiments were performed with them. These beginnings made us expect that the other later years would be equally eloquent and incisive. But professional subject-matter through professionally trained teachers broke the laboratory into episodes and blocks, which neither served the ends of professional training nor responded to the criteria of intelligibility that the books provided. There were times when it seemed that we had the key to the best all-round training for scientists and could easily establish ourselves as the best feeder of scientific graduate schools, but just at these times both students and faculty were shocked and divided into the worst irreconcilable battles between Humphrey and McDowell, the two halls where the laboratories and the seminars respectively stood and sat. These battles were impressive because, although personalities and temperaments were involved, they were stretching themselves to comprehend issues that all of us accepted but knew we had not penetrated and weighed. They resulted in new laboratory programmes which were compromises between parties rather than solutions of the problems that we all admitted were common.

In spite of this chronic frustration the college as a whole did not flinch in its determination to face the problem and the task of assimilating science to the liberal tradition. Perhaps the most important single factor reinforcing this determination was the continual contribution of one member of the faculty. Jacob Klein came to us in 1939 from the University of Berlin, where he had been working for a number of years on the revival of ancient mathematics in the early Renaissance through the new analytic art of algebra. Some of us were aware through our interest in the philosophy of mathematics that the last fifty years of concern about the foundations of mathematics were centred in the riddle of the differential and integral calculus, that the apparent unintelligibility of Newton's *Principia* was due to Newton's fear that his own analytic machinery, the science of fluxions, would not be understood by his readers, and his decision to expound his physics in the ancient style of geometry and ratios and proportions which is derived from the Fifth Book of Euclid's *Elements*. Jacob Klein had been labouring to show that the new style, championed and expounded by Descartes, had made the modern mind in the images and symbols of algebra, and that the Cartesian success had alienated the modern mind both in style and substance from the ancient classical world. Since mathematics has become the modern queen of the sciences, this cleavage in culture affects not only the sciences but also ethics and politics, history and poetry, and even moving-pictures. The subtlest and most adequate presentation of the change is to be found in *Don Quixote*. We were not unaware of the implication that the likely effect of the St. John's Programme would be to introduce into American life a mind that combined Descartes and Cervantes. The evidence from the classroom, the laboratory, and the final essays and examinations added to this probability.

I, with others in the faculty and the student-body, fought the challenge. Here was a diagnosis of the trouble with which our search for the liberal arts had started, an incurable collective schizophrenia upon which all attempts to come to terms with science had been wrecked; however true the diagnosis might be historically, it could not be accepted by a responsible citizen, to say nothing of a philosopher, as a working prognosis. As I have often done before, I retreated to Kant, who would admit that modern science tends to become that combination of aesthetics and mathematics that we know as mathematical physics. But Kant also pointed out that the search for the principles, elements, and causes of ancient science are still demanded by the categorical imperative. From this Kantian prejudice, if you like, and from an observation of the drift and drive of science into mergers with corporations, cartels, and other nascent governments, I then drew a moral concerning the St. John's Programme, and I still hold to

it. The fundamental mistake we made in its original formulation and initiation in a college was to direct it too exclusively to the ends of the speculative intellect; it should have been directed equally if not more to the ends of the practical intellect, or more specifically to politics. This moral harks back to the Platonic and Aristotelian theories of education, but it was continually pressed on us by our most frequent and sympathetically critical visitor, Alexander Meiklejohn, who incidentally was the first, back in the 'twenties at the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin, to propose the building of a college around the study of the great books. He also warned us of the importance of inventing a new polity for the government of a college; in 1938 he told us that we would find this political problem equally important with the programme of instruction. We had evidence then, and even more now, to persuade us that this is true for all American education. This is a longer story which need not be told here.

Although the Programme is still followed at St. John's and Jacob Klein is the dean and officer of instruction, the end of my story can be quickly told. The Programme was initiated at St. John's in 1937. The great depression was still threatening the world with worse things to come. The phoney war started in 1939, the hot war in 1940, and the United States was actively involved in 1942. Annapolis has been the home of the Naval Academy for a hundred years, and the St. John's campus is across the street from the Navy wall. We felt the first pressure from the Navy through another federal agency, the Federal Housing Administration, which on the approach of war turned its attention to projects of slum clearance that would ease the war effort. For various reasons, some of them not connected with the common good, this agency chose to condemn part of the campus for building lots. Our successful effort to divert their attention to other parts of the town was only the first trial in a series of ordeals with the government to assure the survival of the third oldest college in the country. On three separate and successive occasions the Naval Academy, feeling cramped on its own badly planned yard, attempted to take over our thirty acres, which because of playing-fields and old buildings looked comparatively open and empty. Twice we were rescued, once by Secretary Knox of the Navy Department and once by President Roosevelt. On the third occasion, both of these persons being dead, we learned the quality of trial by Congressional Committees by having to plead for our survival before the Committees on Naval Affairs. The strains of these ordeals, added to the losses we had suffered both from the faculty and from the student body to the war effort, widened and deepened the rifts that always exist between trustees and administrations along property and functional lines, so that the final negative decision, not to take the St. John's campus "in the foreseeable future", a decision made by Naval

Secretary Forrestal, meant different things to different members of the board and the administration. In general the board thought that a victory should be consolidated by continuation of the college on its ancient property and with the help of a generous endowment gift by the Old Dominion Foundation. The administrative officers, living and working near enough to the Admirals to "see the whites of their eyes", realised that the foreseeable future was very short indeed, too short to give them the assurance that the strenuous efforts needed to get the college back on its course, reassemble its staff, and reformulate and re-establish its programme would not quickly become history written in water. The destination of the endowment gift had been made conditional on the outcome of the contest with the Navy, to St. John's if the Navy gave assurance that it would not again threaten the college property, to another location for the college if such assurance was not forthcoming, and the president of the college was to be the judge if the outcome were doubtful. The president judged that the assurance given was not enough to justify the investment, either in money or in labour, in Annapolis; he therefore recommended to the board that the college should move to a safe distance from Annapolis, and he made his recommendation a matter of confidence between him and the board. By a large majority the board rejected the recommendation and the president accordingly resigned, and I with him.

This seems like an abrupt end to an academic episode that obviously had much goodwill and sportsmanship in the preceding nine years, but in fairness it should be reported that the whole spirit of the enterprise had often been revived when it seemed to fail by recourse to the principle of confidence, or as it was often referred to, the art of resignation. The effectiveness of the device, of course, depends upon the integrity and forthrightness of the persons who practise it. Stringfellow Barr has these, but he also has some other gifts, a subtle control of the use of reticence and eloquence, the bold attack, and the constant willingness to risk everything on a round of persuasion. All these went into this last decision, as they had entered many others in the dramatic events at St. John's. Too often in this country the college and university president combines affability and timidity with a constant willingness to compromise in order to retain an illusory personal leadership. There are factors in the corporate status of colleges that make this the condition of survival, but survival under these conditions deeply corrupts. It was due to the gallantry of Stringfellow Barr that the years at St. John's were the gayest and most effective years of teaching that many of us ever had.

He and I made a strenuous attempt to rally and reassemble the war-scattered staff that had not yet returned. We planned a new college that would combine adult with undergraduate study and would have a permanent committee of researchers in the liberal

arts. But the post-war world weather was not favourable. One of the key men who had done pioneer service at St. John's was the American in charge of the decartelisation of Germany; another, who had been the most promising scientist to discover the liberal arts, was in charge of the scientific rehabilitation of Japan under MacArthur; Robert Hutchins, who might have again taken the lead, was overwhelmed by the consequences of the atomic pile at the University of Chicago; Adler was editor of the projected set of great books to be published by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and McKeon was deeply involved in Unesco. The decision at St. John's had also been too ambiguous for the donor, and to relieve his worries we relinquished our claim to the gift, an act that scandalised our lawyers.

This ends the story that I can tell. The still expected publication of the great books in one set, the college at the University of Chicago, and the continuation of the Programme at St. John's, these are the fragments that are left. But there are echoes elsewhere. The report of the committee at Harvard on *General Education in a Free Society* is the typical and the most distinguished expression of the reaction of higher education in America to the trial run of the liberal arts and the great books at St. John's. Hundreds of reports of curriculum committees at other institutions would show similar first responses and second thoughts about it. It is recognised that liberal education, under any other name, preferably general education, has become the object of a vast search in a world that has forgotten much, perhaps too much to leave hope for finding and reviving what has been lost.

SCOTT BUCHANAN.

CHAPTER SIX

UNESCO AND THE REFORM OF EDUCATION

Background of the Programme

UNESCO has never suffered from any shortage of ideas on what it should do in the field of education: its chronic problem, indeed, has always been to prune the lush growth. Its programme is finally determined each year by the General Conference, almost every delegation at which includes one or more professed educationists. Educational hobby-horses are, to say the least, as common at the international level as they are at the national, and, if each of the fifty-odd delegations were allowed to introduce only one of its favourite projects, the resulting programme could well be chaotic. To some extent this is what happened at the First Session of the General Conference in Paris in 1946. The Secretariat of the Preparatory Commission had had time to prepare no more than a generalised and disconnected programme for presentation to the Conference, and the way was wide open for delegations to bring in their own ideas. Those were the generous days just after the war when we were all more conscious of the need for building a brave new world than we were of the ways and means of going about it. Almost any project could win adherents if it were obviously a 'good idea', and those who pressed too hard to be told exactly how it was to be carried out were liable to be brushed aside by a Conference anxious to get a programme of some sort down on paper.

There was, perhaps, a crude wisdom in this procedure. So many of the tasks facing the Organisation were completely new that it might have been unwise to throw out every suggestion that was not accompanied by a blue-print. It could be argued that the only way of finding out whether some projects were practicable was to try them, and certainly a few of the more unpromising ideas did eventually prove valuable. Yet the general result of this undisciplined procedure was that Unesco started its life with a programme that was unco-ordinated, poorly thought out, and at least twice as big as it could effectively handle. Although, over the years, strenuous efforts have been made to remedy these defects, the Organisation has never quite recovered from its initial orgy of untrammelled ideas. The Secretariat and the Executive Board have gained more control over the programme, and new and un-

related projects can now creep in only with difficulty, but, unfortunately, it is with even greater difficulty that old unsuitable projects can be thrown out. Every delegation supports wholeheartedly the condensing of the programme in general, but resists any pressure to cut its own favourite items in particular.

This is not to say that, given a more orderly beginning, Unesco could have developed a programme that would seem wise and reasonable to every member state. Differences in national points of view are such that what seems essential to one delegation may appear trivial to another. English critics of Unesco's programme must constantly be reminded that projects that appear even slightly ridiculous to the Anglo-Saxon mind are there because some delegations believe in them so strongly as to fight for them whenever they are threatened. It is a hard but useful lesson to learn that in the international sphere there is no final arbiter of the ridiculous and the wise.

Concentration of the Education Programme

Presented by the General Conference with an inchoate mass of programme resolutions, some excellent, others of doubtful practicality, and a few that one could refrain from calling silly only by a special effort at international understanding, the Education Department of Unesco had to struggle to produce a unified plan of action within its very limited means. At no time has the annual budget of the Department reached 1,100,000 dollars, and its total establishment, including field staff and secretaries, has varied from 31 in 1947 to 83 in 1951. Never has the actual staff been up to establishment strength.

A million dollars and a handful of men and women, of varying abilities and degrees of experience, drawn from some twenty-five different countries, represented a ludicrously inadequate force with which to face the accumulated educational problems of the world. The total resources could easily have been exhausted in a direct attack upon mass illiteracy in one small area, leaving untouched the illiterate two-thirds of the human race, and the luckier and literate third, who do not always use their education to increase the sum of human happiness.

The temptation to fritter away meagre resources over a wide range of disconnected problems was almost irresistible. Not only did every generous impulse urge one to do something, however trifling, for the numberless groups so obviously needing help, but the member states themselves blocked almost every attempt at concentration of the programme. Common sense demanded that the activities of the Education Department be limited. But where to begin? In a national organisation one would almost certainly have restricted either the geographical areas to be covered or the branches of education to be studied, but in Unesco this was

impossible. It was unthinkable that the General Conference could be persuaded to confine educational activities for the next three years to, say, work on secondary education throughout the world, or to a systematic study of all levels of education in two or three countries. The world must be covered from Haiti to China, and the programme topics must continue to range from the pre-school child to the university, from instruction in contour ploughing to the teaching of international understanding.

Gradually it became obvious that the solution to the dilemma lay not in the limitation of the field of education but rather in the limitation of Unesco's *functions* over the whole field. It should specialise, that is to say, not in certain regions, not in certain subjects, but in certain types of task that might occur anywhere. The unity of the Education Department's activities would then be found in terms of purpose and not in terms of a restricted programme field.

It was not an easy lesson to learn, and it would be unduly optimistic to imagine that even yet all the Secretariat, much less all the member states, have clearly seen that there are many very worthy activities that Unesco must steadfastly refuse to undertake. The Organisation achieved its first modest degree of maturity when it added to the criterion, "Is this project a good idea?" a second, "Is it practicable?" It is a sign of grace that it more and more frequently asks, "Is it a project which, however good and practicable, should be carried out by an international organisation as such?"

The Educational Clearing House

With this conception of limited functions there were really only two alternative routes open to the Education Department of Unesco: it could turn itself into a research agency in the strict sense, or it could become an educational clearing house. A quick survey was sufficient to show that, as far as educational techniques are concerned, the world's greatest need at the moment is not for educational research, important though that may be, but for a wider application of advances and discoveries that have already been made, often in the most unpromising of places. In the world of education, the interchange of ideas is strangely slow and haphazard, and revolutionary advances made in one place may be quite unknown a few hundred miles away. Striking differences occur not only between different countries but also between different sections of any country's education system. Nearly every country has some contribution to make to the solution of the world's educational problems, and every one needs help in some parts of its system.

So Unesco decided that its central function in education should be to act as a world clearing house. In doing so, it exposed itself to

potential dangers no less serious than the confusion of enthusiastic purposes from which it was escaping. Nothing can be more deadening than the mere collection and storage of masses of disconnected facts about education, and some delegates feared that the Education Department might become bogged down in a dreary waste of documents and card indexes which few but research specialists might ever want to consult.

This was not, however, the Secretariat's conception of a clearing house. In a paper presented to the Third Session of the General Conference, it said:

> The task of the Education Department *qua* clearing house, is
> (*a*) to find out what are the most significant contributions that each country or region has to make to educational practice in any part of the field;
> (*b*) to find out what are the most pressing needs of member states,
> (*c*) to match list (*a*) approximately with (*b*), and to devise methods of bringing persons, literature, and materials from the strong areas in any field to areas which feel themselves lacking in that respect, and which ask for assistance.
>
> Seen in this way the Education Clearing House becomes essentially selective and directly interested in action It will not set out to collect masses of information that will enable it to answer any question about education that might arise. The knowledge it is primarily interested in collecting and transmitting is knowledge that bears directly upon some educational activity that has started or is about to be started

'Clearing house', indeed, was an inadequate title: what was really conceived of was something much more positive and lively—though perhaps less dignified—a kind of educational exchange market, which should, in the early stages at least, have a business-like eye for a quick turnover. It is both inevitable and desirable that, over a period of years, there should be built up, from current transactions, an educational stock-in-trade (if one may stretch the metaphor to its limits) that will be of value to scholars and researchers, and that might eventually make Unesco a great central repository of educational facts. A slowly increasing number of staff will be needed to classify and store these facts, but the mere storage function can never be allowed to interfere with more active pursuits unless Unesco is to change its whole character.

Under this 'exchange market' policy, the function of the Secretariat becomes clear. In their own right, they may be specialists in curricula, teaching aids, the university, elementary education, mathematics, the Middle East; but, unless their number is legion, they can never hope to answer questions on every aspect of education in any part of the world. They can, however, become the world's specialists in what one might term 'brokerage' techniques in education. They, before everyone else, should develop the peculiar skills that are involved in helping education systems to exchange men, methods, ideas, and materials speedily and without waste.

The layman in international affairs can never fully appreciate the significance of these skills, because it is when they are most effective that they are least obvious. An international seminar, for example, can make for international understanding only if someone, with the requisite knowledge and skill, has wisely chosen and briefed the leaders from five or six different countries, has planned the working papers so as to avoid national and racial bias, has arranged travel, lodging, food, and hospitality with the host country in such a way as to give no offence to the most sensitive, and has people at hand throughout the six-week seminar to comfort the lonely, calm the offended, find lost luggage, and generally interpret the nations each to the other. The difficulty, again, of arranging an educational advisory mission has to be experienced to be believed. One must first find what fields the receiving country really wants to have surveyed, what contributions it is willing to make itself, and whether it intends to use the survey as a first step in a vigorous educational reconstruction campaign, or whether it is no more than a political move to postpone action of any kind. This done, there begins the maddening task of finding three or four men, all acceptable to the receiving government, who represent a fair balance of national interests, who between them cover all the required specialities, who can all be released from important national positions at the same time, who have a language in common, and who can be relied upon not to quarrel amongst themselves, or with their hosts, after three months of tropical discomfort.

'Brokerage' Techniques

It might be convenient at this point to describe some of the techniques that Unesco has found useful in the application of its clearing-house policy in education, and at the same time to outline briefly the fields in which they have been operative and the difficulties that have been encountered. Without extravagance, it could be claimed that these new techniques and skills, rather than any concrete results in member states, represent the most important produce of Unesco's first five years of life.

(1) *International Seminars*

The best method of exchanging ideas across national frontiers will always be through the face-to-face contact of human beings *meeting under the right conditions.* Unesco's peculiar task has been to devise those 'right conditions' in the international seminar, and it has been more successful than many of us could have hoped. It began in 1947 with a seminar at Sèvres on "Education for International Understanding", and followed up in succeeding years with others that concentrated on the relations of this central topic to specialised branches of education: the training of teachers, the education of young children, adult education, the teaching of his-

tory and of geography, and teaching about the United Nations. In 1949 it experimented successfully with the application of the seminar technique in fundamental education, two seminars being held on mass literacy campaigns, one in Brazil and the other in India.

The final success of seminars depends more on member states than on Unesco. All too often participants are picked, with an eye to saving travelling expenses, from nationals who happen to be near the seat of the seminar at the time. They arrive with no background of discussion in their own countries, and with, perhaps, little opportunity of spreading their ideas when they return home. The success of the Brazilian seminar was due to the fact that most of the participants held responsible positions in the mass education movements of their own countries, and that Unesco and the Organisation of American States combined for months beforehand to collect relevant material throughout Latin America. A series of national and regional seminars on the same topic has spread from the original international one.

Unesco itself has not always avoided the fallacy of imagining that a major function of seminars is to produce reports and publications representing a real advance in human knowledge. It is hard to believe that, except by happy accident, a seminar could ever directly result in a publication that was more than good second-rate. A seminar is a clearing-house technique and not an instrument of research or literary invention· it may stimulate creative work, but it will rarely produce it. Its prime purpose is to bring together men and women of responsibility, with some common field of professional interest, under conditions that will enable them to resolve differences of opinion that are unessential and to respect differences that go deep in national ways of thought. In so far as participants gain this understanding and spread it on their return home, the seminar is justified. All other gains are by-products.

(2) *International Conferences*

The international educational conference is, in many ways, more difficult to organise than the seminar. The numbers involved are greater, the delegates are more official in character, and the week or so that can be devoted to the conference is long enough to develop differences and tensions, but, unless the meeting is very skilfully guided, too short to resolve them. The key to success lies in the proper preparation of working papers, which must be specific enough to guide discussion whilst avoiding any suspicion of limiting the conference's right to discuss what it likes when it likes. Above all, the papers prepared by the Secretariat must show an appreciation of the point of view of every group of countries represented. Only a very exceptional national organisation could hope to prepare an international conference satisfactorily.

Unesco has been reasonably successful with its first two major

educational conferences, the Preparatory World Conference of Universities held at Utrecht in 1948, and the Conference on Adult Education held at Elsinore the following year. The success of an international conference, of course, cannot be measured simply. It may be entirely justified if it does nothing more than bring greater understanding and sympathy between workers in one branch of education throughout the world. Both these conferences went farther than that. The Utrecht conference led to the setting up, with Unesco's help, of the International Universities Bureau, and to the organisation by the universities themselves in 1950 of a second world conference in Nice, where an International Association of Universities was founded. Without an international body to arrange the first meeting and provide the initial finance, it is hard to see how the universities of the world could ever have created a mechanism for the discussion of their common problems. What they finally make of it is their own affair.

The Elsinore conference did not lead to a permanent association, partly because adult education is too poorly organised at the national level, and partly because the conference itself revealed wide differences between what is meant by adult education in various countries. For Latin America, the Middle East, and the Far East, the term is synonymous with 'fundamental education'. Unesco did, however, follow up in 1951 with a seminar on techniques of adult education, and also produced a useful *Directory of Adult Education.* A Consultative Committee on Adult Education has been concerned with problems of workers' education and has recommended the holding of two regional seminars.

Unesco takes joint responsibility with the International Bureau of Education in organising each year in Geneva a Conference on Public Education. The pattern of this conference was laid down by the I.B.E. long before Unesco was created, and appears to the Anglo-Saxon to be rather formal and rigid. Delegates present reports on educational developments in their own countries during the year, and then discuss two or three special topics concerning which the Bureau has analysed the replies to questionnaires sent out a year or two previously. Some neat resolutions are passed, and the business is finished except for the publication of a report. Unlike Unesco, the I.B.E. from the very beginning set itself a limited objective and worked out a fixed technique for achieving it year by year. By comparison, the programme of the younger Organisation seems untidy and sprawling, but more alive. The virtues and failings of the two bodies are, indeed, so complementary that Unesco is well justified for the present in finding half the cost of running the Bureau, which can perform admirably and cheaply some of the more passive clearing-house functions such as the collection of documents and comparative data.

In addition to these major conferences, Unesco has also had some responsibility for organising smaller ones for such specialised groups as principals of international schools, organisers of work camps, workers in children's communities, and representatives of international youth and students' organisations. The results have, on the whole, been useful if not spectacular.

(3) *Educational Missions*

The Mission that Unesco sent to the Philippines in 1949 was only the second educational mission ever organised on an international basis. No one knew much about this novel method of bringing the experience of a few advanced countries to bear on the educational problems of one in some respects less advanced, and even yet there is no sure understanding of the conditions under which a mission is likely to succeed. The only way of finding out was to experiment, and the missions that have since been sent to Siam, Afghanistan, Burma, and Bolivia, apart from any assistance they may give to those countries, will help the Secretariat to work out the details of a clearing-house technique that is not without its dangers.

Already it is clear that even the best-selected educational mission can hope to succeed only if three fundamental conditions are met: the government of the recipient country must have a serious and continuing desire to improve its education system; it must be willing to provide funds for carrying out the mission's recommendations, or be helped to secure them from some other outside source; and Unesco must send a team of technical advisers to live in the country for two years or more to help it to establish the reforms proposed by the mission. In the post-war years, first the war-devastated and then the 'under-developed' areas have been surveyed and resurveyed for so many purposes that they have developed a healthy suspicion of transitory teams of experts who leave behind them nothing but a written report that few have time to read and fewer still can understand.

Unesco has tried to make provision for any country to which an advisory mission has been sent to be given, if it so desires, the services of expert advisers over a longer period. In Siam, for instance, one such adviser is helping the government to carry out, in one limited area, the recommendations of the earlier advisory mission. Unesco, and at least one member state, are providing additional staff under the Technical Assistance Plan.

(4) *Exchange of Persons*

The Education Department is not directly responsible for carrying out Unesco's Exchange of Persons programme, which is controlled by a special small department. It has proved one of the most immediately successful of the Organisation's activities.

The publication of *Study Abroad* has made widely known for the first time an incredibly long list of fellowships and bursaries that are available to foreign students; and the department has, in addition, been able to provide or arrange for the provision of a large number of special bursaries and travel grants. Not all beneficiary countries show great discrimination in choosing for fellowships the persons most likely to contribute to national welfare, and some, with few qualified applicants, appear at times to be almost embarrassed by the number of travel grants offered by a multitude of donors. Unesco is trying to tie its work on exchange of persons as closely as possible to the rest of its programme, so that the demand for fellowships will arise directly from the activities of missions, seminars, and pilot projects.

(5) *Meetings of Experts*

Unesco has always made use of meetings of experts to advise it on parts of its programme, and is only gradually learning that there is no magic in this 'technique'. A meeting of experts can be very useful in criticising and remoulding a specific plan of action that has already been worked out in detail by an individual or by a group within the Secretariat. In some cases such a meeting may be essential in eliminating the last traces of national bias from a scheme. Yet, however eminent the individuals composing it, an international committee has most of the failings of a national committee writ large. A dozen authorities meeting for a week in Paris may have rather less creative power and much less control of detail than any one of them working at home. The use of an expert committee, like the use of the questionnaire, looks deceptively easy to the beginner in international work, and only experience can convince him that they are both techniques to be employed exclusively by the highly skilled. Even yet, there is a great deal of experimenting to be done before we know how to get the fullest value from international meetings of experts.

(6) *Publications*

The most immediately obvious method of assisting the spread of educational ideas throughout the world is through the printed word, but there is no activity in which Unesco has had to exercise such self-restraint as in its production of publications. It is arguable that there are already too many books on education, and that no inter-governmental organisation has a right to impose another one on a surfeited public until it is convinced that no existing book or periodical can serve its purpose.

The total education budget of Unesco could easily be absorbed in publications if it tried to produce books and pamphlets covering the whole field of education. It is here that the concept of the clearing house as an essentially selective agency has

proved so useful, most of the publications of the Education Department having been directly related to the special activities that the department had on hand at the moment. They either have been prepared for, or have resulted from, some specific project, and have seldom been regarded as end-results in themselves. Reports of educational missions have been printed, not only for circulation in the country concerned, but also to assist other countries with similar problems. Reports on conferences and seminars have been published, as have some of the more significant working papers prepared for them.

For reasons that will be given later, it is in the fields of fundamental education and education for international understanding that the greatest number of publications have appeared. The series of pamphlets published under the general title, *Towards World Understanding*, were all either written for seminars or arose out of them. *Fundamental Education: Common Ground for All Peoples* (1947) was one of Unesco's first books, and, clumsy and unsatisfactory though it was in some ways, it yet added up for the first time the appalling sum of the world's ignorance. A more exact definition of the problem was attempted two years later in a smaller booklet; and the quarterly bulletin, *Fundamental Education*, has specialised in the description of significant field experiments. Other publications have dealt with such topics as the Haiti Pilot Project, the Mexican Cultural Missions, the organisations of co-operatives, and the use of film and radio in fundamental education.

The publications of the International Bureau of Education bear also the imprint of Unesco. Besides giving an annual survey of educational developments throughout the world, they cover a wide range of special topics dealt with at the Annual Conference on Public Instruction. These topics show an increasing tendency to centre around specific Unesco projects.

Writing for an international organisation is even more exasperating than writing for a government department. There are more things that cannot be said, more susceptibilities to be considered, more editorial committees to squeeze the last vestiges of life from a phrase. It is inevitable that most international publications should read as if they were written by a committee. Even when one is fortunate enough to secure the services of a distinguished scholar or writer, whose name might be expected to justify a more personal style and an occasional indiscretion, he seldom produces his best work to order, especially when it is tied to the terms of a programme resolution.

If it should happen that a first-class piece of writing is produced in one of the working languages, the chances are slight that it will preserve its character after translation into the others. The official translators attached to an international organisation are skilled at

the literal translation of official documents, but this rarely makes for a spirited interpretation of a semi-popular pamphlet. There are many cases where direct translation, however good, is quite unsatisfactory. The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon approaches to a subject are often so different that nothing but complete rearrangement and rewriting can provide versions satisfactory to both. One can only guess at the effects of a publication on peoples to whom English, French, and Spanish are all foreign languages.

The problems of distributing publications are no less difficult than those of production. If, for example, Unesco publishes ten thousand copies of a pamphlet for teachers, not more than a few hundred can be sent to even the largest member state. The copies are so few relative to the numbers of teachers that most of them are liable to find their way only on to official desks already overcrowded with reading matter. The ideal thing would be for each country to reprint the pamphlet in numbers sufficient for its own use, but for a variety of reasons this seldom happens.

The quality of the educational publications issued by Unesco has steadily improved, but any illusion that the internationally sponsored publication is a cheap and easy method of influencing educational thought and practice throughout the world has long since been abandoned.

(7) *Documentation and Statistical Services*

Documentation is of the essence of any clearing house, and the Education Department's problem is to limit the collection of documents to material wanted, or likely to be wanted, in any of its special projects. Seminars, conferences, missions, and associated projects all make heavy demands for documents, and a steady stream of inquiries from member states adds to the accumulation of information passing through the clearing house. To throw this material away after using it once would be improvident, but, as Unesco grows older, the burden of inert information that must be classified and stored will get heavier yearly, and will make increasing demands on the time of people who should be eager for more active pursuits. Herein lies the danger of the whole clearing-house concept. The solution may partially lie in arranging for the International Bureau of Education to hold documents that are no longer being used in specific Unesco projects.

There is a woeful lack of educational statistics on a world-wide basis, and if one of Unesco's first tasks is to form a clear picture of the world's educational strengths and weaknesses, it must have a few basic figures for all countries. For this reason, as well as to satisfy the demands of the Economic and Social Council, Unesco has set up a statistical service, one of whose main functions is to collect educational statistics and assist in producing the *World Handbook of Educational Organisation and Statistics.*

(8) *Administrative Techniques*

There remains a group of clearing-house techniques less easy to classify but all-pervasive in their effects upon international understanding Over its first five years of life, Unesco has learnt a great deal about such services as interpreting, translating, and the drafting of correspondence that will not be misunderstood by any of sixty-four recipient countries. These relatively humble skills constitute one of the main contributions of international secretariats to world peace

Balancing the Market

The 'brokerage' techniques are, after all, only techniques, and their value depends on the purposes for which they are used As mere techniques they could as readily serve the cultural domination of one country by another as they could the flow of ideas between free peoples, and their use places a heavy burden of responsibility on Unesco and its Secretariat The Organisation has no specific political or educational philosophy. It has avowed its belief in the equality of all peoples, and in the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind, but from these principles it rightly allows no deductions to be drawn as to a 'one best' form of society or a 'one best' system of education. It believes in a free flow of ideas, but it also believes that every local culture has its own absolute value, and so there can be no official differentiation between the values of the multitude of nationally accepted educational ideas that flow through the clearing house

Yet every time an article is chosen for publication or an expert is selected for a mission, every time a staff is appointed to a seminar or a working paper written for a conference, some person or committee makes a decision that is based upon a judgment of what constitutes good education. Sometimes we speak as if all the world's educational problems were quantitative, and Unesco's task were the relatively simple one of enabling the 'haves' to help the 'have-nots' to develop more units of a standard product, 'education'. But we know that the qualitative differences between systems of education are no less important than the quantitative, and that every individual picked to write a paper, lead a group, or advise a government has his roots deep in one particular system of education. In selecting him, Unesco in some measure puts its imprimatur on the philosophy and the system he represents.

The conflict between the idea of an officially neutral philosophy and a daily need to make selections based on a philosophy is more noticeable in theory than in practice. Every senior member of the Secretariat has his own ideas on education, but in a well-run department, the wide geographical distribution of the staff prevents any individual's giving undue bias to a project. A working paper written on the assumption of the complete superiority of European

or American educational methods would be quickly attacked by a Chinese or an Indian on the staff. If internal balances fail, there is always the check of the General Conference, which, whatever its weaknesses, is ever ready to champion the cause of a regional or racial minority.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the educational clearing house has done its full duty if it has kept itself ideologically inert. The economic and technological superiority of certain groups of countries is so obvious that it is easy to forget that in the cultural field they may be receivers as well as givers. Cultural and educational ideas flow more freely down a technological gradient than they flow up it. Light American music, for example, has spread throughout the world not because of its inherent superiority as music, but because America manufactures most of the records and radio transmitters, and the makers of films find their way of life copied down to its most trivial detail by peoples on whom its inner meaning is completely lost. Anyone can see the advantages the under-developed areas might gain from borrowing some of our appropriate educational ideas and practices it is not so immediately obvious that countries deplorably lacking in washing machines and refrigerators have anything to offer us in return, or that, failing a two-way traffic, our contributions may, on occasion, destroy something more valuable than they create.

All the material conditions exist to encourage the 'free flow' of ideas in one direction, and, if it confined itself to a policy of *laissez-faire,* Unesco might end by becoming an instrument for the cultural domination of the 'have-not' nations by the 'haves'. To be fair, one must state that the General Conference has on many occasions unanimously set its face against such a concept, but it is doubtful if the full practical implications for Unesco's programme have ever been seen. In the term "free flow of ideas" we have for years used a physical analogy without exhausting its possibilities. We have tended to assume that all Unesco had to do was to remove certain barriers, and then ideas would flow freely in all directions; but it is by no means sure that ideas, any more than liquids, will naturally flow in two opposite directions at once. If there is any significance in the concept of the 'technological gradient' referred to above, it may be that proper circulation of ideas will be possible only if some outside agency helps to force ideas back against gravity. Unesco has often claimed that its function is to 'prime the pump'. Is it possible that in some circumstances it should *be* the pump?

The Education Department has always been in some degree aware of this obligation. Following up its 'educational exchange market' analogy, it has said that one of its functions is to ensure a 'fair balance of trade' by encouraging a two-way flow of assistance. But it is improbable that the Education Department

can by itself achieve such a balance. In education, as in science, Europe and North America have so much to offer that is relatively transferable; and the Far East, the Middle East, and Latin America have so little. The specific contributions these areas claim to be able to make to the sum of the world's riches are cultural not technical, and the things of the mind and the spirit are not easily moved across national borders.

An interesting thought occurs here. The cultural side of Unesco's programme has always seemed its weakest, largely because it has lacked any sense of unified purpose, but, if it is true that the cultural contributions of the under-developed areas move only with difficulty against the stream of technical and educational information flowing from the advanced countries, the function of the Department of Cultural Activities becomes clearer. It must concentrate on helping the under-developed areas to make to the sum of the world's culture the contributions that are uniquely theirs. Since the department's resources are limited, it may have little energy left to guide the flow of things cultural down the technological gradient. To some extent that will look after itself, but the flow in the opposite direction will not take place without the application of some outside force.

Seen in this way, the classic 'free flow' of Unesco's programme becomes rather a system of circulation, with the Education and Science Departments largely committed, by the nature of their subject-matter, to guiding the flow from the developed to the undeveloped areas of the world, and the Department of Cultural Activities lending its force to the more difficult movement in the opposite direction. One must beware of carrying the analogy too far. In all three fields, Unesco has the task of encouraging the exchange of ideas between countries on roughly the same economic and technological levels, but its growing interest in the technical assistance programme is tending to affect its original conception of its functions. In so far as the technical assistance type of project comes to dominate the Unesco programme the danger of the Organisation becoming unwittingly an organ of cultural domination increases. Up till now the Department of Cultural Activities has played only a peripheral part in the technical assistance programme, but a wider view may show that it is an essential component of the technical assistance mechanism, if the economically under-developed areas are to retain their self-respect and to become givers as well as receivers.

Other Clearing-house Topics

Most of the projects covered by the Education Clearing House have been touched on in the discussion of techniques, but there remain a few that should be mentioned. Some of them are studies preparatory to major projects in later years on such topics as: the

use of vernacular languages, methods of teaching literacy through the mother tongue, emergency teacher-training schemes, and problems of compulsory education in South-East Asia. The subjects covered by the International Bureau of Education often fall into this same category—for example, primary teacher training, the teaching of reading and writing, and the introduction to natural science in schools.

Some projects that began as major activities have slipped back to the point where the Organisation provides only documentation services on the subject-matter concerned. The programme on handicapped children, for example, was not well thought out, and it soon became clear that Unesco must either put into the project ten times the resources it had in the past, or offer only routine clearing-house services in this field. In spite of some confusion, it seems likely that the second alternative will be followed.

The status of the project on the education of women is also doubtful. Unesco has been half-hearted about it, and the situation has scarcely been clarified by the activities of the Commission on the Status of Women set up by the Economic and Social Council. The present proposal to take "The Access of Women to Education" as a topic for the XVth Conference on Public Education, and then to have experts prepare a booklet of practical suggestions for the education for women for citizenship, does not constitute an impressive programme.

Limitations of Clearing-house Concept

The clearing-house concept of the Education Department was of value in clarifying the functions of the Secretariat, but it is not adequate to cover the whole education programme. The clearing house is based on the assumption that for most educational problems there can be found somewhere in the world a solution, Unesco's function being to bring together the country with the question and the individual or group with the answer. Where no ready-made answer exists, the further assumption is made that it is more likely to be discovered at the national than at the international level. In large measure these assumptions are justified, but there are two major fields—fundamental education and education for international understanding—where neither assumption holds, and where Unesco, to get results at all, must go beyond anything that could legitimately be called clearing-house activities. In these areas Unesco's functions are not only catalytic but experimental and creative.

We know distressingly little about the best methods to adopt in fundamental education. The peoples who need these methods most have rarely the money or the trained personnel to experiment with them adequately, and the countries with the resources have

either never faced the problems themselves, or have left them behind a century ago. Yet, without assistance, the under-developed countries find it difficult even to see clearly what their basic educational problems are, and it is rarely that anyone has a ready-made solution to give them. Where, for example, should a country turn for authoritative advice on how to use the film and radio in fundamental education, and where can it find ready for translation a set of books and periodicals for the newly literate adult? Some of the colonial powers have begun to do good work on the techniques of fundamental education, but the world is in no mood to accept colonialism, in either its political or its economic forms, as the price of educational progress. The fear of economic and cultural domination inclines the leaders of backward but independent countries to seek help from an international agency rather than from any individual state. So Unesco finds itself with particularly heavy responsibilities in a sphere where most of the questions are still unanswered, and it has had, of necessity, to become responsible for such definitely 'promotional' activities as a pilot project in Haiti and a training and production centre in Latin America.

In its programme on education for international understanding, Unesco has had even stronger reasons for going beyond mere clearing-house functions. As in the case of fundamental education, research and experimenting in methods have been only sporadic, and teaching materials are sadly lacking, but there is the added complication that, for the most part, the very existence of the problem is ignored. There are few countries so enlightened as to make education for international understanding a central and integral part of their school systems, most people, indeed, being barely aware that it is a function of the school at all. Employers may complain that pupils fail to achieve reasonable standards in spelling and arithmetic, parents may object that the facilities for secondary education are inadequate, the illiterate masses may beg for technical education; but it is rare for any administrator to receive a complaint that the children under his care are not being given sufficient understanding of peoples of other countries. In most branches of education Unesco has only to satisfy the desire for more knowledge; in the sphere of education for international understanding it has first to create the desire itself. Education for international understanding should form the very core of Unesco's work, if for no other reason than that national governments are likely to give the subject the importance it merits in their school systems only if they are stimulated from without.

Fundamental Education

Although Unesco coined the term 'fundamental education', it has never succeeded in defining it, for a true definition becomes

impossible as soon as one ceases to restrict the term to the teaching of literacy. Unesco has done a great service in making the world realise that bare literacy is not enough to raise the standard of living of a backward people, and that fundamental education must generally include instruction in methods of agriculture, in hygiene and child care, and in the elements of economic and social organisation; but this wide extension of connotation naturally resulted in some confusion. Within the Organisation itself the fundamental education and adult education sections have been brought under a unified control because no one could draw a line between them. Probably no two experts would agree on the content of fundamental education, and it would not be surprising if, with clearer thinking, the term eventually disappeared. In the meantime it is useful in practice to designate the broad but elementary education given to children and adults in under-developed areas to enable them to improve their standards of living.

The technical assistance programme, leaning heavily as it does on fundamental education, has brought into sudden prominence a problem which, although known to the colonial Powers, has never before been a matter of world-wide concern, the problem of how a country at a high level of economic development can hand on its experience to a country at a much lower level. If the difference between them is very great, the accumulated knowledge of the one may be of as little direct use to the other as would be the experience of a butterfly to a chrysalis. The analogy may not be entirely fortuitous, and Unesco's fundamental education programme would certainly be more firmly based if anyone had ever made a systematic and analytic study of the normal life-history of a national system of education. We know that at certain stages we are likely to find such phenomena as the monitorial system, payment by results, and an intense verbalism and formalism, but it is hard to say how far these are just unhappy mistakes of an ignorant administration and how far they are inevitable signs of stages of development through which a system has to pass. It may well be that a generation of drudgery by half-educated and untrained teachers is necessary to provide the better human material which alone can make further improvements in the system possible, and that no amount of technical assistance can altogether eliminate any of the stages.

We are not even sure as yet how far any particular stage of development can be shortened with technical assistance, or at what points outside help can most effectively be offered. The whole fundamental education programme is based on the assumption that some saving of time can be achieved with such help, but Unesco can scarcely claim as yet to have done more than bring together the world's quite inadequate knowledge of how this help can be given, and itself try out a few interesting new techniques.

The key to the whole situation is obviously the training of teachers. A country with a very high illiteracy rate must find a large force of teachers before it can undertake an extensive mass education campaign, but these teachers, by reason of their very number, will themselves tend to be drawn from a barely literate stratum of society. It seems to be a characteristic of poorly educated teachers that they become formalists and rely excessively on the text of the written word. They know so little that they fear to stray beyond the pages of the book, and since their literacy, poor as it is, elevates them above the mass of their fellows, they exaggerate the importance of the mechanics of the three R's. It is a tendency that is strengthened, on the one hand, by the lack of equipment for more practical education and, on the other, by the common belief in the almost magical efficacy of reading and writing in producing the material advantages of the Western world.

So it comes about that under-developed countries, which need above all a practical type of education, tend to get the most narrowly verbal of school systems. Unesco's task, therefore, is to help a country not only to train more teachers, but also to see more clearly the kind of teachers that it really needs, and the ways in which they can be produced without waiting for the generations that we ourselves have taken to do the same thing. The experts Unesco finds to help it in this work are often themselves the products of education systems a century more mature, and there is no great number of people in the world who are trained to interpret their own educational experience in terms that other countries can understand and apply to their own more primitive problems.

One of the most promising attempts Unesco has made to cut through this complex tangle of difficulties is the Training and Production Centre for Fundamental Education started in Mexico early in 1951, with the co-operation of the Mexican Government and the Organisation of American States. It will have the double purpose of training people from all the Latin-American states in the ideas and methods of fundamental education and of producing publications, posters, films, and other teaching aids adapted to the needs of the illiterate and the newly literate. For the lack of proper teaching materials is no less serious than the lack of trained personnel. Few, if any, mass literacy campaigns have made use of the modern infant-room methods and materials that have revolutionised the teaching of reading in advanced countries over the past quarter of a century, and many campaigns have had little permanent effect because there was no suitable literature to help the newly literate to consolidate their skills. Given some motivation, it is not difficult to bring an illiterate but intelligent adult to a reading age of 8 or 9, but if he then cannot find any literature with a 9-year-old vocabulary and syntax and an adult content, his skill soon

fades, and neither he nor his friends are likely to be tempted a second time to learn the useless art of reading.

The Training and Production Centre in Mexico will bring together the outside expert and the Latin American with experience in the field, and will marry the technical skill of the one to the local knowledge of the other in order to produce, in Spanish, books, pamphlets, and newspapers with controlled vocabularies on subjects of immediate practical importance to the people—health, agriculture, child care, and the elements of local organisation. Similar work needs to be done on films and film-strips, which are almost invariably produced for sophisticated city audiences, and are often meaningless to simple peasants.

It is expected that by 1952 the Centre in Mexico will have 125 students, half of them paid for by the Centre and half by their own governments. For two years they will be trained in the methods of fundamental education and community development so well typified by the Mexican Cultural Missions. They will take some part in the production of teaching materials so that when they return to their own countries they will be able to test out the Centre's productions and adapt them to local needs. This will result in a two-way flow of information between the Centre and the field that should make the Centre in time a focal point for fundamental education throughout Latin America.

Already a bold extension of this scheme has been envisaged. A plan was approved by the Sixth Session of the General Conference for "a world network of international fundamental education centres designed to remedy this crucial malady of ignorance". By cutting some of its other activities, Unesco hopes to be able to open its second Centre in the Middle East in 1952, but, beyond that, the scheme will have to be financed outside the normal budget of the Organisation. The whole idea is a new one, and it might be unwise to press forward too rapidly until the Mexican Centre has shown whether the project is feasible in practice; but at the moment it appears to be one of the most hopeful methods of moving the mass of the world's ignorance by the application of a limited amount of energy at critical points.

A related but more modest scheme has been proposed in connection with adult education in more advanced countries. At the Sixth Session the Director-General was authorised "to establish . . . an international centre for the training of specialists and the improvement of methods in workers' education, and for the organisation of educational courses for workers, particularly in relation to international understanding". It is too early to say what demand there will be for the services of this centre, or, indeed, whether there is enough agreement among member states about the meaning and purposes of 'workers' education' to enable them to share common training facilities, however much they

may benefit from the clash of opinion at conference or seminar.

The Haiti Pilot Project is another instance of Unesco going well beyond clearing-house functions. The story is too well known to be repeated here, but it is not generally realised that this was the first practical project in which specialised agencies, in this case Unesco, Fao, and Who, combined on a plan for the reorganisation of a complete community through education. In spite of initial bungling and many vicissitudes, the project gives some promise of success, but its ultimate value lies less in the succour it may bring to the wretched people of the Marbial Valley than in the lessons it has taught in the difficult art of giving international aid. It seems unlikely that Unesco will again take for any field project the heavy burden of responsibility it has carried in Haiti. The main emphasis now is on 'associated projects and agencies', which are the responsibility of the member states concerned, Unesco confining itself in the main to such clearing-house services as the provision of expert consultants, the exchange of information and materials, the organising of regional conferences and seminars, and the encouragement of research. Unesco will, however, itself engage specialists to prepare reports on a few basic topics of almost universal interest, such as the use in education of vernacular and second languages, and the methods of teaching illiterate adults.

The very magnitude of its fundamental education programme has at times driven the Secretariat to scatter its energies wide in a desperate attempt to solve all the world's problems at once. If it can only learn to leave undone those things that others might well do, and to do the rest with order and humility, Unesco may make, through fundamental education, a unique contribution to the welfare of mankind.

Education for International Understanding

Education for international understanding is of the very essence of Unesco's being, and one might expect to find in this portion of its programme the clearest sense of purpose and the most definite of its projects. That this is not the case is due only in part to the novelty and inherent difficulty of the subject. From Unesco's earliest days there has been a deep-seated difference of opinion between certain countries as to the best methods of creating international understanding. It would not be quite fair to say that, to the Americans, international understanding is something that can be taught, while to the British it is an attitude of mind that is 'picked up' incidentally, but the difference between them certainly centres around the degree of directness with which the problem can be attacked. We British, again, will not publicly oppose the Latins when they press for a world-wide campaign to spread knowledge of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but we know it is a project that would never have occurred to us as likely to

bring great practical results, and our support of it is lukewarm. So it comes about that, while everyone accepts wholeheartedly the aim of educating for international understanding, the programme of ways and means reflects at every point the uncertainties and reservations of member states that spring from national differences of outlook and temperament.

To add to the difficulty, we know so little about the ways in which attitudes to peoples of other lands are actually built up in children. How far they are the product of personal adjustments and accidental experiences in early childhood, and how much affected by intellectual factors of any kind? How far can tolerance for other ways of life be developed in a child without dangerously shaking his simple faith in standards and values that are permanent and universal? Can a child grow to sturdy emotional maturity on the thin soil of internationalism, or must he first strike his roots deep in a richer and coarser patriotism? What differences are there in these respects between children of different countries or of different levels of intelligence? Unesco must of necessity leave research in such questions to national agencies, and yet its whole programme of education for international understanding depends on the answers. It is not to be wondered at that its touch is sometimes uncertain in the very field where its faith is most firm and its responsibility greatest.

International seminars have undoubtedly been Unesco's greatest contribution to education for international understanding. There is a growing body of men and women scattered throughout the member states, who, having spent five or six weeks with colleagues from a score of countries wrestling with common problems, will never again regard education for international understanding as a matter of mere words. The Unesco publications that have been centred on each seminar have broken new ground, and have kept before ministries of education the idea, unfortunately novel to some, that one of the prime functions of an education system is to develop in children an understanding of ways of life other than their own. They have also given rise to a number of publications produced by member states for use in their own schools.

Unesco has, quite naturally, regarded teaching about the United Nations and its specialised agencies as one of its particular fields of study. In addition to organising a seminar on this theme in 1948, it has produced a number of pamphlets on the subject for teachers and children. It has also assisted certain member states to conduct training courses for teachers on this branch of their work, and it offers specialists to help with national or regional seminars.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights made a strong appeal to many delegates to the General Conference, and plans have been prepared for a series of pamphlets and handbooks on the

subject for the use of teachers at all levels of education. A seminar on Human Rights is planned for 1952, and materials and working papers are already being prepared by groups of historians.

Unesco's programme in textbook improvement began quite boldly. One of the resolutions passed at the 1946 General Conference authorised the Director-General to bring to the notice of the Conference "instances of textbook usage inimical to peace among nations", but wiser (or more timid) counsels have prevailed, and this power has been virtually forgotten. The Organisation has concentrated on helping countries to review their own textbooks to eliminate undue national bias. *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks as Aids to International Understanding*, published in 1949, described the historical background of textbook revision and set out a model plan by the use of which member states are to analyse and improve their own textbooks. Several national commissions agreed to use the plan to study their history and geography textbooks, but no results of these investigations have yet been published by Unesco.

In 1950 a seminar on the improvement of textbooks was held in Brussels, and a useful booklet was also produced, *Mutual Revision of History Textbooks in the Nordic Countries*. A lively interest seems to have been aroused in bilateral agreements for the mutual criticism of textbooks, and the Director-General reports that several new bilateral studies have been planned. Experimental exhibits of model geography and history textbooks have been arranged, and there is a scheme for an advisory service to authors and publishers of textbooks in these subjects. Enthusiasts for the proposed *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind* have always hoped that this will provide an ideal source-book for textbook writers, and that an abridged edition for teachers will be produced.

Almost from its inception Unesco has felt that it must somehow associate youth movements with its work, but it cannot be said that its efforts in this direction have been impressive. It has given useful but limited help to international work camps, and now proposes to conduct two training courses, one for voluntary work-camp leaders and the other for youth leaders, with the intention in both cases of "encouraging those of their activities which promote international understanding". It may be that when its own ideas and purposes are clearer and more mature, Unesco will make a stronger appeal to youth.

The effectiveness of Unesco's whole programme for international understanding depends less on the Secretariat than it does on national commissions and member states. There are three main things to be done: research into the basic psychological problems of how international understanding is built up in the individual; the devising of materials and methods and the training of a small corps of people anxious to use them; and the widespread applica-

tion of these or similar methods throughout member states by teachers nationally trained for the purpose. It is only to the second of these tasks that Unesco, with its limited resources, can make much direct contribution, and it will be largely wasted if the first and third phases are neglected. For the rest, Unesco must by every means in its power keep before the conscience of its member states their responsibility for educating their citizens in an appreciation of ways of life different from their own. There is perhaps one other thing that Unesco might do more effectively than anyone else: it can make an analysis in some depth of just what we all mean by 'international understanding'.

Education in Other Departments

This article has of necessity concentrated almost entirely on the activities of the Education Department of Unesco, because they alone are difficult enough to bring within the compass of any unified conception. There are, however, in almost all the departments, projects that are essentially educational in character. The exchange of persons has already been dealt with as a clearing-house technique. The Relief Assistance Services have specialised in aid to schools and universities in devastated areas, and have apparently done valuable work on small funds in establishing emergency schools for Arab refugees. The programme for the popularisation of science is an educational activity, and the work of the Department of Mass Communications is likely to become of increasing importance in fundamental and adult education. The Departments of Social Sciences and Cultural Activities must inevitably regard part of their functions as educational. A time will probably come when the educational activities of the different parts of the Organisation will be better co-ordinated than they are at present, but it would be short-sighted to press, as some have done, for an over-all unity of purpose until each department has done more to unify within its own domain the relatively disconnected projects tossed to it by the General Conference.

What has Unesco Done?

When all Unesco's difficulties have been explained and all its problems exposed one must still face the naïvely penetrating question, "But what has Unesco *done?*" In what ways are the world's systems of education different because the Organisation was created? What has it contributed to the reform of education since 1945?

Unesco, as a centralised Secretariat in Paris, has its first contact with functionaries and administrators, who may be themselves several stages removed from the actual teaching process. No one could say with authority how many of Unesco's projects have yet touched the perimeter of the world's education systems, the

working zone where teacher meets taught and education really takes place. We know that, because of Unesco, a few thousand children are to-day getting education who had none before, and that schools and universities have replaced books and equipment lost through war or national disaster; we like to believe that children and students in hundreds of institutions are being educated with a little more insight and understanding because their teachers, through seminar, publication, or fellowship, have had their horizons widened, and that education for international understanding finds a place in the curricula of many schools influenced in some way by Unesco.

But these are relatively trifling gains and represent only the scattered ripples that have, by the year 1951, lapped the firm shore of schoolroom practice. To feel the full force of Unesco's work it is necessary to move inward towards the administrative centre of each school system, since, in spite of all its efforts to reach the 'common man', it is in this zone that Unesco has made its most direct contacts. There we find a truer and more encouraging measure of Unesco's success: men and women in authority are accepting responsibility for world-wide educational problems that, a decade ago, were to them only words in books; their own problems they see more clearly against the background of world experience, knowing that, at the best, they may find the answers to their questions through the clearing house and, at the worst, they will be spared the awful loneliness that comes from thinking their own problems unique. Already they are reviewing their education systems, experimenting with pilot projects, combining to train key workers and improve teaching materials, and forming the specialised international organisations that will make co-operation easier.

How long these waves of reform will take to reach the classroom and how strong they will be when they have traversed the long channel of government offices will depend less upon Unesco than upon the sincerity and vigour of a relatively small number of people in each member state. There is reason to believe that over the next five years the success or failure of Unesco will be determined not in Paris but in each national commission. Behind the national commission stands the growing body of teachers, administrators, scientists, and scholars, who feel that, if Unesco should fail, the greatest loss would not be of material things but of the hope that in this generation they might learn to combine their forces to solve in every land problems that Unesco has taught them to accept as their own.

C. E. BEEBY.

SECTION II

THE BRITISH ISLES

CHAPTER ONE

ENGLAND AND WALES

PART ONE

ASPECTS OF REFORM IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION, 1945–50

ON April 1st, 1945, the main provisions of what its preamble describes as "An Act to reform the law relating to education in England and Wales" came into operation. This Education Act, placed on the statute book in 1944, was nevertheless more than a mere reforming of the law of education. It constituted an ambitious and far-reaching attempt to implement a comprehensive national policy for education.

The Act was warmly welcomed by all but a few who felt that their traditional interests might be threatened. Although it has been in operation for little more than five years, during which much of the country's energy has had to be devoted to economic rehabilitation, it has been applied with such vigour that it is now possible to venture some conclusions as to its positive achievements. But before attempting to evaluate the progress made, it is desirable, if the nature and intentions of the Act of 1944 are to be fully appreciated, first to examine the forces which were so strong as to persuade Parliament to preoccupy itself with educational reform while the country was still at war, to indicate how these forces shaped the legislation, and to describe the attempts to apply the national policy in the years of comparative peace since the war ended.

The Background of Educational Reform

Since the end of the First World War, forces had been operating in favour of educational reform. Social, economic, and educational changes were taking place which needed to be reflected in an improved system of schools. Industrial competition from abroad made evident the desirability for improved techniques, and consequently better technical education. The growth of knowledge about the needs of young children made it clear that these could not be satisfied in school buildings which had been designed mainly

for restricted classroom instruction in book-learning. A better understanding of the psychology of the adolescent suggested that a longer period of school life, combined with secondary education for all, although not necessarily of the same kind for all, was desirable.

Some attempts were made to introduce the necessary reforms. That of the 1918 Act, to establish compulsory day continuation schools, failed because of the then unreadiness of the industrial concerns to respond. The half-hearted provisions of the 1936 Act for the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 years were frustrated by lack of buildings and the subsequent preparation for war. The *Hadow Report* proposals for providing alternative forms of secondary education for a larger number of children, although successfully applied in certain areas, remained ineffective in many areas because of the inability of the local education authorities concerned to acknowledge or meet their responsibilities.

A factor which impeded educational advance in the pre-war years was the position of many of the voluntary schools. The churches had been pioneers in the development of elementary education but, because of the decreasing purchasing power of the funds derived from their endowments, were unable, for the most part, either to keep their school buildings in proper condition or to bring them up to date. The only solution was increased state aid; but, as nonconformist and secular opinion insisted that the saving of the church schools by public moneys must be accompanied by some diminution of denominational control, a compromise could not be reached.

By 1944 the outlook for educational reform was more propitious. The forces which were operating in favour of reform had grown in strength, while the previously opposing elements had become more enlightened. The most important of the forces favouring post-war educational advance was perhaps the intensification of democratic effort which had grown up during the war years. Men and women of all sections of society had co-operated in a common effort to an extent hitherto unknown. From the War Cabinet downwards, people of different economic and social backgrounds had to work and live together, and this helped to engender on the one hand a desire for wider educational opportunity, and on the other a greater readiness to provide it. Another factor which helped to awaken the national consciousness for improved education was the realisation that industrial and commercial reconstruction would require all the latent skill which only good schooling, including better technical education, could develop. Finally, the spiritual searching which is bound to ensue when a nation's moral values are challenged, as in the last war, had its effect both on the churches who had hitherto feared that more public control of voluntary schools would inevitably result in less denominational instruction,

and on those who had previously been loth to grant increased state aid to voluntary schools.

For these reasons, during the last year of the war, the country was more amenable to educational reform than on any previous occasion in the nation's history. Working men and women, the more privileged minority, the industrialists, the churches and the nonconformists were all aware of the country's educational necessities. Fortunately, at the time, an all-party government existed, a fact which suggested that an Education Bill, skilfully handled, was not likely to be jeopardised by political conflict.

The Design for Educational Reform

With the country in this mood, the task of Parliament was to agree on an Education Act which would be in accord with a public opinion in favour of educational advance. The intention of Mr. R. A. Butler, the President of the Board of Education,[1] as the main sponsor of the Bill, was clearly outlined in his *White Paper* of 1943. He and his advisers wished to achieve five main objects.

The first was to break down the partition dividing education into the separate fields of 'elementary' and 'higher', and to provide for a system of public education organised as a continuous process in three progressive stages—primary, secondary, and further, the latter to include not only technical and adult education but provision throughout the country of that part-time day education which the 1918 Act had failed to achieve.

The second object was to ensure that every local education authority should secure within its area a sufficiency of education at each of the three successive stages. This requirement was particularly necessary because, although a distinctive feature of the educational system in England and Wales has always been, and still is, local initiative in meeting local educational needs, some authorities had not previously taken full advantage of their powers and duties.

Thirdly, it was intended that secondary education should not remain limited to an academically inclined minority, but should be provided free for all children over the age of 11. It was realised, however, that even the beginnings of secondary education for all could not be achieved with a school-leaving age of 14; so the Bill included provision for the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 and later, when practicable, to 16.

The fourth intention of the Bill was that the church schools and other voluntarily provided schools should have the opportunity of continuing to play an effective part in the educational system.

Fifthly, while it was desired that independent schools should

[1] I.e. a position equivalent to Minister of Education—though the penumbra of meaning of the term seemed to imply less direct responsibility for initiating policy.—ED.

continue, it was intended that they should do so only if they satisfied reasonable educational criteria.

These intentions were all embodied in the subsequent Education Act. But the significance of this great measure of educational reform was not so much its aspirations, for these were but reflections of what enlightened opinion had long advocated. Its real significance lay in the machinery and devices for ensuring that, so far as the economic conditions of the country in the post-war years would allow, these legislative provisions should not share the fate of some of the most important clauses of previous Education Acts.

The first essential for ensuring that the new hopes should materialise was the creation of effective administrative machinery. In a typically English way, this involved not so much the creation of new bodies as the remodelling of the old. The administration of education in England and Wales was to continue as a partnership between the central and local authorities, but with modifications to meet the new conditions. A weakness of the previous administrative arrangements was that the Board of Education had been merely "charged with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales". Parliament decided that, to facilitate the realisation of the new educational order, the central authority must have a more positive function and wider powers. They therefore turned the President of the Board of Education into a Minister of Education, and gave him wider powers "to promote the education of the people in England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area."

But the Act of 1944 did not merely give the Minister powers of control and direction. It included an important device for ensuring that every local authority, while retaining its power of initiative, should agree with the Minister on a comprehensive plan providing for the development of education in its area over a long period. Every local authority was required to take stock of its arrangements for primary and secondary education, make provision where necessary for new schools and the improvement of those already in existence, and embody the results in a development plan. The plan had then to be submitted to the Minister for approval, after which the authority must apply it in accordance with an Order made by the Minister. Later, similar arrangements had to be made for the development of further education, including county colleges. This device had additional implications. It caused education authorities (some, perhaps, for the first time) to look at their areas as a whole rather than to concentrate on the comparatively simple problems of the urban areas and continue to neglect the needs of the rural areas

with scattered populations. Equally important, it compelled committee members and their advisers to devote much thought to the principles which should determine the organisation of schools.

For a long time there has been in England and Wales a strong attachment to the institutions of local government, great local pride and a desire for local initiative unfettered by excessive central government control. The smaller local authorities, who were deprived of their educational powers by the Act, were disgruntled. The local education authorities which continued, although keen to implement the new Act, were somewhat resentful of the powers conferred on the Minister whereby he could control and direct them, they thought they were competent to meet local needs without central ministerial direction. Fortunately, however, the first Ministers have shown great restraint in the exercise of their new powers. Likewise, local education authorities have been so vigorous in carrying out their tasks under the Act of 1944 that, while there has been an abundance of advice and suggestion from the Minister, this has been accompanied by little in the way of direction. Thus the actual administration of education continues as an active partnership between the central authority and the local authorities.

Other devices were adopted for making sure that the implementation of educational reform could not be slowed up from other quarters. The voluntary schools were encouraged to play their part in the new educational system, but safeguards were provided against a continuance of the previous state of affairs under which they could remain in out-of-date premises. If they could reasonably fit into the local authority's development plan, voluntary schools could continue. They could continue as 'aided schools' with their previous powers in the appointment of teachers and the right to provide denominational religious instruction, but only if they were prepared to meet roughly half the cost of bringing their buildings into line with the requirements of the Ministry's building regulations. They could continue as 'controlled schools' by sacrificing most of their rights in the appointment of teachers and exercising only limited rights in denominational religious instruction in return for having their buildings brought up to date and maintained at public expense.

In these ways the sponsors of the Education Act made sure, in so far as this depended on legislation, that three of their five intentions would be realised. Primary, secondary, and further education were to be organised in continuous and progressive stages; local education authorities were given the duty of meeting local needs which were to be expressed in comprehensive development plans approved by a Minister with powers of direction and control; voluntary schools could continue so long as their governing bodies fulfilled statutory conditions. There remain the two other intentions—the provision of secondary education for all, and the con-

tinuance of the independent schools subject to the satisfaction of educational criteria. The first was provided for in the Act, but could not be fully applied until many more secondary schools could be built. The second was also covered by appropriate clauses, but the independent schools could not be brought within the system until the Ministry could arrange for their efficiency to be assessed, and until the supply of labour and materials were sufficient to enable those who needed and were willing to bring their buildings up to the required standard to do so.

One other feature of this design for educational reform should be emphasised. Perhaps the most important reason for its national acceptance was the high degree of consultation, both formal and informal, which took place between the then Board of Education and the various educational interests and organisations before and while the Bill was debated in Parliament. In this way differences of opinion were reduced and compromises reached. Thus the Act constituted, for the first time in the nation's history, what may be fairly described as an agreed national policy of educational reform.

The Progress of Educational Reform

The design for reform having been agreed, it then became necessary to begin the building of the new educational structure. The main tasks involved were the provision of the central and local administration, the teachers and the buildings. The provision of the buildings, in turn, involved consideration of the most suitable types of school.

Providing the Administration. With the powers and duties of the central authority redefined and the conversion of the Board of Education into a Ministry, some important changes were necessary at the centre. The first annual reports of the new Ministry modestly describe the radical administrative reorganisation which must have been necessary to the fulfilment of its new tasks. It was necessary, too, to establish the Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales. The inspectorate was reorganised and expanded. It is significant to note, however, that although the tasks of His Majesty's inspectors have increased enormously in the post-war years, they retain in relation to the schools their traditional function of advice, persuasion, and suggestion. This is reiterated in the annual report of the Ministry for 1949, which states that "choice of curricula and syllabuses and the methods of teaching are left, as a matter of principle, very largely in the hands of the schools themselves."

While this reorganisation of the central administration and inspectorate was taking place, 'a working party'[2] was appointed to consider the special needs of Wales. The outcome was the

[2] Name given to a group of qualified and expert persons charged with the task of studying and reporting upon a special problem.—ED.

creation of the Welsh Joint Education Committee, which is designed "to provide the machinery for securing by co-operation and unity of action a system of education in Wales which will be truly suited to the special needs of the children of the Principality."

Other changes were necessary in the local administration of education. The councils of counties and county boroughs, as the re-created local education authorities, soon re-established their education committees. But the larger counties were confronted with new administrative problems. Partly to soften the blow to the small boroughs, who lost their former educational powers and were submerged within a county administration, and partly as an attempt to maintain local interest, provision was made in the Act of 1944 for the creation of small sub-units of educational administration—the divisional executives and excepted districts. These forms of district education committee took some time to establish, mainly because some of them wanted greater measures of delegated power than the county authorities wished to give. The divisional executives and excepted districts afford opportunity both for local initiative and for 'letting off steam', but their usefulness is sometimes questioned on the grounds that they are wasteful of time and involve unnecessary duplication. This is perhaps why the Ministry in 1949 suggested that local education authorities might effect economies by combining divisional executives or eliminating any which have proved to be unnecessary. Opinion remains divided as to the worthwhileness of these newly created administrative devices, and some critics maintain that local interest in schools is best secured through the governing bodies of schools and colleges. In turn, school governors and managers sometimes complain that their own powers are too limited.

Providing the Teachers. Competent administration is always desirable, but the vital accompaniment of educational reform is the supply of sufficient teachers of good quality. Before the Education Act of 1944 had reached the statute book, the former Board of Education had realised that teacher supply and training would constitute a most formidable task in the immediate post-war years. Quite apart from the reopening of the training colleges which had provided some 7,000 new teachers each year to maintain ordinary recruitment, it was estimated that additional provision would have to be made for the training of another 70,000 new teachers, so that the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 and other improvements could take place.

Novel and imaginative teacher training arrangements would be needed to meet this situation. The answer was the emergency training scheme, under which men and women who had been in the Armed Forces or other approved national service were given an intensive training for one year. The initiative was taken by the Board of Education, but the scheme was administered in co-opera-

tion with the local education authorities. The first three emergency training colleges were started in 1945 in a baronial castle in the north of England, in a former factory workers' hostel in the midlands, and in a converted country mansion in the south. When the war ended the number of candidates for these emergency training courses rose to such an extent that, by 1946, there were 6,000 applicants in one month. The extension of the scheme was so rapid that it is difficult to keep pace with the record of its progress. In an account of the scheme the Ministry of Education report that, at the peak period, 55 colleges were in operation, and that by March 1950, out of more than 100,000 applicants, 24,000 men and 12,700 women had been admitted to training.

Although the scheme for emergency training was taken up with enthusiasm, it was not without its critics. For some time before the war those who were concerned with teacher training in the colleges outside the universities felt that the normal two-year period of training was inadequate, and advocated its extension to three years. The McNair Committee later confirmed this view. The critics of the emergency training scheme feared that a one-year course of training, even followed up, as it was supposed to be, by another two years of part-time study while the teacher was practising, might not produce teachers of quality. So far, experience has not confirmed their fears. While it is perhaps early to evaluate the success of the scheme, school authorities who have employed men and women from the emergency colleges are generally of the opinion that the great majority of them (by virtue of their maturity and experience) hold their own with teachers trained in the conventional way, and that some are making novel and realistic contributions to teaching technique.

The emergency scheme for the training of teachers has now closed down, but there is still danger of a future shortage of teachers to cope with the increased numbers of children who are and will be attending school as a result of the high birth-rate from 1944 onwards. In the last complete year before the outbreak of war there were some 193,000 teachers in grant-aided primary and secondary schools. This number had increased to 217,940 in October 1950, but the Ministry of Education estimate that by the beginning of 1954 a further increase to 240,000 will be necessary to provide for the additional children born since 1944, and to allow for a general reduction in the size of classes. New two-year training colleges are being established in an attempt to provide the necessary teachers—thirty-nine were opened between 1946 and 1950. It is likely that sufficient men teachers will be available, but there is and may remain for some years a shortage of women teachers. The impact of the increased birth-rate has up to now fallen upon the primary schools, which are staffed for the most part by women and, in consequence, the demand for women

teachers has increased more than the demand for men teachers. Owing to full employment there has been a marked tendency in the post-war years towards earlier marriages, with a consequent increase in the 'wastage' and loss to the teaching profession of young women teachers. Although marriage is no longer a bar to the employment of women, the net result of these trends is that the increased demand for women teachers is outstripping the supply to a greater extent than in the case of men teachers. In consequence, there is now an increasing tendency to employ men teachers in posts in primary schools which have in the past been traditionally held by women.

Providing the Buildings. The Ministry and the local authorities rose to the challenge of the danger of educational reform being impeded by shortage of teachers. Material obstacles provided another challenge. It was intended to raise the school-leaving age from 14 to 15 on April 1st, 1945, but, because of shortage of teachers and school accommodation, this had to be postponed. In November 1946, however, the Prime Minister announced to Parliament "We are straitened in our manpower. We must make up in quality what we lack in quantity. We are, therefore, raising the school-leaving age." The date finally fixed for the implementation of this reform was April 1st, 1947. But serious school accommodation difficulties had first to be overcome.

Ideally, the raising of the leaving-age should have been preceded by the building of sufficient secondary schools to accommodate all children over the age of 11 and ensure that those who stayed for an extra year could complete a four-year course in a suitable educational environment. To have waited for this would have deferred the reform for many years. The Ministry decided, therefore, to augment existing school accommodation throughout the country by 'streamlining' from the centre the provision of standard hutted classrooms, laboratories, and workshops. The war-time technique of centralised planning and bulk purchasing was adapted to the execution of a peace-time reform, and the Ministry of Works undertook the task of providing the hutted buildings at the places decided by the local education authorities. The war-time jargon of describing an operation by a newly coined word derived from initial letters also crept in, and "Hut Operation for the Raising of the School Age" soon became HORSA. Philologists shuddered when SFORSA ("School Furniture Operation for the Raising of the School Age") followed HORSA, but the two together, coupled with the genius of local education authorities for rising to an occasion for which the country was not entirely prepared, resulted in the actual achievement of the raising of the leaving-age as from April 1st, 1947. Some local authorities, fearful as ever of central government encroachments on their liberties, resented what they felt to be this intrusion on their right to plan

and erect school buildings. Yet it is doubtful whether conventional techniques would have produced the result in the time.

With the material obstacles to the raising of the school-leaving age nearly out of the way, the next task was to provide new schools for the additional children who were born during the post-war years, and to begin the building of the badly needed secondary schools and technical colleges. Shortly after the passing of the Act of 1944 the Ministry of Education issued new school-building regulations which, if they could be fulfilled, would result in the erection of well-designed spacious schools with playing fields of a kind hitherto unknown in this country. Shortage of labour and materials, however, has resulted in some modification of the building regulations and inevitable delays in the erection of the new schools. The restrictions on capital investment have had a similar effect in that the government have had to allocate to the Ministry of Education a smaller total sum for school building than they would have wished for under better conditions, and the Ministry in turn have had to require some local authorities to accept smaller building programmes than they desire. Nevertheless, the number of new schools is steadily increasing. Nine new schools were opened in 1946, 10 in 1947, 25 in 1948, 86 in 1949, and 224 in 1950.

Against these figures of actual achievement it is interesting to note the numbers of new schools which were under construction during the years 1948, 1949, and 1950—these were 333, 665, and 952 respectively. Quite apart from shortage of local authorities' technical staffs, which is only now being overcome, shortage of labour and materials may involve disappointing hold-ups in jobs once they have been started. For these reasons the Ministry of Education, in consultation with representatives of the local authorities, have tried to devise means of simplifying procedure for the acquisition of sites and the speedy approval of plans, and of effecting economy in the use of materials without sacrificing standards. More recently, the Ministry have assisted local authorities by issuing informal school-building bulletins to spread new ideas and techniques. The Ministry have also established a new Architects and Building Branch, in which a team of architects and educators jointly deal with matters of economic planning, the distribution of materials in short supply, and the giving of formal and informal advice to local authorities.

Providing the Right Types of School. The mere physical provision of buildings apart, one of the problems facing the educational reformers is that of giving children the right sort of school in which to grow. For primary schools this is mainly a matter of size, and of co-operation between teacher, architect, and administrator in ensuring that the building is so designed and furnished that it is less of an impersonal institution designed according to adult views

and more of a place attuned to the needs of young children. A pleasing feature of the recent Ministry of Education primary schools building bulletin is that it obviously leans to the latter type, which suggests that educators who really understand the habits and needs of children have had their influence in its compilation.

Secondary schools need to be built according to similar considerations, but discussion between 1945 and 1950 has been less about the physical environment and more about the types of secondary education. It is not necessary here to recapitulate the arguments which have gone on about the alleged three types of secondary school children—' grammar ', ' technical ', and ' modern '. During the earlier period of these five years of educational reform, the democratic influences which had produced an Act including provision for secondary education for all seemed to favour the creation of multilateral or comprehensive schools. Indeed, two of the largest local education authorities in the country made these types of secondary school a leading feature of their development plans. But, when administrators had to face the task of translating the social ideal of multilateralism into educational reality, difficulties appeared. It was maintained that to provide sufficient ' streams ' of pupils each comprising a group approximately equal in ability, and covering in all the entire ability range, would require the provision of school units of nearly two thousand pupils. Teachers and administrators who had been accustomed to much smaller units felt that the schools required would be so big as to be almost unmanageable. Heads in particular feared that in such large schools they would lose personal contact with the pupils and become administrators rather than educators. For reasons of this kind, multilateral or comprehensive schools do not occupy an important place in the development plans of many local education authorities. An analysis of these plans suggests that while many favour the provision of separate grammar, technical, and modern schools, some also wish to experiment with types of bilateral school such as combinations of grammar with technical or modern with technical. It is too early yet to attempt to evaluate the success of these different combinations. Suffice it to say that a healthy attitude of experiment in the reform of secondary education persists, and that sober-minded educators prefer to await the evidence of achievement in the different types of secondary school before allowing their opinions to harden.

Estimate of Achievement

It should now be possible to draw some interim conclusions as to what has actually been achieved between the years 1945 and 1950. The " Act to reform the law relating to education " has been passed, a Ministry established, and the new central and local

administration set into motion. These measures represent achievement only in so far as they have established effective machinery through which educational advance is possible. The raising of the school-leaving age, the provision of nearly thirty-four thousand more teachers through the emergency training scheme and the subsequent opening of new permanent training colleges, and the provision of new post-war schools, represent distinctive achievement in that all children remain in school for at least another year and that many are in better buildings. In addition to the larger number of children attending school for longer duration, progress in social provision within the schools has increased enormously. This is instanced by the fact that whereas, by the end of 1944, some 1,500,000 children (33 per cent. of those in attendance) were receiving meals in grant-aided schools, towards the end of 1949 these figures had risen to 2,850,000 (or 53 per cent.).

The sheer physical achievement of the raising of the leaving-age is the more remarkable when this is considered in relation to the general problem of school supply and the numbers of children involved. In January 1946 there were 5,004,211 pupils on the registers of maintained and assisted primary and secondary schools in England and Wales. It is estimated that, owing to the raising of the school age and the increase in the birth-rate, this figure will have risen to roughly 6 million by the year 1952. This means that, in addition to the accommodation for the 14–15 age-group, new schools and extra classrooms have had and are having to be provided for the swollen number of school entrants. The problem has been further intensified by the growth of new housing estates and the consequent need to match new homes with new schools. That this great increase in numbers at both ends of school life has been met is a tribute to the combined efforts of the Ministry, the local authorities, and the teachers.

Achievement has not been confined to the provision of more teachers and school accommodation for normal children. The needs of the less fortunate are reflected in the proposals for special schools for handicapped children which have been included in the development plans of local authorities. Actual progress during the period under review is shown in that while at the end of 1945 there were 528 special schools attended by 38,499 children, by the beginning of 1950 these figures had risen to 601 and 47,119 respectively. It will take many years for all the proposals for new special schools to materialise, and there remains a shortage of boarding school accommodation for deaf, maladjusted, and educationally subnormal children. But local authorities have shown such ingenuity in adapting former country mansions and other large buildings into special schools that the expansion of this service has shown a greater rate of progress than in any comparable pre-war period. An entirely new venture has been a start in the provision

of special school education for children suffering from cerebral palsy.

Merely to list achievements in other directions which concern the administration and organisation of education in England and Wales since 1945 would constitute an impressive catalogue of educational advance. Yet the estimate of achievement would be incomplete without reference to some of the more outstanding of these developments. Among the most significant are the growing association between the public system of education and the independent schools, and the increasing readiness of local education authorities to meet or assist in the cost of boarding education for children of parents who could not otherwise afford it; the co-operation between the voluntary organisations and the statutory bodies in the extension of the youth service; the Further Education and Training Scheme under which many thousands of men and women whose training or education had been interrupted by war service were given awards which enabled them to train for future posts of importance in the professions, industry, and commerce; the increase in the number and financial value of university awards made available by the Ministry of Education and local authorities.

It is not too much to maintain that the vigorous application of the Education Act of 1944 has given an impetus to the development of almost every aspect of education in England and Wales. This is evidenced when one turns from the general picture to examine the activities of the individual local education authorities. In every education department throughout the country there exists a lively enthusiasm which was not so universal before 1945. For example, the education committee of one local authority, which was certainly not outstanding in its zeal before the passing of the Act, now reports, in a review of progress between the years 1945 and 1950, that in this period its teaching strength has increased by 19·5 per cent., that the number of school canteens has increased fourfold, that university awards have shown a threefold increase, and that the attendance of students at evening classes has risen from 750 to nearly 10,000.

Progress has not, of course, always proceeded according to first intentions, and there have been set-backs and disappointments. It was expected that the further education provisions of the 1944 Act would be more speedily applied than were those of the 1918 Act but, once again, progress has been slow. Hopes that it would be possible to make a start in the building of the county colleges in 1950 have not been realised. On the other hand, although the first county colleges have not yet begun to appear, employers have been more ready than in pre-war years to release young men and women to attend part-time courses during working hours. Between 1947 and 1950 the number of such young persons rose from 167,500 to 241,487.

Generally, progress at higher levels of technical education has not been so outstanding. The Ministry of Education have been instrumental in securing the establishment of five national colleges—the Aeronautics College, the Foundry College, the Heating, Ventilating, Refrigeration, and Fan Engineering College, the Rubber College, and a College for Horology and Instrument Technology. With these exceptions, the supply and structure of technical education remains little altered from the pre-war years. The growing consciousness of the nation as to the importance of improvements in technological standards is, however, reflected in the debates concerning higher technological education which are taking place in the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce, appointed by the Minister in 1948, and in the regional councils for further education throughout the country. As the future structure of higher technological education is still under national discussion, it is not possible yet to indicate exactly how it will be improved and increased. One outcome will probably be the development of high-level courses in advanced technology in technical colleges with considerably improved staffing, accommodation, and equipment and, as the National Advisory Council suggested, "the establishment of a National Educational Body of high standing to approve and moderate the courses . . . and to assist in securing for technological education generally the recognition it deserves". The drive which is now taking place for improved technical education is indicated by the fact that, despite shortage of labour and materials, the Ministry, in addition to having established the five national colleges, have informed local education authorities that they regard building for technical education as a high priority. There is, however, an important and growing body of opinion which maintains that measures of this kind, including the expansion of technological studies at existing universities, are by no means sufficient, and that nothing less than the founding of an entirely new university of technology will match the country's urgent needs.

But, although material progress in this direction may have been slower than is desirable, generally there continues to be no lack of educational advance. The impetus to reform given by the Act of 1944 not only applies to the creation of new administrative machinery and the building of new schools, but extends into the whole field of educational thought and inquiry. The post-war years have seen the establishment of the National Foundation for Educational Research and the National Foundation for Visual Aids, institutions novel to this country. These institutions are undoubtedly by-products of the concern about education which has become intensified during the last five years. Together with the creation of bodies such as the National Advisory Councils on Education for Industry and Commerce and on the Training and Supply of Teachers, and the National Joint Advisory Committee

for Agricultural Education, they constitute important means of ascertaining objectively sound bases upon which advance in particular directions should proceed.

Similar considerations apply to the creation of the Institutes of Education, attached directly or indirectly to the universities and university colleges. The Institutes of Education, whose functions are to improve standards in the teacher training institutions associated with them, to provide centres for practising teachers, and to foster research, are still in the process of settling down to their new and important tasks. It is far too early to attempt to assess their real usefulness, but if they can bring university standards into teacher training colleges while avoiding the danger of making such courses too academic, they should become valuable agents in assisting qualitative educational advance.

The creation of these institutions designed to promote greater professional competence and thought about education is not the only evidence which suggests that, quite apart from the material progress which has already been described, educational development persists. A most significant feature of the post-war years has been the great number of courses for practising teachers organised by the Ministry of Education, the local education authorities, and the various professional bodies including the National Union of Teachers. The number of teachers wishing to attend many of these courses has greatly exceeded the accommodation available. This attendance of teachers at courses (many during their holidays) is but one indication of the great contribution which the profession has made to the advance of education during this period. They have coped with the greater numbers of infants admitted into the schools, have devised lively means of making a reality of the additional year of school life, serve on the various advisory bodies, and are, indeed, the very backbone of educational reform.

In addition to the desire of teachers for extended professional knowledge, there has grown up during the post-war years an extraordinary demand by the general public for facilities for voluntary education in the evenings and at the week-end in evening classes, adult education groups, and short-term residential courses. The adult education colleges which have been established by a number of local education authorities during the last five years, mainly in converted country mansions, are attracting students from all walks of life to formal and informal courses ranging from chamber music to international understanding. With few exceptions, throughout the area of every local authority there has been a demand for evening institute education considerably in excess of that which applied in any pre-war year. Side by side with this, although less easy objectively to measure, there are indications that public taste is changing. An examination of the statistics for public library issues in a sample area indicates that, in recent years, the borrowing of

non-fiction books has increased considerably. The response in some areas to concerts and art exhibitions arranged under the auspices of the Arts Council for Great Britain suggests, if nothing else, that a larger and more representative section of the community shares the interest in art and music which has hitherto been confined to a limited minority. The creation, for the first time in Great Britain, of the National Youth Orchestras, is also not without significance.

Although all this educational activity has been taking place within the country between 1945 and 1950, the Ministry, the local education authorities, and the teachers have not been unmindful of their international and Commonwealth obligations. The United Kingdom National Commission of Unesco has been created and has developed its constituent bodies; the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education has been an active member and one-time Chairman of the Executive Board of Unesco; officers of the Ministry, inspectors, teachers, and local education authorities' administrators have, between them, taken part in Unesco conferences, seminars, and missions. Teachers, inspectors, and administrators have studied with their counterparts from the countries which signed the Treaty of Brussels. The Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges has been established, and there is an increasing exchange of teachers with the Commonwealth countries and the United States.

Taking all these positive achievements and tendencies together, therefore, it must be concluded that there has been impressive educational advance in England and Wales between the years 1945 and 1950. The measure of this advance is the better appreciated if it is considered in the light of the economic stresses which have inevitably impeded educational progress during these years when the main energies of the country have had to be devoted to industrial and commercial reconstruction. That the country has found it desirable and possible to persist in educational development during these difficult years indicates that the reforming zeal which produced the Education Act of 1944 has become firmly embodied in the machinery and institutions through which its high aspirations are being realised. At the time of writing, however, there are gloomy indications that one of the results of increasing expenditure on rearmament will be a slowing down of the educational advance which gained such impetus between 1945 and 1950.

VICTOR CLARK.

ENGLAND AND WALES

PART TWO

CHANGES IN SCHOOL ORGANISATION CURRICULA AND METHODS

The Criteria of Educational Advance

UNLESS education changes it cannot meet man's needs in a changing world. When change itself quickens awareness that education is concerned with individual and social needs of a range and depth beyond its traditional province, then thoroughgoing educational reform must have the dynamic character of a revolution. Lowndes has described the "Silent Social Revolution" brought about by the state system of education between 1870 and the nineteen-thirties. In the early 'forties reformers looked for changes not less far-reaching but far less gradual in the coming era of reconstruction. How their hopes have fared has been told from an administrator's point of view in the previous article. The present survey of changing school organisation, curricula, and methods suggests first the criteria by which to judge how far change constitutes advance.

Education is fundamentally an experience of the individual in his manifold relations. Hence the criterion of educational advance in the schools is primarily how fully the education they afford suits the nature and needs of children as individual and social persons. In the past half-century child study, drawing on a wide range of human and social sciences, has developed a soundly tested and well-attested body of principles that present education, not as formal instruction nor a shaping of the passive from without, but as the nurture of the whole personality and the fostering of growth towards successive maturations from within, by a tempered environment—physical, social, mental, moral, and spiritual—with which the child as a total organism interacts. Activity and experience, the bases of modern method, are inherent in this process. The evidence shows that their scope has markedly increased in the schools.

In the field of education thus conceived the school enlarges its range but narrows its claims. It is concerned with the whole process, but as one of many educative agents, with some at least of which it has allied itself in a spirit of partnership. Such partnership at various stages with the home, the community, the social

services, the churches, the library, the museum, the radio, and the film, is to be reckoned as educational advance.

The conception of a school in right relationship with its community suggests the second criterion of advance. Sociologically education is organically involved in the nature and needs of society. That education had lagged behind the march of society became evident to the least discerning when the tremendous impact of the war speeded the process of social change and threw into relief the many discrepancies, inadequacies, and irrelevances of the existing educational system. Educational reconstruction came to be firmly identified in the public mind as essentially an aspect of social reconstruction, of which the Education Act of 1944 was taken to be the first instalment. In this widespread conviction lies the chief reason why in the recurrent economic and financial stresses that have followed the war education did not become the first casualty, as in 1922 (the 'Geddes Axe') and 1931 (the *May Report*).

This side of ideal democracy, the needs of society are not necessarily identical with the claims of the state, and, as we shall see in considering the independent schools, the state does not claim to be the sole interpreter of the educational needs of the nation. But in England, where traditional attitudes put Liberty before Equality, educational reformers have looked to the state to promote Fraternity, interpreted as "the social unity within the educational system which will open the way to a more closely knit society", and as willingness of all to provide for all "a fuller measure of education and opportunity". The phrases are taken from the opening paragraph of the White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction,* 1943 (Cmd. 6458). It was the herald of an Act whose key-note was an education child-centred and community-orientated.

Schools educate for a given society as institutions of that society, bearing the imprint of its cultural values and social set-up. The extent to which they can be creatively formative of that society depends on their capacity and freedom to interpret valid social ideals and the goals towards which a dynamic social evolution is tending. In a planned social and industrial democracy, with a policy of social welfare and full employment, educational organisation, curricula, and methods must be reconsidered in the light of their relevance to the new goals.

In the following sections the developments dealt with enable us to take some measure of the advance towards a system of education more conformable to what the above considerations imply.

The Prelude

By a logistical masterpiece, not matched by equal educational or sociological foresight, the 1939 evacuation pulled apart the shape and structure of schools over considerable areas, and forced upon them a fluidity and mutability from which education suffered, and

a mobility and informality from which many teachers learned much. Teachers assumed greater, and sometimes total, responsibility for the children: they came before the public in new roles, with good effect on parental and public attitudes. The thirty-one camp schools of the National Camps Corporation left a valuable legacy of experience and provision.

The rapid development of the milk and meals service not only fostered new social habits, but helped further to promote the idea of the 'school day'. 'War-time nurseries' both filled a social need and created a social demand that did not disappear with the war. To meet another pressing need the Board of Education and the L.E.A.s assumed direct responsibility for the youth service in association with the voluntary bodies. Pre-service organisations and harvest camps gave the schools a stimulating consciousness of serving the national needs.

In another sphere of education the technical colleges were geared to government and industry, trained 300,000 men and women in the forces, and gained new recognition from a nation that had neglected technical education. New stimulus and techniques were given to adult education by methods devised in the forces and civil defence services, while to wide sections of the population CEMA brought a new-found enjoyment of cultural leisure.

Above all, as a result of experiences with evacuated children from the poorer quarters of the large cities, so graphically described in the Women's Institute report *Our Towns,* the public conscience was for the first time powerfully awakened to the appalling conditions in which so many children lived. To reforms designed "to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life" (White Paper, 1943) the public was ready to give a willing ear.

Reorganisation for Unity, Continuity, and Diversity

The Education Act, by bringing under statute much that had entered the educational system through the initiative of pioneers, the enterprise of the more progressive L.E.A.s, and the generous interpretation of their calling by the teaching profession as a whole, consolidated progress and laid down the lines of far-reaching advance.

Fundamental to the purposes of the Act was the completion of the 'Hadow Reorganisation'. The Hadow lines of advance were that primary education should end at about 11–12 years, and that secondary education for all beyond that stage should be envisaged as a single whole with a variety of types, but with the common characteristic of providing for the needs of adolescence. The essential condition was that the old all-age school should disappear and be replaced by separate primary and secondary schools.

But even by 1951 Hadow reorganisation is by no means complete. In the latest annual report of the Ministry, all-age schools and departments still number 7,000, though reduced by some 2,600 since the Act, the percentage of pupils in reorganised schools being 81·5 per cent.

The reorganisation of education on the principle that it is a continuous process in three stages calls for a reconsideration of the stages in relation to the plan and purpose of the whole. On this the various official reports that have guided reorganisation give no clear direction: they are sectional and piecemeal. There is a consequent variety, not without some confusion in the plans for the secondary stage. To the Hadow conception the *Spens Report* (Consultative Committee, 1938) added the new type, technical high school, parallel with the grammar school. The *Norwood Report* (Secondary Schools Examinations Council, 1943) discovered three 'types' of pupil suited respectively to the grammar, technical, and modern school. The White Paper of 1943 outlined the three types of school, but added that "it would be wrong to suppose that they will necessarily remain separate and apart". In any case, free interchange must be facilitated.

The real crux of the problem, as the democratic reformers see it, lies outside the purely educational province. Grammar schools inherited the tradition of a superior cultural education for the élite. A false dichotomy between the cultural and the vocational gave the junior technical school an inferior educational and social status, and placed it with the senior school as part of the 'elementary' system for the working classes.

Hence the Labour Party, the T.U.C., and the W.E.A. were prominent among the advocates of a comprehensive secondary school, and continue to oppose the idea of segregated types. Delay in implementing comprehensive and other plans has given time for second thoughts among some progressives, and the Fabian publication, *Next Steps in Education,* accords with general opinion among teachers that, prior to any considerable structural commitment, experimental research should be undertaken on the educational merits of separate or comprehensive schools. The raising of the leaving-age to 16 would meet some reasonable objections to the comprehensive pattern.

The general picture presented by the development plans is of considerable change in the organisation of secondary education in the counties, induced by circumstances as well as policy; but, in the main, tripartitism promoted by the existing set-up in the county boroughs.

Already before the end of 1944, however, London had given a bold and imaginative lead in declaring its aim to be the establishment throughout the county of a system of comprehensive high schools. These proposals for schools of up to 2,000 have been

strongly opposed, and on many grounds, notably by the grammar school teachers and parents, whose case against absorption is understandable and is championed by the Conservative Party members of the Council. In Middlesex, which also declared for comprehensive schools, the political parties have again taken sides, and in this case the Ministry has demurred at the small size of the schools proposed, on the grounds, stated in Circular 144, that the minimum size for efficiency and variety over the age-range 11–18 is a school of 10–11 form entry, and hence 1,500–1,700 pupils—with possible exceptions in the case of single-sex schools or schools in rural areas.

L.E.A.s are by no means agreed, nor do they always agree with the Ministry, as to the place of the secondary technical school in the system. The Ministry favours recruitment at 11 of pupils "of the same standard of intellectual ability as those attending the grammar schools". in other words, the technical high school of the *Spens Report*. The Central Advisory Council for Wales in its report, dated 1949, on the future of secondary education in the light of the peculiar problems of Wales, advocates alternatively a general system of multilateral schools for a wide range, or a division into two types: grammar-technical for 27 per cent. and modern-technical for pupils of I.Q. below 110. They find no justification for a separate technical school. A few authorities, like Oldham, find no grounds for the modern school as distinct from schools with the 'academic' or the practical approach.

The Act intended the abolition of selection at 11 by competitive test in favour of allocation by assessment of individual aptitudes, based largely on school records. In a first interim report on allocation, the National Foundation for Educational Research lays stress upon the duty newly incumbent upon L.E.A.s to supply educational guidance throughout schooling, and especially at the period of transfer. A recent N.U.T. Consultative Committee report on transfer reluctantly concludes that for the time the sole certain indication for a modern school is unsuitability for a grammar or technical school. Nor are tests of aptitude at this stage regarded as significant.

So far the secondary technical school population is only about one-eighth that of the grammar schools; but it may be expected to increase as L.E.A. plans get under way. Together the two are generally expected to account for some 30 per cent. of the secondary provision, the remainder being the province of the comparatively undifferentiated modern school.

Schools of limited recruitment like grammar and technical have in general been able to avoid the most crippling obstacle to educational advance—the oversize classes that afflict so many schools. The Ministry's policy is reduction as early as possible to 40 at the primary and 30 at the secondary stage. According to the Ministry's

report, 1949, 31 per cent. of all primary classes are over 40, and 55 per cent. of all secondary over 30. There are 1,782 classes of over 50 children. The over-all staffing ratio for infants is 32·7; for grammar schools 19·4.

Owing to the rise in the birth-rate the L.C.C. accepts as inevitable that the size of classes will increase substantially for some years. In a review by the Birmingham Education Committee in May 1949 the calculation for needs was based on primary classrooms for 45 and secondary for 40.

With a grimly fanciful touch an H.M.I. nicely sums up the position: "Like Alice and the Red Queen, we have to run faster even if we only want to stand still" (Ministry's Report, 1948).

The Place of the Independent Schools

It became evident during the widespread discussion that preceded the Act that no agreed solution could be found to the problem of finding a place for the independent schools in a unified national system of education. They differ from the state system in so far as access to them is based on considerations and criteria extraneous to the individual's educational needs. Hence a grave, and to some intolerable, limitation of their function. And as for the needs of society, it can be said that in the English educational system the state, the local authorities, and the schools themselves all share in their interpretation, as do the voluntary bodies that are officially or unofficially associated with the system. The public schools claim the right to interpret their functions without interference by the state or the L.E.A.s. To challenge this right is to challenge the right of any school to be independent, a course not acceptable to the majority and not to all reformers. "No sane person", says the Fabian pamphlet *Next Steps,* "would support a general proscription of all private education". But the public schools have more than educational significance. Their claim by tradition and influence to be the schools of the nation has involved them in a challenge to become schools of the people.

The White Paper shelved the problem of the public schools, as did the subsequent Act, on the grounds that this field of policy fell within the terms of reference of the Fleming Committee. This had been appointed in 1942 at the joint request of the Governing Bodies Association and the Headmasters' Conference "to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended". The *Fleming Report* later, in 1944, recommended two Schemes, A and B.

Scheme A mainly affects the direct-grant schools. The Committee, in an interim report in 1943, had been divided on the question of the abolition of fees in these and other grant-aided schools, the majority being in favour of abolition.

In the event, the D.G. schools, reduced under the scheme from 231 to 166, continue to charge fees, but subject to the provision of 25 per cent. admission of ex-primary school free-placers, and in many cases a further number of places reserved by the L.E.A. Thus generally not less than 50 per cent. residuary places are left to be filled by the governors with fee-payers, who may, however, be granted, according to means, partial or total remission. By 1948 fewer than one-quarter of all the pupils in these schools were paying full fees, and the majority were paying none. But the principle of fees continues to draw a line of division between them and the rest of the grant-aided schools.

Scheme B, mainly affecting the independent boarding schools, proposed that schools participating should offer 25 per cent. of their annual admission to pupils from grant-aided primary schools as state bursars or sponsored by the L.E.A.s. Upon quinquennial review the stipulation as to previous schools should be relaxed in a progressive application of the principle that "schools should be equally accessible to all pupils."

In spite of the Minister's blessing in Circular 120, in 1947, only 85 of the 594 places put at the disposal of the Minister's Committee on Boarding Education by the independent and other schools were applied for by the L.E.A.s. The numbers actually allotted for 1948, 1949, and 1950 were 155, 184, and 102 respectively. Results through this channel are insignificant.

Under direct arrangements between the L.E.A.s and the schools, made both before and after the *Fleming Report*, the number of boarding-places is larger. Returns show 123 of the 146 L.E.A.s assisting fully or partially 4,741 boarders, including 2,096 at independent schools.

The reasons for the comparative failure to implement the Scheme B proposals are various: the L.E.A.s have generally desired to justify the preferential treatment of high-cost boarding pupils on the grounds of social and educational need. They have been concerned for children whose home conditions are for any reason unsatisfactory, or who need the total surveillance of a boarding school. And of these only one in four is judged to be able to profit by the grammar school type of education generally afforded by the public schools. Hence the L.E.A.s are looking more to providing their own boarding arrangements than to the public schools. The development plans indicate some 30,000 places to be made available, mainly in secondary schools in rural areas. Surrey opened the first L.E.A. secondary boarding school at Ottershaw in September 1947.

The Royal Commission on population in 1949 proposed to increase family allowances and income-tax reliefs to counter family limitation due to the increasing cost, and in fact the increasing amount, of private schooling. Their concern is not only with the above schools but with the large number of private establishments

outside the system, to which Part III of the Act relates. Pending its implementation by Order in Council, Circular 196 (based on Part IV, Section 72) authorised H.M.I.s to visit and report. With the assistance of retired inspectors, reports on 1,209 of 4,000 schools not previously inspected were completed during 1949. The nation finds itself at present in no case to dispense with the accommodation they offer, much as the bulk of it falls below standard.

Qualitative Change in the Schools—The Primary Stage

Under the Act, nursery education became a duty which the L.E.A.s were obliged to undertake in response to the needs or demands of their areas.

Since Margaret MacMillan founded the first open-air nursery school in Deptford, development has been admirably guided by the advance of child study, and the nursery school has inaugurated a new era in the education of young children. It has taken the home into full partnership, related its provision to the whole needs of the child, provided a field for natural learning through sensory experience, play, and free activity, trained for good physical and social habits, and enlisted the co-operation of all concerned with children.

The wording of the Act favours nursery schools as separate entities rather than nursery classes. The report of a N.U.T. Consultative Committee, who carried out a wide and expert investigation between 1946 and 1949, considered the merits of three possible types of nursery education: nursery schools from 2 to 5, nursery classes attached to infant schols from 3 to 5, and nursery-infant schools from 2 to 7. The general educational principle of continuity and smooth transition was considered especially important at that stage.

Virtually eclipsed as such during the war, the nursery schools, under the stimulus of the Act and with the support of the Nursery Schools Association (founded 1923), quickly recovered and extended their ground by the conversion of a large number of the 'war-time nurseries'. From 1939, when there were 120, fewer than half of which were maintained by L.E.A.s, they had increased by 1949 to 412 maintained and 23 recognised schools for 22,018 children. Approximately three times that number were by the same date in organised nursery classes.

There had already been a check to expansion in 1947, when increase was limited to areas where women were engaged in industry. As a result of more recent economic stringencies and the absolute need to provide for expanding numbers of compulsory school age, further provision of nursery schools has been generally postponed.

So far as the L.E.A. plans are concerned, the prospect is bright and shows varied provision of nursery education for some 50 per

cent. of the appropriate age-group. And in other respects the nursery school is in a strong position. It has demonstrably supplied a need in modern industrial society and there is a growing demand from all classes stimulated by the general social conditions of modern urban life. But quite apart from social demand, nursery education has been proved to fulfil the educational needs of young children, and is for many the only adequate bridge between the maternity and child-welfare services and the infant school.

The unhampered working-out of the new educational methods in the nursery school has had a beneficial effect both directly and indirectly upon the early stages of compulsory education. The infant school, however, derives from traditions of an earlier age, and has always been incorporated in the 'elementary' system. Earlier attempts, therefore, to introduce the 'revolutionary' methods met with an almost involuntary resistance. This has now largely disappeared, and where conditions permit practice to conform to principle, there has been a great advance.

But too many infant school buildings were not designed as places for living, and many lack the essential amenities to train children in the kind of personal and social habits or to enjoy the kind of experiences and activity characteristic of the nursery school. Until more buildings can be provided, along with more generous amenities and equipment, and above all until the size of classes can be reduced and correspondingly more infant teachers trained, the real advance that has been made since the 1933 report of the Consultative Committee on *Infant and Nursery Schools* cannot become fully apparent.

In an address to the College of Preceptors in January 1951, the Chief Inspector of the L.C.C. stated his conviction that a revolution was taking place in primary education. Teachers were showing their faith in the new teaching methods. His views, supported by the reports of the London inspectorial service, endorse those expressed in a section of the Ministry's 1949 report dealing with the trends of educational ideas and school practice. H.M.I.s note the change in atmosphere that has come over the primary school in the last ten years. This is a product of several factors: the reorganised primary school has now a life of its own, there has been a marked change from formal to more personal methods, and from instruction to more natural ways of learning, and the wider and more varied scope given to creative work has brought zest and happiness into the classroom.

Measurable standards of attainment are shown by H.M.I.s gradually to have recovered from the set-back of war years, but not yet to pre-war level. The children, however, have more understanding of what they do.

The new methods, of course, are not without their dangers under unsuitable conditions, with over-large classes and lack of space and

equipment; nor is there real advance when methods become 'fashionable' without a supporting growth of conviction. The baneful influence of 'selection' at 11 will continue until parity of conditions at the secondary stage has induced more parity of esteem, parents have been educated in wise choice of schooling, and methods of allocation win the confidence of all concerned.

In short, it is fair to say that while the primary schools as a whole have by no means progressed as far along the lines of 'activity and experience' as the nursery and infant schools, methods based on respect for individuality, children's natural responses, co-operative social living, and freedom of growth are gradually bringing about change on a wide scale.

"Perhaps," says an H.M.I., "what has changed most is the willingness to change."

The Secondary Stage

The secondary modern schools' immediate problem in the last few years has been to plan for the longer school life consequent upon the raising of the age of compulsory attendance to 15 as from April 1st, 1947. From a section of the Ministry's report for 1948 dealing with the difficulties facing the schools and the quality of their response, three valuable deductions may be drawn: first, that a fourth year planned as an integral part of a four-year course improved the pupils' attitude to learning and to vocation and added a real contribution to the social life of the school: secondly, that an 'extra year' given either to 'consolidation' or to entirely new or narrowly vocational subjects was not successful: and thirdly, that equipment, apparatus, and books needed to be provided in many areas on a secondary as opposed to the old 'elementary' scale.

Along with other schools the modern schools are appraised in the Ministry's report for 1949. The H.M.I.s find that many are good judged from the human social point of view, and that free and natural behaviour has displaced the old regimentation. Moreover, increasingly "the time-table is becoming a confession of faith rather than a formula". Could advance be better summarised?

Developing the Hadow tradition, the L.E.A.s are increasing the provision for practical work as fast as the difficulties permit, and thus affording more children the stimulus of achievement in varied media. There is increasing awareness of the place and function of environmental studies, and a linking of school with community life often in a 'two-way' relationship. Modern schools are now choosing to follow the example of the grammar schools, not by attempting their academic methods, as often in the past, but by developing their 'out of school' life as social communities. In this respect they may well go farther and faster. Free from the grammar school's preoccupations, the modern school is in a better

position to foster socially co-operative relations *within* its curricular life. The 'project' has become a characteristic activity, and the 'centre of interest' a typical method, in the modern schools.

How far are they solving the problem that is peculiarly theirs—that of 'secondary education for all'? The test of the modern school as a distinct, though not necessarily separate, type may well be its success in developing articulate thought and scientific attitudes in ways appropriate to the non-academic intellect and so preparing the young for life in a democracy where every man's opinion counts, and for modern technological society.

Apart from the problems of organisation and nomenclature already considered, the line of advance of the secondary technical from the old junior technical schools is seen in a broadening of their curriculum of general studies, the provision of more scope for aesthetic and cultural subjects and pursuits, and the development of their own community life. The difficulties are that many are still housed in technical colleges and therefore live under increasing pressure and within a too rigid framework for social and cultural expansion. In general, their recruitment is of a quality too low to fit them for the role of technical high schools, and a still fairly general practice of admission at 13 robs them of their share of abler pupils. In so far as their pupils continue to take up apprenticeships or to go to the senior college at 16, sixth form courses are unlikely to develop to any important extent.

Each school is in a position to develop its particular bias, building or engineering, or local industries, as the centre of interest of a wide and varied educational field. The Ministry, the teaching profession, the trade unions, and the leading employers have all declared against any narrow vocational or trade training before the school-leaving age of 15. Nevertheless, the close links that these schools have with industry and with the senior colleges are valuable in themselves and educationally beneficial.

Increase in the provision of grammar school education has been considerable. Using as a gauge the number of children of 13, the percentage in grammar schools increased in the ten years 1938–48 from 13·5 per cent. to 19·9 per cent. During the same period the number of candidates for School Certificate increased by some 40 per cent., and for the Higher Certificate by the remarkable amount of 100 per cent. The growth of the size of Sixth Forms shows a strengthening of a most characteristic and important feature.

While sharing with other schools the improvement of certain kinds of provision and facilities, the grammar schools have lost their specially privileged status and now come under a common secondary code. In the changes brought about by the Act they have not been altogether happy. They have had great difficulties in recruiting staff, especially for science subjects, and internal

frustrations and external inducements have caused some drift of well-qualified teachers from the schools.

One important change, foreshadowed by the *Norwood Report* (Secondary Schools Examinations Council, 1943), and introduced by the Minister's acceptance of the S.S.E.C. 1947 proposals, was the abolition of the School and Higher Certificates as from 1950, and the substitution of a single examination for the General Certificate of Education.

The downward age-limit of 16 on September 1st of the year of entry is a corollary of the intention of the measure to postpone the examination as late as possible in the school course, and give the schools freedom to plan continuously from 11 to 18 without the traditional break at 16, or the domination of the middle school by external examination syllabuses. Matriculation on a higher level than hitherto is restricted to actual university entrance, and can no longer be asked for by employers.

It is far too early to foresee the effects upon the schools; but until the age-limit is raised, as intended, to 17, there is high likelihood of a fairly general adaptation of the new examination to the *status quo*. This will accord with a social habit of early leaving and the demands of parents and employers for a certificate. School internal certificates based on school records and tests, as recommended by the S S.E.C., have little immediate chance of proving acceptable.

No resulting change reported so far construes the new conditions as an opportunity for a thorough reconstruction of the grammar school curriculum.

The Teacher and His Allies

In the last analysis, reform of education depends upon the teacher. What are the attitudes and resources that are helping the teachers to change the schools?

When, after evacuation, the time came for reconstituting the schools, the teachers brought much novel experience to the task. The younger men and women, back from the services after a long break with the classroom, returned to the job with a new perspective and a readiness to apply techniques inspired by those of service training and army education. The emergency training colleges drew from new and varied fields a large recruitment of mature men and women with a genuine calling, and gave them an experience which, though short, presented education as an adventure giving scope to initiative, wide accomplishments, creative human relationships, and democratic community building. There was much two-way traffic between the colleges and the schools, and the benefit was not one-sided.

The normal colleges made both parallel and imitative response to the challenge of change.

To the main body of teachers the McNair recommendations of a single status as qualified teacher and a basic salary scale throughout the service gave a sense of enhanced prestige and professional unity. The University Institutes of Education include in their expanding responsibility services to all the teachers in their area. They are helping to promote unity and liaison within the service: they are discovering new needs and resources. Bristol affords imaginative examples in a 'workshop' of social studies and the training of research co-operators among the teachers in the schools. London University Institute provides examples too numerous to mention.

The teachers' professional organisations are developing more fully the educational side of their work. The N.U.T. has in hand a far-reaching plan which has already fructified in wide provision of summer schools and a number of reports by *ad hoc* committees of experts. And at a time when courses in wide variety are offered by many other bodies, the response of teachers to Ministry and L.E.A. courses is more than double that of the pre-war years.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and others have spoken of a notable growth of co-operation between the churches and the teaching profession as a result of the 'concordat' of 1944. Where in the schools the new freedom in the time-table has been used to place religious instruction in the hands of the more competent teachers of the subject, H.M.I.s have noted a marked improvement. This has met with the approbation of Anglicans and nonconformists alike. The change in attitude from the bitter dissensions of 1902 accords with an integral view of spiritual development through the whole life and learning of the school.

In *The Health of the School Child, 1939–45*, the Chief Medical Officer describes the transformation in policy and scope of the ancillary services during the war. Their great benefit to the children has entailed additional responsibilities upon the teachers. Teachers generally have accepted the broad educational implication of the linkage of education with the social services. They have, however, wisely pressed that the purely routine work involved should not be allowed to encroach upon their more vital duties.

From the nursery stage upwards the schools have been bringing more parents to an understanding of the child's education. The publicity attending the Act, and its consequences, have made parents more conscious of their rights and duties. With the encouragement of the Ministry and L.E.A.s, parent-teacher associations in greatly increasing number have given institutional form to a partnership between school and home.

School is no longer confined within the walls. There has been a remarkable development of school journeys: from the grammar school seniors' 'week in industry' or field-study fortnight to the

primary juniors' exploration of the neighbourhood. Many more children have the benefit of community life in camps. Everywhere there is more movement within and outside the schools. Obsolete restriction has been removed.

The best school broadcasting system in the world has interpreted and fostered the new spirit in the schools with a service ranging from music and movement for the infants to religion and philosophy for the sixth forms—and this service is very widely used. It has given special stimulus and guidance to the new environmental and social studies. The National Committee for Visual Aids has laid down the pattern for production and distribution and is gradually developing its services, though hampered by inadequacies of provision in the schools and elsewhere.

Locally the library service is alive to newly found needs in many schools and ready to offer space and facilities. Museums are relating their function with insight to the needs of school children. The Geffrye Museum, for example, has devised an adventurous and original series of individual and group activities.

The Central Bureau for Educational Visits promotes exchanges and school linkages with foreign countries, while the Council for Education in World Citizenship, which already has well-established relations with the grammar schools, is extending them to the modern.

Officially published or sponsored pamphlets strike a human note of wide appeal and present the Ministry as friend and ally of the teachers. And, representing the Ministry, but with their fine tradition of independent judgment, H.M.I.s offer advice and suggestions that are well in the van of educationally progressive thought.

Education Beyond School

The present and projected development and the hampered advance of further education are described in the previous article. A survey of school education as a continuous process must take note of the transition from school to the stage beyond, in at least two phases: passage to 'further education' for the many and to 'higher education' for the few. The former makes an interesting and significant study in the interrelations of educational with social and industrial progress.

In the lamentable postponement of county colleges—the principle of which has already been on the statute book for over thirty years—the war-time momentum of day training, the changed attitude of employers, the zest of the young worker for technical training, the response of the technical colleges to the demand, together with the support of parental and public opinion, have brought about the rapid growth of a system of continuation schooling through day-release classes. This is good in itself, but has the possibility of

wresting policy away from the balance envisaged in the educational plans for county colleges.

Essential to the latter are education for citizenship, health of body and mind, and a more cultured leisure. In other words, the county colleges are designed to carry forward from school the general education of the young worker. Fortunately the employers are coming to see the vital need of education for industrial morale and for human and social relations in the productive community. When provision is available, they are therefore the more likely to support the aims that take account of something more than technical training.

So much for the principle of continuity. There remains a problem of integration.

The educational system has also recognised its responsibility for the youth service. The latter reflects a twentieth-century change in the pattern of social bases, and a new allegiance of youth to 'organisations' as distinct from home and workshop, and, with exceptions, from church and school.

How will the youth service share the field with the new county college?

Lastly, as a result of the Employment and Training Act of 1948 there is the youth employment service, for which most L.E.A.s have assumed responsibility. Like the county college, this service, with its follow-up, bridges the change from school to work. A report of the Kent Education Committee in September 1949 considers that the missing county college is the vital piece in the jig-saw. All three services are real measures of reform. Notable advance will be recorded if they develop into an integrated stage of education.

While the part-time county college for the modern school-leaver is still a reform to be accomplished, considerable advance has been achieved in affording opportunity to the grammar school boy or girl to continue education at the university. By 1947, state scholarships had doubled the pre-war figure of 360, and L.E.A. awards had similarly increased. In addition, supplemental awards have been made available to all open scholarship holders according to need, thus freeing the local grants.

The number of pupils who go to universities from modern or technical schools is negligible, though future technical high schools may alter this state of affairs. Technical state scholarships have stood at 100 annually for some years, and 20 state scholarships for mature students have been offered annually since 1947. But the path to the university at 18 is virtually the monopoly of the public and grammar schools.

To maintain university expansion after the large influx of subsidised ex-service students had ceased, the Working Party on University Awards recommended a very considerable further increase of state and local awards to a point at which two-thirds of

all university students would be subsidised. Their recommendation that state scholarships should be raised to 2,000 was given effect in March 1951.

Thus, although P.E.P. in a Pilot Survey in 1950 concluded "that the children of manual workers are grossly under-represented at all the British universities", it is manifest that a great broadening of the highway to the university now offers, if not equal opportunity to all, an ampler scope than ever for all who are equal to their opportunities.

Renaissance and Reformation

If from this survey and appraisal we conclude that the pace of educational advance in the schools as a whole has outstripped the pace of provision, this conclusion will be in keeping with the judgment which few will dispute: that hitherto the schools have served the nation better than the nation has treated the schools. The awakening concern of the nation for its schools has coincided with, and to some extent released, the forces of an educational renaissance.

This belongs to the spirit of education. The reformation of structure is slow in our national habit; and the structure of education we inherit commits us to overmuch disunity and inequality. But there is little room for doubt that if provision could match demand or even need, an educational revolution of startling magnitude would follow. Democratic reformers might then look to the spirit of that revolution to mould institutional education, and not as they must at present to forces, political, economic, and social, outside the educational sphere.

H. Raymond King.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH UNIVERSITIES SINCE 1945

THE war of 1939–45 compelled the nation to see that her universities had become indispensable. She looked to them during those years for a springing flow of trained technicians and scientists, for men who could think and plan, and they did not fail her. Since 1940, indeed, the popular Press has come to accept the universities as part of the national social structure, not as a luxury for a rather detached few. Dons have been among those chosen to be members of the cabinet, heads of government departments, chieftains in the Civil Service, even ambassadors to foreign powers.

During the war years, and in the immediate post-war period, one after another of the committees set up by the government made it clear that they wanted the universities to take on considerable new responsibilities. The Barlow Committee asked for an annual production, within ten years from 1945, of double the 1938–9 number of trained scientists and technologists; the Clapham Committee for more facilities for social and economic research; the McNair Committee that the universities should have far more responsibility than before in the education of teachers. The Goodenough Committee declared that widespread reforms were needed in the training of medical students, both undergraduate and postgraduate, and the Scarborough Commission that the universities alone could provide for a very necessary increase of African and Oriental studies. The Loveday Committee recommended that the universities should take immediate steps to raise the standard of higher education in agriculture, and the Committee on Veterinary Education that more veterinary schools should be rapidly developed as parts of universities; while the Teviot Committee pressed for a vast expansion in the numbers of dental students.

Why should demands of such size and complexity have poured in upon the universities in the years 1945–8? Should not some, at any rate, of the powerful and imaginative committees which reported have looked to the creation of new institutions to satisfy the vast and growing needs of which they were so conscious? It is not enough to give the easy answer that, while the universities were already in being, it would have taken time and energy to found new specialist colleges; for a demand that is urgent enough can build not only in imagination but in bricks and mortar too.

No doubt an obvious way of giving prestige to the extra numbers of trained technologists, teachers, agriculturalists, and veterinary surgeons required was to see to it that universities were intimately concerned in producing them. It is clear that universities can guarantee standards, but the fundamental reasons why men looked to the universities lie deeper. First, they hoped that, in addition to training the necessary scientists, technicians, and sociologists, a university would also educate them—bringing them into the main stream of our cultural tradition. But secondly, they recognised that a university is a responsible body and, because so responsible, granted a freedom which permeates its life and outlook. They were afraid that any conceivable alternative institution would be more directly under state control, and, however gentle that control, it would tend to be somewhat remote, impersonal, and in subtle indefinable ways a threat to the development of the individuality which is still precious to the democratic Englishman.

The universities themselves, however, in expanding to meet the vastly increased demands made upon them, are becoming year by year more dependent on funds supplied by the taxpayer and the state. As long as they satisfy the needs for trained men and women of which the nation in general is conscious, all may go happily. But what if they fail to supply those apparent needs, and fail as well to convince the nation that it may not be right to satisfy all its demands? If the country asks for engineers, will it be content if they give it historians? Or if it asks for economists, will it be enough if they for economists give it philosophers? What if the universities cannot convince the nation that the needs to which they believe they are ministering are true needs? Such failure to convert will very soon and very surely compel the nation to try to create other institutions to satisfy its needs, real or imaginary.

A situation is, in fact, fast developing by which the universities, free as yet, are going to stay free only by influencing, modifying, and educating national demands at the same time as supplying them. Never has it been so imperative that the universities should realise their responsibilities and the importance of public relations. Never have vice-chancellors needed so much to be statesmen or professors to think about the consequences, as well as the accuracy, of the facts they are giving their students. It is not by accident that more thinking about the proper nature of university education has been done within our universities themselves since 1944 than in any previous period of equal length.

University Expansion

In the last normal academic year before the war (1938–9) there were 50,248 full-time students in British universities. By 1945–6 there were 51,622, by 1949–50 85,421. The corresponding numbers of full-time members of staff were: 1938–9, 3,717; 1945–6, 4,910;

1949–50, 7,930. In spite of the great increase in size of the student population, the proportion of teaching staff and paid research workers had risen from a ratio of 1 : 13 5 to a ratio of 1 : 10·8.

All the universities and university colleges were much larger in 1949–50 than they were in 1938–9. Oxford, for example, increased its student numbers by 45·8 per cent., Cambridge by 34·6 per cent., Manchester by 108 per cent., and the university colleges together (Exeter, Hull, Leicester, and Southampton) by 373 per cent. Two of the most noteworthy enlargements occurred at the two university colleges recognised for Treasury grant for the first time at the beginning of the session 1945–6. Hull and Leicester were, in 1939, small colleges with a total of 244 students between them. By 1950 they had 877 and 706 students respectively—and each has now as many students as the University of Sheffield had before the war. Two other events during the post-war period were the granting of a charter to Nottingham, by which in 1949 it became fully a university, and the foundation of the University College of North Staffordshire, the special significance of which we shall comment on later.

Perhaps even more remarkable than the rapid rise in the number of students and staff since the war has been the transformation in degree of dependence for income upon the state. As late as 1945–6 the proportion of the annual income of the University of Oxford received from recurrent Treasury grant was 30 per cent. By 1949–50 it had become 54 9 per cent., while at a typical modern university like Birmingham it rose from 48·7 per cent. in 1945–6 to 68·8 per cent. in 1949–50. The reasons for increases of such magnitude are several. A student's fees cover less than a quarter of the cost of his university course. This means that the greater the number of students, the greater by far the cost to the university of educating them tends to be. Secondly, inflation will inevitably make smaller the relative contribution of endowments to total income. Thirdly, new income in the form of large donations from private sources can hardly be expected any longer, because most would-be donors are no longer wealthy and everyone is highly taxed. There is, indeed, every reason to expect that the proportion of income which the universities obtain from the Treasury will, in coming years, grow much greater still. From no other source can universities hope, even dimly, to get grants to enable them to erect and equip new buildings and to maintain, let alone to renew, the fabric of their old ones.

It is worth remarking in this connection that never before the founding of the University College of North Staffordshire has a university institution in this country been established with virtually no private endowments. The money for its buildings and their furnishing has practically all been supplied by the state, whereas,

before, Treasury grants had been made available only to help an institution already in existence but struggling to make ends meet.

The State and the Universities

In July 1946 a highly significant statement was circulated to the universities by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals under the title *A Note on University Policy and Finance, 1947–56*. One section dealt with future relationships between the government and the universities.

> The universities [say the vice-chancellors] entirely accept the view that the Government has not only the right, but the duty, to satisfy itself that every field of study which in the national interest ought to be cultivated in Great Britain is in fact being adequately cultivated in the university system, and that the resources which are placed at the disposal of the universities are being used with full regard both to efficiency and economy In the view of the Vice-Chancellors, therefore, the universities may properly be expected not only individually to make proper use of the resources entrusted to them, but collectively to devise and execute policies calculated to serve the national interest And in that task, both individually and collectively, they will be glad to have a greater measure of guidance from the Government than until quite recent days they have been accustomed to receive

Here is the astonishing spectacle of the universities themselves, realising their widening responsibilities in a changing society, apparently asking the government to interfere more in their work and policy. In fact, unless there had been fundamental trust that any British government would have a close understanding of what university ideals were, no such request for guidance could or would have been made.

Very soon after the issue of this document the terms of reference of the University Grants Committee were changed. Until then, from the date of its foundation in 1919, its terms of reference had been simply "to inquire into the fundamental needs of university education in the United Kingdom and to advise the Government as to the application of any grants that may be made by Parliament towards meeting them". Since 1946, however, its powers have been very considerably widened. Its duties are now "to inquire into the financial needs of university education in Great Britain; to advise the Government as to the application of any grants made by Parliament towards meeting them; to collect, examine, and make available information on matters relating to university education at home and abroad; and to assist, in consultation with the universities and other bodies concerned, the preparation and execution of such plans for the development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to ensure that they are fully adequate to national needs."

The Grants Committee has been enlarged so that it now consists of some sixteen persons, most of them actively engaged in full-time

university teaching or educational work. Since the war it has set up a number of specialist sub-committees, consisting of members of the main Committee with an appreciable proportion of other men and women having particular knowledge of the subjects concerned. In this way a larger number of practising experts and university teachers than before shares in the Committee's work. The Committee keeps in close touch with the relevant government departments so that its information about national needs is up to date, while the Ministries themselves are given the means of knowing what provision is being made for training men and women in the universities to meet a developing situation.

But it must not be forgotten that the state can, to some extent, affect the shape of universities by the grants it gives through various agencies other than the University Grants Committee for research and for the payment of students' fees. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Medical Research Council, and the Ministry of Supply, for example, have all financed schemes of research which they considered particularly useful to society and suitable for carrying out in university laboratories and clinics. No government department offers comparable grants for advanced work in pure arts subjects. Indeed, a large proportion of the money from private firms or individuals—Imperial Chemical Industries, Lord Nuffield—has also tended to be given for investigations in scientific, technical, or medical fields.

Since 1945 there has been a great increase in the number of university teachers serving on committees set up by government departments on many matters and subjects. Up and down the channels cut in this way between the nation and the universities invisible but rapid currents of influence can flow.

Students

With the vast increase in the size of universities, has there been a falling off in student quality? The years 1945–8, with their influx of mature ex-service men as students, were, no doubt, unrepresentative. But can the present size of the British universities be maintained without a lowering of pre-war standards in student entry and, perhaps, eventually in the standards for Pass and Honours in degrees themselves?

Widespread inquiry seems to show that while the total number of men and women of outstanding ability is little, if any, greater than before the war—and therefore that the proportion of such students is appreciably lower—the number of students of 'second-class Honours' calibre has greatly increased. Few universities wish further to increase their size, at any rate for the time being, but most feel that they can healthily remain almost as big as they are. And there is evidence to show that numbers of men and women not at present reading for degrees in universities have the ability to do so.

Some of them, of course, are among the many reading for external degrees of the University of London or for national certificates or diplomas at technical colleges. Others are among the 20 per cent. of the most able students taking a two-years course at a teacher training college.

Since the war, with the widening availability of grants for university courses, few grammar schools have failed to send at least two or three boys or girls to universities year by year. But it is significant that some parts of the country send an appreciably higher proportion of the 18–21 age-group to universities than others. Before the war about 1 in 1,000 of the whole population of Great Britain was reading for a degree or diploma at a university, the proportion in Scotland by itself being 1 in 450. Now, about 1 in 600 in Britain as a whole is studying in a university, but in Scotland nearly 1 in 300, and in the region around Aberdeen something like 1 in 200 It is difficult to believe that the proportion of people high enough in sheer intellectual ability to profit from a university education is not rather more equal than this between different parts of the island, and that more boys and girls from some English cities which are greatly inferior in cleanliness, beauty, and antiquity to Aberdeen might not justifiably become whole-time university students.

The question remains, of course, whether an education at a university is the best type of education, either in the national interest or for the development of the individual, for more than a proportion of the country's most able young men and women.

The period since the war has seen a sharply increased effort to ensure that the economic factor alone shall not determine whether a boy or girl shall have a university education. The implementation of the report of the working party on university awards, set up by the Minister of Education in 1948, means the raising of the number of state scholarships to 2,000 a year in England and Wales, and the provision of money out of public funds for 11,000 entrants to universities every October out of a total entry of some 16,000, not counting students from overseas. Henceforward, there will be no direction of state scholars to particular universities as there was in the years 1947–9, when any one of the 800 or so state scholars not electing to go to the particular university to which his scholarship was tied had to forfeit his award.

The Subjects of University Study

No attempt will be made to survey in any detail the efforts in the universities since 1945 to provide for new subjects to be taught or for new emphases to be given in the teaching of old ones. Among the subjects or aspects of subjects which are coming to receive relatively greater attention—largely to satisfy national needs —are engineering (including metallurgy and chemical engineering),

nuclear physics, veterinary medicine, and the social sciences (including economics and social psychology). The arts subjects have not perhaps on the whole greatly enlarged their influence, and though there have been developments in the fine arts, including particularly music and painting, these have been small in significance when compared to the large expansion within the pure and applied sciences.

Nor has the extra-mural work of universities blossomed as many at the end of the war hoped it would, in spite of the increase in the number of formally constituted extra-mural departments. The fact must be faced that the universities have not always been particularly enthusiastic in encouraging the extra-mural work that was possible. They have been more concerned to see that the education given to the vastly increased numbers of intra-mural students was properly a university education and that their students' living and working conditions were bearable. Moreover, there have been the preoccupying and time-absorbing claims of research, and a deeply felt need for attending to a subject and specialism.

For many years past two problems of much concern to university teachers have been the relatively low reputation of the Pass as compared with the Honours degree, especially in arts and pure science; and the fact that it has been possible for men and women to obtain a good Honours degree in a highly specialised field without giving much sign that they were generally well educated. Many British universities are beginning to do something, though not yet enough, about both these problems.

With regard to the first, it is becoming increasingly common for the choice for undergraduate students to be between courses leading not to 'pass' and 'honours' degrees but to 'general' and 'special' degrees, both obtainable with the various classes of Honours or at plain Pass standard. It is hoped by many that, in time, more of the ablest students will choose to take General degrees.

One prime motive in the establishment of the new University College of North Staffordshire has been the desire to break away from a tradition of university education which encouraged over-specialisation. Instead of entering its students for external degrees of the University of London, the College has been empowered from the start to confer the degree of B.A., arrangements being made for the College to be 'sponsored' jointly by the Universities of Oxford, Birmingham, and Manchester as a safeguard of standards. All its students have to spend a minimum of four years, instead of the much more usual three, before they graduate, the first year being occupied with foundation studies designed "to give an understanding of the heritage of Western civilisation, of modern society and of the nature, methods, and influence of the experimental sciences". The object of this first year's work is "to develop in the student, at the outset, some appreciation of the

nature and interconnection of the main branches of University Studies". Thereafter students select their subjects in such a way as to ensure that some attention is given to at least one of the humanities, one of the social studies, and one of the sciences.

Another attempt to widen the content of the university curriculum is the arrangement by which, from 1950 onwards, students may offer European Civilisation as one of the subjects for the General degree in arts at Leeds. The course is designed for the study of a series of periods so as "to bring out the inter-relation of social groupings, fundamental thought, and man's expression of these in literature and other arts."

Important though such new plans are for raising the reputation of the General degree, a second challenge still remains. How are the universities to secure that the student for a degree in some specialised field shall not emerge from his university wearing blinkers and able only stiffly to turn his head? The problem may be tackled in all or any of three ways: by widening in various directions the content of the specialism itself; by encouraging, or requiring, attendance at lectures or courses in fields other than that of specialism; by making the university environment itself so compellingly educative that every student is deeply influenced by it. An example will be given of each:

(i) A number of courses for Special degrees in chemistry or mathematics now pay rather more attention than in the years before the war to the history of the development of science, the lives of great scientists, and the philosophy and sociology of science. The University of London, indeed, in 1946 established a Chair in the History and Philosophy of Science.

(ii) The practice is growing in the modern universities of inviting distinguished lecturers to talk to students in time-table hours on subjects of general or cultural interest every fortnight or so throughout the academic year, with no rival lectures or laboratory classes going on at the same time. Such lectures are well attended, if experience at Birmingham, Swansea, and Leeds during the last few years is typical.

(iii) Many modern universities have a large number of departments meanly housed and working in overcrowded conditions. The physical environment in general is apt to be the reverse of educative and will hardly, in Plato's words, "bring men unconsciously both to likeness and to friendship or harmony with the law of beauty". Nevertheless, since 1945 remarkable deeds have been done with paint-pot and brush, and there has been a widespread improvement in the lettering used on university signs and doors, with Perpetua Titling and Gill Sans increasingly popular. Never have there been so many musical recitals, poetry readings, and art exhibitions meant for students as in the years since 1945. But, of course, those

most in need of 'culture' are the least likely to spend their leisure time at such events. And, with the inevitably slow progress made in building further halls of residence in the post-war years, we have postponed taking what may well be the best chance of giving silent education to many in need of it.

The number of postgraduate students has greatly increased since 1945, largely to minister to the national need for much larger numbers of trained specialists. But, as has been pointed out, "much postgraduate work has taken the form of study in narrowly specialised fields of inquiry, not all of which have particular educational value". At Oxford the degree of B.Phil., to be taken by examination, was established in 1946 for graduates working in specified fields in philosophy, politics, economics, Latin, or Greek. There is room for the provision of degrees obtainable on the same basis in other subjects, and for universities other than Oxford to experiment boldly on similar lines.

Student Life and Amenities

As was said earlier, a very considerable attempt is being made in universities to improve the quality of the education given to undergraduates 'within the walls' and of the life they live. Many universities have made increased efforts to provide every student with a tutor who will be interested in him as a person. The efforts often fail simply because there are not enough people on the staffs of universities who are at once willing to be thus personally interested in students and able to give the necessary time to the job. Any system by which the majority of lecturers are automatically assigned a number of students to whom to act as tutor in this way is, perhaps, bound to be only patchily successful.

The wider the social range of students populating the universities the more important it becomes to minister to their education and needs in more than an intellectual sense. In the days when universities were few, and largely peopled by men with the background of a public school education and of a cultured, moneyed home, a university could with some confidence and safety leave to the initiative of the students themselves the provision for physical recreation and the maintenance of health, and for securing the right job at the end of the course, often with the help of the right social contacts. But the more responsible a university is in a democracy for supplying the nation generally with trained and educated men and women, the more it must become conscious of its responsibility for producing not merely technicians but whole people, "liberated in their interests and energies", and for helping the nation to give them the right post in the right place.

Two types of provision for the personal welfare of students which have developed rapidly since 1945, and which have met with a great welcome, are the inauguration in many universities of a

student health service and a great expansion of the work of departments of physical education.

A good student health service will offer a thorough medical examination of each student on entry and, perhaps, at intervals during his course, free consultation upon matters both of physical and of mental health at short notice, and the availability of a sick-bay or sanatorium for short-term use. A service of this kind tends now to be normal rather than the exception.

A lively physical education department, in addition to offering courses which may be part of the curriculum for a degree or diploma, will offer facilities for many types of recreative physical exercise. Undoubtedly many day students at modern universities have benefited (at least physically) in recent years from the hours they have spent in the gymnasium, or at classes for social dancing, or perhaps many miles away from the university at the department's mountain hut, which may be used as a centre for rock-climbing expeditions in term-time week-ends or during vacations.

Among the less familiar amenities which some universities are beginning to offer—as yet on a small scale—is remedial treatment and 'speech education' to students whose standards of speaking are low, whether from physical or from environmental causes.

In most universities there has been a considerable expansion since 1945 in the work of Appointments Boards in placing students in suitable careers; and an even greater expansion (perhaps more doubtfully desirable) in the organisation, chiefly by students themselves, of bureaux at which vacation work can be secured. For the national shortage of labour, particularly in the summer, has made students welcome in many temporary jobs, from hotel waiting to post office sorting, from acting as bus conductors to harvesting crops. There is no doubt that the income derived from such work, even if the work itself has cut into vacation and week-end reading, has helped in many cases to eke out scholarships and grants, and to pay the costs of student travel of which, since 1946, there has been a great increase, especially to countries in western Europe.

The sharp increase in size of the universities has, almost everywhere, sent up the numbers of those living in lodgings. Though a very real attempt has been made, by the appointment of lodging wardens, to choose and supervise lodgings as carefully as possible, there is no doubt that some students are living in lodgings of no very high standard. And in the competition for the better lodgings it is the students from overseas—especially if they are coloured—who tend to be worst off. Indeed, a good deal of heart-searching will be necessary in universities if they are properly to educate the overseas students they accept, a number small still in many universities compared with that applying for admission, but likely to grow greater.

One extraordinarily successful experiment in almost all the

modern universities for the last three or four years has been the organisation of a 'Freshers' Conference' covering the two or three days immediately before the start of a student's first session. The idea is to introduce the university to its new members, explaining to them something of what a university education involves, and about the life and the facilities awaiting them. Often the freshmen will live, during the conference period, in one of the university's halls of residence, even if when term starts they will live in lodgings or at home. Such conferences are more necessary in these days, when many students come from homes in which there is little understanding of the full significance of the opportunities which a university offers. There is no doubt that they can give students the feeling that they are coming into a live community, and that much can be done by this means to deepen the mark which a university education is going to leave upon them.

Universities and Schools

It cannot be said that much progress has been made since the war in bringing universities and schools to a closer understanding of one another than they had before. The tendency towards departmentalism in universities is apt to lead to the assumption that schools are, or should be, the special concern of Institutes or Departments of Education rather than of other departments, and the increase in the number of committees which most professors must attend leaves them less time than ever with which to keep intimately in touch with schools. A certain lack of understanding was shown on both sides in the negotiations which went on between 1946 and 1948 before the introduction of a considerably revised form of School Certificate Examination—though something was achieved when, for the first time, the universities agreed among themselves that from 1951 onwards their basic qualifications for matriculation should be so similar as to permit free interchange, with the exception that Oxford and Cambridge insisted that, for students wishing to matriculate in either, a Pass at the equivalent to Ordinary standard in Latin or Greek in the new General Certificate Examination was still necessary.

In a number of universities a University-Schools Council exists, but its discussions are apt to dig shallow rather than deep. A working party on the relationship between what is done at the sixth form stage and in the first year at the university is much needed—a working party to concern itself with matters of principle and not merely the correction of small abuses in present practice.

Technological Education

As we have seen, the period since 1945 has been one in which the universities have had to take far-reaching decisions about the degree to which they should become more directly involved in several fields

of planned enterprise, regarded by the nation as needed, whose development must depend upon a supply of highly trained workers sufficient in quantity and quality. Three of these provinces are medical education, the education of teachers, and the education of advanced technologists.

The problem of advanced technological education has given rise to many fierce discussions—by no means as yet ended—whether one or more universities specifically devoted to technology should be established; and whether some closer link between technical colleges and universities might be forged. The U.G.C. has already made special grants to secure the rapid development of certain advanced technological studies, chiefly at the postgraduate stage, in universities particularly well suited to provide for them; for instance chemical engineering at Birmingham, wool technology at Leeds, civil engineering at Cambridge. But some of the larger issues are still unsettled. Should a very appreciable proportion of the higher technologists we need be trained in technical colleges and not universities? Should there be a Royal College of Technology, with Fellows, Members, and Associates corresponding in standard of qualification with a university's Doctors, Masters, and Bachelors, though having a less academic 'bias' in their approach? If some of the existing technical colleges are to be given the conditions and the staffing ratio necessary for such a development of higher work, whence will they recruit leading members of staff of the calibre they will need?

Medical Education

The essential choice given to universities by the Goodenough and the McNair Reports was between accepting new and wide responsibilities for doctor and teacher training, and reducing doctors and teachers in the years ahead to clustering under an umbrella held tightly in state hands as their final comfort and protection. The universities felt that in the long run academic and professional freedom would be challenged—and with it some of the freedom of the universities themselves—unless they were to enter into the wider spheres of influence they were offered. The National Health Service Act of 1946 made considerable use of the recommendations of the Goodenough Committee, and was already able to build on the willingness of the universities to play their part in the work of the fourteen Regional Hospital Boards set up by the Act.

All medical schools since 1948 have had a governing body distinct from that of the group of teaching hospitals on which they rely for their clinical teaching material. But it is upon the Minister of Health that the Act lays final responsibility for providing both hospitals for the country and adequate facilities for clinical study within them. The universities have to work through their influence and example rather than by legal right in ensuring sufficient clinical

facilities for their medical students. They will need to be vigilant in protecting the interests of medical education, but in the long run it is upon their readiness to co-operate democratically rather than be 'stand-offish', and upon the weight of their judgment and advice, that the efficient functioning of many branches of the National Health Service seems likely to depend.

Institutes of Education

All the universities and university colleges in England and Wales, except Cambridge, Liverpool, and Reading, have, during the period under review, established 'A'-type institutes, to use the terminology of the McNair Report, under which the university, aided by money from the Grants Committee, takes final responsibility for the preservation of standards in teacher training within its area, whether that training be given in its own department of education or in the training colleges around it. Institutes, as they develop, will be concerned not only with the initial training of teachers but with their continued education and also with fundamental thought about educational issues and methods.

To regard an institute of education as an administrative convenience, a device for securing that teachers in sufficient quantity and of approved minimum standard shall be supplied to the nation, is to think unimaginatively about it. If that is its chief function, it is doubtful whether there is real need for it to be a university institute at all. For the central function of a university can never be to supply professionals of guaranteed efficiency or even research workers of assured competence. Essentially a university is a place for thought, for the mediation of culture and enlightenment. An institute of education, a faculty of technology, a medical school, a department of philology or mathematics or extra-mural studies which is not at heart concerned with finding truth and using truth to civilise men and women, ought not to be part of a university. "In the thick of life's urgencies and its passions", says Ortega, "the university must assert itself as a major *spiritual* power, standing for serenity in the midst of frenzy, for seriousness and the grasp of intellect in the face of frivolity and unashamed stupidity."

Publications about University Education

It is not surprising, in view of the many developments which have been taking place, that the universities should have thought more resolutely about their own life and function. Two seminal books published during the period under review have been Ortega y Gasset's *The Mission of the University* (first English edition, 1946), and Sir Walter Moberly's *The Crisis in the University* (1949). The latter was the outcome of a series of discussions and conferences, still continuing, which involve many university professors and lecturers who take a Christian position.

Both Ortega and Moberly, like Bonamy Dobrée, believe that academic neutrality is not enough in days such as these, and challenge the universities to rise to the height of the times. "In technical advance the universities are showing the way", says Moberly, "but only to a small extent are they protagonists in the transvaluation of values". Michael Oakeshott's essay in reply to Moberly in the *Cambridge Journal* and Moberly's response are both noteworthy.

A vehicle which has carried a lively cargo of thought about university education is the *Universities Quarterly*, whose first number was published in 1946, while the thought-provoking writings about Red Brick of Bruce Truscot—whose identity is still a secret—have continued to be largely read. Privately compiled reports during the period have included the well-informed P.E.P. series, those issuing from some vital groups within the Association of University Teachers and mostly reprinted in the *Universities Review*, the records of the *Conference of Home Universities* held each autumn in London since 1945, and some scholarly publications of Nuffield College, especially *The Problem Facing British Universities*.

Conclusion

In the long run the nation's universities must be an expression and a fulfilment of their own need for culture as well as for technical training. The nation is financing them to supply trained professionals and trained research workers in a wider and wider scatter of specialisms as she sees herself in need of them. But she is also continuing to give them freedom, indeed to pay them to have it, not without hope that they will be a source of culture to her, will raise her own standard of response, will help to show her what living in a civilised way means.

Since 1945 the universities have become increasingly aware of the problems of selecting and catering for students from a greater diversity of social classes than ever before. How waken them to human interests that are wide and deep while training them in the same short years to be skilful and well-informed technicians or professionals? Working in an industrial and on the whole materially-minded society, they must not themselves become industrialised or material in their judgments. New methods of teaching, new approaches to subjects studied may be called for—but it is the vitality and values of the universities as communities which must remain educationally the most important thing.

The universities will have to overcome their reluctance to be public and obviously responsible institutions. The years since 1945 have seen the beginnings of a realisation of what this must entail.

W. R. NIBLETT.

CHAPTER THREE

SCOTLAND

Educational Traditions

SCOTTISH education grew up independently of English education, and it is still separately administered. Scotland has therefore different educational traditions; and in spite of much parallel legislation in the last eighty years, these tend to persist. Ninety-seven per cent. of all Scottish schools are grant-aided, and the vast majority are also rate-aided and governed by local authorities. The administrative problems of religious education have been solved. Co-education is so general, outside of a small number of important schools in the cities and a few private schools, that it is hardly ever discussed and seldom mentioned. Comprehensive secondary schools are common, not on any ground of educational or social theory, but because of the limited population of the areas they serve. There is little boarding school tradition in Scotland, the typical secondary school is a day school situated in a burgh—the academy or high school—providing for the surrounding areas as well as for the town itself. This secondary education has always had a strong academic bias; and a much larger proportion of students than in England, including a considerable number from humble homes, have found their way to one or other of the four old Scottish universities. The Minister of Education has no jurisdiction whatever in Scotland the central authority is the Scottish Education Department, with its chief office in Edinburgh, under the direction of the Secretary of State for Scotland.

These elementary facts may be familiar to many readers of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION; but for the benefit of others it seems advisable to state them in order that what follows may be more completely intelligible.

1918 and 1945: a Comparison

The position of Scottish education in 1945 had much in common with the position in 1918. We were in both these years at the end of a great war that had profoundly modified our thoughts as well as our economic and international position. We had become more conscious of the defects of our educational system in relation to the needs of the present; and we nourished fresh hopes, whether reasonable or exaggerated, of the benefits to be derived from educational reform. In both cases the needs and ideals of the period

culminated in legislative action of profound importance. Both dates were associated with the improvement on a national basis of the salaries of teachers, in 1918 by minimum scales and in 1945 by standard scales. In both cases the legislative provisions were to a certain extent thwarted, in part because of post-war economic difficulties and in part through the fading of the war-time sense of urgency.

The most important change made by the 1918 Act was in administration. The hundreds of small school boards were swept away and replaced by thirty-five county education authorities with members directly elected for the purpose of education. This arrangement gave general satisfaction during the eleven years of its existence; the only substantial criticism was that the rate-fixing local authorities, on whom the annual deficit on the education accounts was proportionately allocated, had no power to criticise the amount or the purpose of the levy. By another Act, however, the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929, which was not an Education Act at all, this arrangement was, for the sake of administrative tidiness (and perhaps to conform more closely to the English model), terminated by the handing over of education to the county councils and the four city councils of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee. When the 1945 Bill came to be drafted, there was some slight prospect that there might be a reversion to the *ad hoc* principle, which in the opinion of many responsible people connected with education had been more satisfactory than administration through a committee of the council; but while expressing a certain amount of sympathy, the Minister concerned refused to be tempted into undertaking the unwelcome task of 'unscrambling the egg'. The 1945 Act concerned itself accordingly, for the most part, with the extension and improvement of educational facilities.

How an Act May Not Operate Fully

There are several ways in which it may come about that the provisions of an Education Act (as of any other Act) may be carried out either ineffectively or not at all; and it is relevant to our subject to consider this point in relation to the 1918 and 1945 Education Acts for Scotland. The whole or any part of an Act may come into force on an 'appointed day'; but if the day is not appointed, nothing happens. Action on a particular section may depend on the submission of a scheme for the approval of the Secretary of State; if the submission of the scheme is delayed with the connivance of the Secretary of State, or if he delays indefinitely the giving of his approval, then again nothing happens. Moreover, circumstances may arise making it difficult to give effect to the terms of a section that is quite precise and mandatory in its provisions; and there may therefore come into existence a silent

conspiracy to do nothing at all. Finally, there are provisions coming under the heading of 'powers' rather than 'duties', the fate of which may vary considerably in different areas, or depend on the zeal or otherwise of the central authority in persuading the local body to use their powers.

The Position in 1945

Let us consider, then, how much 'hangover' of these kinds remained from the 1918 Act till the time when the 1945 Bill was under consideration. In framing the 1918 Act the legislature was nothing if not cautious; for its final section includes a provision that, except as expressly provided, the Act should come into force on a day appointed by the Scottish Education Department, and that different sections could come into force on different days. By October 1920 the 'appointed day' had been fixed for the whole Act with certain exceptions. It took six more years to bring into force the section giving powers to education authorities to pay travelling expenses to students at a distance from continuation class centres. For two of the most important provisions of the Act, however, the 'appointed day' never arrived—the raising of the school age to 15, and compulsory day continuation classes. These provisions had accordingly to be considered afresh by the framers of the 1945 Act.

The creation of advisory bodies was one of the features of the Act of 1918. Section 25 laid upon education authorities the duty of establishing within three months of their first election a local advisory council "for the purpose of advising the authority on matters of educational interest relating to the education area"; and enjoined upon the authorities that they should take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the local advisory council. As this advisory body was regarded as having for its main concern problems arising from the raising of the school age to 15 (which was indefinitely postponed), and as education authorities did not see much need for it, there was no strong urge for its creation either centrally or locally. The whole project was silently dropped and the clause was repealed in a schedule to the 1945 Act.

Another type of advisory council has, however, had a very different fate, though its creation was permissive and not mandatory. Section 20 of the 1918 Act gave His Majesty in Council the power to appoint an advisory council on a national basis "for the purpose of advising the Department on educational matters"; and the Department were enjoined to take into consideration any advice or representation submitted to them by the council. Such a council was in fact appointed; but it could hardly be said that in the period between the wars it occupied any significant place in Scottish education, producing only one brief and not very remarkable report

on technical education. The subsequent and much more active proceedings of the Advisory Council will be dealt with in a later paragraph.

A Period of Ferment

Both war periods brought the people of Britain nearer to fundamental issues; and one of these was plainly to what extent our national system of education required to be reformed or improved to meet changing needs. The many discussions and proposals that preceded the 1918 Act were paralleled by similar discussions and proposals during the course of the Second World War. Broadly speaking the approach was from two directions the political, emphasising concern for the welfare of the future community, and the educational, showing special concern for broader curricula and more satisfactory teaching methods. Let us look for a moment at these two aspects.

The upsurge of German national feeling during the 'thirties had had for one of its characteristic expressions a regimented youth movement showing high patriotic fervour and a strong bias towards physical fitness. In Britain we already had a long tradition of youth movements, diverse in origin and varied in method and purpose, all of them on a voluntary basis and none of them nationalistic in outlook. The organisation of physical fitness, whether through youth organisations or otherwise, had been left to voluntary enterprise. While the First World War came as a surprise to most people, the Second War cast a long and sinister shadow before it. we had a war psychology long before the actual fighting started. The first feeling of alarm arose about physical rather than mental fitness; and the result was the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, part of which was later incorporated in the Education Act of 1945, though not fully digested into it. There had, indeed, since 1918 been a growing sense of the importance of health education and physical fitness, manifesting itself in a variety of practical developments through education authorities and voluntary bodies, or by direct state action. To encourage these developments on a national scale, there were set up two semi-official bodies, the Central Council for Physical Recreation (with a Scottish committee) and the Scottish Council for Health Education. Both of these bodies were in active existence before the passing of the 1945 Education Act.

The outbreak of war in 1939 and, more particularly, the critical phases of the war from 1940 onwards gave a new impulse and a sense of greater urgency to the work of youth organisations. There was a general belief—unlike that generally held in 1914—that the war would be long and exacting and that its end was unforeseeable. There was therefore a call from many quarters, including the young people themselves, for greater responsibilities in the present

and more purposeful training for the future. From this situation there arose three pre-service organisations for boys—the Air Training Corps, the Sea Cadets, and the Army Cadet Force; and also the Girls' Training Corps, with the same general purpose but without any service application. While the war-time tasks assigned to these and other youth organisations were not for the most part so grim as they might have been, the devotion and the readiness to accept training shown by so many young people gave ground for the belief that too little attention had been paid to the training of future citizens, and that there should be systematic provision on a much larger scale of both indoor and outside facilities for training and recreation. The Scottish Education Department was, through its own officers, giving active support and encouragement to the extension of the youth service for a considerable period before the passing of the 1945 Act.

These movements had undoubtedly a social-political rather than an educational inspiration. Was there corresponding movement of thought or action in more strictly educational circles? Apart from the activities mentioned above, the Scottish Education Department appeared in the early days of the war to be complacent about the actual position and sceptical about the need for educational reform. The first moves—as was perhaps natural—came from other sources: the Association of Directors of Education, the Educational Institute of Scotland, and members of the public who were deeply concerned.

Educational reform was in the air: and as often happens many people were saying the same things or the same kind of things about the same time. One of the earliest substantial contributions, however, was *Education in Scotland: Proposals for Reconstruction,* published in February 1943 by the Association of Directors of Education, who had already been working on the subject for a considerable time. In a foreword to this document (which in a remarkable way anticipates so many of the provisions of the 1945 Act), the Directors of Education put the position as they saw it:

> Education is an inseparable part of the social structure of the age to which it belongs, with its political and social ideas, prejudices and limitations, it has no final or typical form, and as society changes rapidly, it too must change with corresponding speed . . We believe that our young people are our national capital. In our time of need we turn to the young; and all our plans for victory involve the lavish spending of that capital. . . . We must reinterpret democracy in the light of new situations and new needs, but in terms of our national genius and traditions. . . . We see more clearly than ever before that idleness of rich or poor, vulgar luxury, and character-destroying conditions of living are an intolerable handicap on our life as a free people. . . . We demand that an educational policy suited to the times be settled in its essentials at an early date, and given the earliest possible fulfilment. We cannot again acquiesce in the subtle treachery of appointed days and disappointed hopes. . . . We know by experience

that a victorious peace after an exhausting war may bring a feeling of disillusion so the need is all the greater now, when we are keyed up to a great national effort, to make plans to carry us over such a period of lesser inspiration

The following is a summary of the main proposals of reconstruction:

(1) The duty of education authorities should be extended to supervising the training of young people up to the age of at least 18

(2) Immediately the war ends the school-leaving age should be raised to 15, with no provision for exemptions

(3) Compulsory part-time education should be introduced up to the age of 18

(4) Vocational guidance and selection should form the link between school and employment, and schemes for the all-round training of young workers should be the joint responsibility of education authorities and industry The main consideration must be not the benefit of the employer, but the opportunity for the young person to gain experience.

(5) Nursery schools should be regarded not as a temporary war measure to enable mothers to work for national needs, and not merely as a palliative for slum conditions, but as an integral part of the state system of education.

(6) There must be extended provision for the serving of nutritious school meals. Proper dining conditions are an essential part of the scheme, and the inculcation of good social manners one of its aims

(7) Every child should have a continuous period of residential school experience

(8) There is need for reconsideration of the curriculum with a view to revitalising it, to making it relevant to contemporary life, and to the further elimination of lumber.

(9) Many children want to leave school at or before 14 because they want activity—actual physical activity for a purposeful object Unless this fact is taken into consideration, the universal raising of the school age will never be a success

(10) The cultivation of good speech and manners in all classes of the community is fundamental in a democratic state, and in the schools their attainment should be the concern of all members of the teaching staff.

(11) Children who are mentally less gifted should not leave school with a sense of inferiority or frustration or with an anti-social bias

(12) Adult education should not be considered as a device to make good what has been denied by premature cessation of schooling or as a cheap imitation of academic studies, but rather as a natural continuation of education for the great majority of people

We make use of this statement of policy for the purpose of further discussion because it is at once brief and comprehensive; but many other pleas for reform were being made with varying emphasis during the same period, notably in the *Scottish Educational Journal,* which published from November 1941 a series of articles dealing with post-war education.

Clearly the above proposals for reconstruction involved a demand for action along two lines, legislative and administrative. The action actually taken in response to these demands may be studied

as regards legislation in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, and as regards administration in relation to the recommendations of the Advisory Council. There was a certain overlap: the Advisory Council was asked for its views on the draft Education Bill before it became an Act, and on the other hand certain of its recommendations might involve legislation; but broadly speaking the two spheres are distinct enough to justify the separate consideration it is now proposed to give. This will take the form of a brief discussion of the main terms of the 1945 Act and the leading proposals of the Advisory Council; of the extent to which these have been implemented; and of the relation that such implementation bears to the original proposals of the reformers.

The 1945 Act: an Educational Revolution

In describing the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945, we must at once acknowledge how much it owed in inspiration, form, and expression to the English Education Act of 1944. The similarity of the two Acts is not surprising, because the conditions and developments which made reforms necessary were common to both countries, the chief differences are accounted for by the differences in administrative arrangements and educational background. Accordingly, most of what is said here about the Scottish Act would apply equally well to the English Act of the previous year.

The 1945 Act was revolutionary in Scottish education; not merely because of the changes it introduced, but even more because it was a bold and self-consistent statement and application of principle rather than a patchwork of educational odds and ends. Its underlying principle is that men are born unequal. In relation to education this means that children differ in the quality and also in the range of their endowment, and should therefore be educated according to their 'ability and aptitude'. One cannot be certain that those responsible for the framing of the Act meant to be quite so revolutionary; but these simple words have far-reaching consequences; particularly within the schools themselves. This admission of the fact of human inequality is complemented by the proclamation of educational equality. It is not promised, indeed it is expressly denied, that every child will get the same education; what is promised is that every child will get the chance to obtain and persevere in the kind of education suited to his talents and interests. If this notion is consciously and cordially accepted in the schools, it will put an end to the practice of measuring the success of a school, or of one school against another, by any single criterion, particularly if that criterion is an arithmetical one, such as the number or percentage of examination passes. To schoolmasters who lived only for successes of this kind stupidity was an irritation, an affront, even a crime to be punished; and the pupil with limited or unacademic talents was publicly labelled by him as a

'blockhead' or 'numskull'. This attitude, particularly in its grosser manifestations, may largely have disappeared; but the principle laid down in the 1945 Act removes the last excuse for it.

If this central principle of the Act be accepted, another important consequence follows: we can no longer be complacent about 'class' teaching. We have to recognise that, in certain subjects at least, the pupils must all be allowed to go at their own pace and tackle what is within their compass. This involves, if not individual work, at least the division of a class into groups for particular purposes; and this again raises large questions of the nature of discipline and the function of the class teacher. It is hardly to be expected that these implications of the 1945 Act will be immediately received with favour by everyone, far less carried into practice; but they have become official policy and so indicate the direction of future development.

Educational inequality has, however, to be compensated otherwise than by variety in the curriculum and a change of classroom methods, because in addition to ability and aptitude there are other circumstances causing inequality, notably health, distance from school, and lack of money. Against all such disabilities provision is made in this or previous Acts. through the School Health Department, which is now linked up with the National Health Service; school meals; free transport for distant pupils to the nearest suitable school; bursaries scaled according to income to enable pupils to stay on at school after the compulsory leaving-age, and adequate grants to enable those who have left school to proceed to universities, training colleges, or central institutions. Besides the ordinary provision for normal pupils of varying capacities, the Act lays upon each education authority the duty of providing suitable education for children with all kinds of mental and physical defects. Power is given to set up child-guidance clinics. Nursery schools or classes must be provided for children between 2 and 5 years of age where sufficient children whose parents desire such education for them can be enrolled. In short, the Act enjoins or permits just about everything that could be reasonably demanded to provide a suitable education for children and young people of different types of ability and in all their varied circumstances.

Two of the main provisions of the Act, the raising of the school age to 15 and the arrangements for part-time compulsory education up to 18, are referred to in later sections.

The Advisory Council

The establishment in 1942 of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland on a new basis, with an influential membership and a number of important remits, shows that the Secretary of State was alive to the need for educational changes long before the passing

of the 1945 Act. The main remits given to the first council—Citizenship, Training of Teachers, Secondary Education, Primary Education—indicated the kind of advice that was expected from the council. It is no disparagement of the other reports of that council, or of the work of the second Advisory Council just completed, to say that the reports which have caused most stir and seem likely to have the greatest influence are those on primary and secondary education. As these reports are publicly available it is unnecessary to summarise them here; it will suffice to indicate their general character.

The main contentions advanced in the Primary Report are that the whole of the curriculum and methods of the primary school should be thought out afresh; that these should follow the child's natural line of physical and mental development in the training of bodily movements, and of the hands, the voice, the eyes; and that such training should form the core of the curriculum from which other activities such as reading, writing, and arithmetic should be developed. The report stressed the importance of 'activity' methods, of maintaining and developing natural curiosity, and of progression from external to internal discipline; and showed in turn how each subject of the curriculum might be affected by the changes recommended in the report.

The Secondary Report, while recognising the many and growing merits of present-day curricula and procedures in Scottish secondary schools, and emphasising the importance of high standards of attainment for pupils having special aptitude for academic studies, emphasises the need for providing a suitable secondary education for all according to their needs and capacities, which would give them an adequate and relevant preparation for entry into the present-day world as workers and citizens. The report also recommended, in keeping with new ideas and conditions, that there should be a new attitude to examinations and sweeping changes in arrangements for the issue of certificates.

"Between the Idea and the Reality Falls the Shadow"

Before making an assessment of the extent to which promise has become performance in Scottish education, it is necessary to take heed of public events both national and international between 1945 and 1951: not to describe them, but to point out their effect on education. For the building of schools there has been a shortage of both labour and materials. There has also been a shortage of teachers, most notably of Honours graduates in mathematics and science, due to industrial competition for their services. Now, in 1952, we have arrived at the position that education must along with other services suffer 'economies' because of financial difficulties and expenditure on military preparation. A cut of 5 per cent. on educational expenditure has recently been demanded.

The present state of recruitment for the teaching profession puts out of the question any reduction in the salaries of teachers; and as these salaries with superannuation payments absorb nearly 70 per cent. of net expenditure, the demand is in effect for a cut of 15 per cent. on all other educational expenditure. Now, much of this remaining expenditure—whether in the form of rates, interest on loans, fuel, or costs of cleaning and repair—tends to rise rather than fall, and by its nature offers little scope for economies. The other chief items show increases because of the terms of the 1945 Act—books, stationery, and handwork materials now supplied free, bursaries and travelling allowances—and these also tend to increase in cost because of general economic conditions. It is absurd, moreover, to pay such a large salary bill while cutting down the relatively minor expenditure which is essential if the work of the teachers is to become effective. There seems to be no escape from the position that the only realistic way to cut down expenditure on education is to decrease the amount of it. Some who realise this have put forward the suggestion that either the school-entering age be increased from 5 to 6 or that the decision to raise the school age from 14 to 15 be rescinded. Both these suggestions have been turned down, but if ever proposed officially they would arouse determined opposition, though not always from the same quarters.

Raising the School Age

The raising of the compulsory school age from 14 to 15 in Scotland has been justified on various grounds: that a child of 14 is too immature to start apprenticeship or training for any worthwhile permanent occupation; that this year, 14 to 15, is a specially difficult one for the adolescent, and can best be spent under the discipline of school conditions; and that this extra year, in which more can be learnt than in any previous year, is a necessary part of the minimum period of secondary education for all. Another point that might be made is that the period of compulsory education was one-fifth of an average life when it was nine years out of an expectation of forty-five, and now it is only one-sixth even with the extra year when it is ten years out of an expectation of life of sixty years. Such arguments must always be qualified by the condition that the extra year spent in school must demonstrably be more beneficial to the child in the long view than the same year spent in employment. On the other side it has been held that pupils kept at school against their will are learning little or nothing and would be much better at work; and that may be true if the courses provided are not suited for the pupils. Here we meet the familiar dilemma that the school age should not be raised because the preparations for it are not complete, and that you cannot complete the preparations unless you have an absolute assurance that the school age will be raised. The compromise method of appoint-

ing the day about two years ahead, doing what can be done meantime, and hoping for the best, was adopted three times, the third time with effect. Even with the best arrangements beforehand, however, it is inevitable that after the age is actually raised there must be a period of experiment and a considerable time-lag before the most profitable use can be made of the additional year of school life.

The 1918 Act provided that the school age would be raised to 15 on a date to be appointed. Most education authorities naturally —perhaps innocently—assumed that this date was not far off, and began to think of preparations. But as time passed it became clear that there was no early intention of doing so. The only persistent advocates of immediate action were the Educational Institute of Scotland (the teachers' organisation), who regularly for ten years passed resolutions and sent them to the Secretary of State and the education authorities—only to be informed that "the time was not opportune" or that their letter had been "allowed to lie on the table". At last, in 1929, official action was taken with a view to the raising of the age in 1931; education authorities were asked to submit proposals, and Provincial Committees to train additional teachers. During 1930 preparations continued: education authorities were asked to submit estimates of cost; discussions took place about maintenance allowances for pupils from 14 to 15; and schemes were prepared showing the educational provision proposed for each area. In the meantime, however, two things happened which adversely affected the position. The composition of the education committees which took over in 1930 from the autonomous education authorities was considerably altered because the majority representation of the county and city councils, many of whose members tended to be critical of the old education authorities, were less conversant with the educational situation, and suspicious of any scheme that might have the effect of raising the local rates. The other event—and the final blow—was the financial crisis, which not only stopped schemes of development but was responsible for substantial cuts in teachers' salaries and other educational expenditure. The new education authorities took the initiative in disapproving of the raising of the school age, and the whole thing was dropped in 1931.

From 1934 there were signs of a gradual change of atmosphere, due once more to outside events. The mass unemployment which followed the financial crisis caused increasing public concern, particularly in its effect on young people. A temporary means of dealing with the situation was found in the setting up by the Ministry of Labour of Junior Instruction Centres which unemployed young persons were compelled to attend as a condition of drawing benefit. A permanent method of dealing with the situation was sought in the Education (Scotland) Act, 1936, which, while

providing for the raising of the school age to 15, opened a wide door for exemptions under the guise of 'employment certificates'. The expression 'beneficial employment' drew what amounted to a moral distinction between such employments and what were called 'blind-alley occupations'—though in fact the apprenticeships which were presumably the most beneficial employments did not normally begin till 15 or 16. A great deal of preparatory work was done both by the Department and local authorities for the prospective raising of the school age on September 1st, 1939; but as may well be imagined, this Act was one of the earliest casualties of the war. The chief educational facts about the war were the mass evacuation of pupils, the shortage of teachers, damage by bombing, the almost complete cessation of school building, and the retardation resulting from all these. Naturally the strong feeling aroused by the handicaps suffered by the war-time generation of school children reinforced the long-term policy that led to the 1945 Act.

The raising of the school age in this Act was achieved under conditions very different from 1936, in a period of full employment, when juvenile labour was scarce and would be made more so by the retention in school of a whole age-group. Moreover, there was no provision for industrial exemption; the only exemption that could be considered was for short periods at a time on account of exceptional home circumstances. The guiding principle of this Act was the more far-sighted one that children being fewer and therefore more precious should for the national benefit as well as their own receive as good and appropriate a school education as their ability and aptitude allowed.

The raising of the school age was duly carried out on the appointed day, April 1st, 1947. Profiting by past experience, the Scottish Education Department and the local authorities made very considerable preparations in buildings, staffing, and curricula. But many difficulties were encountered. Because of limited time and shortage of labour and materials, the greater part of the accommodation required was provided in the form of temporary huts, usually in playgrounds adjoining the permanent school buildings. The scarcity of teachers—particularly secondary teachers—which had developed during the war years, was partly offset by a special scheme of training for selected members of the forces and other applicants. Perhaps the most obstinate of all the problems was the working out, with the existing staff and under existing conditions, of a curriculum and methods of teaching that would secure the interest and justify the retention at school of those who would otherwise have left at 14. What can be said at the present date, the end of 1951, is that a good lead has been given in the Report on Secondary Education of the Advisory Council; that much encouragement and advice, and a good deal of liberty to experiment, have been given by the Scottish Education Department; and that teachers either as

individuals or in groups co-operating with authorities have done a considerable amount of pioneering work. But it has been found that any policy likely to achieve success with the mass of these pupils must be a long-term policy requiring much patience and sustained effort. It would therefore not be true to say that a general solution has yet been found to the problem of finding the best education for these pupils. But it would be a tragedy if the suggestions at present being made in certain quarters, that the policy of raising the school age to 15 is not justified in this period of economic stress, should ever be taken seriously by a responsible government. Subject to this remote possibility, the present position justifies the conclusion that this educational advance since the war has been carried out with purposeful determination, and has in view of the difficulty of the conditions achieved all that might reasonably have been expected. No one, however, supposes that the further raising of the age to 16, also provided for in the 1945 Act, on an 'appointed day', will be within the sphere of practical politics for a generation.

Compulsory Part-time Further Education

While the provision for the raising of the school age has at last been successfully implemented, the same cannot be said for the proposal to provide compulsory part-time further education. Again it is necessary to turn back to 1918 in order to appreciate the present situation. In that year authorities were required to prepare and submit a scheme within one year of the 'appointed day' for compulsory continuation classes for young persons who had left school up to 16 years of age, and at a later date up to 18 years. The minimum number of hours of attendance was to be 320 a year; the classes were to be held before 7 p.m.; and co-operation was enjoined with associations of employers and workers. The instruction given was to consist of (*a*) English and general subjects, (*b*) technical education in relation to the employment of the young person, and (*c*) physical exercises. These proposals made serious demands on employers, many of whom might be seriously incommoded by the part-time absence of young workers; and also on education authorities, who would have to face the difficult task of providing special buildings adapted for these new purposes, and part-time or whole-time instructors with appropriate qualifications outside of their existing staffs. This particular proposal need not be further considered, however, as the section of the 1918 Act authorising these classes never came into force, and received no further legislative mention till 1945.

There exists obviously a relation, whether of priority or importance or both, between compulsory continuation classes and the raising of the school age. They are clearly meant to be complementary; but the question was liable to arise, and has indeed arisen

more than once, as to which of the two measures was more urgent. From 1918 onwards priority has always been given to the raising of the school age, perhaps more from political or social than from strictly educational motives. Yet there are some who have doubted not only the wisdom of this policy but its relevance to the economic realities of the period, and would rather, even at the expense of the immediate raising of the school age, have seen some attempt made to implement the provision for compulsory continuation classes. While it may be doubted whether the practical difficulties of the proposal were realised when the 1918 Act was drafted, there was in the period between the Acts a considerable development of interest in and provision for technical education, and the number of day-release schemes operated by progressive employers steadily increased. The whole matter was therefore ripe for reconsideration, and the proposals of the 1945 Act were accordingly cast in a different form.

The novel feature of this Act was the provision of junior colleges ('county colleges' in England) for part-time education from 15 to 18, the purpose of which was "to enable young persons to develop their various aptitudes and capacities and to prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship". The duties of an authority as regards compulsory further education were to be exercised in accordance with a scheme to be prepared by them and submitted to the Secretary of State within such time as might be prescribed by him. It was at first considered that the junior colleges might be opened in 1950, three years after the date of the raising of the school age. But many disconcerting things have happened since the Act was passed, 1950 has come and gone and there are no junior colleges. The date of their opening has receded to a far horizon in a less troubled world.

The General Position To-day

It remains to consider what has happened to other visions of the war-time period and to the other important provisions of the 1945 Act. Of the latter, some have been substantially carried out. Every authority in the land has very considerably increased its expenditure in two respects, in the conveyance of children to school, and in the provision of all types of bursaries and travelling allowances. School buses have been provided on a generous scale to enable pupils at a distance to attend both primary and secondary schools, and bursary allowances, though by no means uniform in spite of prescribed allowances and scales of parental income, may be regarded as giving a reasonable opportunity for a professional career to all who appear to have the necessary talent.

Formerly the provision of free books was optional; now, since 1945, all books, stationery, mathematical instruments, and practical material must be provided free of charge.

The specific power given in the Act to set up child-guidance clinics has encouraged further development in the more populous centres, and this development seems likely to spread gradually to other areas.

The school milk and meals services, already widely in operation, were made compulsory by the 1945 Act, which left to the Secretary of State the decision as to the way in which the expense of these services should be met. One-third of a pint of milk is now supplied free to all pupils; and there was an intention that the midday meal should also be supplied free as an addition to the 'family allowance'. Though the times have proved too difficult to permit of this proposal being carried out, payment is limited to the actual cost of the raw materials or in special cases even a smaller amount, with complete remission of payment in cases of necessity. Thus in effect fully half the cost of the meals served is met from public funds. According to the most recent statistics, 37·1 per cent. of all day school pupils in Scotland take advantage of the scheme.

Curiously enough, the introduction of an elaborate and generous National Health Service has had for the time being an unfortunate effect on the School Health Service in many areas where it was already well established and working smoothly. During the period before the National Service was able to operate efficiently those parts of the school service to be taken over by them, and before a delimitation of frontiers could be arranged, there was considerable uncertainty and confusion; while the introduction of the free dental service provided such attractive opportunities for dentists in private practice that the school service, built up over a long period into an efficient working scheme, was in many areas practically ruined, and will take many years to recover. As for the other school health services, it cannot be said that all the changes introduced in consequence of the National Health Act have been improvements.

Authorities had already done a good deal—some more than others—in ascertaining what children required special educational treatment and in providing the treatment necessary in each case, and many 'special schools' had been built. The whole problem was, however, systematically dealt with in the 1945 Act. Perhaps the most difficult task was to provide suitable accommodation and staffing for pupils requiring institutional treatment. In this direction progress has been hampered by industrial and financial conditions

The duty of education authorities to provide primary education is defined in the Act as including training in nursery schools and classes for pupils from 2 to 5 years of age; and it is stated that this obligation will be met "if such provision is made at centres where sufficient children whose parents desire such education for them can be enrolled to form a school or class of reasonable size". The demand on the part of the parents has not been so clamant as to

divert education authorities from other and more urgent building tasks. While the public health authorities have in the meantime been making some provision for day nurseries to allow mothers of young children to be employed in industry, education authorities have done practically nothing to implement this part of the Act.

The classification in the 1945 Act of all education for which education authorities are responsible into primary, secondary, and further, may have been regarded by sponsors as a triumph of classification and legal drafting, but has in fact caused much confusion. As has recently been pointed out, there is a vital distinction, completely ignored by the Act, between 'further education' during the adolescent period, when the making of a career and the mating instinct are primary motives, and the 'adult education' which can be satisfactorily undertaken during the later period of comparative stability when the dominant motive should be the understanding of life and the appreciation of its opportunities. The combining of these essentially different periods within the definition of 'further education' produced the strange result that the expression 'adult education' is not even mentioned in the Act; and it is not surprising that this omission has given rise to some unnecessary misgivings. There has in fact been steady progress in adult education, formal and informal, since the war; and it may well develop through time into one of the major activities of education authorities.

Within a narrower definition of further education would be included (*a*) technical education and (*b*) social and recreational training, both provided largely though not exclusively for young persons. Technical education cannot anywhere become widely efficient till the distinction is recognised between the training of the majority of workers to become more skilled in their chosen occupation and that of the more able minority for management and higher technological posts. With the growing recognition of this distinction in Scotland, the development of the corresponding provision, and the increasing willingness of employers to grant day-release to apprentices, there has been a considerable increase in the quality and amount of technical education at all levels. One notable achievement has been the establishment of pre-apprenticeship schools, for pupils over the compulsory age, in building and engineering for boys and nursing for girls.

Some considerable time before the passing of the 1945 Act, the Scottish Education Department, under the pressure of war conditions, devoted much of its attention to the youth service and the development of community centres. These activities were increased after the passing of the Act, and considerable pressure was brought to bear on local authorities to produce elaborate schemes. Because of increasing financial stringency, however, these schemes, including the provision of community centres, village halls, and playing-fields,

were first slowed down and then practically stopped, to the great disappointment of many small communities which had been encouraged to expect generous help. It is only fair to the Scottish Education Department to say that the full operation of this service and of other parts of the 1945 Act was delayed because of facts beyond their control; and that during the post-war period they had many other preoccupations.

The Reports of the Secretary of State on Education in Scotland from 1947 to 1950 make repeated reference to the damage done to Scottish education during the war years through evacuation, bombing, requisition of buildings, and insufficient and makeshift staffing; and it is clearly the opinion of the Department that the damage has been greater than was at first supposed. The reports also suggest that outside social influences are making the work of the schools more difficult—"the growing number of external attractions"—"less concentration"; and they advocate "more emphasis on hard work, less on the immediately pleasurable aspects of schooling". Whatever may be thought of this last statement, which gives unlimited scope to the holders of reactionary views, it must be conceded that Acts of Parliament in themselves bring no Elysium. The generous and imaginative provisions of the 1945 Act must be balanced against the special difficulties of the post-war period if one wishes to make a measured survey of the present position.

Many of the proposals of the Primary and Secondary Reports of the Advisory Council received the blessing of the Secretary of State and have been put into force; but certain fundamental issues have not yet been faced. The reports, however, have won wide recognition as a guide and inspiration to Scottish education for many years, and must, like some parts of the 1945 Act, have their fulfilment in happier days to come.

W. D. RITCHIE.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Social, Geographical, and Historical Background

THE value of educational changes in any country can probably best be studied when viewed in perspective against the general social background and framework of the economic life of the country; it is only when the pattern of all this is clearly seen and understood that one can form a true estimate of the motivating forces, trends, and attitudes behind educational development. But no country, great or small, has as yet succeeded in evolving a system completely its own; much is forced upon it by the exigencies of its geographical and economic position with respect to other countries, much is a relic of the bad old days, and much again is due to internal economic circumstance which may prevent the full realisation of a country's ideals. These influences are as powerful in Northern Ireland as in any other part of the world. So let us consider, for the benefit of those unfamiliar with it, the nature of our country and people.

Northern Ireland covers a small area, 5,238 square miles, or about one-sixth of the total area of Ireland. Its population numbers about 1,300,000, that is about 2½ per cent. of the entire population of the British Isles. About one-third of this population resides in the city of Belfast, the next largest town being Londonderry, with a population of about 48,000.

A community with an individuality of its own is usually to be found inside natural frontiers, and this on the whole is true in this country, with its wild, rock-bound coasts, its mountains, rivers, and lakes. But the individuality and character of the people have not been determined solely by geographical position; they have also been determined by historical associations. This influence is most marked in Northern Ireland, where one can trace very easily a fusion of natural culture and character. The Plantation of Ulster about the year 1610 by a mixture of people of all classes from England and Scotland, and the impact of the characteristics of these people, did much to shape the present-day character of the Ulster boy or girl. Indeed, it has been said that an Ulsterman is merely a Scotsman improved by three hundred years' residence in Ireland! We are not prepared to discuss here the truth or untruth of this, but it illustrates our point.

Irish politics are a little confusing to those unfamiliar with the

country, but some slight knowledge of them is necessary for a true understanding of the educational outlook of the people. Politically, Northern Ireland has no connection whatever with the Irish Republic; but it is closely bound to England by ties political, traditional, and financial. Although the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 gave Northern Ireland its own Parliament with autonomous status in matters of domestic interest such as education, the country still elects thirteen members to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; and in major issues of a world-embracing character Northern Ireland must take her lead from Great Britain.

Here, then, we have a small community of people, on the whole rugged and conservative by nature—thrifty like the Scots, and easy-going like the Irish, yet conditioned to some extent by the Anglo-Norman tradition. One could not describe this country as prosperous, when a large proportion of the people are small farmers working self-owned holdings of, on the average, about thirty acres; one could not describe it as agricultural—though agriculture is its main industry—when one-third of its population lives in a city; nor indeed could it be described as predominantly Protestant or Catholic, when in fact the proportions are about two-thirds to one-third respectively. Not only does this proportion represent a deep religious cleavage, but it also marks a pronounced difference in political outlook; and a difference which has a strong directing influence on the whole course of educational policy.

Besides farming there are of course other important industries employing large numbers of people; and, as industry and education are associated everywhere, many are interested in education because of its influence on local trade. Visitors to the country carry away with them an impression of blue fields of flax in full flower, and long, snow-white strips of linen bleaching in the fields. The production of the world-famous Ulster linen occupies the brawn and the brains of many members of the community, and requires for its well-being a wealth of technical knowledge and manual skill. The vast shipbuilding yards of Belfast, too, require their quota of highly qualified technicians; and in addition there are a number of other industries, some of which are of recent origin, and all of them demanding a considerable number of trained men and women.

How, then, in such a diversified community can we find any common ground or influence on which to base an educational policy? In how far have the authorities succeeded in producing and working out a scheme to suit so many conflicting interests, and so many divergent points of view? If success has been achieved in establishing a system satisfactory to the majority, to what extent has the practical realisation of the scheme come into being? These are some of the questions we shall endeavour to answer.

Heretofore we have considered geographical, industrial, and his-

torical influences. Now let us consider some matters of a more abstract nature, to see if we can find some common bond uniting the people of the country as a whole, and to discover to what extent the existing scheme has been influenced by this bond.

The Ulsterman is a grimly determined type with a considerable sense of the value of money, and an outlook which is at once conservative and democratic. These characteristics do not belong to any class of the community; they are common to Protestant and Catholic, farmer, tradesman, and artisan. Autocracy and class distinction are rare, and Jack is at all times as good as his master.

It is not surprising, then, to find that as both Puritanism and Catholicism are strong here, nominal Socialism has not made great strides, and indeed the extreme forms of Socialism have made no strides at all. Many people have probably never even heard of Karl Marx, and many of those who have heard of him know nothing about his ideas and care even less.

But as our society has always been on the whole classless, the necessity for levelling—at least in so far as social relationships and educational opportunity are concerned—does not arise to the same extent as elsewhere. The usual progress for most has been from the elementary school to the immediate earning of a living or from the elementary school to the secondary school, where fees have always been low. Admittedly there were a few schools—secondary schools—where fees were a little higher, and which drew their pupils more from the professional and better-class business and farming families; but most of the wealthy people—a small minority—sent their sons and daughters to expensive boarding schools in England or Scotland.

Even the one or two better-class boarding schools had to rely largely on a big proportion of day pupils drawn from every class of the community, while in the majority of the provincial towns the secondary school has been for many years a day co-educational school. The author, years before the war, taught every type of boy and girl ranging from the sons and daughters of men who lived in poverty on a few acres and a cow to the children of farmers with hundreds of acres, the children of the professional classes, and even of the landed gentry. And of course the war years brought an even greater levelling up, because many of the artisan class, drawing high pay, seized the opportunity to do a little better for their children.

It must be clear, therefore, that the class barrier to education for all in 1945 was not very great, and more fancied than real, though it must be admitted that the gates were a little narrow; and it was felt by many that a more generous scholarship system was necessary, for even the comparatively modest sum of £20 or so necessary to pay the fees and expenses of a boy or girl at an

ordinary secondary school did mean considerable sacrifice for too many people.

But there were other forces operating to bring about a revolution in education. There were among teachers and administrators a feeling of frustration and a conscious and unconscious desire for something new. Many school buildings were deplorably poor, especially in the case of secondary schools, where little improvement had been made between the two wars. Classes in elementary schools were appallingly large; and teachers were scarce, making the lot of those in service extremely difficult. Pupils were upset by the alarms and excursions of war. There were too many misfits and too little equipment to stimulate interest. There was too much driving for examinations; and in many quarters too much teaching by the rod. New methods, new ideas, new psychology, and in fact new education were still subjects for discussion in the training college, but they were rarely practised in the school.

Thus it may be said that the desire for change after the war was in the main a universal desire engendered by the feeling amongst teachers, administrators, and laymen—members of all classes and subscribers to all creeds—that much that was wrong should be put right as soon as possible. That the details of the changes were often influenced by party and group considerations is not to be denied, but the origin of the changes was on the whole idealistic rather than ideological.

The Education Act (Northern Ireland), 1947

The Northern Ireland Education Act of 1947 had a stormy passage, as might have been expected in a country where religious and sectarian differences have always been acute; and where religion and politics are inextricably mixed. How to resolve these differences so as to ensure fair and just treatment for all; how to allow intellectual freedom for those who wished to keep their minds untrammelled by traditional beliefs and convictions; these were some of the more abstract problems with which the architects of the Act were faced. At the same time the composition of the local management committees, and the finances of voluntary, i.e. non-transferred, schools were matters of bitter controversy. Many felt that a 65 per cent. grant to such schools would give undue advantage to that section whose schools were mainly under voluntary control.

There were members of the teaching profession, too, who rightly thought that compulsion in the matter of religious education would be contrary to that freedom of outlook and thought which is of the very essence of education itself. Some of the more extreme elements in the community undoubtedly held the view that all teachers should be compelled rigidly to teach the Bible as being true in every detail, while teachers feared that in spite of promises to the

contrary, they would suffer if they were unable to subscribe to the more orthodox religious teaching, or indeed, in some cases, to take part in any religious teaching.

That all this was unfortunate few will deny; and it seemed to many that the Act, and all that it would mean to children and young people, was being blocked by extremists more interested in party politics and in compelling others to accept their beliefs than in the children for whom the Act was being framed. At the same time there were those who believed genuinely and sincerely that the only antidote to the moral decline resulting from the war and its aftermath was to be found in the faith of their fathers. It may be inferred, therefore, that a further force behind the drive for reform in education was religious. Many thought that religious education and exercise had been sadly neglected in Northern Ireland, especially in the Protestant non-denominational secondary schools. It is not surprising, then, to find that much of the effort for reform was concentrated on this particular aspect of the problem.

Eventually, however, most of the problems were solved in a way that gave fairly general satisfaction. Thus we find the Act providing for religious education and worship in all schools, but pupils could be excused or go elsewhere for instruction, while in county schools all religious education was to be undenominational. Teachers were to be required to give instruction and attend worship but could be excused on grounds of conscience. Clergymen could give denominational religious education and should have access to the school for this purpose. The Act, too, made allowance for parents' objections, and forbade inspection of religious education by officers of the Ministry.

These provisions were on the whole wise and tolerant, though there were many who thought then, and still think, that there was overmuch emphasis on this side. And there were many who considered that the introduction of religious practices into schools that had for many years been strictly non-denominational and non-sectarian was a retrogressive step. There were also a number of schools attended by both Protestants and Catholics; and it was averred that distinctions would arise where none had existed before. This, it was felt, would lead to further intolerance and dislike instead of to greater tolerance, understanding, and mutual regard for each other's way of life, which is, after all, one of the chief aims of education.

But the Act provided for much more than the good of the soul. In its main provisions it was broad and generous. It suggested the raising of the school-leaving age to 15, and later to 16, with secondary education for all in accordance with interests and abilities and the parents' wishes. It authorised an extension of the meals and milk scheme already in operation; and allowed for trans-

port and even free boarding and clothing where these were considered necessary. There were to be free medical inspection for children in all schoools, and provision made for subnormal children. Local education authorities were further authorised to provide facilities for recreation, social and physical training, camps, holiday classes, playing-fields, play centres, playgrounds, gymnasiums, swimming-baths, expeditions, and other activities. In short the Act was to be, as described by the Minister, "A Children's Charter."

Administration of the Act

Let us next consider how all this was to be carried out. There were to be four main types of school: primary, intermediate, technical intermediate, and grammar. Primary schools would provide for pupils up to the 11+ age; the intermediate schools would be for the secondary education of all those who did not wish to enter, or who were unable to enter, the grammar schools by means of a qualifying examination. It was the ultimate aim that a good deal of the work of technical intermediate schools—formerly junior technical schools—should be absorbed by the intermediate school, in particular the commercial and domestic departments, but in the meantime these schools should continue as so-called technical intermediate schools. It should be clear, therefore, that the function of the ordinary intermediate school would be slightly different from that of the secondary modern school in England, as it was intended that the former should absorb some of the functions of the technical schools, while in England the secondary modern and secondary technical schools have quite distinct functions.

Entry to a grammar school was to be by means of a qualifying examination in English and arithmetic and an intelligence test. At the same time the grammar schools were to be allowed some freedom in the selection of their pupils, as each could accept 20 per cent. of their entry as ordinary fee-paying pupils. This reasonable provision also gave parents freedom in the choice of the education of their children; and allowed schools to select some of their pupils for sentimental or traditional reasons. But, as we shall show later, all this caused a good deal of confusion and controversy, finally resulting in further distinction between different types of school.

Understaffing and overcrowding of schools is universally accepted as one of prime causes of bad education. The provisions of the new Act allowed for removal of such defects by inviting all education authorities, including managers of voluntary non-transferred schools, to draw up schemes for improvement within the areas under their jurisdiction. Sixty-five per cent. of the cost of building schemes was to be borne by the Ministry in all cases; and, in the case of schools under the local authority, 65 per cent. of all educational expenses was also to be the responsibility of the Ministry.

In addition the Ministry were to pay the salaries of teachers in the transferred schools.

Has accomplishment fallen short of hopes? The answer is yes —far short. It could scarcely have been otherwise. Such a grandiloquent scheme could not come to fruition in the twinkling of an eye, nor yet in years—many years. Even in normal times the obstacles would have been great, while in post-war times the obstacles were almost insurmountable. Shortage of building materials, shortage of staff, shortage of skilled labour, and many other things have made execution fall far short of plans. Add to these difficulties the inertia of man himself and his natural resistance to sudden change, and you have a sum total which does not add up in such a way as to make for speed.

This inertia of man shows itself in a variety of ways, chief among which—possibly a good thing—is the raising of objections. and it was not long before there were murmurs here and there; these murmurs soon became a clamour which eventually brought about the resignation of the Minister of Education and the appointment of a new one. This change was significant, as the former Minister was Conservative and Unionist, while his successor, though a member of the Unionist party now, was formerly Labour, and remained strongly Socialist in sympathy and outlook. Thus the change was quite definitely a yielding to *vox populi*.

Leaving aside matters which do not concern our main thesis, the loudest voices in the general clamour arose over the payment of the 65 per cent. grant to voluntary grammar schools. Many felt that these schools should not be allowed to retain their independence when in fact such a large proportion of their resources would come from public money—80 per cent. of the fees of pupils and a 65 per cent. building grant. But the voluntary schools, with some justification, in effect said: "You are compelling us to take in a greatly increased number of pupils; we cannot do this with our existing accommodation; and we cannot build without the 65 per cent. grant". And it was felt, too, that certain schools—in particular those providing for the education of the Catholic minority—would benefit to an undue extent; as their internal financial arrangements would enable them to find the money for building more easily.

So we have the unhappy picture of schools one by one "opting out" of the scheme, which depended for its success on the co-operation of everyone. This led to an educational crisis of the first magnitude. To get over the difficulty the Minister suggested a new scheme whereby voluntary grammar schools should be divided into two groups.

Those in Group A would qualify for the 65 per cent. building grant but in return they would be required to accept 80 per cent. of their normal entry as qualified pupils. No portion of the

remaining capital expenditure (35 per cent.) could be met from tuition accounts, but where necessary a fee not greater than £3 per annum could be charged in respect of capital expenditure. Such schools would not be required, as a condition of recognition, to have the local education authority represented on the board of governors of the school.

A much greater measure of freedom was to be enjoyed by Group B schools, which would not be required to accept 80 per cent. of their entry as scholarship pupils, but which would on the other hand not qualify for the 65 per cent. grant on capital expenditure. In the case of such schools the value of a scholarship was to be fixed at the amount of a just and reasonable tuition fee based on the requirements, policy, curriculum, and traditions of the school. The actual fee charged by the school in respect of all pupils—whether scholarship or otherwise—was to be the same. This in effect meant that at such schools scholarship pupils would be required to pay the difference between the value of the scholarship and the school fee.

This scheme has been accepted and will come into operation immediately. At the time of writing 30 voluntary grammar schools have elected to be classed as Group A, 34 as Group B, while there are 15 county grammar schools. In favour of the scheme it may be said that all the voluntary schools have preserved a fair measure of independence, while those classified as Group B are no less independent than before the 1947 Act came into force. Such a state of affairs—whether desirable or not—was bound to arise in a province where the people are in the main conservative and independent by nature.

But there is much against all this, for it cuts right across one of the fundamental basic principles on which the new Education Acts throughout the British Isles were framed—that is, the principle of equality and the elimination of class distinction. We now have divisions where none existed before. At one time all the secondary schools in the province were voluntary, then a few transferred to the local authority, but still there were no distinctions, and few knew or cared very much about the system of government of the school. But now one is asked frequently: "Is your school Group A or Group B or County?" As often as not the reply produces invidious distinctions in the mind of the questioner. While it is not true to say that people of three distinct classes will inevitably gravitate towards the three types of school, for much will depend on locality, it is obvious that the danger exists.

Intermediate Schools

In the intermediate school we have an experiment in education on the grand scale. Nothing like it has been known before—at least in this province. Perhaps it is wrong to say nothing like it

has been known before. Because much of what is being done is on the lines of the methods suggested by the most advanced educationists. It might be more correct to say that the less gifted and less privileged type of boy or girl has never before had the opportunity of enjoying such schools.

The word 'enjoying' is used with deliberation, for it is difficult to see how any boy or girl could fail to enjoy school life under the conditions in these schools; and, as there are no public examinations, considerable freedom can be allowed as regards both the time-table and teaching methods. A four-years course is provided, the first two years being common ground and providing general education in English, French, social studies, mathematics, science, arts and crafts, and physical training. Later there are streams: domestic, science, literary, commercial, and handicrafts.

In all there is a vigorous attempt at correlation of subjects, and much is being done to relate each subject to life and practice. The project method is used extensively. Science, for example, is closely correlated with domestic economy, and mathematics with manual training. English is taught orally as much as possible, and French by the direct method. Violins and other musical instruments are provided so that pupils may have individual as well as group instruction in music.

In a school visited by the author a project had just been completed. The school was an adapted eighteenth-century house, so the project chosen was the house from 1851 to 1951. This involved a great deal of research and it brought the pupils into contact with history local and general, topography, trade, period furniture, and architecture; and in fact gave much general and detailed knowledge —knowledge which pupils of this type would not easily have acquired from book study alone. It is of interest to note that this school, although within the boundary of Belfast, is situated in the most beautiful scenery, with a view of high hills at the back and the sea in front. What an environment, and such a change from dark streets and factories!

All this is interesting and exciting, especially in a conservative community much concerned about the direction in which its money is going; and in a community which hitherto regarded the 'three R's' with veneration. Much could of course be said in the way of criticism. More than a few, probably, have their doubts about the basic fundamental subjects, and about the fundamentals of those subjects. These schools are on the whole peopled by the duller type of boy and girl, and by those whose social background is generally of the less intellectual type. One is prompted to question the desirability of such a division; and to inquire whether or not the psychological basis of the system is sound.

But so far the system is in operation only to a very limited extent. Wishes have in fact fallen far short of fulfilment. Only

twelve such schools are in operation, catering for from six to seven thousand pupils. It is estimated that provision must be made for seventy thousand pupils. However, according to a speech made by the Minister before the Northern Ireland House of Commons on May 23rd, 1951, contracts had been placed for thirteen intermediate schools and proposals received for the erection of no fewer than 105.

Primary Education

The importance of primary school education has always been recognised in the province. Indeed, during the period between the two wars much more was done for the public elementary schools, as they were then classified, than for the secondary schools—and rightly so, for it is generally admitted that the early, formative years of a child's life are the most important, and the conditioning which takes place during those years has a profound effect on the future character of a man or woman.

One by one the old drab schools, with their leaded, stained-glass windows, shutting out the light of day, their staleness, their stinking lavatories, and their whole general atmosphere of rottenness, are disappearing and giving place to bright, modern buildings. But between the wars there was a tendency to centralise and cut down staffs to an extent which was positively dangerous. The danger, however, has been recognised, and vigorous attempts are now being made to provide more schools and more teachers. For example, in April 1950, eight new primary schools were in course of erection, and extensions were being provided to five existing schools. It was anticipated that contracts would have been placed for nineteen others before the end of 1951. Thus within a few years it was hoped to provide thirty-two new schools or extensions with a total of seven thousand places. And of equal importance is the fact that the number of teachers has increased from 4,921 in 1946 to 5,706 in 1950, and the classes of over fifty which numbered 1,056 in 1946, in 1951 were no more than 450.

In spite of post-war difficulties, standards of teaching have improved out of all recognition. In pre-war years out-of-date and vicious methods were still in vogue, especially in less enlightened districts. But now, with an ever-increasing stream of trained teachers and young principals coming into the schools, new methods are being adopted with beneficial results. For example, group and project methods are being used quite extensively; and both teachers and the authorities have become increasingly aware of the value of visual aids, and of other methods of awakening the interests of young children. Free oral expression, letter-writing to 'adopted' ships and pen pals in English-speaking communities are now commonplace in a number of progressive schools. There has also been a great awakening of interest in the drama and many schools pro-

duce plays either as part of general class work or as an activity of the school.

Much of this we owe not merely to a younger generation of teachers but to those who preached and practised these methods even in the old days and often in the face of violent criticism. One of the most untiring and successful of these teachers is Mr. R. L. Russell, principal of a small country school in County Antrim, who obtained amazing results by quite unorthodox methods, based on his own intuitive knowledge of the psychology and aspirations of the County Antrim country child. Some years ago he published the story of his lifework in a book entitled *The Child and His Pencil*—a refreshing and stimulating account of the adoption of original methods by a teacher of genius.

On April 1st, 1948, the scheme for the supply of free books and requisites to pupils in primary schools came into operation. This at once brought about a general improvement, and gave a fresh impetus to primary education in the province. Out-of-date text-books are now disappearing, while new, lively, and stimulating books are making their appearance. At the same time the general mass of boys and girls are well supplied with requisites which many of them found difficult to obtain in times past.

Technical Education

The linen industry, which affects in some way every town of note in the Six Counties, and shipbuilding centred in Belfast, have always created a demand for technical education of one sort or another; but since 1947 technical education has acquired a new meaning, and a new emphasis. Prior to the Act of 1947 technical instruction was classified under the official heading of "Higher Education". It is now regarded as further education; and grants are paid to the schools in such a way as to encourage adult education for its own sake. This revolutionary change is symptomatic of a new spirit which seeks to emphasise something more than a utilitarian attitude.

The number of technical schools in operation during the school year 1947–8 was sixty-four, while the number of students in attendance—part-time and full-time—was 30,259. This represents a very high proportion of schools for a province of six counties. The main centre of technical education is of course in Belfast, where the College of Technology is a noteworthy institution both architecturally and educationally. Not only does it function as a day technical school, but it also provides night classes in a variety of subjects, provides degree courses for Queen's University students of applied science, and has within its walls a College of Art and a College of Domestic Economy. In recent years many new courses have been added, not only in Belfast but also in provincial centres. These are in the main closely associated

with trade and industry and have been provided to meet local demands. Examples of some of these new and novel classes are french polishing, a class in the maintenance and care of tractors, a course in shirt cutting, classes in connection with food processing in one town and with pottery in another. In Belfast and other large centres there are courses in mechanical engineering, physics, electrical engineering, motor-car engineering, naval architecture, the building and furnishing trades, textile industries, pure and applied chemistry, and domestic science. Since 1947 a major change has taken place in the position of the junior day technical schools. These are now classified as technical intermediate schools, and they provide commercial, domestic, scientific, and general educational courses for boys and girls from the age of about 11+ up to the school-leaving age. The present form is to some extent a temporary measure in the interim period between 1947 and the coming into full force of the general scheme of intermediate education. When intermediate schools are available the commercial and domestic departments of the technical intermediate school will be taken over by the ordinary intermediate school. Technical intermediate schools are in all cases associated with institutions of further education; tuition in them is free, all stationery, books, and so forth being provided. In the future it is the intention that these schools will be recruited mainly from students at ordinary intermediate schools—students who show particular ability in technical subjects.

Adult Education

Adult education for men and women of all ages has always been fairly well provided for in Northern Ireland, principally in the technical schools. Now, however, the interests of those who wish to continue their education in adult life are looked after by the Joint Committee for Adult Education, which is composed of representatives of the Queen's University of Belfast, the Ministry, the Workers' Educational Association, and the local education authorities.

Steady progress is being made, to judge from the increasing number of classes and students; for example, in one year the number of classes has risen from eighty-six to ninety-nine, while in some cases the work has been extended into the summer. People of all social levels are attending these classes, but on the whole there appears to be a larger proportion of people holding positions of responsibility. Geography, history, psychology, literature, and economics are the most popular subjects, though an increasing number are demanding music and art, and in spite of difficulties a start has been made with scientific subjects. Summer schools are now a feature of adult education in the province. The first of these was held at Mourne Grange School in County Down in August 1948. About fifty students from all parts of Great Britain were in

residence each week. There were courses in literature, history, psychology, and physical and human geography.

Agricultural Education

In a country so dependent on agriculture one would expect that agricultural education would be at a high level. Though in some senses this may be true, as it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, it tends to be a specialised study rather than being directed at making the people as a whole agriculturally minded. This, in the author's opinion, is a pity, as it tends to create specialists—mainly ministry officials—rather than endeavouring to preserve the love of the land in the minds of a people who with a few exceptions have been born on the land. Also, it does little to create a high standard of general and agricultural education among intelligent boys and girls, who, if encouraged to go back to the land, would probably increase perceptively the productivity of the country in a few years.

There is, in fact, no agricultural bias in rural secondary schools and nothing is being done to encourage the best types of boys and girls to remain on the farms. In Sir Richard Livingstone's book, *The Future in Education*, he describes how the Danes wrought a complete spiritual, social, and economic transformation in their country largely by the general and agricultural education of the farming community, so that the people became inspired with ideals which they fused into that profession on which we are all ultimately dependent. Nothing like that is being done in Northern Ireland.

But one does not wish to cavil at the efforts being made, for there is little doubt that the Ministry of Agriculture, through specialist and specialised education, has greatly improved the land and farming methods. One has but to observe the deeper greenness of a land long famed for its greenness; one has but to notice the steadily increasing mechanisation, and the appearance of more cattle of the good pure breeds—and much of this since 1945—to appreciate the great impetus given to more progressive farming methods. The growth of young farmers' clubs, of winter agricultural classes, and the development of three agricultural colleges—two for girls and one for men—has had and is having an undeniable effect on the outlook of the younger generation. In addition there are a number of valuable scholarships open to students wishing to enter the Agricultural Department at Queen's University. Honours students take the Bachelor of Science degree, followed by the Bachelor of Agriculture degree, while pass students take only the Bachelor of Agriculture.

Education of Handicapped Children

Probably the most encouraging feature of modern education is to be found in the care being exercised over each child according to

his needs. In former times the importance of the spirit and the soul were emphasised but the body was often neglected, and indeed the individual needs of less fortunate children were also neglected. But great efforts are now being made to repair these gaps, and in Northern Ireland there is an ever-increasing number of schools for subnormal, maladjusted, and physically handicapped children. In other words, the country is steadily becoming, in a practical sense, Christian, officially as well as individually. In all in 1948 there were twelve such schools with 625 pupils and thirty-nine teachers; and a number of these are boarding schools in which these children, many of whom have known little affection and little beauty, can enjoy all that goes with the countryside· sweet clean air, flowers, fields, trees, and above all human affection, sympathy, and understanding.

Milk and Meals Scheme

Free milk—two-thirds of a pint per day per pupil—is now provided in nearly 100 per cent. of our schools. The meals scheme, though far from reaching its maximum development, is still going ahead. For example, in 1946 the total number of meals served on a certain day was 15,392, while in 1949 the number had risen to 33,474; but even this figure represented only 17·7 per cent. of the pupils in attendance. The charge for meals in grammar schools may not exceed ninepence per head. Children in other schools are charged the cost of the food content, but necessitous children are given free meals. Little need be said about the value of all this. Before the introduction of the school meals it was quite usual for a boy or girl at a secondary school to work through a long day, play a hard game, cycle home many miles from a station or bus stop, with little to nourish the body other than tea and bread from seven o'clock in the morning till seven at night. Even this would not have been so bad if the balance had been made up at the evening meal.

The Training of Teachers

The need for improvement in the training of teachers inspired the appointment of a special committee under the chairmanship of Colonel W. D. Gibbon. The recommendations of this committee were published in 1948. In general it was felt that the time devoted to training was inadequate; that the general education of teachers did not always receive sufficient attention; and that most grammar school teachers had to acquire their knowledge of method in the hard school of experience. Accordingly it was recommended that the training course should be extended from two to three years immediately and later to four years. It was also suggested that there should be combined training and university courses last-

ing for four years, a one-year training course for graduates, and a one-year course for semi-specialist teachers. These recommendations are now being carried into effect at Stranmillis Training College, Belfast—an undenominational college under a management committee appointed by the Ministry, and at St. Mary's College, which is under Roman Catholic voluntary management.

Examinations

The most important general examinations, apart from the 11+ qualifying examination for entry to grammar schools, are the grammar school Certificate Examinations conducted by the Ministry of Education. These are the Junior Certificate Examination, normally taken at about 15, and the Senior Certificate Examination, normally taken at about 17. Prior to the 1947 Act the course for the Junior Examination extended over three years, the Senior Certificate Examination being taken two years later, but on the introduction of the new system of entry at 11+ the course for the Junior Certificate was extended to four years.

About this time, also, it was felt that the scope and nature of the Senior Certificate Examination and the courses leading thereto were inadequate. Accordingly a committee under the chairmanship of Professor J. K. Charlesworth was appointed to report on the matter. In brief it was considered that there should be more freedom, a greater degree of specialisation consistent with reasonable general education, and at the same time it was felt necessary to bring the examination as far as possible into line with similar examinations in England and Scotland in order to facilitate the transfer of boys and girls to professions, universities, and so forth in those countries.

This committee therefore recommended a new structure for the Senior Examination with papers at two levels, ordinary and advanced, candidates being required to pass in English language and literature, and four other subjects, one of these being a language other than English, or modern or ancient history, and a second being a mathematical or scientific subject. In order that a proper balance should be maintained it was considered that not more than two languages, two scientific, or two mathematical subjects should be allowed to count towards a pass. At the same time, in a second report the committee put forth recommendations for a post-Senior Certificate year, the courses and examinations being of a specialist nature for university scholarship candidates. These suggestions for the revision of the Senior Examination have been adopted and will take effect in 1952, but the suggestions contained in the second report have not yet been adopted; scholarships will, in the meantime, be awarded on performance in the advanced papers. It was also decided to recommend, with some reluctance, the continuance of the Junior Examination, as it was felt necessary

to have a check at some stage in the lengthy period of six years' preparation for the Senior Examination.

University Education

It is beyond the scope of this article to deal with such a lengthy subject in anything more than the broadest outline. Queen's University is the main centre of university education in Northern Ireland, though the Magee University College, Londonderry, does absorb a small proportion of students, mainly those wishing to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian church. Students of this college take degrees of Dublin University, with which there is a working arrangement dating back to the dissolution of the Royal University of Ireland in 1908.

Students of all classes and grades of society flock to Queen's University in ever-increasing numbers; for example, in 1937–8 there were 1,609 students, in 1945–6 2,026, while in the academic year 1948–9 the numbers had risen to 2,869. While there are some residences, these supply the needs of only a small proportion; many live in rooms, a number travel each day, while a large proportion live in Belfast. The situation is somewhat similar to that in the Scottish universities, in that many students must necessarily live in near-penury, though we have not heard of any existing on a sack of oatmeal and a bag of potatoes. There have been improvements in scholarship schemes since 1947, but these are still inadequate in number and amount.

Though there has been such a large increase in numbers, little building has been done since 1939. New accommodation has been provided mainly by adapting nearby houses as they became vacant. The Whitla Hall, a new great hall, was opened recently, the money being provided out of a bequest by the late Sir Wm. Whitla, the distinguished physician. From parliamentary grants the university receives £60,000 per annum, and extra-statutory grants amounted to £140,000 in 1948, and £100,000 in 1949.

General Revival of Interest, Visual Aids, Foreign Travel

In general it may be said that the years since 1945 have witnessed something amounting to a renaissance in education in the province. Much is still in the melting-pot, and a great deal of what is being done is open to serious criticism. But the spirit is there, and the interest is there to a surprising degree. Even an outcry by a public auditor about the money being spent on such items as band instruments, visits to the ballet, and so forth did not arouse the support that might have been expected in this community. The educational advantages of visual aids, which now have official sanction to the extent that it is hoped to provide every school in the country with some form of projection apparatus, are obvious. Foreign travel, exchanges with pupils from abroad, links with

schools on the Continent, and courses arranged with the co-operation of the French government; all these ventures are going ahead at a surprising rate and are partially financed from public funds. Even the most conservative must admit the far-reaching effects of these policies.

Criticisms of the New System

Yet there are aspects which may cause justifiable apprehension. Many things are not working out as envisaged. Are we quite sure, for example, as Boswell said of Johnson, ". . . that the boy is the man in miniature: and that the distinguishing characteristics of each individual are the same, through the whole course of life"? The classical writers say yes, but the psychologists say no, at least in so far as the determination of type is concerned. If the psychologists are right then the findings of the Norwood Committee are based on a fallacy; and a system based on a fallacy is not very likely to succeed. Professor Whitehead's views are quite different. He does not appear to believe in fixed types so much as in a rhythm of interests at various ages. The fact of the matter is that the wisest of us know little about these things; and we might have been better to have restrained our impetuosity until we were surer of our ground.

In Northern Ireland, we may have made a serious mistake in following holus-bolus a system which might be suitable for densely populated districts, yet quite unsuitable for a country in which most of the towns do not exceed 10,000 inhabitants, and in following this system we have created artificial divisions where none existed before. What grounds have we, anyhow, for the tacit assumption that ability to pass an examination in English and arithmetic at 11+ is indicative of a boy or girl's suitability for positions involving leadership, responsibility, or scholarship, or all three? There are indications, too, that many of the people for whom the system has been designed care little about it; many are leaving the grammar schools after a few years; and it is unlikely that more than a relatively small proportion of the 1948 intake will reach the sixth form.

What is the solution? Possibly for us it lies in something like the old system with modifications: a secondary school whose gates are wide open to all, but within which each is served according to his needs. Should we not also reconsider our attitude towards the child, treating him more as a human being and less as a phenomenon? Must we watch him day in and day out, always feeling his mental, moral, and physical pulse, until we kill the patient with over-attention? Must we keep on subjecting him to continual examination, observation, graphing, recording, card-indexing, and so forth until we have him nicely classified for his position in the 'Brave New World'? Again, if the psychologists are right, what are we doing? At best we are placing boys and girls in two

groups: the intelligent and the unintelligent—whatever that may mean. Thus, in the final count, then, we shall have all the intelligent people in the 'higher' callings of life, while the unintelligent will remain on the farms or go into some other menial occupation. Such a state of affairs could have serious consequences.

These and many other questions are urgent, and we must find the answers immediately, otherwise the evil that we do may live on, while the good may be interred under a heap of administrative waste paper.

W. HAUGHTON CROWE.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Educational Background

THOUGH the system of education operating in the Republic of Ireland follows the pattern of the education systems of most English-speaking and western European countries in that it has primary, secondary, technical, and university branches, it differs from most of those systems in that it accepts a different philosophical approach to the function of the state in education. The constitution of the republic accords primacy in the educational fields to the parents. "The state acknowledges that the primary and natural educator of the child is the family, and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide according to their means for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical, and social education of their children", and this has coloured and moulded the development of education in the country. As a result, so far as the primary and secondary branches of the system are concerned, they cannot be described as state systems, but rather as state-aided. The primary schools are not owned by the local or central education authorities, although the major cost of their building is provided by the Minister for Education out of the education vote; the teachers' salaries are similarly provided for, and the education given in them is free and open to all pupils whose parents desire them to attend. Though in theory these schools are undenominational, in practice they are denominational. Each religious persuasion has its own school, the school manager being invariably the Catholic parish priest or the Protestant rector according as the school caters for Catholics or Protestants. The buildings are vested in trustees, one of whom is the bishop of the diocese. The manager appoints the teachers, chooses the programme, and is responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of the building. The state, through the Department of Education, requires a certain minimum of qualifications in the teachers so appointed, pays their salaries, and inspects their work. It makes arrangements for their training. It also requires a certain minimum programme to be taught, approves of the books to be used, provides these books free for necessitous children, and gives grants-in-aid towards the heating, cleaning, and maintenance of the school buildings. In certain cases where the means of religious instruction are not available for the children of a particular denomination in a school within

reasonable distance of their homes, it contributes towards the cost of conveying the children to a suitable neighbouring school. Through the Department of Health the state arranges, with the parents' permission, for the medical inspection of the children, and through the Department of Social Security for the provision of free meals for necessitous children.

In Ireland the state does not make any provision for the founding or building of secondary schools. All existing secondary schools are privately owned, the vast majority being under the direct control of the various religious denominations. The staff of such schools are appointed by the controlling body. The state contributes the increments to the registered secondary teachers, the controllers being required to pay the basic salary. In addition a capitation grant on the basis of the numbers in attendance at the school is paid from the education vote to the controllers of the school. For this assistance the state requires that the school buildings and the teaching staff satisfy certain conditions, that a minimum number of subjects from the Department's list be taught, that the school be open to inspection by the Department's officials, and that there are a certain minimum number of pupils in attendance at it. The secondary school course is a six-year one. At the end of the fourth year the pupils are expected to sit for the Department's Intermediate Certificate Examination. The curriculum for this examination is intended to provide a course of general education for pupils who are to leave school at the age of 16. Pupils who are anxious to enter the professions continue in attendance for the full secondary course, and at its end take the Department's Leaving Certificate Examination, which is accepted as an exemption in the University Matriculation.

The organisation in Ireland of post-primary education of a vocational or technical type differs completely from that operating in the primary or the traditional secondary branches of the system. In 1926 a commission was appointed by the Minister for Education to inquire into and advise upon a system of technical education in relation to the requirements of trade and industry. Its recommendations were embodied in the Vocational Education Act of 1930. Under this Act there was set up in each administrative county and county borough a vocational education committee whose duty was (*a*) " to establish and maintain in accordance with the Act a suitable system of continuation education in its area ", and (*b*) " to supply or aid the supply in accordance with this Act of technical education in its area ". Continuation education was defined by the Act as " education to continue and supplement education provided in elementary schools, and includes general and practical training in preparation for employment in trade, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, and other industrial pursuits ". Technical education was defined as " education pertaining

to trade, manufactures, commerce, industrial pursuits, housewifery, science, art, and physical training". The vocational committee so set up is elected by the local authority, i.e. the county council or county borough council, but once elected it is responsible only to the Minister for Education. It includes not only members of the local authority but also representatives of all classes who have an interest in education. It is charged with the complete administration of vocational education in its area, has power to build schools, to determine the type of education to be given in them, to employ and pay teachers, borrow money, and to demand the local authority to strike the statutory education rate. All its decisions are, however, "subject to the approval of the Minister for Education", who has a much greater voice in its work than has his British counterpart in that of the British local education authorities.

Moral and Religious Education

This, then, is the picture of the educational framework of the Republic of Ireland. It is necessary to have it in mind if the developments that have taken place since 1945 are to be understood and if the problems particular to the Ireland position are to be realised. Many of these problems are those which are agitating the minds of educational administrators and educators the world over. One, at least, which is causing a certain amount of heartburning in most other countries is not a problem in Ireland. That is the position of moral and religious education in the school curriculum. In 1925 the then Minister for Education appointed a conference representative of the churches, the school managers, the teachers, the local authorities, and certain cultural organisations to report on a programme suitable to primary schools. The programme drafted by that conference opens as follows:

> Of all the parts of the school curriculum religious instruction is by far the most important, as its subject-matter, God's honour and service, includes the proper use of all man's faculties and affords the most powerful inducements to their proper use. Religious instruction is, therefore, a fundamental part of the school course. Though the time allotted to it as a specific subject is necessarily short, a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. The teacher —while careful, in the presence of children of different religious beliefs, not to touch on matters of controversy—should constantly inculcate, in connection with secular subjects, the practice of charity, justice, truth, purity, patience, temperance, obedience to lawful authority, and all other moral virtues. In this way he will fulfil the primary duty of an educator, the moulding to perfect form of his pupil's character, habituating them to observe, in their relations with God and with their neighbour, the laws which God, both directly through the dictates of natural reason and through revelation, and indirectly through the ordinance of lawful authority, imposes on mankind.

The sentiments expressed in this extract inspire the whole educational system. Religious instruction is a compulsory subject in all schools, primary, secondary, and vocational. In primary

schools it is taught by the members of the ordinary school staff; in secondary and vocational schools by clergymen and religious of the various denominations. The school day invariably commences and ends with acts of prayer and worship.

The Educational Problems in Ireland

The Council for Curriculum Reform which was set up in Oxford in 1940 at the instance of the Association for Education in Citizenship and the New Education Fellowship, and whose proposals for the reform of the curriculum were published by the Oxford University Press in 1945 under the title of the *Content of Education,* in the first chapter set out the following principles as the basis of their social outlook:

> (1) That it is desirable that there should be a further development of a form of society, with a planned economy, which is consistent with the maintenance of democratic principles
> (2) That the contents of the school curriculum, and the teaching methods, should be determined by their relevance to the fulfilment of human needs within such a society
> (3) That, therefore, the criteria by which education should be judged are that it must promote both the fullest possible personal development, and the most effective participation in a planned economic society

If the aim of education is that set out in these principles, then education must enable its recipients not alone to perform efficiently the duties of their special vocations, but to accept to the fullest their responsibilities as citizens of a democratic society, and to use their leisure for the greatest possible personal development. All the modern Western democracies accept this interpretation of the function of their education systems in the dynamic society of which they form a part, and so does Ireland. But Ireland has problems both economic and educational which require a somewhat different approach from that which might be acceptable to its neighbours. Ireland is predominantly an agricultural country. The agricultural industry must continue to be the basis of its economy, and this fact emphasises the danger of over-urbanisation and flight from the land. Irish educators and educational administrators must keep these facts in mind, but in their educational planning they must also remember the scattered nature of the rural population and the difficulties of providing an education suitable to modern needs for a sparse, rural child population. It is against the backgrounds of such principles and such problems that the developments in the Ireland educational system since 1945 have to be considered.

Developments in the Primary System

In 1945 the educational outlook on the primary plane was in many ways unsatisfactory. There was grave unrest among the

primary teachers, and when the vital part that the teacher has to play in any educational system is recognised the seriousness of such a situation can be understood. Many factors contributed to this unrest, the salary position not being the least. Owing to the wage-stabilisation policy which operated during the war years the purchasing power of the teachers' salaries was reduced by more than two-fifths. The efficiency of the teachers was governed by a rating system, a relic of the British regime, under which teachers were classed as highly efficient, efficient, or non-efficient, and salary increments were based on these ratings. Staffing of schools was dependent on the average attendance, always an unfair standard for a mainly rural school population, but particularly unfair when that rural school population was declining. All this unrest culminated in the strike of Dublin teachers which lasted from mid-March to the end of October in 1946. The teachers had to return to work without any promise of an immediate remedy of the grievances under which they suffered, and their consequent bitterness can be understood. Fortunately, in the spring of 1948 a change of administration took place and this enabled an effort to be made to bring about an improvement in the relations between the teachers and the Department of Education. The system of rating was reformed. Teachers are now classed as satisfactory or unsatisfactory, and all increments are paid on satisfactory service. Staffing became dependent on average enrolment or average attendance, whichever was the more favourable to the conditions of a particular school, and a Commission under the chairmanship of a High Court Judge was set up to inquire into the salary position. The recommendations of this Commission included a basic equal salary scale for all teachers with the same qualifications irrespective of the size of the school in which they taught, and a pension scheme which included, for the first time for primary teachers in Ireland, a lump-sum gratuity on retirement in addition to a pension. Though the government did not accept the actual salary scales set out in the Commission's report they did accept the principles on which the scales are based, and as a result men and women teachers of equal qualifications have equal salary scales. There is, however, a special scale for married men. The new administration also set up a Council of Education of representative educationists, industrialists, and agriculturists under the chairmanship of a professor of the National University to advise the Minister for Education on educational problems. This council has no authority to make recommendations on financial matters. It is at present discussing the function of the primary school in relation to the education of the under-12 age-group. An attempt to bring nearer a solution of the problem of primary teachers' salaries was made by the inauguration of conciliation and arbitration machinery. Through the function of this machinery further improvements in teachers'

salaries have been brought about, and the salaries of the majority of primary teachers have now reached their 1939 purchasing power. All these reforms have tended to the creation of a much better atmosphere between the primary teachers and the Department of Education, a position which has not been altered by the change of Ministers which took place following the 1951 General Election.

The programme for the replacement of unsuitable primary school buildings and for their enlargement and improvement, which was interrupted by the Second World War, was resumed at its ending. For the past six years an average of fifty-five new schools have been erected each year. The annual vote for this purpose, which was something more than a quarter of a million in 1945–6, is now over half a million. The majority of these new buildings are situated in rural areas. They are most modern and artistic in design and equipment, and earned the encomiums of a special representative of the *Times Educational Supplement*, who held them up in an article in that journal as models which Britain might well copy.

Some idea of the extent of the development of primary education in Ireland in the period 1945–52 can be gathered from the fact that while the expenditure from state funds for the year ended March 31st, 1946, was £4,113,164, the probable expenditure for the year ended March 31st, 1952, will approximate to £7,500,000.

Post-primary Educational Developments

Educators and educational administrators have been giving considerable thought for many years to the problem of the raising of the school-leaving age. As long ago as 1926 the then Minister for Education took powers in a School Attendance Act then enacted to enable this reform to be brought about, and the Vocational Education Act of 1930 gave him similar powers. During the Second World War a Commission to inquire into youth unemployment was set up under the chairmanship of His Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and quite early in its deliberations the Commission issued an interim report recommending the lengthening of the school life. The implementation of this recommendation, however, presents many difficulties. In the cities it would require an immense building programme. At the moment the Dublin City Vocational Education Committee cannot cater for the numbers of pupils in the age-group 14–16 who apply voluntarily for admission. The Vocational Education Committees in the cities of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford have sought to deal with the problem by requiring the compulsory attendance of youths between 14 and 16 years of age not attending any other type of school at their vocational schools for 180 hours per year. This works out at approximately one five-hour day's education each week. Dublin has sought to deal with the problem by providing three boys' clubs in which classes and occupations are taught or directed by the

vocational teachers or trained leaders. In addition, vocational teachers and leaders are made available for about sixty boys' and girls' clubs organised mainly by religious groups. These developments are, however, transitory in their nature, pending a fully developed scheme of post-primary education for all. The problem is more difficult of solution in the rural areas. The majority of rural primary schools are small, staffed by only two teachers, and it will not be easy to evolve a system by which suitable education for the 14–16 age-group will be provided in such a milieu.

It should be noted, however, that about 45 per cent. of young persons between the ages of 14 and 16 attend voluntarily at some type of school. When a native government was set up in 1922 there were only some 250 secondary schools of the grammar school type, catering for fewer than 20,000 pupils. There are now over 450, catering for 50,000 pupils. Since 1945 sixty-five additional secondary schools have been recognised by the Department, and the secondary school population has increased since then by about 10,000. The number of scholarship holders in these schools has increased in the same six-years period by nearly 300, while in addition some 5,000 boys and girls are receiving free secondary education in the 'higher tops' of primary schools. In the school year 1945–6 there were 19,885 pupils under 16 years of age in attendance at vocational schools. The current figure approximates to 24,000.

Adult Education

Earlier on in this article reference was made to the principles on which the Council for Curriculum Reform based its recommendations on the content of education. The promotion of the fullest possible personal development and the most effective participation in a planned democratic society was there set out as the objective of the curriculum. But if that objective is to be reached, education must not be thought of simply in terms of the primary or the post-primary school. It must look to something more, for it is only in the late teens and early twenties that students can really get the knowledge and the training which will enable them to develop each his or her own personality to the fullest while at the same time participating most effectively in a planned democratic society. In the constitution of few states is recognition accorded to the dignity of the human personality so expressly as in the constitution of Ireland. The whole state machinery embodied in that constitution centres round that recognition, a recognition which is the foundation of the democratic ideals which the constitution enshrines. When, therefore, world tendencies led towards an ever-increasing and all-embracing planned economic order, and when Ireland could not be expected to escape from the effects of those tendencies, there were not a few thoughtful minds who felt

the need for a wider and more diffused knowledge and an education for all citizens.

In the later years of the Second World War demands were made by trade unions, cultural and social groups for opportunities for training and studying philosophy, sociology, technology, and the liberal arts. These demands came not alone from the cities and towns, but from the rural areas. Rural cultural and educational organisations such as *Muintir na Tire* (The People of the Land), the Young Farmers' Clubs, the Irish Countrywomen's Association, developed all over the countryside. There was a widespread demand for lectures, talks, study courses. Dr. Alfred O'Rahilly, President of the Cork College of the National University of Ireland, was the first to sense this demand. Towards the end of 1945 he had discussions with the trade-union leaders in Cork, and as a result of these discussions there was inaugurated in 1946 in the University College, in conjunction with the Cork City Vocational Education Committee, a course for a diploma in social studies. The course for this diploma included economics, sociology, accounting, secretarial and business practice, modern social organisation, public speaking, and the conduct of meetings. The lectures in economics and sociology were given in the University College, the remaining subjects being taught in the School of Commerce. The course, which was a two-years one, was a decided success. A second and third course followed. The trade unions supported the courses most enthusiastically, twenty-eight of them co-operating. Demands for similar courses came from the other towns and cities of Munster, from Limerick and Waterford, Clonmel, Killarney, Mallow, Tralee, and to-day there are seventeen centres for these courses with an enrolment of 350 students. A further development followed. Dr. O'Rahilly saw the need for somewhat similar courses for the strictly rural organisations, and so with the approval of the university authorities a course for a Diploma in Rural and Social Science was instituted. This course, which had a distinctly rural bias, was wider in its ambit. The subjects studied included secretarial duties, central and local government, voluntary rural organisations, agricultural education, maps, drawings and plans, dairy farming, mixed farming, rural electrification, mechanisation, country crafts, home dressmaking, and so on. The students were drawn from *Muintir na Tire,* the Young Farmers' Clubs, and the Irish Countrywomen's Association. Centres for this course have been started in Dungarvan, Newcastle West, Macroom, and Coachford. All these developments are financed by the university, the vocational education committees, and an annual state grant of £2,500.

The Dublin College of the National University followed the lead given by Cork. Towards the end of 1948 it set up a Board of Extra-Mural Studies and appointed the Rev. E. Coyne, S.J., Doctor

of Economic Science, as its director. A course for a Diploma in Social and Economic Studies commenced in the first months of 1949. The original finances for this course were provided by six trade unions, each contributing £50. The subjects included social theory, economic studies, national economic studies, political institutions, local government, procedure at meetings. Five hundred and fifty students attended the course. The movement thus inaugurated quickly spread to the other towns in Leinster, and centres have now been established at Carlow, Kilkenny, Athlone, Drogheda, Dundalk, Mullingar, and Wexford. The majority of the students attending these courses are trade-union members whose university fees are provided in whole or in part by the unions of which they are members. In 1950 a course for a Diploma in Liberal Arts was instituted, the subjects being Greek civilisation, Roman civilisation, Celtic civilisation, European history, English literature, fine arts (painting, music, architecture). The lecturers in the Dublin centre are all members of the staff of University College; in the other town centres the lecturers are teachers in the local vocational schools. The Board of Extra-Mural Studies of University College, Dublin, receives a state grant of £1,700 per annum.

There are two other developments in the field of adult education which are worth noting. His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin, founded a Catholic Social Study Centre, at which some hundreds of young Catholics take correspondence courses from the Catholic Workers' College of Oxford and sit for the diploma examinations of that college. The Irish Trade Union Congress has also a scheme of adult education under which members of the unions affiliated to it attend lectures in literature, economics, music, visual arts, and trade-union affairs. These lectures are attended by 117 students.

It will be seen from all this that there has been steady and consistent development in all fields of educational activity in Ireland during the past seven years, accompanied by an awareness on the part of young Irish men and women of the necessity for a fuller and wider education if they are to accept their responsibilities as citizens of a democratic community, and if their nation is to play the part that its philosophy and traditions entitle it to play in a changing world.

D. J. KELLEHER.

SECTION III

ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER ONE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE tap-roots of public education in the United States are essentially the same as those in Great Britain. Indeed, most of the original ideas on what and how to teach were brought to the New World by the early English colonists. Others were imported later as they took shape on the Continent, and became established in their original or modified form in England. American education was originally for the élite, not for the masses. It was regarded as a parental and private obligation to youth, not as a public responsibility. It had its origins in religion and was controlled by religious bodies. It was concerned with the training of the mind and of the soul, and early American educators saw little relationship between the content and processes of education and the daily problems of making a living, or building and maintaining a social economy.

Beyond these similarities, however, there have always been certain significant differences between the nature and purposes of education in the United States and in Great Britain. For one thing, the United States never had a clearly defined aristocracy with inherited rights, privileges, titles, and similar trappings. Individual worth and achievement, not family status, became the major qualification for rising in the social scale and for achieving economic success and political preferment. The accumulation of wealth, and the skill to produce it, have always been accorded much greater importance in the United States than has the family tree. And, rightly or wrongly, the ability to produce and manage wealth has for so long been associated with American public education that it has been regarded as a major justification for providing and supporting better schools.

Impacts upon education arising from foreign and racial culture groups have played much more prominent roles in the development of education in the United States than in Great Britain. Not only was it necessary for the American schools to build social cohesiveness out of a heavy and continuous influx of people from all parts of the globe, but the children they had to work with came for the most part from the lower and middle economic strata of society,

not from the top levels. Sparsity of population and the prevalence of 'the wide open spaces' also played more important roles in the development of the American school system than in the evolution of education in Great Britain; many features and practices characterising contemporary American education are clearly traceable to the problems arising out of the relatively unoccupied frontier.

The rapid growth which has taken place in transportation and communication has produced shifts of population in the United States, not only from east to west and from south to north and vice versa, but also from one economic setting to another. These shifts have forced upon the schools of the United States administrative problems and adjustments concerned with the democratisation and integration of the social order—problems and adjustments not present in the relatively stable society of Great Britain.

Basic Tenets of Education in the United States

There are certain historic and firmly held concepts of public education in the United States which must be recognised and understood in order to appraise with accuracy the progress education is making there. These concepts are so much at the root of all educational planning and thinking that they have come to be looked upon as essential characteristics of 'the American way of life'. They tend to express the *ideal* towards which the various school systems are building, rather than actual accomplishments. These historic tenets may be set forth briefly as follows: (1) Every American youth has the right to equal educational opportunities; (2) education is essential to the survival of the democratic form of government; (3) education in the United States is the responsibility of, and is controlled by, state and local school authorities, not by the federal government.

Since these three historic concepts express the goals or ideals of American education, it follows that they themselves change very little or not at all with the passage of time. While they can probably never be fully achieved, progress towards their achievement can be recorded. This progress since 1945 will be discussed in detail under various heads as this report proceeds, following a general discussion of the meaning of the three basic tenets.

(1) For many years the amount of education or span of school attendance provided for American youth has been extended in two directions. Originally two or three years of education, to be given between the ages of 8 and 12, was considered sufficient. Now the school systems are increasingly lowering the age of initial enrolment to 5 or 6 and even younger, and raising the school-leaving age to 17 or 18 years and older. Not only are longer school programmes provided, but the span of compulsory attendance is growing: seven states now require children to go to school eight years; thirty-three

states, nine years; four states, ten years; three states, eleven years; and one state, twelve years. Moreover, the number of days schools are in session is increasing. Within the last fifty years the length of the school term has increased from an average of 144 days per year to 178 days; the average number of days attended has grown from 99 days to 156 days.

Increasingly equal educational opportunity has meant also that schools must be accessible to every child in terms of distances between home and school and time spent covering these distances. In the cities a half-mile or a mile is considered the maximum. In the country, distances must not exceed one-and-one-half or two miles. More and more transportation at public expense is provided as these maximum distances are approached or exceeded. Even when transportation is provided a time span of not more than an hour on the road is a common proviso.

Another important factor in providing equal educational opportunity is the expense of attending school. For many years elementary education has been provided with public tax funds, and increasingly this has included education on the high school level. The various types of expenditure included in free public education have also increased. Not only are the costs of instruction and transportation commonly included, but textbooks and lunches at school are now generally provided free or at reduced cost, and more and more other incidentals of school attendance—pencils and paper, student activities, magazines, and year books—are provided at public expense.

Still another means of equalising educational opportunity is concerned with providing a variety of types of educational experience suited to the needs of individual capacities and interests of youth. The general principle is that instruction must be meaningful to all and must help each youth to realise the social and economic development best suited to him. In other words, it is recognised that every youth is different from every other, and that it does no good to provide an educational diet from which many youths cannot profit. Changes to effect this type of educational equalisation have been concerned not only with broadening and individualising the offerings of the schools, but also with the methods of instruction gearing to the educational development of all types of children living at all social and economic levels. The school, the home, and the community are more and more joining forces on behalf of the development of each child, regardless of background.

(2) American education has always recognised the importance of education to the success of a democratic form of government. From the beginning, patriotism and civic competence have been taught through instruction in history, biography, music, and special events. In recent years more recognition has been given by the schools to

the instructional needs of youth growing out of the increasing complexity of American social and economic life. Not only has the nature and content of all education been increased to broaden the social and economic outlook of youth and to overcome the usual sources of social disunity and conflict, but the schools have more and more recognised that civic competence is not primarily a matter of knowledge but of practice. In keeping with this concept, not only has the administration of the school and the classroom grown more democratic, but curriculum planning and the instructional processes are increasingly encouraging the co-operative participation of the learners, the parents, and the community leaders.

In the United States, education has the peculiar task of integrating the elements of a highly diverse society. There is a growing recognition by the schools that it is necessary not only to transmit to youth the common social heritage but to build more unity and strength among the people. Social cleavages due to differences of race, nationality, and religion—so characteristic of much of American life—are increasingly regarded as a challenge to education. Children coming from various culture patterns are taught not only to respect the different cultures, but they are also learning to appreciate all cultures for what they can contribute to the solidarity and enrichment of the social and civic life of the community and the nation.

(3) No single statement or summary can fully evaluate the progress made by education in the United States during any given period of time. There is not one school system but many. Each of the forty-eight states has from the beginning had its own set of school laws, its own plans for financing education, its own educational leaders, and its own programme of instruction. Moreover, much of the authority and responsibility for providing public education has been delegated by the states to thousands of school districts—county, city, town, or country. The federal government originally exercised no control whatever over public education. Even to-day such control is small and carefully defined. Financial grants are authorised only for specific purposes, and are made dependent upon acceptance by the states. For the most part such acceptance calls not only for approval by the states but for the matching of federal grants with state or local funds.

Moreover, the development of the publicly supported free school systems has been accompanied by the growth of privately supported and controlled schools, which enrol approximately 12 per cent. of the total enrolment of elementary and secondary pupils.

State and local autonomy in public education naturally has its weaknesses as well as its strengths. Many inequalities result, and progress along certain generally accepted lines is often discouragingly slow. On the other hand, this plan keeps the schools basically in the hands of the people, it keeps them relatively free from

political domination, it makes it easier for educators and laymen to join forces in the important task of educating individual boys and girls. The importance of all these positive values is increasingly recognised, and great strides are being made in overcoming the weaknesses of this decentralised plan of educational control.

It is true that in the absence of federal supervision educational progress is uneven. And it is also true that there is inefficiency, duplication, and lost motion. But there are in American education more uniformity of purpose, more cohesiveness, more complementary inter-relationships, and more carefully planned co-operation than the state and local scheme of school administration would suggest. There is no widespread demand that it even be seriously modified, much less replaced.

Recent Socio-economic Developments in the United States

Population Trends. The high birth-rates of the 1940's produced a larger group of children than ever before in American history. The decade closed with 3,560,000 registered live births in 1949, exceeding any other year except 1947, in which approximately 3,700,000 live births were registered. Infant mortality is now lower than ever before, and life expectancy has increased phenomenally. The child born in 1900 could, on the average, expect to reach age 49; the child born at mid-century may, on the average, expect to approach his 68th birthday. Since the turn of the century, nearly twenty years have been added to average life expectancy at birth. Many more children than ever before, with a longer life expectancy, set the quantitative dimension of the 1951 population on trend, and pose some of America's most pressing educational problems.

These larger numbers of longer-living persons, moreover, are caught up in new complexities of relationship. As the century started, only four out of ten children of school age lived in urban areas; but in 1950, despite the continuing larger than average size of rural families, so many persons had moved citywards that probably fewer than three in ten children of school age were found on the farms. A whole new category has been recognised by students of population· the 'highway dwellers' whose homes cluster along the ribbons of concrete, and who, while living in the country, have few of the psychological and sociological characteristics of the old-time farm family. The shift of the American cradle from the country to the city is one of the more profoundly important trends of modern times. The qualities of urban experience as contrasted with those of the farm are symbolised by the fact that the city boy has few, if any, family chores to do. The place of the family, of the common tasks and routines of the home, and of the intimate community institutions of church and school in the life of the child —all these are markedly different.

From colonial days many Americans have been pioneers or settlers, and the pioneering spirit has been part of the American tradition. But as long as there was a geographical frontier, the movement was from the centres of population towards the sparsely settled areas, with, of course, a considerable feed-back into the cities from the country. With the passing of the geographical frontier and the coming of the automobile, the twentieth century has seen an inter-regional and nation-wide mixture of populations. Thus, for example, every third person living in California in 1950 had come to that state during the preceding decade, and these in-migrants represented every state in the Union. The effect of these population trends and movements on the quality of family life, together with the equally important tendency to shift any responsibilities formerly carried by parents to the school, resulted in a complexity of problems which severely challenged America's schools.

Technological Developments. 1950 was the year in which people in the United States watched and listened to the United Nations Assembly over television. The revolution in communications, in transportation of people and things, in the transmission of ideas, not only speeds the communication processes, with resultant intimacy of all persons everywhere, but also means that differences which are not brought into close contact are now the occasion of sharp international conflicts and tensions.

Meantime, mass-production and assembly-line processes have extended to all parts of the world and to all economic aspects of American life, including agriculture. A century and a quarter ago, one person engaged in farming was able to provide food for himself and over three other persons. To-day, the person engaged in agriculture on the average provides food for himself and more than thirteen other persons. The young man on a farm during the middle nineteenth century as likely as not had grown up in a home where the family raised the sheep, clipped and carded the wool, wove the cloth, and made the clothes he wore—' store clothes ' were the exception, not the rule. To-day, the self-sufficient farm unit is gone, or is rapidly passing from the scene. Likewise, no city, no state, no nation is to-day economically self-sufficient. The total interdependence of the modern economic life of all men is clearly apparent.

Labour Relations and Employment Practices. The science of human relations has only lately begun to operate extensively in the American industrial management field. Technological progress has made the employment of highly skilled, highly paid labour more profitable than the employment of younger, less-skilled workers at lower wages. As younger labourers fail to be employed, there is also a noticeable growth in the tendency to retire older workers, and to provide pensions. The 1930's saw the trebling of member-

ship in the organised labour movement in the United States. The net result of all these factors is an increasing proportion of employed workers in the middle years, performing more skilled operations, drawing higher wages and enjoying greater job security, with an increasing percentage of the under- and over-age employables not holding jobs. The increasing numbers of youth, and of the aged, for whom, in all probability, additional educational programmes must be made available, together with the question of what types of educational offerings best meet the changing needs of these groups, present further concerns for American educators.

Recreation and the Use of Leisure Time. Social, technological, and economic changes which shortened the work week, minimised child labour, and reduced the need for younger and older workers, together with the advances of labour-saving devices in the home, have brought into sharp focus the problem of the best use of leisure time. With many young workers dissatisfied with their jobs, the escape into leisure-time excitement tends to become a psychological compulsion. For about one in every five American families, there is little expectation that the contemporary leisure-time problem can be considered constructively, let alone solved, within the family circle. For probably another two-fifths, the family resources of imagination and ingenuity are too meagre, or the financial resources too limited, to produce a satisfying recreational life for family members. Fully half of the money spent for recreation goes for movies, radios, and spectator sports, giving relatively little opportunity for the development of creative recreational abilities in the spectator.

Findings in Psychology and Psychiatry. The relatively young sciences of psychology and psychiatry reveal facts which aid in understanding how living under the tensions and difficulties of the modern domestic and world situation affects the personality. Life in a divided world tends to make divided men. Estimates by the U.S. Public Health Service indicate that one in every twenty Americans will spend some part of his life in a mental hospital—unless remedial steps are taken with regard to both individuals and the social structure. The whole conception of mental health is becoming a central rallying-point in defining educational objectives. Psychosomatics, with its emphasis on the singleness of mind and body, of physical and mental health, points up the long-recognised truth that the whole person is the proper subject of educational purpose.

School Attendance. As of October 1949 there were approximately 26 million persons 6 to 17 years of age, inclusive, enrolled in U.S. schools. This was 93·3 per cent. of the age-group. In the age-group for which school attendance is compulsory (7 to 13 years of age, inclusive) more than 98·6 per cent. were enrolled in public or private schools. In the 14- and 15-year-old group, for

which attendance at school is also compulsory in all states unless working papers are obtained, 93·5 per cent. were in school, and more than two-thirds of the 16- and 17-year-olds, and more than one-fourth of the 18- and 19-year-olds, were attending school. Meantime, more than half of the 5-year-old children were in either kindergarten or the first grade. Thus, at one end of the scale, more than half of the 5-year-old children had begun their schooling, and at the other end of the scale, more students were enrolled in colleges and universities in 1949–50 (2,659,000) than had been enrolled in the high schools of the nation in 1919–20 (2,500,000).

Illiteracy. By 1940, the problem of illiteracy (defined as the inability to read and write) had become so unimportant for the population as a whole that the U.S. Bureau of the Census omitted the question. Nevertheless, there are areas of illiteracy in the United States in which encouraging progress can be reported, but where considerable work still needs to be done. The Bureau of the Census has estimated that the percentage of the total population 10 years of age and over who cannot read and write in any language decreased from 10·7 per cent. in 1900 to 2·7 per cent. in 1947. Most rapid progress was indicated in the non-white population, where illiteracy decreased from 44·5 per cent. in 1900 to 11 per cent. in 1947.

Educational Attainment of Adult Population. The median school year completed by the U.S. population 25 years of age and over, according to 1947 estimates of the Bureau of the Census, was the ninth grade. The corresponding figure for 1940 was 8·4 grades. In the total population in April 1947, almost 10 million persons of 25 years of age or over had finished at least one year of college work. That was almost one in every eight of the population of that age. Almost one in every three had finished high school, and almost half had finished or gone beyond the first year of high school.

Between 1940 and 1947 the percentage of the population 25 years of age and over who had not completed any high school work decreased from 59·5 to 49·5. The percentages of those called 'functionally illiterate' (having completed fewer than five years of elementary school) decreased from 13·5 per cent. to 10·4 per cent. For the 'non-white' population alone, the corresponding figures were: 41·1 per cent. in 1940 and 31·4 per cent. in 1947. Nevertheless, the effect of educational differentials of previous years is still noticeable in the U.S. adult population. While a little less than half in 1947 had received no high school education, almost three-fourths of the non-white adults had had no high school education. And whereas almost one in every three adults had been graduated from high school, only a little more than one in every eight 'non-white' adults had been graduated from high school.

Racial Differentials. As the twentieth century began, educational

opportunity of Negroes in the United States was definitely inferior; but during the half-century steady progress was made. In every age-group, larger percentages of Negroes were attending school in 1950–51 than the comparable percentages of whites attending as the century began; and in all but the 15- to 20-year age-group, the gap between Negroes and whites had been substantially reduced.

Federal Participation in Education

From early times, the federal government has been interested in the promotion of American education. Traditionally, the primary responsibility for the furtherance and control of education has rested on the states and local communities. The people of the nation, without in any way modifying state and local control, have increasingly employed the federal government to achieve educational objectives not otherwise attainable.

Research Contracts. Perhaps the most significant development in the relationship between the federal government and education during the past ten years has been the increased use by the federal agencies of the facilities and personnel of colleges and universities for research purposes. In carrying on research, the government has the alternatives of (1) establishing its own research institutions and processes at great cost, and recruiting personnel mostly by bidding against the colleges and universities; or (2) contracting with established research centres such as colleges and universities to do the work with staffs and facilities which are augmented for the purpose if necessary.

When the government contracts for research, each bureau or agency contracts with the institutions of higher education, usually to carry out a specified piece of research. Studies made so far (1951) have uncovered no instance in which an institution has complained that an agency of the federal government has attempted to exercise any coercive pressure or undue influence through its research grants and contracts. The heavy emphasis on the natural sciences in federally supported research has had a decided effect on the higher educational scene.

Veterans' Education. All indications suggest that the enrolment of veterans of World War II in educational institutions with the aid of federal funds provided through the Veterans Administration passed its peak in 1950. That agency reports that an average of more than $2¼ billion a year was paid in benefits to veterans from 1945 to 1951. The authorised expenditure for 1950 was $2,800,000,000, and an average of 2,158,000 veterans were using their educational benefits under the " G.I. Bill of Rights ". Of these, an average for the year of 655,000 were enrolled in institutions of higher education, 839,000 in schools of less than college grade, and 664,000 in courses related to on-job and on-farm training. Almost every

campus has had its veteran students, and available information indicates that perhaps half of these men would not have been in college or university at all if they had not had the financial aid provided by federal action.

Military Education. To provide a supply of junior officers for the armed services, the government helped to maintain training programmes in 231 or nearly one-eighth of the 1,868 institutions of higher education in 1950. Only 30 of these institutions had units representing all three major services—ROTC (Army), AROTC (Air Force), and NROTC (Navy). Another 78 had units representing two of the services. Military training of some sort is 'compulsory' at 120 institutions out of the 231—the degree of compulsion varying widely.

The programmes of the three branches of the service are not uniform, either in the proportion of a student's curriculum which is 'required' or which falls into the military science field, or in the benefits offered to reserve officer candidates. The Navy's 'Holloway Plan' pays a student $50 per month during the school year for the full four years of study, and $78 a month during the summer cruises, and bears the cost of tuition, fees, and textbooks. The student is required to complete 29 semester hours of specially prescribed work, for which 24 hours of credit is given. The Army and Air Force ORC programmes make generally smaller demands on the student's time and do not match the Navy's benefit payments during the first two years.

Science Education. On May 10th, 1950, U.S. Public Law 507, establishing the National Science Foundation, received Presidential signature. A National Science Board of twenty-four members has since been appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, plus a Director, similarly appointed, who is an ex-officio member of the Board. The Foundation is authorised to promote basic research and education in the sciences (more particularly the physical, biological, and medical sciences and mathematics and engineering), both by contracting to have such research done and by initiating and supporting such research. A special concern of the Foundation is research connected with national defence. Scholarships and fellowships may be granted in the mathematical, physical, medical, biological, engineering, 'and other' sciences.

Medical Education. In addition to research grants awarded by the U.S. Public Health Service for the support of investigation of basic sciences important to health and the control of disease, fellowships and grants for training are also awarded by the Public Health Service, principally through its National Institutes of Health. This programme is designed to encourage highly promising students to become more proficient in research in medical and related sciences. Fields included are not only the older branches of

medicine, but also some of the newer phases of mental health in psychiatry, clinical psychology, psychiatric social work, and psychiatric nursing.

The critical financial situation in which most medical schools of the United States find themselves has highlighted the question of federal aid to medical schools. The short supply of doctors, dentists, and nurses for the full civilian and military needs of the nation is cited as justification for special federal action in aid to medical education.

Extension Services and Special Educational Grants. Several government departments and independent agencies have extension services, each of which serves a particular purpose. Through the largest programme of this type, the Department of Agriculture disseminates scientific and other information to farmers for the development and improvement of agriculture and home life on farms. This extension service helps to keep farmers abreast of current developments in agriculture and their wives in home economics, and to support clubs for young rural people.

In every state there is at least one land grant college or university, established and nurtured under the Morrill Act and subsequent legislation. In 1950, $5,030,000 was available from the federal government through the U.S. Office of Education in direct support of instruction in these institutions, an amount slightly greater than that appropriated for atomic energy fellowships. The programme is designed to ensure instruction at the college level in agriculture and the mechanic arts, although none of the land grant colleges is by federal action restricted to these fields.

Education on Federal Reservations and in 'Federally Impacted' Areas. The onset of defence preparations in the early 1940's, followed by World War II, brought to many American communities sudden increases in population. The Lanham Act provided funds to assist such war-congested communities in providing needed facilities, including construction and operation of schools, where such facilities were considered essential to the national effort. With the surrender of Japan, the communities were notified that since the primary purpose of the programme had been to aid in prosecuting the war, federal aid to schools under the Lanham Act would not continue after June 30th, 1946.

But nation-wide housing shortages caused the emergency housing projects to continue at practically full occupancy: the children were still there. At the same time, in many of the affected communities, large amounts of property had been transferred to government ownership, bringing a reduction in local tax income. In addition, costs of school services were rising. To meet this situation, the Lanham Act was extended to provide federal assistance for current expenditures. Similar emergency extensions of federal aid to these 'impacted' areas were found necessary in the fiscal year 1948.

Congress also recognised that new communities were to be added to those previously aided, because of reactivation or expansion of existing defence installations or the operation of new defence establishments. The 81st Congress, in its first session, continued the 'emergency' programme of aid to schools in federal reservations and in areas disproportionately affected by federal activities. Meantime, in its second session, the 81st Congress moved towards legislation which would put the programme on a more permanent basis. In legislation passed in 1950, the U.S. Commissioner of Education was charged with administrative responsibilities for a continuing and co-ordinated programme of meeting these needs. The House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labour, in its report on the new Bill, said:

> The United States has become an industrialist, a landlord, or a business man in many communities of the nation without accepting the responsibility of the normal citizen in a community, because property under federal ownership or control generally is not subject to local taxation

School Lunches. Under the National School Lunch Act of 1946, federal funds, when matched by state funds, support a programme of lunches for children in public and non-private schools. In part a legacy of the effort to meet the Great Depression, as well as to dispense surplus commodities held by the government under its farm price-stabilisation programme, the school lunch programme grew out of more than a century of sporadic effort to provide satisfying mid-day nourishment to school children. The Secretary of Agriculture administers the school lunch programme, apportioning appropriated federal funds partly in accordance with population and partly in accordance with the relative fiscal abilities of the states. Matching by the states was originally on a dollar-for-dollar basis; but beginning in 1945 the ratio began to increase, until 1955, after which the states will be paying three dollars for each federal dollar—except that low-income states will reduce the matching requirement "by the percentage which the state *per capita* income is below the *per capita* income of the United States."

International Educational Relations. Probably few departments or agencies of the U.S. federal government are without some sort of international educational programme for the exchange of persons. These programmes are under the general supervision of the Department of State, but are administered in co-operation with many other agencies and departments, including the Federal Security Agency, which includes the U.S. Office of Education.

Under the Smith-Mundt Act and the Fulbright Programme there were in 1950 approximately 3,000 persons participating, about 1,400 U.S. students, teachers, and professors going to other countries, and about 1,600 foreign nationals coming to the United States for study in cultural, scientific, and technical fields. Under

the Fulbright Programme approximately 500 grants were made to foreign nationals to come to the United States, the funds being provided from the sale of surplus United States properties in foreign countries which include Australia, Belgium and Luxembourg, Burma, China, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

Supreme Court Action. The U.S. Supreme Court had before it in 1949–50 two cases brought by Negro citizens from southern states involving racial segregation in higher education. In two unanimous opinions handed down on June 6th, 1950, the Court decided (1) that Negroes must be admitted to facilities of the state university professional and graduate schools established for white students in the absence of substantially equal facilities maintained within the state at public expense to which Negroes are admitted, and (2) that the status of Negro students when admitted to such public educational institutions maintained for white students must be precisely the same as that of students belonging to other racial groups.

According to the Court, the public university maintained for white students, as an agency of the state, may not make and enforce rules requiring the rejection of a Negro applicant unless equally good facilities are simultaneously available to him within the state in the same field of study at public expense; nor can a student, once admitted to a publicly maintained university, graduate, or professional school, be segregated on account of race by any restriction imposed by a state. In addition to many other factors of inequality in legal education, the Supreme Court found that, in the study of law, the exclusion of the most substantial and significant segment of society from the law school which admitted only Negroes precluded the legal education available in the law school maintained for whites. The Court did not find it necessary, in disposing of these cases, to rule on the basic issue which had been argued before it, namely: does compulsory segregation in public institutions *in itself* constitute a violation of the Constitution of the United States?

The Field of Elementary Education

The general end of American education is the fullest development of each child within the design of an evolving rural, industrialised, and urbanised culture. The goals of U.S. elementary education grow out of the basic needs of children and the demands of society. These goals can best be translated through a description of what the schools should do for children. American elementary schools are guided in their effort by certain specific objectives, which it is hoped every child will attain in terms of his own abilities and within the limits of his total maturity.

Every child should become effective in the use of the tools of learning. In order to behave most intelligently in the modern world, the individual must be able to read purposefully, communicate clearly and concisely, think quantitatively, analyse scientifically, and be effective in the social skills. The U S. elementary school has a responsibility for helping children grow in the effective use of these tools of living. It is important, however, for teachers and school administrators to understand how children develop these abilities, and to guide their development in terms of sound principles of growth.

Every child should be helped to develop a healthy body and sound emotional attitudes. The attainment of physical, emotional, and mental health is basic to the goals of education. Whether or not the child reaches adulthood as a healthy, well-adjusted individual depends to a great extent upon what happens to him in his childhood. The school has a responsibility for helping children become increasingly self-directing in caring for their own health and physical needs, and for helping them develop wholesome emotional attitudes.

Every child should be able to identify and deal with his own personal and social problems. One of the main purposes of good education is to help individuals intelligently meet and solve their own life-problems. Children, as well as adults, constantly face real problems in relation to health, safety, recreation, family relations, group living, buying, selling, conservation, and other such phases of living. If children are to deal effectively with their many life-situations, then the school must help them gain the experience which is essential for intelligent daily living.

Every child should develop worthwhile recreational and creative interests and abilities. The changing nature of recreation in the modern world calls for an educational programme which gives children opportunities to develop worthwhile recreational and creative interests and abilities. The school is presented with a real challenge, and has the responsibility for helping to provide these opportunities.

Every child should have the opportunity to make progress in terms of his own abilities. Democracy implies that each individual should have the chance to develop his optimum powers and potentialities. Normal success and achievement are necessary for the development of wholesome personality. The elementary school programme should provide opportunities for each child to find success in terms of his own needs and capabilities. This implies that interests and abilities will be discovered and then cultivated.

Every child should be guided into an understanding of the physical and social environment of which he is a part. Children should be helped to gain a deeper understanding into the conditions, processes, and problems of their own environments. They

should gradually extend and widen the child's community and world, and help him grow in insight into the relationships and the interdependencies of himself with others. The child should not only be helped to see present life, but also should learn to see how present life grew out of the past.

Every child should have the opportunity to grow in an understanding of the meaning of democracy as applied to all aspects of living. One of the major goals of the school is to help children understand democracy, practise it, and develop those personal characteristics which are necessary in order to participate effectively in democratic group life. The successful achievement of all the other objectives helps to ensure a greater realisation of this important American heritage.

The Field of Secondary Education

In 1944, the Educational Policies Commission, which had been appointed by the National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators, published *Education for All American Youth.* Included in this volume were the goals for secondary education which in 1945 were widely accepted by educational leaders in the United States. The goals were called the "Imperative Educational Needs of Youth", and were stated as follows:

1. All youth need to develop saleable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life. To this end, most youth need supervised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations
2. All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness.
3. All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.
4. All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society, and the conditions conducive to successful family life
5. All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.
6. All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man
7. All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music, and nature
8. All youth need to be able to use their leisure-time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful
9. All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work co-operatively with others.

10 All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding

In *Planning for American Youth*, the National Association of Secondary School Principals accepted these goals as their platform and guide to better services. The secondary school principals suggested five points of agreement which were also goals and which were also generally accepted by educational leaders. These five points were:

1 Every community should offer a well-balanced educational programme, based on the needs of its youth Schools must be planned to meet the needs of all youth They are a state investment in good citizenship, health, personal living, and occupational competence

2. Every youth should attend school until his eighteenth birthday or until he has completed high school. Schools are so necessary to boys and girls and to the state that all youth should have the benefit of their services. It is the obligation of parents to provide adequate educational facilities, and the responsibility of youth to take advantage of these opportunities

3. Public schools should be community institutions, serving the needs of youth and adults alike The school plant and its facilities belong to the community, and should be used the year around for community improvement, education, and recreation

4 Schools should be adequately equipped, and staffed by competent classroom teachers, supervisors, and administrators, all of whom should receive compensation sufficient to live as respected members of the community A well-balanced, effective programme of education requires capable professional workers No others can do the job, and adequate compensation is necessary if the profession is to attract those competent to do the job

5. Every school should be organised to serve the general welfare by teaching the meaning of democracy and by operating democratically If the state is to support education, its investment must yield dividends in better citizenship.

During the years 1945–51, intensified efforts were made to retain in school all youth of high school age and to provide appropriate educational programmes for them. Educational leaders were sensitive to the reluctance of business and industry to employ youth under the age of 18. They were also sensitive to the tendency in high schools to emphasise educational programmes which prepare for higher education and skilled occupations in spite of the fact that most U.S. adults (60 per cent.) work at jobs for which they could not have been given specific preparation while they were in school.

In 1947, for a term of three years, there was appointed by the U.S. Commissioner of Education a Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth. Its purpose was to promote action programmes in all public and private secondary schools and to co-ordinate the efforts of all public and private groups in education towards providing better education for all American youth. In 1950, the U.S. Commissioner of Education appointed a second

Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth to carry on the promotional efforts which had been started by the first Commission.

The Field of Vocational Education

One of the most important of the many changes in the work done by the schools of the United States in recent years is the increasing recognition given to the need for competent and well-trained workers in the whole occupational life of the country. The rapid growth of agricultural and industrial production, increased U.S. participation in world affairs, especially on an economic basis; and American acceptance of greater responsibility for assisting other less fortunate countries have all emphasised the importance of education and training which will produce able and intelligent workers. The purpose of vocational education in the United States is to provide for organised instruction of less than college grade which is planned to fit one for useful employment. This work is not the sole responsibility of the vocational schools, since industry, the home, business, and the farms all share in it. There have been, however, many developments which have shown the extent to which public vocational education can assist in this important phase of public education.

Guidance Services. A whole field of endeavour, described variously in the United States as guidance services, pupil personnel work, or sometimes guidance and personnel work, has had a rather remarkable increase since World War II. This movement, less than fifty years old from its inception, has expanded in this period as to the number of persons professionally engaged in it, the number of schools which make specific provisions for it, the extension of its scope and influence, and in particular as to the courses provided for professional training in the skills concerned.

A chief factor in this development was the authorisation in the George-Barden Act passed by Congress in 1946 for federal money to be used in the states for the development of guidance services. The amount of federal money used has been comparatively slight, probably not exceeding 3 per cent. of the total appropriations, or, in round figures, not more than a million dollars a year. The effect of the Act, however, may be considered as markedly out of proportion to the amount expended. This result was caused by the nature of the stimulation fostered by federal assistance. A chief contribution was the reimbursement in state Departments of Education of staff exclusively for the promotion of guidance services. They stimulated research, the in-service training of school staff in guidance practices, and in particular the movement of graduate schools to provide staff and courses to train professional guidance workers. These state leaders were provided with money and facilities for meeting annually, on either a regional or a national basis,

with the result of a consolidation of professional thinking, plans, and policies.

In 1950, forty-three states (including the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands) had made specific provisions in their Departments of Education for leadership in guidance work. An inquiry in 1946 indicated 3,990 schools had 8,299 persons whom they designated as guidance workers in charge of their guidance programmes, and these numbers are steadily increasing. An inquiry in 1949 revealed that of the 1,010 colleges and universities surveyed, 728 offered courses in one to four, 202 in five or more, and only 80 offered courses in none, of the following areas. Basic guidance courses; understanding the individual; tests and measurements; occupational information; counselling; organisation and administration; group methods; mental hygiene; related psychology courses; supervised practice, seminars; special problems; and combined techniques.

Agriculture. The major purpose of the programme for vocational agriculture is to provide education of less than college grade, designed to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age who have entered upon or who are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm or the farm home. The purpose and basic provisions for the conduct of the programme in vocational agriculture in the United States have remained unchanged since 1945, but the adaptation of the programme to meet timely needs has undergone marked changes, as have the conditions under which the programme has operated.

In the development of the programme in vocational agriculture, three major groups have been provided with instruction in agriculture through the public secondary schools, namely: youth in school, who receive instruction through the all-day classes; farm youth out of school, who are instructed through young farmer classes; and adult farmers, who secure instruction through evening schools. In 1950, the last year for which figures are available, enrolments in all-day classes reached 376,897, compared with 251,118 in 1945; young farmer enrolments 42,504, compared with 12,764 in 1945; and adult farmer enrolment in evening classes 345,007, compared with 183,071 in 1945. In addition to this total of more than three-quarters of a million enrolled in the regular programme classes in vocational agriculture, supervisors and teachers of vocational agriculture have had responsibility for organising, supervising, and teaching classes in the institutional-on-farm programmes in which approximately 700,000 veterans have, since the close of World War II, been enrolled.

Planning courses of instruction in vocational agriculture is principally a function of the teacher in a given locality. Farming varies so greatly from state to state and in areas even within a state that in order to function effectively, a nation-wide or even a state-wide

course of study would fall short of meeting the needs of a particular community and the needs of individual students. Farming is not static. Changing conditions from one year to the next, seasonal changes, and farming programmes of students, influence the course of instruction and necessitate a high degree of adaptability in order that the programme serve farm people effectively.

Directed or supervised farm practice for at least six months of the year for each student of vocational agriculture is a basic feature of the programme in vocational agriculture. Increasingly, supervised farming programmes of students of vocational agriculture are looked upon as an important basis for the instructional programme in agriculture, and as an important contributing factor towards establishment in farming. Increasing the scope of individual farming programmes, conferences with local school administrators, meetings with teacher groups, visits to homes of students, reorganisation of teaching programmes, and the preparation of state summaries of student income from farming, represent some of the devices used to focus attention on this aspect of the programme.

The Future Farmers of America and the New Farmers of America for Negro youth are organisations that have been developed for students of vocational agriculture to provide experience in organisational activities to farm youth. Both organisations report record memberships since 1945. Providing training in leadership has featured the activities of both organisations. The annual reports of these organisations are replete with records of achievement regarding the supervised farming programmes of members, participation in co-operative and group activities, varied types of community service projects completed, individual membership participation in leadership activities and in savings and thrift programmes, increased investments in farming, and the promotion of scholarship and wholesome recreational activities among the members.

Business Occupations. During the five-year period from 1945 to 1950, the enrolment of distributive workers in evening and part-time occupational extension classes more than doubled. The instructional cost of these are paid from federal, state, and local vocational funds. During this period the use of state and local funds for training in distributive occupational subjects increased more than 300 per cent. each, while the use of federal vocational education funds increased slightly more than 100 per cent. The widespread acceptance of distributive occupational training and its contribution to the improvement of management and the efficiency of workers in the distributive trades has resulted in greatly increased local and state financial support.

The progress of this federally aided programme is characterised by three other important developments: (1) There is a better coverage of enrolment and subject-matter in the several fields

of distribution; (2) specialisation in replacing generalisation in subject-matter; the heterogeneous enrolment in general salesmanship classes, for example, has been rapidly replaced with specialised selling classes for specific and homogeneous occupational groups; and (3) the specialist with occupational experience has largely replaced the generalist as teacher in the adult programme.

In addition to this progress in the federally aided distributive programme of less than college grade, substantial progress has been made by public collegiate schools of business in serving all areas of private business through the organisation of an increasing number and variety of off-campus extension courses for executives, managers, and rank-and-file business workers.

The period since 1945 has witnessed tremendous progress in co-operative part-time training of young people for successful full entrance upon both the office and store occupations. The progress is evidenced by more than a 100 per cent. increase of enrolment in such classes, the extension of these classes to the post-secondary and junior college level, by the improvement of co-ordinating techniques to ensure that the in-school vocational training is closely related to the requirements of the job, the giving of academic credit for co-ordinated and supervised work experience, and by the increased support of co-operative training being given by employers, business groups, and trade associations.

Home Economics. One of the distinctive characteristics of American education is its emphasis on education for homemaking and family living. Interest in this aspect of education was very much accelerated in the United States by experiences with families during World War II, when the schools made special efforts to recognise and meet actual family needs in their instructional programmes.

As an outgrowth of their war-time experiences in teaching homemaking, home economics teachers saw the need for emphasising certain trends in the further development of their work. Since 1945, homemaking education has stressed four needs: (1) For focusing education for home and family living on the concerns, problems, and interests of families; (2) for studying families in their community settings; (3) for bringing into homemaking programmes the contributions from related fields of knowledge, particularly the social sciences; (4) for further developing methods of instruction which involve parents and pupils in the planning, carrying out, and evaluating of local programmes of homemaking education.

Considerable progress has been made since 1945 in meeting all of these needs. Most of the states and territories have written new curriculum guides or revised old ones to help teachers organise instructional programmes which focus on values and principles in family living rather than upon housekeeping skills as such.

High school and college students and men and women in classes

for adults assist with community self-surveys and with the organisation of community programmes of family-life education as they study social and economic factors affecting family life. Extensive use is being made of teaching procedures which encourage students to take responsibility for their own learning. More emphasis is constantly being placed on 'learning by doing' through such experiences as group discussions, field trips, home projects, home visits, teacher-pupil-parent conferences, community projects, and dramatisations.

The major obstacles to meeting recognised needs for expanding home economics education at all levels have been shortages of teachers, equipment, and funds. Many teachers and prospective teachers of home economics left the profession to enter the armed services or take war jobs, seriously depleting the teacher supply after the war. At the same time demands for home economists in other types of positions have attracted teachers. Consequently, states are still unable to secure the numbers of home economics teachers needed in present departments or to open new departments. Inability to replace equipment during the war and high prices since the war made it impossible for some schools to supply many of the facilities needed for a homemaking programme.

Industrial Education. Trade and industrial education is designed for persons who are preparing for or who have entered upon trade and industrial occupations. This form of education which is of less than college grade is, therefore, essentially economic in purpose: that is, to aid youths and adults to enhance their economic well-being. However, instruction in trade and industrial education is not concerned only with the skills and technical knowledge required to function in a pay-roll job. Emphasis is also given to such problems as human relations, economics, and health, especially for the youth and apprentices who are preparing for entrance into employment. Much of the content involved in foreman and supervisory training deals with human relations and economic values.

Training in the field is of two general kinds: (1) Preparatory training, usually given in schools of secondary grade to prepare young people of from 16 to 18 years of age for entrance into a trade or industrial occupation. Such training is given in 'all-day' classes; (2) extension training, given to persons who have already entered upon the work of a trade or industrial occupation, to extend their skill or knowledge in the occupation in which they are employed. This instruction is given in part-time classes, either in the evening or during a part of their working time. Those who receive this training include various groups such as apprentices, helpers, experienced workers who wish to supplement their trade knowledge, and unemployed workers who return for refresher training and for instruction in the use of new materials and new processes.

Teachers in federally aided trade and industrial schools and classes are required to be qualified in two ways. First, they must be thoroughly competent in the occupation which they are expected to teach. This competency comes only as a result of training and ample worker experience under the usual conditions found in the trade. The second qualification needed is the ability to teach the trade or part of the trade in which he is competent. This ability as a teacher is usually acquired after a person has secured ample trade training and experience. Teacher training service is provided in each of the states for instructors and prospective instructors in trade and industrial education subjects.

The number of apprentices in training during the period of World War II was greatly reduced by the demands for war production and military personnel. As soon, however, as the war closed the number of apprentices in industry grew rapidly. By 1949, the number of apprentices was approximately 300,000. The rapid increase in the number of apprentices created an increasing need for instructional materials. Although each state developed course content in terms of its own needs, the states co-operated with the U.S. Office of Education in making these materials available to other states. Teaching-content has been developed for more than fifty occupants in which apprentices have been employed under agreement.

The Field of Higher Education

To understand what follows concerning higher education in the United States, it is important to keep in mind these facts: (1) There is no national system of colleges and universities with standards fixed by the federal government; (2) what standardisation is accomplished is mainly the result of the voluntary efforts of associations of colleges and universities; (3) while education is the responsibility of the states and local governments, the state Departments of Education, with few exceptions, exercise little jurisdiction over higher education except with respect to curricula for the preparation of public school teachers; (4) the system of colleges and universities is divided between institutions under public control (mostly state control, but a growing number under municipal control), and institutions under private control. Many of the latter are under church control. About a third of all institutions of higher education are under public control, but these institutions enrol half of all the students. Privately controlled colleges are chartered by the state, but in most states are practically free from supervision by the state government after being chartered; and, (5) the quality and comprehensiveness of the programmes of the almost 1,900 institutions of higher education vary from colleges that are mediocre in quality and limited in scope of service, to colleges and universities of excellent quality which are veritable

fountains of intellectual and spiritual life for the nation. It is obvious, therefore, that no single characterisation can be made which is applicable to even a large proportion of the institutions.

During World War II, college enrolments fell to 50 per cent. of the numbers enrolled in 1939–40. A flood of new and returning students was assured by (1) the federal programme of aid for veterans, and (2) the impetus given to college attendance by the war. As a further stimulus to the colleges and universities to prepare for greatly increased enrolments, the President's Commission on Higher Education, which was appointed in July of 1946, reported in December 1947. Its report made a strong appeal for a broadened higher educational opportunity.

The unprecedented increases in student enrolment during 1946, 1947, and 1948 far overtaxed the facilities of the colleges and universities. Heroic efforts were made to accommodate the large numbers and yet not to sacrifice standards. Naturally, these efforts were not 100 per cent. successful. Extremely large lecture classes were permitted in some courses. The supply of books and apparatus was inadequate. A new type of student, the veteran, in many cases the married veteran, posed a new problem for many college teachers. With the federal veteran-student aid programme, many students entered college who probably would not have done so otherwise.

There was a rush to expand the facilities on campuses. This was accomplished by (1) a generous assignment to college and universities by the federal government of surplus war structures and equipment, and (2) new buildings and remodelling of old ones, Many institutions made new campus plans in preparation for the expected large increase of students.

Permanent construction was retarded somewhat by the rapidly mounting cost of materials and by the scarcity of some of the essentials. Many institutions, however, have completed excellent permanent buildings, and the majority of colleges and universities are probably better housed to-day than before the war. Many construction needs are still unmet, and dormitory facilities in particular are still provided to a considerable extent in non-permanent structures from surplus war materials.

As educators looked at the situation in 1945, they saw the need for at least five broad, significant changes. These changes were, in the main, merely the accentuation of movements long recognised by educational leaders. They did, however, come to be much more widely recognised at the close of the war than before. These were:

(1) Higher education has to be made more readily available to all highly competent youth regardless of their race, religion, or economic status. The discovery and development of talent was recognised as a national need. The opportunity of the individual

talented youth to develop his talents was seen more clearly as a basic tenet of democracy. Studies in several states revealed that, for every talented youth in colleges and universities, at least one other youth of equal ability does not attend. Such a waste of human resources and such inequality of opportunity were recognised as fundamental weaknesses in a democratic society. In consequence, three movements took on new emphasis:

(*a*) A system of community colleges,[1] locally controlled but frequently subsidised by states, came to be advocated. As a result of efforts put forth by all interested parties, community colleges, generally as an extension upward of the public high schools, are (1951) being organised in many communities.

(*b*) The second movement was for a nation-wide student-aid programme, usually thought of as scholarships. The largest single barrier to college attendance by highly qualified young people is known to be lack of funds. The student-aid programmes maintained by institutions and by a few states do not reach more than a small fraction of the well-qualified young people who do not have the means to attend college. Hence, the President of the United States has advocated in his recent budget messages the establishment of a federal scholarship programme. The idea of assuring educational opportunity to qualified young people has also grown in favour among philanthropists and state governments. Many colleges and universities have received gifts to increase their scholarship funds.

(*c*) The third movement was aimed at eliminating or at least reducing the racial and religious discrimination factor. A conscientious effort is being made to review criteria for admission and to discard from application forms those that are not of demonstrable value in judging the probable success of the applicant in the curriculum he or she intends to follow. New York state has attacked the problem of discrimination vigorously. The legislature in that state has passed a law forbidding the practice of discrimination in its educational institutions. The American Council on Education has established a commission which is continuing to study the problem on a nation-wide scale, and is holding conferences to develop sentiment to abolish every form of discrimination.

(2) The second significant change needed in higher education as perceived by the educators in 1945 was to raise the quality of college teaching. Many colleges, singly or in groups, have engaged in studies of how to make their instructional programmes more effective. To date (1951), two nation-wide conferences have been held under the joint sponsorship of the American Council on Education and the U.S. Office of Education.

[1] Institutions which extend the free public educational system through the fourteenth grade, designed also to provide educational services to the total adult population in the surrounding area.

One was devoted to questions of how to improve the training for college teachers now offered in graduate schools; the other, to questions of improving the teaching of already employed college teachers. Reports of these two conferences have been published by the American Council on Education as monographs, entitled *Preparation of College Teaching* and *Improving College Teaching.* Supplementing these reports is a check-list study of devices in use in graduate schools and colleges looking to the improvement of college teaching. This study was made by the Office of Education and is entitled *Toward Better College Teaching.*

(3) The third significant change foreshadowed in 1945 was in the field of college accreditation. One of the questions most difficult for a visitor to understand is how any system and order can be brought into higher education in the United States, where the federal government possesses no authority over education and where most of the states exercise almost no authority over the standards of colleges and universities.

During the last forty years colleges have banded together in regions and on a nation-wide basis to carry on a programme of accreditation. The colleges so uniting have adopted standards, and published lists of institutions in their regions which have asked to be accredited and which have come up to the announced criteria. Those institutions on the lists are known as 'accredited' colleges.

Certain serious problems have arisen in the administration of this system. Sometimes more than one association claims the right to accredit colleges in a given field—say, social work, or nursing. Furthermore, the advantages of accrediting are so obvious in their drawing-power for student patronage and financial support that college authorities often lose sight of the larger goal of institutional improvement in the effort to meet announced standards. The process of accreditation has proliferated to the point where machinery for the accreditation of individual academic departments, such as chemistry, has been established. As a means of bringing the whole accreditation movement under control, five of the stronger national associations of colleges and universities joined in 1949 in creating the National Commission on Accrediting. The purpose of this Commission is to approve associations or agencies which seek to accredit any curriculum in a college or university. It is hoped that this will check the major abuses which were creeping into the system, and still allow the process of voluntary accreditation to continue.

(4) The fourth significant change which appeared in 1945 to be urgently needed was to deepen and broaden American understanding of other nations. U.S. isolationism had proved to be unsound in 1917, but the lesson was not well learned until 1941. Since 1945, a few leading universities have gone actively to work establishing Russian Institutes, Far East Institutes, and the like.

Many scholars from these countries have joined the faculties. Curricula devoted to the many aspects of the life of a given country are being offered in more and more universities. The beginning has therefore been made to give U.S. citizens the means whereby they may learn more about their newer world neighbours.

The federal government has been keenly aware of the need for more effective education for international understanding. Early after the war, the Congress expanded the provisions under which the State Department could carry on programmes of exchanges of teachers and other leaders. It also passed the Fulbright Act, under which considerable amounts of American-owned surplus war materials located in other countries would be given to those countries. The country must agree to use the funds obtained from the sale of these materials to pay the cost of an educational exchange programme. The Fulbright programme was in operation in early 1951 in more than a score of countries.

Finally, the Congress gave approval of the so-called 'Point Four' programme proposed by President Truman in his inaugural address in 1949. Under this programme, funds are made available to aid underdeveloped countries to raise their standard of living. This involves assisting in the improvement of their educational systems, leaders for which are, of course, educated in their universities.

(5) The fifth of the desired changes concerned research. While technological advances have been known to be the direct results of research; while the war made use of research findings at every turn, culminating in the atomic bomb; while medical science was supported by the findings of many research institutes and of many individually subsidised scientists; and while agriculture had not only one or more agricultural experiment stations in every state, but also a well-planned research programme maintained by the federal Department of Agriculture; while this physical and material side of American life was built upon the results of research, the nation's social, economic, and political problems had the benefit of no such programme.

Research in the non-science fields was believed by many to hold the key to a better balance. Research programmes in education, in sociology, in economics, in government, and in the humanities have been advocated. But although vast sums of federal money are still distributed to the universities for research projects, practically all are in the natural sciences for their applications in medicine, agriculture (which includes rural sociology), or *matériel* for military defence. While some progress has been made, as evidenced by the announced social science research interest of the new multi-million-dollar Ford Foundation and the greatly expanded enrolment of students in the social sciences, the question of how to maintain a

better balance between developments in the sciences and in the non-science subjects is largely unanswered.

Education and the Mass Communication Media

The Press, radio, and screen—both motion-picture and television—have an important place among influences to which American children are exposed. But there have been few studies which evaluate the mass media in terms of educational effectiveness or of ultimate contribution to educational objectives.

It is known, however, that the average American has his radio turned on about four hours daily; that he spends approximately an hour a day reading newspapers; and that he tends (since 80 million Americans see a different motion-picture nearly every week) to be a rather regular attendant at the local movie theatre. At least 40 million read Hollywood fan magazines; and comic 'books', with a circulation of approximately 50 million, are read by nine out of ten children between the ages of 8 and 15. Magazines catering to the 'junior Miss' reach about 2½ million readers each month. All told, 60 to 70 per cent. of American adults read one or more magazines regularly and about one-fourth are habitual book readers. Barber-shop and beauty-parlour readership embraces the large-circulation pictorial weeklies, along with the movie periodicals, and all except two of the great daily newspapers to which the average American is exposed feature 'comic' strips.

Television is still too recent a phenomenon to justify sound generalisations. Principal surveys have been limited to relatively congested areas on the eastern seaboard. Here it seems that adults sit before the television screen two or three hours a day, and children almost as much. One study in Washington, D.C., indicates that nine out of every ten elementary school children have access to television screens. Students at a junior high school in Stamford, Connecticut, spend almost as many hours daily with their television sets as they do at school.

Teacher reaction varies widely. In the Washington study, 49 per cent. of the teachers thought television harmful to children, while 44 per cent. perceived no harmful effects. Many of the former group blamed loss of sleep suffered by the children rather than the programmes. On the other hand, some teachers find salutary results from programmes such as one which urges children to co-operate more with their teachers. Others report that programmes motivate learning in such fields as weather maps, industrial processes, and good citizenship.

There are about 75,000 16-mm. sound-motion-picture projectors in the schools of the United States. Radio sets and record players are available to the majority of school pupils. The fact that American standard broadcasting stations put 36,000 different programmes on the air each day has no necessarily direct connec-

tion with the formal educational process, but it is significant that at the end of 1950 there were 131 standard and FM Educational Radio Broadcast stations.

While there is now (1951) only one television station operated by an educational institution, WOI-TV at Iowa State College, the Federal Communications Commission proposes to reserve frequencies for use in educational television. This would make available programming of an entirely different character from that of most commercial stations. It would also ensure the fullest use of educational films, which are available in great amount and variety but of which commercial stations take little advantage. Despite the limitations imposed by current commercial control of 106 stations among a total of 107 licensed by FCC, 56 colleges and universities, 4 medical schools, and 19 local public school systems have been serving the public through regular educational television programmes.

The prevalence in and out of school of the newer media has not in the larger sense conditioned the production of the oldest medium, the Press All of the great American magazines have educational departments which make a notable contribution to classroom activities. One of the popular monthly magazines issues a special edition for school use and prepares comprehensive lesson plans for teachers; it has also pioneered in the field of remedial reading for schools with, in view of its stupendous circulation, incalculable effect. The standard general and literary magazines, along with newspapers, are used extensively as background for class discussions and home assignments. Increasingly, cartoon booklets are being developed on such subjects as mental hygiene, atomic energy, the operations of factory assembly lines, and the inner workings of radio sets.

As in the case of commercial radio programmes, there is no provable educational connection where the general availability of books outside school is concerned. But it must be assumed that there is considerable effect on children, good or bad, from the very profligacy with which the printed word multiplies itself. Nearly one-half billion copies of books are produced each year in the United States; of this number about 230 million are of the reprint variety. Textbooks for schools average about 150 million, with juveniles on the standard lists hovering at 60 million. About three million homes receive monthly offerings from the book clubs. There are more than 50,000 rental libraries in the United States, aside from the 1,500 standard book stores which operate large rental departments. For those who do not wish to pay for immediate access to the latest books, there are about 7,400 public library systems in the United States.

There has been a very definite and sharply focused effort to use the mass media directly in education in the United States.

Education is always a long-range factor in a total culture. The adults who support and operate mass-media systems are the products of the educational system. The level of education reached by the population is reflected in current tastes in the mass media and in the end products. The great transition in mass media which has occurred in the past fifty years has meant that books, recordings, photographs, and motion-pictures are available in permanent form. Furthermore, the communications revolution has involved not only a creation of new things but a lowering of production costs. The average householder may now have a record player with a collection of records; a library with a collection of books and periodicals; and albums and cabinets with collections of still photographs and personal motion-pictures. These become repositories of the cultural and educational level of the country; and they become a constantly increasing influence on the young.

At present, judgment concerning the final effect of mass media on children and adults is a matter of opinion and speculation. American educators believe that further study of the problem raised by the mass media is urgently needed.

EARL JAMES MCGRATH.

CHAPTER TWO

CANADA

The Educational System in Canada

It would be very difficult to describe developments in education in Canada without some brief description of how its educational system is administered. In Canada education is a provincial responsibility; there is no federal Department of Education, nor, as is found in Australia and the United States, is there a federal Office of Education. Consequently there are ten different systems of education, each independent of control by the others and by the federal government. While it is true that the similarities between the systems are much greater than the differences, the needs and the emphasis on different aspects of education may vary from province to province at any given time. The British North America Act of 1867, which established the Dominion of Canada, put education almost exclusively within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures, leaving the federal government responsible for the education of native Indians (whose school population numbers about twenty thousand), Eskimos, and the populations in Canada's two sparsely settled territories, the North-west Territories and the Yukon Territory. The federal government also gives appreciable aid to vocational education (1950–51, $10,500,000) and collects educational statistics.

Clearly a country with a unitary system of education, where there is a central ministry giving strong leadership in education to the whole country, will move forward in a much more uniform way than a country which has diverse systems such as those found in Canada and in the United States. This is not to imply that either a unitary system or a federal system is better, but simply that the times and conditions during which changes are made vary a good deal. It is generally accepted in Canada that provincial control of education, which permits and encourages local interest in the schools, will give a more soundly based and more vigorous school system than one federally controlled. There is no movement towards federal control, but the past few years have seen growing pressure, chiefly from the teaching profession, for federal aid to public education.

It will be appreciated that in considering ten systems of education it is not easy to outline in a brief article either any general scheme of reform or the reasons lying behind reforms in a number

of systems. Although there is in Canada no federal Ministry of Education nor federal office, some liaison in education is maintained by the departments through an organisation called the Canadian Education Association. This Association is financed by grants in proportion to population from the ten departments of education, as well as by grants from a number of the major city school boards. The action of the CEA is confined to the exchange of information, both by publications and by the arrangement of conferences, and to the promotion of research. The Association, as a voluntary organisation, plays no part in the actual administration of education and is in no way concerned with policy. Senior educators meet once a year under the auspices of the CEA; from time to time the organisation is authorised to undertake surveys which are carried out with the co-operation of all the provinces. Any action resulting from the information thus obtained is a matter for the decision of the departments themselves.

The Problem of Distance

One basic problem which must be kept in mind when reviewing national development, and which is, perhaps, peculiarly a Canadian problem, is the matter of distance. The distance across Canada is 3,500 miles. And while there are other countries approaching Canada in size, none of them extends longitudinally for such a distance with so little breadth in its settlement. Winnipeg, Canada's fourth largest city, and roughly a geographic centre of Canada, is some 1,400 miles west of Montreal, Canada's largest city, and it is 1,500 miles east of Vancouver, Canada's third largest city. Ontario, the second largest province in area, but with the largest population (approximately 4,000,000), lies in the centre of Canada, extending a thousand miles from east to west and more than a thousand miles northward. Consequently there has been great difficulty in establishing and maintaining personal contacts among educational administrators and in arranging for conferences where exchange of ideas may occur.

Activities essential to the recent world war had a marked effect on the situation. Canadians generally became accustomed for the first time, through training and service in the armed forces and through war-time jobs, to move about freely and to become better acquainted with their country. Places previously regarded as remote became better known, and the barriers of distance were noticeably broken down. Air travel became an accepted mode of transportation, and Vancouver, which was previously thought of as five days distant from Toronto (by train), became (by air) only twelve hours distant. In the post-war period, letters which were formerly carried by the postal department by ordinary mail are now carried by air mail without extra charge.

These matters, while seemingly extraneous to education, have

none the less had a substantial effect upon national trends and developments in education, in that they have increased tremendously the number of personal contacts between senior officials and have reduced delays in correspondence. Each year a majority of the Ministers of Education, all the Deputy Ministers, a number of other departmental officials and inspectors, and heads of urban systems of education meet in the CEA conference in a provincial capital, a different capital city being selected each year for the location of the conference. Addresses are given on matters of national interest in education and common problems are discussed.

Among the developments in education in this country since 1945, one of general significance, which has had a pervading and interacting influence, has been the increased travel of educationists within their own country and the resulting increased knowledge of problems and trends in all areas.

Report of the Survey Committee

While note has been made above of the constitutional basis of provincial control in Canadian education, it should not be thought that there are ten isolated systems each operating without reference to the others. There has been impressive unanimity in this country as to the predominant needs in education and a ready understanding and willingness to co-operate one with the other towards a solution of these problems. There could be no clearer evidence of this, nor better introduction to this article, than the report of the Survey Committee of the Canadian Education Association (then the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association) appointed in 1942 to ascertain the chief educational needs in the Dominion of Canada. The survey was made during the war and many of its findings could not be implemented, if they were to be implemented at all, until after the war. It follows that the recommendations of that Committee serve as an admirable basis for considering the needs still existing in 1945. Developments described in this article should be considered in relation to these needs. As listed by the responsible officials of the Departments of Education, they were:

(1) Health examinations and follow-up treatment for all children;
(2) Increased grants distributed more nearly on the basis of need;
(3) Better selection and more adequate preparation of teachers;
(4) Payment of higher salaries to teachers;
(5) An adequate programme of education and especially secondary education for all pupils regardless of location;
(6) Expenditure of money as an inducement to the establishment of larger units of administration;
(7) Aid in the provision of better buildings;
(8) Special schools—agricultural, commercial, technical, industrial;
(9) Complete programme of practical education;
(10) Programme of counselling and guidance;
(11) Additional supervision, e.g. helping teachers;

(12) Complete library service;
(13) Scholarships to enable students to proceed to advanced education according to their interests and aptitudes,
(14) Transportation in rural areas as an aid to better school service;
(15) Part-time education for pupils from 16 to 18 years of age.

A Development in Educational Philosophy

In spite of the divided responsibility for education in Canada and the immense size, complicated by great natural barriers, of the country, certain national trends in education have been particularly evident since 1945.

Contrary to the situation in some countries, there have been no marked changes in the social origin of the pupils in school since the First World War. It has long been an accepted view in Canada, as in the United States, that education up to university entrance should be both public and free. It does not follow, however, that all Canadian youth take advantage of the opportunity for free education or that the opportunities are by any means equal in all provinces or in all areas within any province. Although the past thirty years have seen a steady increase in the proportions of boys and girls who complete elementary school and continue on to secondary school, in the past five years school administrators have devoted positive attention to the problem of school drop-outs under provincial systems of free public education.

According to the first report of the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education (*Canadian Education*, March 1949, page 38):

> Despite the widespread efforts and the significant progress which have been made in raising the over-all educational level of all Canadians, it would appear that there is still room for much improvement. There are still many who never complete the elementary school. There are many who complete the elementary school but never enter the secondary school. There are many more who begin the secondary school only to drop out in the early grades before much significant progress can be achieved.

The table on the following page from the report shows the decrease in enrolment in school grades.

Further data indicate that on the basis of one hundred students the loss between Grades VI and XI in two typical provinces is 77·7 for rural students as against 44·2 for urban students. The loss is greater for boys than for girls, 67·3 to 57·5 respectively, and the heaviest loss by far is for rural boys, 81·5.

It is obvious from the foregoing figures that the mere provision of school facilities is not sufficient to hold students in the schools.

The first twenty years of the present century saw an increasing acceptance by the public of the need to provide elementary and secondary education to all young people. Courses took the form of traditional offerings of reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, his-

ENROLMENT BY GRADES ON BASIS OF 100 IN GRADE V

Province	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*[1]	*XII*
Prince Edward Island	100	88	80	76	53	46	17	—
Nova Scotia	100	91	80	66	55	42	28	—
New Brunswick	100	88	77	66	39	23	16	—
Quebec (Catholic)	100	85	66	43	32	20	14	—
Quebec (Protestant)	100	96	90	85	70	52	37	—
Ontario	100	96	90	91	73	54	33	24
Manitoba	100	95	88	78	70	55	44	—
Saskatchewan	100	96	90	80	72	56	46	—
Alberta	100	96	92	85	75	55	42	—
British Columbia	100	97	95	88	82	69	51	38
All Canada	100	92	82	71	58	42	29	26

[1] *Grade XI represents high school leaving, except in Ontario and British Columbia, in these provinces Grade XII is high school leaving (Junior Matriculation level).*

tory, and geography in the elementary school, and in the secondary school there were added general mathematics, Latin, Greek, one modern foreign language, and science. It was believed that a formal academic education was valuable to anyone who could persist in it successfully and would probably be good for others who, it was hoped, would survive it for as long as possible. The primary purpose of these courses was to prepare those who passed through them for university. Before the recent world war there was no widespread notice taken nor general concern expressed that only 4 or 5 per cent. of those who entered Grade I (the first year of elementary school) continued on to university. In more prosperous urban areas, chiefly where industry was well established, vocational schools had been built but these were frequently looked on as lesser institutions in which persons not academically competent took refuge. In smaller areas, or where more pretentious schools could not be financed, limited facilities were provided for manual training or industrial arts for boys and for domestic science, later household economics, for girls.

In the report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Education it is suggested that the most difficult lesson to be learned about education is that the criterion of quantity served its purpose with the establishment of free elementary and secondary education for all the people, and that the need to-day is for quality reckoned in terms of the value to the pupil and of the excellence of the teacher. This Royal Commission consisted of twenty members appointed by the provincial government with full power of inquiry to examine and report upon the educational system of the province of Ontario. Its term (March 1945 to December 1950) covered almost exactly the period discussed in this paper; its complete report (900 pages) was published in the spring of 1951.

The same conclusion as quoted above has been reached by an entirely different survey group, starting from a different point, and canvassing a different area of opinion on a national basis.

Early in 1947 a national voluntary committee called the Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education was established to investigate, through a research staff, the practical value of present secondary school education for students who enter immediately into employment, rather than proceeding to university. Sponsored by the Canadian Education Association, and thus assured of the co-operation of all Departments of Education, and financed by national organisations in business, industry, labour, and the home, the Committee planned in 1951 to make recommendations to the Departments of Education as to the value, in terms of successful employment and competent citizenship, of a secondary school education. Without reviewing the work of this Committee, it is interesting to quote a pertinent passage from *Two Years After School*, a Committee report published in 1951:

> The tremendous changes in our way of living have altered many educational ideas With political, social, and economic changes it is inevitable that prevailing theories and practices should come under scrutiny Education for work, citizenship, and leisure should be suited to the contemporary scene. For example, lack of full-time job opportunities for youth under eighteen has caused changes in the school population since World War II and has forced consideration of the problems of educating larger numbers of youth who are not too interested in continuing their schooling unless educational offerings become more meaningful to them

One of the most striking developments of the period under review, and in our opinion the principal development to which the others are in the main subsidiary, has been the increased demand by the public for the fullest possible opportunity for the education of all children in terms of their needs. The secondary school education which prepared students for university has not been sufficient. It fails to hold the interest of the great numbers who at least begin secondary school, partly because they are not going to continue further studies in these subjects at university, and partly because many of the courses do not seem to have practical value in terms of the students' immediate environment and ultimate employment.

This article suggests that developments and reforms in education since 1945 have arisen in large measure from the recognition that while all Canadian children in the age-groups 6 to 18 now have free public education, this education as organised prior to the last war did not have within its content, nor in its methods of instruction, sufficient appeal, variation, and richness to attract and hold the majority of young people. A substantial part of the difficulty lay in inadequate financial resources.

It is not suggested that this recognition suddenly appeared in 1945. The *Survey Report* in 1943 made reference to the high rate of withdrawals from secondary schools. Progressive thinkers were already urging that the secondary school should not be merely a college preparatory institution, but the completion of matriculation or university entrance requirements had great prestige which amounted almost to a fetish. The majority of students were in schools where only academic subjects were taught. Strong reasons supported this circumstance; among them, teachers had been trained under such a system, and teachers of specialist subjects were scarce; large rooms and expensive equipment were needed for vocational, industrial, and commercial subjects, whereas small rooms and little equipment would suffice for academic subjects.

The Survey Committee predicted that the skills shown to be of inestimable value during the war would find a place in the curriculum when the war ended. And while certain broadened facilities were available in urban areas, there was a complete lack of these in the village and rural schools which served half the Canadian population. In these areas improvements were urgently needed.

In considering progress and developments since 1945, the following factors should be considered as a background: Canada's large size, the administrative structure of its educational systems, the greatly increased numbers applying for secondary school education, the Canadian ideal that all its youth should have eleven or twelve years' free education, the changed emphasis in the last twenty years from high school education as preparatory to university to such education as preparatory also to employment and to competence in a modern democracy, and, finally, the disparity existing between local financial support for urban schools and local financial support for village and rural schools.

National Trends and Developments

The most significant and widespread change in Canadian education in the past six years has occurred through the establishment of larger areas of local school administration. In the different provinces these units appear under various names, as regional or consolidated school areas, as municipal units, township areas, or school divisions, and there are, of course, variations in the authority and responsibilities of the local unit. None the less they are sufficiently alike in purpose and function to reveal a common movement. The essential purpose is to provide access to wider financial resources in order to equalise educational opportunities and thereby provide a better school service to all children within an area of varying economic conditions.

Generally speaking, under the municipal unit of school administration, a uniform tax rate is levied on the whole municipality, township, or division; to equalise the tax burden as between munici-

palities, the provincial government provides grants to the municipalities from an equalisation fund. The local school section retains its identity and some of its powers (varying from province to province), but the financial burden is levelled out and borne equitably throughout the province. From the instructional point of view there is assurance of a minimum educational level in every school within the school area. The minimum provided for teachers' salaries, equipment, school building, and operating expenses is well over the average under the former system of several adjacent small school sections.

It would be misleading to say that this movement suddenly appeared in 1945; there had been tentative developments in this direction earlier; for instance, in Manitoba from 1910 to 1920 there was considerable progress towards the consolidation of schools. Apart from this first development, however, Manitoba has not, in the last five years, pursued as vigorously as the other provinces further developments in the larger unit.

A more marked exception is the large and populous province of Quebec, which has two distinct systems of education—Roman Catholic and Protestant; more than 86 per cent. of the population is Roman Catholic and French-speaking. The Roman Catholic system was not faced with the problem of one-room rural schools each with a trustee board, as was commonly the case in other provinces. Under the Catholic system a board looks after several schools in a parish area not unlike a larger school unit or township.

A final exception is Canada's new province of Newfoundland, which joined the other provinces in a federal system on March 31st, 1949. Newfoundland, under a single Minister and Deputy Minister of Education, has a four-denominational system of school administration below the Deputy Minister level.

Provincial Developments in the Larger Units

In Prince Edward Island the Advisory Reconstruction Committee reported in July 1945 that there should be "reorganisation of the whole province as one unit for purposes of finance and the gradual establishment of approximately thirty areas or regions for high school purposes, each to be presided over by a board". The high school board should consist of seven members, of whom three are to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and four are to be elected at a meeting of two representatives from each of the districts comprising the area. The provincial government should bear 50 per cent. of the cost of site, building, and equipment of the regional composite high school and 25 per cent. of the cost of maintenance and operation. Under this plan the one-department school would continue to function for elementary education and would maintain its local school board. By the end of 1950 the Department of Education reported that the first larger adminis-

trative unit in the province was functioning in a most satisfactory manner. The temporary appointed board was replaced in June 1950 by an elected board as provided for in the school law. Coincident with this development, the evaluation board appointed by the government for the purpose of making an equitable and uniform valuation of all real property within school districts taxable for school purposes has proved to be very useful. This board was appointed further to legislation passed in 1948 and 1949.

In Nova Scotia the establishment of the larger unit was authorised by an Act in 1942. As a result the free tax-supported schools in local sections established by Acts of 1864 and 1866 might now become part of larger units; the major share of education costs would be borne by a county of approximately a hundred rural school sections and by the province as a whole. By 1946 the whole province had been reorganised into twenty-four of these units.

While the change has been too recent to assess the results, and while it has been made during a period of rapidly increasing costs, the Department believes the following advantages have been obtained:

(1) the elimination of arrears in teachers' salaries and local indebtedness for school operation;

(2) the equalisation of educational opportunity and tax burden;

(3) the provision of sound financial administration,

(4) the correlation of educational effort within the various municipalities.

Another fundamental development under way in Nova Scotia is the establishment of consolidated high schools for the purpose of providing rural children with adequate facilities for general academic high school education and for practical training in industrial arts such as household science, music, art, crafts, commerce, and agriculture. By the year 1950–51, nine regional high schools had been opened as well as two vocational high schools. Coincident with the establishment of these high schools, which offer courses from Grade VII to XII, has been the more efficient functioning of the remaining small rural schools in which grades are limited to the first six.

Developments similar to those in Nova Scotia occurred in New Brunswick where, prior to 1943, there were 1,350 school boards responsible for the local administration of schools. Under this arrangement education was financed in some sections on land assessment of millions of dollars, while in remote rural areas the assessment might be a few hundred dollars.

The County Schools Finance Act, which was passed in 1943, made it permissible, with the favourable votes of the district ratepayers and the county council, for the rural districts of any county to pool their resources and finance their schools as county units. By

the end of 1948, 14 of the 15 counties in New Brunswick had adopted this Act. As a striking example of the effects of the adoption of the larger school unit, the 1,350 administrative school units in New Brunswick have now been reduced to 37, made up of the 15 counties and 22 urban centres. In consequence, there has been a tremendous development and improvement of school buildings and school services in the province, and the people as a whole have obtained a new awareness of educational values. For the first time people in rural areas have had brought to them the advantages of the urban school system.

Regional high schools also form an important part of post-war educational developments in New Brunswick. For the purpose of these schools, rural districts are consolidated into attendance areas of 12 to 36 school districts, with a minimum attendance of 200. Each region is being provided with a modern composite high school offering college preparatory, agricultural, and home economics courses. Twenty-four of these schools are already in operation and five more will be opened in the near future.

Similar developments have been occurring in Ontario, where township councils have authority to place two or more school sections under one board of five trustees. By the end of 1950 there were 536 township school areas in place of the 3,465 rural school sections which formerly administered the same total area. This now comprises about 60 per cent. of the former small school sections of the province. When it is considered that prior to 1938 only 15 such areas were organised, and that major reorganisation took place in 1945 and the years following, the rapidity and significance of this development can be appreciated.

Since 1946 there has been marked development in the establishment of composite secondary schools, serving areas of 200 square miles and a secondary school population of at least 300. By the spring of 1951, 75 per cent. of the counties of Ontario had been organised in this manner. As in the other provinces, the object of reorganisation is to provide not only academic courses to the end of Grade XIII but also commercial subjects, home economics, general shop, and agricultural courses to the end of Grade XII. In the period being described the total secondary school enrolment rose 15 per cent., but the number of pupils claiming farms as their homes rose 40 per cent.

In Manitoba enabling legislation passed in 1945 permitted the establishment of two larger units called "school areas". An experimental one dating from January 1st, 1947, has shown marked success in operation.

In the provinces described above an essential feature of the introduction of the larger unit was the prior consent of the local school areas to be consolidated. To this end, demonstration or experimental areas were usually established; departmental officials

explained to local authorities the advantages of the new system, and in general public opinion was prepared so that local areas could vote for or against the adoption of the larger units. A different system was adopted in the western provinces.

Saskatchewan in 1945 began to establish larger units under the initiative of the provincial Department without provision for a local vote unless 20 per cent. or more resident ratepayers petitioned for one within thirty days after receiving notice of the Department's intention. Of a possible 60 such units, 48 are now organised and functioning. Local boards are still retained within the unit, but with greatly reduced responsibilities. Advantages in school offerings are similar to those in other provinces. For example, the Department reports that prior to 1946 a broad programme was offered in only five high schools; there are now 39 composite schools offering courses suited to the majority of the pupils.

Areas were given the option, after five and a half years' experience with the larger unit, to discontinue the system on petition and vote of the local taxpayers. It is interesting to note that by June 1st, 1951, 27 of the 48 units permanently adopted the new organisation without vote, and two adopted it by favourable vote. The remaining units have not at the time of writing completed the 66-months' experimental period

As early as 1936 the Alberta Department of Education took steps to establish the larger unit or division by legislation. By 1948 the province had been organised into 57 divisions in the nature of federations of former rural sections. An average school division has an area of 2,000 square miles, employs 70 teachers, and educates 1,500 pupils.

By legislation in April 1946 a complete revision of school administrative areas was made in British Columbia. Acting on the recommendation of a sole commissioner (Dr. M. A. Cameron), appointed to inquire into the existing distribution of powers and responsibilities between the provincial government and school districts and to appraise their fiscal position, the provincial government established 75 administrative areas and 15 small rural unattached districts in place of 650 existing school districts.

It may be seen from the foregoing that the establishment of the larger school unit of administration has been a common development in the various educational systems and that the most intense activity has occurred in the past six years. It may be noted that east of Saskatchewan developments within each province have been gradual, that local opinion was carefully considered and a favourable decision waited upon, and that local boards on the whole retain greater responsibility than they do in the west. In Saskatchewan and provinces to the westward the central authority initiated action by relatively sweeping legislation. In large part this difference may be accounted for, by the older settlements in the

east, by a traditional attitude of local independence and by a fondness of each small school section to control its local school, and by the generally more conservative nature of the population.

The following table shows in summary form changes in administrative units.

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF SCHOOL BOARDS OPERATING IN RURAL AREAS[2]

Province	Before *Recent* Reorganisation (1935–45)	After Reorganisation (1945–50)		
		In Districts not yet Reorganised	*Over Larger Areas*	*As Continuing Local Boards under Larger Area*
British Columbia	650	20	74	—
Alberta	2,500	—	57	2,450
Saskatchewan	4,000	800	48	3,200
Manitoba	1,700	1,650	1	43
Ontario	5,750	2,282	536	—
Province of Quebec.				
Catholic	1,635	—	—	—
Protestant	350	200	9	90
New Brunswick	1,350	—	15	1,325
Nova Scotia	1,800	—	24	1,750
Prince Edward I.	500	472	1	7
Newfoundland .	300	—	—	—

[2] *Phi 'Delta Kappan', March* 1951, *p.* 311.

Transportation

The larger school unit is a substantial new development in Canadian education. Since it has marked advantages, it will become a permanent part of the provincial systems and further developments may be expected in provinces not yet fully organised. But it may be assumed that certain problems are also created by this change. When central schools are established, the need immediately arises of bringing the pupil to the school. This is usually done by school bus.

In the provision of transportation, school buses are ordinarily owned by the local school authority or else private contracts are made with bus owners for the transportation of pupils. In only one province, New Brunswick, do the government and the school boards own approximately equal proportions of the total number of school buses. Capital expenditure for equipment is borne equally by the school district concerned and the Department of Education; operating costs of school-owned buses are borne equally by the County Finance Board and the Department of Education. In the other provinces the Departments of Education do not own school buses; in several provinces the Department of Education pays

travelling allowances for students unable to continue their studies in the area in which they reside because the local school has been closed or because a secondary school is not in operation in the home district. Buses range in size from a seating capacity of 36 to 67, at a cost of $5,500 to $8,000. In six provinces grants are paid on the basis of a percentage of the purchase price, averaging about 46 per cent. While there is variation as to which school authority pays for transportation facilities, it is entirely free to the pupil in seven provinces.

According to reports from a number of provinces, the cost of school transportation is becoming a financial burden of some magnitude. For instance, in Alberta in 1945, 400 school buses transported 6,600 pupils; in 1950, 1,200 buses were used to transport 25,000 rural pupils to centralised schools.

An interesting experiment arising from the transportation problem has been the establishment in Alberta of school dormitories for high school pupils living too distant from the central school. The pupils are brought to the school dormitory on Sunday evening and taken home again on Friday evening. Cost of this accommodation is relatively small, as the pupils assist in the operation of the dormitory. In 1948 there were 26 such dormitories operating in the province. British Columbia established its first school dormitory in 1947, with 37 school pupils in residence. In 1948 there was an enrolment to capacity of 50, and this number has continued at a cost to each pupil of $25 per month. This school is regarded as a success, and two others have been erected in Northern British Columbia in the Peace River District. The reasons behind the establishment of these schools (with dormitories) are significant of the purpose of the larger unit and of the problems arising from distance. These reasons are·

(*a*) the farming area is very extensive, extending forty to fifty miles north and west of two large centres of population,

(*b*) the farms are large and population relatively scattered;

(*c*) the present population was not able to support more than two junior-senior high schools capable of offering a full programme.

Teacher Supply

No single problem has caused greater concern to educationists since World War II than the shortage of fully qualified teachers. In 1946 this was about 7,000 and in 1950 still remained at 5,000.

It is significant that in the depression days of the 'thirties there was an abundance of well-qualified teachers, while in current times of full employment there is a shortage. Obviously, while relatively low salaries may not be the principal cause of the shortage, they are among the chief causes. According to a report of a national committee on the status of the teaching profession, the long-term causes of the shortage of teachers were:

(1) low salaries;
(2) few opportunities for advancement;
(3) poorly equipped schools,
(4) low prestige;
(5) unattractive rural living conditions;
(6) inadequate pensions;
(7) little security;
(8) large classes and heavy teaching loads.

Among steps taken to relieve the teacher shortage by the different Departments of Education have been publicity on the need for teachers and on opportunities in the teaching profession, short-term or accelerated training courses, expansion of facilities at existing teacher training institutions, co-operation with universities to increase university participation in the training of teachers, provision of loans and of scholarships for prospective teachers. The most unsatisfactory of these has been the provision of short-term or accelerated courses. Certainly it is harmful to the status of the teaching profession, as it tends to operate under the economic principle that bad money drives out good; it is, in short, a debasing of the profession similar to a debasing of currency.

At the same time it is recognised that schools must be kept open. In the period under discussion there has been definite improvement and the short-term measures taken are gradually being eliminated. Undoubtedly the most significant trend has been towards a closer association of teachers-in-training with university undergraduates. While high school teachers on the whole are required to have university degrees followed by a one-year teacher training course, elementary school teachers require only high school graduation with one year at a normal school. Two provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, now have all teachers trained on a university campus. It has been frequently suggested in the past few years that this practice be followed in all provinces, although there is not complete agreement among all administrators that this plan can or even should be adopted. Along with closer identification of teacher training with university training, it is being recommended that two years of training should be required instead of one year. Only in Alberta, however, is the two-year course compulsory. One objection to an extended period of teacher training is the relatively short time spent in teaching by the members of the profession. In a survey in 1947 the median years of experience were reported in British Columbia as 12 (the longest), and in Prince Edward Island as 4·8 (the shortest). Since the great majority of teachers are women, many of them marry after a few years' work. Why then, it is argued, should there be an extended and expensive period of training when the services of the person trained will be so quickly lost to the schools?

In considering the post-war problem of the supply of teachers, the economic aspect cannot be ignored. In 1947 a national study showed that in only one province did teachers receive a median weekly salary equal to the general average weekly wage paid salaried workers in the same province. Teachers in Canada were paid $8·34 a week less in 1947 than the general wage average in all groups of salaried employees as reported by the federal Department of Trade and Commerce. The average 'worker' thus received about 29 per cent. more than the average 'teacher'. Since that time there has been some narrowing of the gap, but the gap was so great that teaching is still regarded as one of the least remunerative of the various fields of employment.

It is unfortunate that this should be the situation at a time when teaching itself as a profession has shifted from drill on a textbook to the development of the child as a whole individual This is a task requiring an increasing amount of professional training, continual study, and special skills. Simultaneously the five-day week, pensions, a certain security of tenure, and holidays with pay have, within the last few years, become very common in a variety of occupations. At one time these were among the special attractions of teaching. Not least among the factors contributing to the present situation is the alarming and continuing post-war inflationary spiral, in which all persons on more or less fixed salaries are caught.

Among the recommendations made by a national committee in 1949 to improve the status of the teaching profession and towards which the responsible authorities are working are these: (1) that teacher education above the high school level carry credit wherever possible towards a university degree; (2) that this education, wherever possible, involve actual attendance at a university or institution closely associated with a university; (3) that the minimum pre-service period of teacher education be two years beyond graduation from high school; (4) that there be less theoretical instruction (methods) and more practice teaching during the training period; (5) that salary schedules be higher; (6) that the variety of teaching certificates now given in the different provinces be sharply reduced in number; (7) that the housing of teachers in rural areas be vastly improved.

New Schools

In Canada there did not arise the problem, as in war-devastated Europe, of rebuilding schools destroyed by the conflict. To European countries Canadian difficulties would seem minor; these have been a shortage of school accommodation in urban centres because of the rapid growth of suburbs, the development of centralised schools, the greatly increased birth-rate during the war, and the need for new buildings resulting from the lack of building in the

depression of the 'thirties and complicated by restrictions which prevented building during the war. All parts of Canada report greater building activity of schools since 1945 than in any other comparable period. Some difficulties have appeared because of labour shortage, scarcity of material, and the very high cost of building. Costs of school construction since 1945 have increased by over 85 per cent. It is not possible to provide exact statistical data on the number of new buildings that have been constructed in each province over the past five or six years. We are therefore indebted to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for its courtesy in providing us with the following figures prepared as an estimate of expenditures on land, buildings, furnishings, and equipment in the period under review. This, in millions of dollars, is: 1945, 9·5; 1946, 15·5; 1947, 29·8; 1948, 43·2; 1949, 75; 1950, 80.

As evidence of the amount of new building that has gone on, it has been reported by Saskatchewan that some 600 new schools have been built. Ontario reports that in 1945–50, 923 new schools and substantial additions have been built, providing 90,000 places for elementary pupils and 20,000 for high school pupils. In New Brunswick there were over 400 school projects, costing over 8 million dollars, 24 regional high schools were built and 12 others are under construction.

Because of the high cost of construction there has been a certain austerity in building, but schools of mediocre or ugly design are not now being built as in some previous periods. Without regard to cost, the general architecture is functional in design, and is based upon an open and flexible plan. Wherever possible the structure is simplified. The most marked changes have been in an increased use of fluorescent lighting, in the use of pastel colours for decoration, and in the use of movable furniture so that class members can be grouped and a feeling of immovability and rigidity taken away from classroom instruction. In large elementary schools there are general-purpose rooms that may also be used as auditoria, with stages included for dramatic performances. Schools of twelve classrooms and under are commonly built on one floor, often without a basement. A high school, in addition to the usual physics and chemistry laboratories, has special rooms designed and equipped for home economics, shop work, art, libraries, commercial work, and agricultural classes. Small high schools have a combined gymnasium-auditorium; in large high schools there is often a double gymnasium separated by electrically operated leather folding doors. Swimming-pools for the most part are regarded as too expensive and are not common. There is great emphasis on pupil-safety, on adequate lighting (both natural and artificial), and on good ventilation. Clerestory windows have been experimented with in the construction of a number of new schools. A noticeable feature is a vast increase in the amount of window area; often

practically all one side of the classroom will be of glass. Glass bricks are frequently used for added day lighting. Much more adequate space is provided for administrative work, that is for the principal and a secretary, as well as rooms for a guidance counsellor and for a health clinic.

The cost of a typical school of twelve elementary classrooms, two kindergartens, principal's room, teachers' room, health room, and playroom-assembly, housing about 500 pupils, is $400,000 exclusive of equipment. A classroom is estimated to cost about $25,000, with additional costs for administration and assembly rooms.

School-leaving Age and Adult Education

There is compulsory school attendance between the ages of 6 and 14 in rural areas and between 6 and 16 in urban areas. Most Canadian youth who desire it can, with little difficulty other than the expense of clothing, textbooks (in the high school), and the negative expense of not being employed and thus earning money, have free education to age 18 or 19. As mentioned earlier, however, many young people withdraw from school while facilities are still available to them; sometimes this is because of personal necessity through being needed at home, lack of appreciation of the value of education, because the pupils are too distant from school, or the school offerings too unappealing.

Adult education is traditionally provided by the extension departments of universities, which conduct evening classes in great variety in urban centres, and either organise classes in rural areas or provide correspondence courses. A number of city school boards arrange adult evening classes, often with the aid of provincial grants. In 1946 Prince Edward Island's adult education activities were reorganised under an Adult Education Council. A Division of Adult Education was established in Nova Scotia in 1945, and a recreation and adult education division was organised in the Ontario Department of Education in 1948. Both Saskatchewan and Newfoundland had earlier established adult education divisions in their Education Departments. New Brunswick is considering such a step. In the remaining provinces courses for adults are handled by university extension departments, with or without university credit towards a degree, depending on the nature of the course.

A major undertaking in adult education has been the provision of evening courses for the non-English speaking immigrants who have come to Canada in the past four years. Between 1945 and 1950 these totalled 216,367. While immigration and the granting of Canadian citizenship are both federal matters, the training of new Canadians in language skills and the imparting of knowledge necessary to citizenship are regarded as provincial responsibilities

The federal government has assisted, on request, with various booklets and with some visual aids but not with direct financial grants.

Some 30,100 immigrants attended evening classes in 1950 in non-rural areas where, except for the cost (borne largely by the cities and partly by provincial grants), there is no major problem. Much greater difficulty is encountered in aiding isolated immigrants engaged in work on scattered farms. Here there has been some effort made through special correspondence courses and by co-operation with local farm and community organisations.

Undoubtedly the most significant development in adult education is the use of the school as a centre for community activities, or, as a graphic phrase has it, the lighted school. Schools built since the war are designed not only for the school pupil but also for the community, with facilities to provide lunches, produce plays, and to permit concerts and meetings of various kinds. While this is not adult education in the strictest sense, it provides leadership training and encourages community recreation and self-development in art, literature, drama, and music. Indeed, that division of the Ontario Department of Education specifically formed to promote adult education is not called by that name but by the name " Community Programmes ".

School Enrolment

Enrolment in the publicly controlled elementary and secondary schools in 1944–45 was 2,134,433. It is estimated that in 1950–51 enrolment had risen to 2,423,704. In both Saskatchewan and Quebec (Protestant) the trend has been somewhat downward, although high school enrolment has been up. The number of pupils in Alberta has increased from 152,532 to 167,778. In Ontario in 1944–45 there were 651,000 pupils, in 1950–51 there were 753,691. Newfoundland, which in 1945–46 had an enrolment of 70,460, increased in 1949–50 to 78,613. In this period the average attendance in Newfoundland increased from 74·09 per cent. to 84·77 per cent. The number of teachers in the public schools is approximately 81,000.

University Enrolment and Studies

University enrolment has been gradually dropping from a peak of about 83,000 three years ago to a total of approximately 68,000 for 1950–51. The latter figure still includes about 7,000 veterans receiving educational benefits from the federal Department of Veterans' Affairs. In 1940–41 the enrolment was about 36,000, a number that had changed little for ten years. The present figure, excluding the assisted veterans, is about 70 per cent. higher than before the war. About 3 per cent. of the Canadian population graduates from university.

The marked increase in university enrolment in post-war years was the result of the federal government's decision to aid all veterans to attend university who wished to go and who were acceptable to the universities as students. In 1946 their number was equal to the total enrolment of university students in pre-war years. Such veterans were supplied with a living allowance during university term and their tuition was paid by the government. Veterans were entitled to assistance at university for as many months as they had served in the armed forces. To help the universities in general financing as well as in providing increased facilities and staff, the government paid the universities $150 per year per veteran student enrolled.

It is interesting that the veteran students revealed themselves as better-than-average students. This has been explained in large part as the result of their greater maturity, their desire to make up for years lost in the armed forces, and their clearer understanding than the younger university student of their post-university plans.

As the educational level rises, a much larger proportion of graduates is now undertaking post-graduate work; this is presenting a problem which the universities have not yet successfully met, as the university staffs are too frequently overburdened with undergraduate and professional courses.

With costs of building and operation mounting, Canadian universities are faced with increasing difficulties in meeting expenses. While students' fees have been raised substantially, there comes a point, which is now said to be reached, when further increases are not feasible and would tend to restrict attendance too greatly to the wealthier class. There is general agreement among university administrators that the best, and indeed the only, solution lies in direct federal grants to the universities. The Canadian Prime Minister has made favourable reference to this suggestion. A Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, which reported on June 1st, 1951, has recommended among other things financial assistance to the universities by the federal government in the form of (1) direct grants to the universities on the basis of population in each province, (2) a broadened system by the federal government of national scholarships. It is confidently anticipated that these particular recommendations will be adopted by the federal government.

Audio-Visual Aids and Guidance

Mention should be made of the rapid development in the last several years in the use of audio-visual aids and of the growth of school-guidance programmes. Concerning the latter, most urban schools have either a full-time guidance official in the high school grades or a teacher with special training who devotes part time to

advising the student as to his special abilities, the different school and subsequent university courses, and various occupations and professional careers in which he might be interested. In general, the guidance official helps the student develop a school programme best suited to his needs and ability and arouses his interest in making plans for his ultimate vocation He acts as a liaison between the schools and business and industry and supplies information to the student about employment opportunities.

Five of the departments of education have appointed provincial directors of guidance who promote guidance activities on a provincial scale.

The first attempt at instruction by school broadcasting was made in Nova Scotia in 1926 and successfully continued in that province. British Columbia followed suit in 1938. In 1943 the National Advisory Council on School Broadcasting, representative of all the provinces, was formed, and school broadcasting, as a co-operative effort between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Canada's national system) and the departments of education, developed rapidly. The CBC broadcasts one national programme a week and each provincial department produces provincial programmes on the remaining four school days. It is reported that school radio-receiving sets in 1950–51 total 8,252, an increase of 22 per cent. over the preceding year (6,764) and 80 per cent. over the corresponding figure (4,856) for 1948–49. Since there are about 25,000 schools in English-speaking Canada, one-third of them is equipped with radios.

Concurrently schools are being equipped with motion pictures and film-strip projectors, which are increasingly popular as classroom aids. In the field of adult education the National Film Board (a federal government body) brings informative motion pictures of high technical quality to rural areas by a wide network of rural circuits.

Aids such as these serve as a means of bringing to village and rural communities the same advantages which urban communities enjoy.

How Educational Changes are Effected

Education is a strongly centralised function of the provincial department. However, in a democracy, with the education system headed by a Minister elected by the people, the department is sensitive to the desires and criticisms of the public in the operation of the school system. On the whole, the Canadian people get the sort of education they want within the limits of what they are prepared to pay in local and provincial taxes. If the department proposes a reform, it must be acceptable to the public; if the public agitates for a change, the department tries to implement it.

Since 1945 there has developed a much wider and keener interest in education among the public than at any previous time. Labour,

business, and women's organisations at both the national and the provincial levels have set up education committees. Provincial teachers' federations are well organised, and a national office was established by the Canadian Teachers' Federation in Ottawa in 1948. Provincial home and school (i.e. parent-teacher) organisations have grown greatly in numbers and influence, and the national body claims to have over 120,000 members. Local school board members are also organised into provincial associations.

These groups serve to stimulate and focus educational thinking of both a professional and a lay nature. Meeting in conventions, they are addressed by departmental and university authorities on educational proposals and practices, and convention delegates pass resolutions and make recommendations which receive official attention and study.

Teachers' conferences or institutes for two- or three-day periods are encouraged by all departments of education during the school year. Summer schools at nominal fees are provided in all provinces for teachers who wish to undertake new or refresher courses. Through these and through inspectoral reports the responsible authorities are kept fairly closely advised of teacher and public opinion on educational matters.

Curriculum

In no area has there been livelier activity than in curriculum revision in each of the provinces. The tendency has been to give teachers more opportunity to participate in curriculum planning. Ontario, for instance, is carrying out a complete revision of the curriculum with local committees working out details of courses to suit local needs. Concurrently in that province there is a movement to decentralise the authority for the choice of school texts as well as other details of school organisation. At the same time Ontario has begun to introduce an integrating programme (in 1950) designed gradually to break down rigid school grades. This establishes the Primary Division (Grades I to III), Junior Division (Grades IV to VI), Intermediate Division (Grades VII to X), Senior Division (Grades XI to XIII) It is intended that pupils be grouped within a division rather than as formerly within a single grade.

Most provinces have appointed directors of curriculum or officials with similar status to work more closely with teachers' groups in the revision of curricula. For the most part the interest displayed and the suggestions made by the teachers have more than justified this development.

Some Major Problems

The account given above of educational developments is largely one of progress in education, and it is safe to say that the period has been bright in many ways.

Against this must be considered the ever-rising costs of both educational services and buildings. The cost of the latter has already reached the point where standards of construction and equipment are being lowered. The rapidly growing suburbs of large towns and cities in all parts of Canada have neat modern homes, but construction of new schools is failing to keep pace with the growth in school population. Almost without exception both elementary and secondary classrooms are overcrowded, so that the whole school system is congested and overburdened.

In consolidated rural areas winter road conditions and costs of school transportation constitute problems; in unconsolidated areas low salaries, inadequate school facilities, poor living and working conditions for teachers, and a shortage of qualified teachers are matters of major concern.

In spite of increases in educational salaries (which have not kept pace with the cost of living), the public is still bound traditionally to thinking of low salaries for persons in education. Since careers in education are restricted to employment by municipal and provincial governments, teachers have not the opportunity for financial success open to those in other professions who may work for themselves or for industry. Until education can offer at least some comparable tangible reward it will suffer in competition with other occupations for the most ambitious and capable young people. In periods of high levels of employment, there will be a teacher shortage as long as teachers' salaries are below the general level

The establishment of larger units of school administration with widened school facilities has marked a substantial step forward in education, it may be assumed, however, that problems related to this development will also appear, particularly those related to the larger problem of local government in general.

While curriculum is being constantly revised and improved, more is being added to the school programme than is being dropped from it. Consequently the school day is overcrowded and the aims expressed in provincial curricula fall far short, as perhaps will always be the case, of what is accomplished in most classrooms. Simultaneously many modern parents, through either lack of interest or incompetence under present social conditions, increasingly expect the school and teacher to take over more and more responsibility for inculcating in children fundamental attitudes in behaviour, religion, and physical and mental habits which once were the mark of a well-ordered home. It is questionable if this is a task which state schools can properly undertake or, in the long run, effectively achieve.

To end on a cheering note, an encouraging number of the aims set forth in the *Survey Report* have been fufilled. Even daily attendance figures have increased, partly influenced by the federal system of family allowances instituted in 1945. This provides for

a monthly payment to parents of children up to the age of 16 and is conditional on those of compulsory school age attending school regularly. School health services have improved greatly. The public has shown a heartening interest in education; the Canadian Teachers' Federation found that its theme for Education Week in 1950 and again in 1951—"Education—Everybody's Business"—was cordially supported by the Press, radio, and by business organisations. Not least among assurances for the future has been a growing appreciation among teachers that they are members of a profession; there is already substantial evidence of a constructive attitude on their part towards their growing responsibilities in school planning, in curriculum construction, and in the improvement generally of the educational system.

F. K. STEWART.

CHAPTER THREE

AUSTRALIA

Introduction

THE years 1939–45 were for the most part spent by the education systems in Australia in holding as fast as possible to the facilities they already offered, against the difficulties of supply of materials and shortage of teachers. Thought, however, does not stand still, and in the stress of war and the dilemmas of reconstruction, education and its place in society occupied an unprecedented place in public thinking—at least in Australian history of the twentieth century.

Of the many developments since 1945 to which attention will later be drawn, few owe their origin to the war. Many were in their early operating stages before it began; others had been talked about, and still others had been planned without any steps being taken to put them into practice. During the war the communication of ideas from one state to another went on unchecked; the greater mobility of population caused by movements of service-men may even have accelerated such communication despite the less frequent movement of administrative officers between states. There is no doubt, however, that the war years led to an acceleration of many developments, drew attention to some unsatisfactory features, and led to a fairly widespread dissatisfaction—not so much with the structure of the systems as they were, as with the apparent lack of a clearly defined purpose for them to serve, and with their limitations.

In all states during these years there are reports of increasing public discussion of the importance of the right education to produce an effective democratic citizen. To some this meant more technical education, to others, more diversity in secondary education, to others, more pupil activity in the schools, to still others, better teaching training. But whatever the suggested answers, this sense of a general problem was widespread by the time the war ended. The methods of administration and the kind of control in the Australian systems do not encourage such public concern to express itself in positive action to the same extent as systems with smaller units and more local autonomy, and one of the regrettable features of the period 1945–51 has been the failure to make more positive use of a great public interest.

The word ' reform ' used by the editors in their " questions and

suggestions to contributors" appears to the writer to carry a meaning which does not apply to Australian education of the last decade. There have been no major changes in administration, organisation of schools and institutions, or teaching practices. That does not mean that there have not been modifications of the systems of administration, that new types of school or service have not appeared, that within the schools emphases have not altered, or that the steady increase of knowledge about the learning processes of children has not been translated into new practices in many schools. It does mean, however, that there is nothing new in the Australian systems that justifies the word 'reform'. Some dross was burnt out in the crucible of the war years, but the product that we now have is basically what it was before 1945. It has additions and accretions, but in its form and substance is not different.

General Description

Full and critical accounts of Australian education have been given in earlier YEAR BOOKS. For a more detailed outline of the administration of a state education department, the types of school available in a state system, and the number of pupils attending them, the reader is referred to *Review of Education in Australia, 1940–48.*[1]

In each of the six autonomous states of Australia there are three systems of schools—those controlled directly by the state through a highly centralised administration, those operating under the auspices of the Roman Catholic church, which have much more regional autonomy than the government schools, and those organised and controlled by the Protestant churches, by private persons, or by councils of parents with some church representation. The latter two systems, although this last group scarcely warrants the term 'system', are supervised in some degree by the state, either by registering teachers or by certifying schools as efficient (either to instruct pupils for public examinations or to accept holders of state-awarded scholarships).

Pre-school education is largely in the hands of voluntary bodies subsidised by the government; a university supported by state grants, private endowments, and fees operates in each state (except in New South Wales, which now has two active universities); the state systems include primary schools and a variety of post-primary schools which from their highest grades provide access to the university or technical colleges.[2] The Catholic church has a similar

[1] *Review of Education in Australia, 1940–48.* Waddington *et al.* (Melbourne University Press for the Australian Council for Educational Research, 1949).

[2] The technical college is a tertiary institution serving a variety of functions such as education of apprentices, giving full-time and part-time courses for advanced diplomas which often qualify holders to practise in certain professions such as engineering, industrial chemistry, etc.

system except at the tertiary level (although a charter has recently been given for a Catholic university to be established in New South Wales). It has, however, few technical schools, and has not developed this aspect of the education of girls In contrast to the state system, however, it operates many boarding schools, resembling in most features similar private and Protestant church schools. This last group has its main strength at the secondary level and makes no attempt to offer technical education. Except for a state subsidy to a group of grammar schools in Queensland, and certain indirect state assistance such as granting state scholarships to children in non-state schools, the Roman Catholic and other non-state schools are entirely supported by private subscription, fees, and endowments. Fixed fees are charged at most of the non-state schools. Education is free, with certain minor exceptions, in all state schools.

As was stated above, the administration of the state systems is highly centralised. Each state has an Education Department, controlled by a minister of the government in power at the time. It has a permanent professional head, usually assisted by a deputy who may, or may not be, the superintendent or director of a branch of the department—primary, secondary, technical, etc. In Queensland and New South Wales some attempt to decentralise the administrative authority has recently been made, but not in the direction of giving local communities power over the educational institutions of their region. This department builds and finances schools, trains, appoints, pays, supervises, promotes, transfers, and dismisses teachers, who are 'classified' in various ways according to skill, seniority, and qualifications. It draws up courses of study for use in primary schools, and when it does not specify all the content of courses in secondary schools has considerable influence in that content, even when the courses end in an examination conducted by a university for matriculation. In most states the university conducts examinations at about the ages of 15 and 17; in all states it sets its own Matriculation Examinations (although in close collaboration with schools).

Compulsory education begins at 6 in all states, although children are accepted at earlier ages if there is room for them. It ends at 14 in Queensland, Victoria, and Western Australia, at the end of the term in which the pupil turns 14 in South Australia, at 15 in New South Wales, and at 16 in Tasmania.

Transfer to secondary schools, or transition to the work done in those schools, takes place after six years of schooling in Victoria, New South Wales, and Tasmania, seven years in Western Australia, and about eight years in Queensland. Different grading procedures are used in the different states when pupils enrol, and the average ages of transfer to secondary education are, therefore, somewhat lower than the above statement suggests (e.g. Victoria at 11½,

Queensland at 13½). Five or six years are normally required at a secondary school before matriculation is possible, and about three or four years in a junior technical school before transfer to a senior technical course leading to a diploma. First degrees take from three to six years at the universities, and technical diplomas awarded by the technical colleges from three to five full-time years, with a part-time year sometimes added.

Adult education is assisted by the state in all states, although the degree of 'official' control varies considerably. Statutory bodies operate in three states, in the others generous subsidies are made to well-organised work by universities and Workers' Educational Associations. In all but one state, too, there is an increasing interest by the state in library matters, and subsidies are paid for the extension of the library services.

The Commonwealth government has increasing responsibilities in education. Although within Australia it pays New South Wales to staff and administer the schools it builds in the Australian Capital Territory, and pays South Australia for similar work in the Northern Territory, it has the following specific activities under the control of various departments, including the Commonwealth Office of Education (see later):

(i) development of native education in the Northern Territory,
(ii) experimental pre-school centres (one in each state);
(iii) education in New Guinea and the mandated territories;
(iv) education in the training centres of the armed forces;
(v) national-fitness work in all states;
(vi) assistance in various ways to universities and other tertiary institutions,
(vii) collaboration in general problems with the states;
(viii) education of immigrants in camps and holding centres;
(ix) in-service education of its own officers.

Educational Thought and Practice After 1945

It is helpful in considering developments made since 1945 to group them into four main classes:

(i) developments in administration;
(ii) developments in types of educational institution, and in the provision of services within these;
(iii) developments in services offered to the community apart from those in (ii) above;
(iv) developments in aims, methods, and approaches to education, at all levels.

The writer believes that all the changes and developments recorded, with one or two notable exceptions, would have occurred sooner or later whether Australia had been at war or not. A study of the various reports issued during or at the end of the war, and discussions with those whose duties brought them into contact with

those responsible for educational services to the community, point to various major reasons underlying the acceleration of the rate of development.

(1) *Administration*

It was inevitable that every emphasis should be placed in wartime on the conservation and maximum development of resources. For the fullest use to be made of material resources, careful study of their location and their juxtaposition is necessary. It is but a short step to the discovery of regions suitable for consideration as autonomous units for self-government. Decentralisation of administration is more easily effected to a large region than to the present small units of local government in Australia (whose delegated authority rarely covered any cultural matter until recently, when they became concerned, in several states, with libraries).

Although the initiative did not come from the Education Departments, and there is some suggestion in each state that the departments were not convinced that decentralisation was necessary or even desirable, nevertheless New South Wales in 1948 established a Murrumbidgee Area with administrative autonomy in many important aspects, and in 1948 Queensland, while reserving a central area around Brisbane for control by the head office of the department, appointed four regional directors, with some administrative autonomy, for outlying regions. The line of authority of such regional directors, however, is direct to head office, and not to a local education authority. *It is not therefore to be considered as a step towards greater local control of education.*

Maximum effective use required also a streamlined central control of resources. The powers, duties, and control of the Commonwealth government expanded enormously. Its concern with manpower control led it directly into the field of university enrolments; its reconstruction programme, though undertaken by the state instrumentalities, required co-ordination; its own activities in the armed services and elsewhere were expanded. It was a natural and inevitable development, therefore, that it should establish its own Commonwealth Office of Education by Act of Parliament, and with the support of all political parties, in 1945. It is one of the puzzles of recent educational history that many very obvious educational functions have not been transferred to it—functions, for example, such as the pre-school centres, national-fitness work, and education in Papua and the mandated territories. In the words of the Act by which it was established, the principal functions of the Office are:

> (*a*) to advise (its responsible Minister) on matters relating to education;
>
> (*b*) to establish and maintain a liaison, on matters relating to education, with other countries and states;

(*c*) to arrange consultation between Commonwealth authorities concerned with matters relating to education,
(*d*) to undertake research relating to education,
(*e*) to provide statistics and information relating to education required by any Commonwealth authority,
(*f*) to advise (the Minister) concerning the grant of financial assistance to the states and to other authorities for educational purposes

It incorporated the work of the Universities Commission established by the Commonwealth government during the war, and has developed fruitful activities along all the lines mentioned above. Additional activities not specifically listed are the education of migrants, the education of natives in the Northern Territory, administration of Australian Unesco activities, and the publication of a fortnightly *Current Affairs Bulletin* which is of considerable value to adult education.

The same pressure on human resources focused a good deal of attention on methods and practices in administration. New departments of government proliferated, and at the same time questions of policy arose with unparalleled frequency. Means had to be evolved whereby heads of departments could be left free from detailed administration and freed from the bondage of the unimportant for the more effective control of the important. In the main these were successful. (Methods of administration of personnel and supply in the armed services were also under constant examination, and the principle of devolving responsibility to subordinates was so essential there that many former service-men now in administration must have been affected by it.) It was inevitable that these procedures should have influenced the long-standing departments such as education. It is not difficult, for example, to trace the appointments of deputies and assistants to the Directors of Education in Western and South Australia to such influences.

Interstate co-operation between education departments became of vital importance during the war, particularly in such matters as presenting a common policy on the calling-up for service of male teachers, providing special training for air cadets, and organising special technical training. It was matters such as these, when associated with the greater feeling of national unity that the war brought, which led to the reconstitution in 1944 of the Australian Education Council—the body of Ministers and Directors of Education of the six states. After 1944 this body, which formerly consisted of both ministers and directors, consisted of the Council of Ministers, a standing committee of directors, and sub-committees of the heads of primary, secondary, and technical education.

The Council planned that a bureau should be established for research, exchange of information, and assistance with inquiries. The establishment of the Commonwealth Office of Education made this latter idea superfluous, but the committees have become important features in the exchange of information, and the cross-fertilisation

of educational ideas and practices, which is so noticeable in Australian education. The annual meeting of directors is probably, for the administrative results that ensue from it, the most important educational meeting held in Australia each year.[3] Its discussions must assist in increasing the similarity of the systems and improving them all. The meetings of its sub-committees of superintendents can probably be made equally important if they are given specific problems to face and answer.

No Australian has made recently a detailed study of the administration of education, no minister or director has committed himself to print, or made public utterances about it. It is impossible, therefore, to know what lines it may take in future, or whether major changes are planned. There have, however, in recent years been signs of a flexibility in the appointments of directors that holds prospects that new ideas may more readily be introduced. Three states, for example, have since 1945 advertised beyond their own boundaries for a new director, and in Victoria, the state cabinet in 1948 appointed as director a headmaster with an outstanding record as a soldier. In Victoria, too, an independent Teachers' Tribunal was created by an Act of Parliament with power, amongst other duties, to determine the working conditions of teachers. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this body may soon be able to break or loosen the chain that binds the education service of the state into a rigid hierarchy, in which, whatever their other duties, the inspectors must assess the teacher for someone else, who will use this assessment to decide a teacher's promotion to a more responsible position (or to a higher salary) It is a system which at present has the obvious result of stultifying experiment, and perpetuating so-called 'efficient' practices long beyond their period of true usefulness. An independent body such as this tribunal may conceivably be able to devise some other system which will encourage greater professional freedom while preserving a ladder of advancement in pay and responsibility which is as free of nepotism as is the present one. There is no similar body in other states, and its work in the next ten years will be watched with keen interest.

(2) *Educational Institutions and their Services*

The driving force behind most of the developments to be discussed in this section may be summed up in the words of the South Australian Education Inquiry Committee· "A more penetrating and individual regard for children; an adaptation of the school to the interests and capacities of the child".[4] The war

[3] There have been meetings of directors since early in the century, although at first they were not held annually

[4] Education Inquiry Committee, *First Report*, May 16th, 1945 (Government Printer, Adelaide, 1945, p. 11).

years focused attention on the importance of the varied contributions to be made to the community by people of widely different talents and abilities. The interdependence of urban and rural interests became more evident; the immense expansion in the demand for technical skills, in both active war-time operations and the factories supplying materials for combatants and non-combatants, raised the status and expanded the provision of technical education; the importance of high civic morale involving an understanding faith in our own conception of democracy led to increasing interest in citizenship and to the development of its important qualities in the schools; the greater efficiency that resulted when men and women did the jobs for which they were best suited led to increased attention to guidance and placement services, to a greater diversity of secondary schools, to a great expansion of university education, and to the provision of more special schools and classes for mentally, physically, and socially handicapped children.

Rural Education

Consolidation of primary schools had taken place in Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia before the war, transportation of senior pupils to secondary or higher primary schools of a special character was fairly common in the other three states. The movement has accelerated since 1945, partly as a result of the economy it effects in teachers, partly through conviction that it gives rural children a better education and greater opportunities. The degree of rural bias given in such schools varies considerably from state to state. The 'area schools' of Tasmania give the greatest rural bias, about half the school time in the two highest grades being spent on rural activities. The pupil with an academic bent who wishes to carry his studies to a tertiary level is somewhat handicapped. At the other extreme are the consolidated schools in Western Australia. There it is emphasised that the pupil wishing to go to higher studies shall not be handicapped, although the schools are expected to make as much as possible of the educational value of local studies. Development has been uneven, it is not possible in the space available to give details, but as an example it may be noted that where all suitable areas in Western Australia are now consolidated, very little has yet been done in Queensland to bring to reality the scheme envisaged in 1945—when it was reported that 132 areas suitable for consolidation had been selected.

Some measure of the greater services given to country children may be obtained from the increase in the costs of conveying them to their schools. Victoria and Queensland may be regarded as typical states in this respect. In the former the figures have risen from the 1945 figure of approximately 6,000 children transported by 196 services at a cost of £139,000, to the 1950 figure of 14,500

children transported by 465 services at a cost of £392,000. In Queensland the cost rose from about £8,000 in 1945 to about £50,000 in 1949. These figures include both primary and secondary school children.

For those children whose homes are too remote for transport at public expense to be possible, special provision for secondary education is now made, through correspondence education in all states, and through living-away-from-home allowances and hostels in some. Primary education by correspondence had, of course, been available in all states for many years, and several gave secondary education on a limited scale through the same system before 1939.

Technical Education

Probably the most important pressure operating on the educational systems as a result of the changes of the war years is the increasing demand for technical education. There has been a marked increase in the numbers as well as the proportion of workers engaged in occupations requiring the skills for which the technical schools are regarded as the best training-ground. (Training within industry, so far as can be judged, is not greatly developed in Australian industries, although increased attention is being paid to it in the larger industrial concerns.)

There was a tremendous expansion in technical training facilities during the war, and although the demand for such training eased considerably once the war ended, there were so many new industries, and so many developments in old-established ones, that the technical schools in all states have had greatly increased enrolments, have multiplied their courses, and have added to their buildings. The most outstanding developments in this field have been the rapid growth of technical correspondence courses, and the establishment of the University of Technology in New South Wales in 1948.

Considerable impetus to both these developments was given by the operation of the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (C.R.T.S.). This scheme aims at the re-establishment of service-men and women after the war, and provides full-time training, or part-time training, for professions or skilled adult trades. Allowances are paid to students or trainees under this scheme. The majority of those who took advantage of the assistance and training offered entered technical schools and colleges. Courses were improved, new courses were introduced, and a considerable amount of new equipment was provided. The actual training was administered in state institutions, but generous assistance from the Commonwealth government in buildings and equipment greatly helped the scheme to become an outstanding success.

The demand for technical education comes most strongly from

youths aged 15 and over; and as the acquisition of the skills they need is not a rapid process, the educational systems of all states have developed junior technical schools which provide the training in pre-technical work which is normally a prerequisite for the more advanced work of the tertiary institutions, as well as a broad general education and training for those who do not propose to continue their studies beyond the statutory leaving-age, but want an education with a more practical bias than is given in the academic secondary school. Although the proportion of children attending these schools, compared with those in the more academic schools, does not show any marked change, they have evidently attracted in recent years a much abler type of student. The Acting Chief Inspector of Technical Schools in Victoria, for example, reported in 1946 that: "The time has now gone when the poorest products of the primary school were graded to the nearest junior technical school".[5] One result, of course, may be to increase the pressure of work in these schools, and therefore to make the lot of the future semi-skilled and unskilled worker more difficult.

Citizenship

It was inevitable that the effect of a war fought partly on ideological grounds, in which at least some of the protagonists explicitly rejected most of the political, economic, and social ideals common to countries like Australia, should be to direct attention to those ideals, the means by which they become personal values, and the role of educational institutions in establishing them. It is a subject that is touched on regularly in the annual reports of the education departments, in the policies of teachers' organisations, in the deliberations of parents' and citizens' associations, in the general literature of education and the public Press, and in certain special reports which appear to have vitally affected the course of education in their respective states: viz., the first report of the South Australian Education Inquiry Committee published in 1945, two reports of the Tasmanian Education Department—one on *Educational Extension* (1942) and the other on *Aims in the Primary School* (1946), and the 1945 *Report on Educational Reform and Development in Victoria* by the Council of Public Education of that state. There is an interesting anticipation of the preamble to the formation of Unesco in the first paragraph of the first of these reports:

> The world [it stated] has been at war for several years. Men and women not yet old look back upon a world depression and a First World War They look forward to a future of peril and uncertainty They feel at least this· that minds must change if disaster is not to follow upon disaster, if a sounder, happier world is to be created. They look to education and the schools as important instruments of that change.

[5] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, Victoria, 1945–6*, p. 32

The general result in all states appears to have been, since 1945, an increasing emphasis on social studies, and an intensification of movements towards increasing the range, and enhancing the importance, of those activities from which children acquire:

(i) the knowledge of political and social institutions created to achieve our democratic ends;

(ii) the skills necessary to ensure that in the formal meetings of their post-school years they may play their parts with understanding and some proficiency;

(iii) the habits and attitudes that will ensure social co-operation, a regard for others' points of view, and a readiness to accept honest criticism without heat;

(iv) an interest in the development of our society which appreciates the good in the past, the value of the work of present members of society, and the fact that change does not cease at this generation.

If we ask why such things are needed, we find little in the literature of Australian education to give answers. There is usually in courses of study, for example, or reports which enlarge on these matters, an unresolved apparent conflict between an emphasis on the worth of the individual and an emphasis on his duties as a member of society. Service to the community of which he is a member, and an obligation to play a part in making it work better, appears to be the major ideal of all states. The development of Uno and Unesco[6] and other specialised agencies is enlarging the concept of community to include the world, but the rationale behind this, too, is obscure. Australia lacks a penetrating philosophic analysis of its education particularly in this respect, but events suggest that prior to the war these movements were based either on the concept of enlightened self-interest or on an interpretation of the course of history. Now, we are not so convinced that these are adequate bases. Evidences of a deep concern to establish more firmly a Christian basis for those ethical standards on which citizenship is based can be seen in several reports. Thus the Tasmanian *Report on Educational Extension*, after asserting in general that the chief aim of education is "the realisation of the finite self in the infinite reality which is God", develops this aim through appreciation and information of the life and teachings of Jesus, and through the expression of Christian principles in social contacts in the school and in life generally. The Victorian report by the Council of Public Education also reported that "by a majority" the Council recommended that the secular clause in the

[6] Australia has been a member state of Unesco since it began. It has been actively represented at all conferences, and through its twelve national co-operating bodies has widely propagated the ideals behind Unesco The co-operation and enthusiastic support given by teachers and children has been one of its sources of strength in Australia.

Victorian Education Act should be deleted. In 1951 religious teaching was made a subject in the state school curriculum for the first time in Victoria since 1872. It must be remembered that the basis of education in the Catholic schools and the majority of other non-state schools has always been a religious one. There is no evidence that the quality of citizenship varies greatly between comparable products of the different types of schools.

Expansion of Secondary Schools

In all states except Queensland, the transition from a 'primary' to a 'secondary' institution took place, before the war, a year or more prior to the end of compulsory schooling. Secondary education for all children (except some in country districts without access to a secondary school) was therefore a reality before the war. The problems of diversification, the provision of an education suited to different aptitudes, abilities, and desires, and the necessity for as broad a base of comparable studies as possible in schools of different types, were all being discussed then. Despite its aspects of regimentation and its stress on the interests of the majority, the war period paradoxically made individual efficiency a more important goal than before. Its effect was therefore to direct educational thinking towards the provision of schools and courses which would suit the needs of all children, whether they were the minority proceeding to higher studies or to skilled technical trades, or the majority going into country life, or into the relatively unskilled occupations of the community. At the same time the need for longer schooling to produce the greater competence needed in an increasingly complex world was acknowledged. New South Wales had raised its school-leaving age from 14 to 15 in 1942, Tasmania determined early in the war to raise its age to 16 and did so in 1946. Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia passed legislation to raise it to 15 as soon as possible. They, like Queensland, have not yet been able to put the Act into force, although their problems are those of teachers and buildings, while the obstacles in Queensland are both these and the need, if such action is taken, to reorganise the system so that transition takes place earlier than 13+.

The most interesting development in secondary education was the establishment of modern schools in Tasmania in 1947. That state already had high and technical schools in larger centres of population, and a number of area schools for country children; when all children were required to remain at school until 16 it was necessary to establish special schools for those of them for whom existing schools were not suitable. These schools, operating under great difficulties in accommodation, size of classes, and staffing, follow a course of study which, while flexible to suit local needs and diverse aptitudes, abilities, and interests, is specially designed

to develop social competence in the children. At the same time more places were made available in high and technical schools, and technical education for girls was given greater attention. In all secondary studies, greater emphasis was placed on what the *Report on Educational Extension* called "social and cultural relations". The bias of secondary education has changed, in line with the dictum of that report that "distinctions of academic proficiency must yield to those of social maturity and understanding". It is typical of the sincerity of this purpose that, except for pupils in special classes for the handicapped, all pupils are now expected to transfer to one form or other of the secondary schools at the age of 12+. At the same time, the separation of the majority of secondary school studies from the goal of preparation for university entrance was made more real by the establishment of a Schools' Board, which issues its own certificates to mark the end of the years of formal schooling. These certificates are awarded on the results of internal examination within the schools.

In Victoria, consolidated schools are the only *new* types of school, but the provision of more places in other types of school, the marked development of girls' schools, the emphasis on multi-purpose high schools in country districts, the stress on the need for a broad general course in the first two or three years of secondary education ("the separatist tendency in the various types of secondary schools should be halted, and their essential oneness should be stressed rather than their minor differences")[7], and the increasing numbers of schools accredited to grant their own certificates at age 15+ and 16+, are all moves in the same direction. The most significant thing in Victorian secondary education has been the development of the girls' schools, which are free within wide limits to develop their own courses irrespective of the Schools' Board, which largely influences the work of the high schools. For these schools the Education Department awards its own certificates.

Although there are no notable innovations in types of school in New South Wales, the effect of the extra year has been to expand the number of courses offered to the children, to free the original and new courses to a considerable degree from the university entrance requirements which previously tended to dominate them, and to bring to fruition a move to permit accredited schools to grant their own Intermediate Certificates (average age 15+). As in Victoria, there has been an increase in the number of intermediate schools of this character (home science schools), giving a three- or four-years course. There are now also six home science schools giving a five-years course, whose normal studies do not include a second language (common in the other high schools).

[7] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, Victoria, 1945–6*, p. 27.

Pupils can matriculate from them by passing the required number of subjects from the specialised courses they offer.

In South Australia, the external Qualifying Examination formerly taken at the end of primary school to determine transfer to secondary education was abolished in January 1944, and between 90 and 95 per cent. of pupils now go on to some form of secondary studies after securing the Progress Certificate given internally. Simultaneously, the number of area schools has increased. Since 1947, these have given both an academic and a locally biased course in lieu of the more locally biased course with which they started. Certain 'central schools' which had been established in 1938 were changed to technical schools in 1942, and the number of pupils attending them has increased. The high school courses are still largely determined by the Public Examination Board of the University of Adelaide, but strong representation on that board by teachers and departmental representatives has led to some modification of courses. There does not yet appear to have been any radical change in the work of the high schools, however, as a result of the change in average quality of the pupils entering them, and the greater range of aptitudes and interests with which they are therefore faced

In Western Australia, more junior technical schools have been created since 1945 to meet the increased demand. At the same time many schools formerly classed as central schools (secondary tops to primary schools, which gave only three years of secondary education), were in 1946 formally changed to high schools. Reorganisation of the inspectorate was necessary, and an increase in the amount of supervision appears to have resulted. One of the immediate changes was to counteract the tendency to make the University Junior Certificate (taken at about 15+) the determiner of the organisation and syllabuses of high schools. Greater attention was required to "other necessary and desirable skills and aptitudes." [8]

In Queensland there is nothing comparable to report. It was mentioned earlier that one obstacle to raising the school-leaving age to 15 (a move planned as early as 1939) was that it would involve a major reorganisation of the system It was considered unwise to give one extra year in existing primary schools to those pupils who for various reasons could not go to secondary schools, and only one year of secondary school to those who did go on, but intended to leave school at 15. It was intended, however, to establish post-primary schools in the larger centres of population, to consolidate schools in suitable country districts, and to develop the integration of high and intermediate schools, where these existed in the same centre, to give a system like that of other states, in

[8] *Report of the Minister of Education, Western Australia, 1947*, p. 6.

which the transfer to secondary education is made at the age of 11+ or 12+. When the school-leaving age is raised, an integrated course is planned for the 12–15-year-old group, emphasising the needs both of those whose full-time education will cease at 15, and those who will go on to some form of higher education. There has been some increase in the numbers taking advantage of technical education, and greater use is made of transportation of senior pupils to a central locality for higher education.

Occasional reference has been made in this section to changes in courses and to the increase in the number made available. These developments have taken the general lines of inclusion of art and craft subjects, the introduction of general science courses for early secondary years in place of specific sciences, integrated courses in social studies instead of the separate subjects—history, geography, and civics, the substitution of mathematics courses for the separate subjects, arithmetic, elgebra, geometry, calculus, trigonometry, mechanics, etc., the inclusion of modern history more frequently as an alternative examination subject in the upper years, and a somewhat greater attention to the importance of adequate knowledge of, and power in, the English language. The expansion of accrediting schemes in Victoria, Tasmania, and New South Wales has made experiment possible with both methods and courses (integrated courses, or core-curriculum plus electives, or area studies).

Although the universities in all states arrange their own Matriculation Examinations, there has been some tendency to increase the number of subjects from which a choice can be made, to reduce the proportion of compulsory subjects to the total number required, to reduce or abolish faculty prerequisites, and to allow electives from much bigger groupings of subjects. All these have the same effect of making flexible organisation possible in secondary schools in order to meet the wide differences in aptitudes, abilities, and interests.

Within the secondary schools greater attention is now given to guidance. In 1940 only two states (New South Wales and Tasmania) had such a service, although Queensland appointed a guidance officer in 1941—an appointment that lapsed when this officer went to war service. Two main factors account for a great expansion since the war—the demonstration of its value given in the armed services and industry during the war, and the increased numbers of trained teachers who received comprehensive psychological training as a result of facilities made available to service men at the end of the war. These of course coincided with the generally held desire to do better for the children, particularly as the opportunities open to them became more extensive. Guidance services now operate in all states. The New South Wales system has expanded greatly and is still outstanding in its organisation and scope. The services given differ considerably, of course, and in

all states they are closely integrated with employment counselling given by either the Commonwealth Employment Service (see later) or the State Department of Labour, Industry, and Youth Welfare (New South Wales). A typical measure of their growth may be seen in the fact that where in 1944 the Careers Branch of Western Australia gave only a limited service, in 1948 (the latest year for which figures are available) it had thirteen officers, and counselled nearly 3,000 pupils in secondary schools as well as about 2,200 in the highest grade of metropolitan primary schools.

It is not only work in the mass that is done. Clinical service is also given by all states, although to a limited degree. It is not unduly optimistic to hope that the operation of these services, as they develop further, will have a marked impact on the work of all schools, on aims, content, and methods This is not to suggest that psychology is the new religion, or that its methods and approaches are uniquely capable of advancing education. The effect will come from an appraisal of the vast amount of material such a service automatically accumulates about the various aptitudes, abilities, and interests of children, the factors that influence their development, and the effect on them of the forces to which they are constantly subject both in and out of school.

This section would be inadequate if it did not refer to the development of drama in the schools of New South Wales. From small beginnings, and through the early efforts of a band of enthusiasts, this has become since 1945 an activity of extreme importance in the schools. Special schools of instruction for teachers are held, and a consultative service is available to assist in selection and production. It is even suggested that the field of plays for children is so underdeveloped by playwrights that it may offer scope for the growth of a new art of immense social importance. Over 6,000 teachers in New South Wales have attended special courses in school drama, and the *Education Gazette* of New South Wales is unique in its presentation of illustrated accounts of successful school plays.

Universities

Universities have expanded greatly. In the immediate post-war years their enrolments doubled, and although in 1951 it is expected that comparative stability will be reached and enrolments will not be abnormally inflated by ex-service-men and women, there will still be some 28,000 students in the universities, by contrast with 14,000 in 1939 and 18,000 in 1945. Apart from a variety of social pressures leading to a desire for university education, one important factor was that from 1943 until 1950 inclusive, grants were made by the Commonwealth government to students from families whose income was below a certain figure. This system, when associated with an increased number of scholarships of all kinds, and generally

higher incomes, has altered the composition of the student body and made it more representative of the population as a whole.[9] In 1951 some 3,000 scholarships were awarded by the Commonwealth government, on the basis of Matriculation Examinations, for university study. This scheme replaces the financial-aid scheme mentioned above, and is expected to be a continuing feature of Commonwealth aid to universities and students.

To assist in their return to civil life, the Commonwealth government after 1945 assisted service-men, who so desired, to undertake university education through its Reconstruction Training Scheme. Many took advantage of the assistance. Their numbers and enthusiasm taxed the capacities of the universities to the utmost, but the quality of their work and the impact of their greater maturity on university life and studies have been of inestimable value to the universities themselves. Some indication of their numbers is given by the following figures:

Year	*Total Enrolment in Universities*	*Percentage under the C R T S Scheme*
1945	18,326	6 1
1946	25,008	32 4
1947	29,075	39 4

The problems of accommodating this inrush of students were partly met by using temporary buildings, many of which had been erected with Commonwealth funds during the war. The majority of these buildings were taken over by the universities as a result of agreements made between Commonwealth and state governments. Financial assistance was also given to the universities by the Commonwealth to assist them to provide the necessary instruction. Greatly increased grants for research were also made.

The adequate financing of universities has been a constant problem since the war. Partly to offset the loss of the grants made under the C.R.T.S. scheme (these ceased in 1950), and partly to give the universities greater financial assistance, direct Common-

[9] The following figures are given by Sanders in his study of *Student Selection and Academic Success* (Commonwealth Office of Education Education Series No. 1, Sydney, Government Printer, 1948)

SCHOLASTIC SOURCES OF FIRST-YEAR POPULATION IN SCIENTIFIC FACULTIES IN AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES

Source	*1939*	*1943*	*1944*
State Secondary .	36	45	45
Roman Catholic .	13	19	21
Private . .	43	32	31

There were fixed quotas for entry to these faculties during the war, and the change in source of students is an indication of the effect of financial assistance to many families to whom the cost of a university education had previously been prohibitive.

wealth financial aid amounting to almost £1 million was given to the universities in 1951, subject to their receiving at least three times this amount in fees, contributions, and state assistance.

Space does not permit any discussion of the new departments professorships, and courses introduced into the universities after the war—indeed, in some cases, during the war. Details of these will be found in the *Review of Education in Australia, 1940–48.*[18] They represent, at the university level, the enlargement of opportunity which has already been evident in the discussion of developments in secondary and technical schools.

Two marked deficiencies in university education in Australia were believed to be the lack of adequate facilities and time for research and the failure to apply science at a high level to industry. The National University was therefore established at Canberra in 1946 as a post-graduate research university, and a University of Technology in Sydney in 1948.

(3) *Community Services*

There are at least five main fields to be considered here: pre-school services, library facilities, adult education, national fitness and employment counselling.

Pre-School Services

Prior to the war, these were scanty. In all states there were voluntary and other kindergartens, nurseries, and crèches. The Commonwealth Department of Health had established a model centre in each capital city, but the problems of development were acute. Finances in other centres were very limited, and subsidies by the state were very low. Once again it may be claimed that the intensifying of thought about education and the needs of the people as a whole led to a greater concentration of attention on the pre-school child. There has been a welcome increase in the number of centres available, in the funds at their disposal, and in the interest taken in them. The Lady Gowrie Centres, as the Commonwealth-sponsored centres are known, have continued to act as models, undertake experiments, and develop new approaches. Some appraisal of their records has been made by the Department of Health, but much still needs to be done to extract from them the greatest useful amount of information.

Both the New South Wales Education Department, which has about ten nursery schools, and the Tasmanian Education Department, which partly finances about twenty-five, have taken active steps to increase the facilities. In other states, state subsidies have been increased, and provision has been made to assist the training

[18] *Op cit.*, pp 157–64.

of kindergarten teachers and to provide buildings. Some idea of the size of the problem was given in 1947 by the Minister of Education in New South Wales:

> . . . there are 160,000 children in New South Wales of nursery school age, and on the basis of accepted practice this would represent a demand of over 4,000 nursery units. Actually, only 63,000 . . . live in closely settled areas . . yet even this number would necessitate at least 1,600 units at an average cost of not less than £3,000 each, or approximately £5 million capital outlay [11]

In Victoria the Council of Public Education in 1945 recommended a big increase in the provision of nursery schools In that year, too, the Department of Health through its Maternal and Child Hygiene Branch took over the co-ordination of pre-school work from the Education Department. (It is worthy of notice that the Director of Education in Victoria has recently announced that he hopes the Education Department will establish its own nursery schools in the next few years.)

The subsidy paid to free nursery kindergartens which reach satisfactory standards, fixed at £6 per child in 1945, has since been raised to £10, and substantial assistance is given towards the erection of a building (up to £2,500 is made available as a grant). In 1947, too, a special subsidy was paid to assist in the development of the Kindergarten Training College, and in 1951, bursaries were offered to encourage students to undertake the three-year course there.

Although these developments in Victoria are in advance of those made in other states so far as government interest is concerned, they are symptoms of a more general interest in pre-school work throughout Australia. Two main reasons can be adduced: the desire to create better physical health, and the desire to help children to adjust themselves better to their peers in the best possible environment.

Library Facilities

The work of development that followed the Munn-Pitt Survey of 1935, and the rapid growth and work of the Free Library Movement, have led to many remarkable developments in the provision of library services. A full discussion of these is out of place here.[12] Significant developments have taken place in all states except Western Australia (in which state it is understood that a survey is

[11] *To-morrow is Theirs The Present and Future of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney, Government Printer, 1946, pp 14–16)

[12] See *Public Libraries in Australia*, L R McColvin (Melbourne University Press for the Australian Council for Educational Research, 1947), and *Libraries in Australia*, N. Lynravn (Cheshire, Melbourne, 1948).

at present being made). It is probable that public interest in library provision intensified during the war, although it is difficult to ascribe any particular developments to the events of those years. In all states in which progress has been made the impetus had been given before the war, and although much of the important legislation was promulgated during or after the war, as the various dates below will show, credit for it must be given to those who worked for it prior to 1940. The developments have varied to suit local conditions and facilities.

Since January 1944, when the New South Wales Library Act provided for subsidies to those municipal and shire councils undertaking to provide a free lending service of books of an educational or informative character, the Library Board appointed by that Act has encouraged the development of libraries to such an extent that in 1950 over eighty municipalities, with a population of about 1½ million, were receiving subsidy. This is no mean figure when it is realised that to qualify for the subsidy the municipality must spend a minimum of two shillings a head of population on its library (although this amount includes the subsidy). A well-developed library school at the Public Library of New South Wales, established in 1944, has been of inestimable service in training librarians for a variety of purposes in all states. (Victoria established a similar school in 1949, although its courses are shorter, and Queensland offered some training facilities in 1948.)

In Victoria a Free Library Service Board was established in 1946. Its functions are to assist municipal local bodies wishing to establish free libraries, to make grants-in-aid to such bodies, and to provide general advisory services. An annual subsidy is made available by the state government This has increased from £10,000 in 1947–8 to £60,000 in 1950–51. The number of municipalities assisted has risen in the same period from twelve to over forty, the population in those municipalities being about 600,000.

A Libraries Act of 1943 rejuvenated Queensland libraries, again by granting subsidies to local bodies and extending widely the functions of the public library.

In South Australia the public library became, in 1946, a free lending library—a revolutionary step in Australia that appears to have done nothing but good, despite initial adverse comment. A Research Service which it instituted in 1942 has increased its activities since 1945, and is a most valuable part of its service to the community.

In Tasmania, after several preliminary movements, a Libraries Act in 1943 established the State Library of Tasmania and provided for grants-in-aid to local libraries in the form of a collection of books equal in value to the amount of rate levied locally for free library purposes. It is a system unique in Australia, but apparently well suited to Tasmanian conditions.

Coincident with these moves, it should be noted, library services in schools have been improved, through the work of teachers alive to their importance, granting of subsidies by the Education Departments, and the provision of specially trained teacher librarians.

Adult Education

There is no proof, but there seems no doubt, that the work of the education services in the armed forces during the war opened up new vistas for many whose formal education had ceased at the school-leaving age. There seems little doubt, too, that the nature, variety, and depth of interest shown in the work by both students and general public expanded the horizons and greatly refreshed the imagination of those whose duty it was to organise and direct it. Its value for morale, its impetus to self-development, its possibilities in making for an informed and cultured public in a complex industrial world where knowledge tends to be segmented and compartmentalised, and personal culture difficult to attain, were convincing arguments in favour of a wide development when peace came. Since 1945 there has been considerable development in all states, both through government assistance and through the work of voluntary and university bodies.

Perhaps the two most important advances are in Queensland and Victoria. In Queensland a Board of Adult Education, whose chairman is the Director-General of Education, was established in 1944. In 1945 it appointed an Organiser of Adult Education; premises for an adult education centre were established in 1946 in Brisbane, and the staff since 1945 has expanded so that there are now eight assistant organisers attached to large centres in Queensland, supplying a wide variety of lecture courses and other activities. Queensland is unique in that its Board of Adult Education controls a state string quartet which tours Queensland. Its quality is high and it has been a most successful venture.

In Victoria, a Council for Adult Education was founded in 1946. This Council has an annual statutory grant and provides, through a permanent director and staff, as well as through specially engaged persons, lecture courses, recitals, classes, discussion groups, concerts, and dramatic activities, for the education and recreation of city and country audiences. Residential schools have been a very popular feature of its programmes.

The creation of a symphony orchestra in New South Wales in 1946, under the conductorship of Eugene Goossens, was a new development in Australia. This orchestra gives recitals in metropolitan, provincial, and country centres, and, like the Queensland string quartet, has brought this aspect of the art and culture of the world to centres to which it had previously been denied except through wireless and gramophone.

National Fitness

The Commonwealth National Fitness Council, made a statutory body in 1942, with advisory and not executive functions, has led to a considerable increase in Commonwealth participation in the work of national fitness, particularly with youth. Two permanent organisers were appointed in 1942, and later that year for the first time moneys were allocated to state Education Departments to assist in the development of physical education in schools and training colleges. Through its grants to state councils, universities, and Education Departments, it has, from 1946 onwards, contributed greatly to formal work in schools, colleges, and universities, towards informal activities such as camping and youth hostels, and towards the better co-ordination and leadership of youth activities.

Commonwealth Employment Service

It is probably safe to say that this service, controlled by the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service, owes its origin directly to the war and its lessons on manpower allocation and placement. It has operated, since 1946, a counselling (guidance) employment, and research organisation in all states except New South Wales. In that state the same work was already being done by the State Department of Labour, Industry, and Youth Welfare, and duplication or replacement of the state service was unnecessary. It deals with voluntary applications for guidance and placement. It is developing increasingly close liaison with the school guidance services, leaving to them the work within schools, and usually taking over the guidance function when youth leaves school. Its services, however, are not given only to youth. Re-employment, the employment of the disabled, and the problem of change of employment due to technological changes, all come within its ambit. It is generally recognised now, after an initial period of uncertainty and even hostility on the part of some employing groups, as giving an essential co-ordinated service. From the point of view of youth welfare, it is an essential service to a community very straitened in its supply of youth at a time when the demand for it in all the activities of the community is high.

(4) *Aims, Methods, and Approaches*

To do all that needs doing to offset the hindrances of two wars and a depression requires a vast building programme for all kinds of educational institutions, and a big increase in the number of teachers in the schools. At the same time, because of natural increase of population and the big migration schemes to which we are committed, further increases in accommodation and teacher-strength are urgent. Neither problem has been solved in Australia, although much has been done.

It has proved impossible to build, from Australian resources, the

schools and classrooms needed. New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania have used imported prefabricated classrooms in an attempt to meet immediate needs. Locally made prefabricated units have supplemented those imported, but the need is still acute. It is impossible to obtain figures showing the relative gains made, but public statements by responsible officials suggest that Education Departments are only just holding their ground: new buildings are in use immediately for the increasing numbers, and there is no slackening of the pressure of overcrowded schools.

It has not been easy to recruit sufficient teachers, despite greatly increased salary scales, generous allowances while in training, the expansion of the teachers' colleges, and the institution of bursary schemes to encourage children to stay longer at secondary schools. It was estimated in 1949 that Australia needed 15,000 additional teachers by 1953 to allow for wastage, new arrivals, and the increased numbers of native-born young children. From figures available it appears that only New South Wales and Victoria are likely to have sufficient to meet their needs, but even then only just sufficient, and there is little likelihood that classes can be reduced to desirable sizes. Recent Victorian figures, for example, show that for the first time for many years, despite an increase in the places available for training from 600 in 1947 to 1,600 in 1951, there were more applicants than places. Such figures lead to a hope that it will be possible to undertake more selection than has been possible in the past few years, when standards of entry were lowered in all states. By contrast, the numbers offering for training in South Australia are declining.

There are few signs that methods or approaches have as yet altered significantly. Certainly the 'project' and 'activity' methods have been given great prominence in official recommendations. The Tasmanian and South Australian reports, mentioned earlier, were very definite in their recommendations that schools must be places to live in, that they must be places of pupil activity. The new emphasis on social education, also referred to earlier, will, if practised effectively, lead to a new approach to classroom practices and to the role of the teacher. The latter's role in Australian schools is still almost universally regarded as that of instructor rather than guide.

There are, however, hopeful signs that different approaches to the questions of content of studies and class management may soon be more common. In 1945, for example, South Australia introduced a revised curriculum which was revolutionary in the freedom it gave to teachers to establish, in most subjects, their own content or courses. Tasmania offers the same sort of freedom to the teachers in its modern schools, and to a lesser extent to those in its primary schools. It is comparatively new in Australia to find in official publications statements such as those in the Tasmanian

report on *Educational Extension,* when, in discussing pupil participation in the classroom, it states: "It is for the teacher to suggest various alternative modes by which he (the pupil) may achieve his purpose, but not to prescribe his course of action."

Other hopeful signs are in the increasing study of social psychology, and the entry into the schools in the last two years of many ex-service-men who took advantage of the training schemes, in tertiary institutions, made available to them at the end of the war by the Commonwealth government. Many of these graduates during their courses came into contact with much of the recent work on social psychology, with its emphasis on group functions, group structure, motivation, and so on. It is not unduly optimistic to believe that even if only a few of the wealth of ideas in such concepts are carried into the classrooms, practices will alter slowly and there will be a better psychological atmosphere for the realisation of the best aims of education.

Improvements in training facilities and programmes for teachers will, indirectly, have something of the same effect. There is a trend towards increasing the period of pre-service training, exemplified by the action of Victoria in 1951 in raising its period of training from one year in a teachers' college to two for primary teachers, and from two to three years for teachers of infant classes. There is, too, a tendency to associate teacher training, in Tasmania, South Australia, and Western Australia, more closely with the universities in those states. Western Australia became, in 1948, the first state in Australia to offer a first degree in education. This move may be regarded as a symptom of the general desire to raise the professional competence of teachers. Without this, full professional status, however strongly claimed, will not easily be obtained.

Conclusions

Two main objectives of 1945 have not yet been attained; the provision of adequate buildings to allow the environment of education to be as attractive as possible, and the provision of teachers sufficient to provide children with individual tuition in smaller groups than have as yet been the practice. The material difficulties have been too great for the strength of these needs to overcome them. There is no doubt that had the community said in 1945, "Cost is no obstacle. We will pay what we must for immediate schools and qualified teachers", they would, by now, have been obtained. The community as a whole, despite its interest in education, was not prepared to take that view. No political party sponsored it, and there was no direct agitation for it outside the teachers' bodies.

Many other major and minor objectives have been achieved. In general, teachers are receiving longer training at a higher level;

more opportunities are becoming available for students to make the most of their unique talents in an appropriate institution; the acquisition of knowledge without regard to socially acceptable attitudes is no longer the only, or the most commonly accepted, aim of schooling; facilities for self-education of a voluntary character are more readily available.

It could be said, perhaps, that in 1945 the Australian people said that through its agencies of government it would make available as much opportunity as it could for children and citizens to equip themselves adequately for life in a democratic community. That at many points the process is painfully slow, and progress totally inadequate, we must admit. But all over Australia progress has been made, sometimes halting and slow, but nevertheless sure and stable; at other times by a bold leap which carried over obstacles and gained, for a time precariously but later firmly, desired goals. There is, in fact, much to show in the last six years —not of reform, but of development, growth, and intrinsic change.

W. C. RADFORD.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEW ZEALAND

EDUCATIONAL reform is apt to proceed by alternating phases, periods notable for policy-making being followed by others in which the emphasis is rather on the translation of policy into the detail of daily practice. New Zealand entered on a phase of the first kind in the mid-'thirties. The 'twenties had been a time of halting progress, rather frustrating to reformers, and it had been followed by the depression, an event that shook the country to its foundations and that was accompanied by drastic educational retrenchments. Out of the experiences of the depression there arose a widespread demand for a new deal in social affairs; among other things this resulted in the election, at the end of 1935, of the Dominion's first Labour government.

Educational reformers suddenly found themselves in quite a new situation. A government was in power that was very sympathetic to liberal ideas, and the portfolio of Education was held by the late Mr. Peter Fraser, who was the strongest and ablest man in the cabinet and had for years shown a very deep interest in educational reform. Soon the educational world was in a ferment. The whole school system came under review and plans for the future proliferated on all sides. A few years later the position of the reformers was immensely strengthened by the appointment of C. E. Beeby as Director of Education. In this post Beeby has shown great energy and ability, and a consistently liberal outlook.

As a result of this pre-war movement the Dominion embarked on a bold and comprehensive programme of educational development, which had four main objectives:

(1) a further extension and equalisation of educational opportunities, for example, the raising of the school-leaving age, the provision of more university bursaries;

(2) a substantial improvement in teaching conditions, for example, smaller classes, better buildings, more generous supplies of equipment;

(3) more professional freedom for teachers, for instance, by freeing the schools from external examinations;

(4) the modernisation of curricula and methods.

The fact that the reformers of 1900 had very similar aims is a reminder that the movement represented accelerated development rather than a sharp change of direction. Indeed, a good deal that

was said about it at the time carried quite misleading implications of a complete revolution. None the less, it did incorporate ideas that had not hitherto been widely accepted. In the first place, it was recognised as never before that democracy in education meant more than an open road for talents, more than free post-primary education and easier access to higher education: it had far-reaching implications for the content and spirit of education itself. It meant that the primary schools should complete the task of emancipating themselves from the illiberal and repressive traditions of the old 'elementary' school; and that the post-primary schools, no longer selective, should "offer courses as rich and varied as are the needs and abilities of the children who enter them". Secondly, there was a reaction against the over-dependence on British culture, which had resulted both in the perpetuation of educational traditions irrelevant in New Zealand, and in a failure to use local cultural resources. Ever since the 'thirties the country has had a new confidence in its capacity to work out its own educational salvation. Thirdly, the teachings of psychologists about individual differences among children, their creative impulses, and the importance of their emotional and social life, gained a much greater influence among teachers and the public.

Some aspects of the pre-war programme of reform inevitably stirred up a certain amount of opposition from educational conservatives; but in general it had the warm support of the majority of teachers and large sections of the public and very soon it was being put into effect. Reform went on even during the war, though the shortage of teachers, labour, and materials, and the dislocation of civilian life, slowed up the rate of advance. Hence when victory came into sight, and people could again turn their attention seriously to the future of education, there was little need for any drastic reshaping of general policy. The country already had a very progressive policy, and most of those who cared about education saw the task ahead as one of pressing on with the reforms already accepted in principle and partially realised in practice.

There was, it is true, much discussion about post-war plans, and in November 1944 the Minister of Education called a conference to consider them. In a book prepared for members of the Conference the Minister stated:

> No one would pretend that all the problems of the classroom are solved; but at least it can be said that, with one or two notable exceptions, all the immediate major problems within the school system itself are concerned with means rather than ends There is a good decade's work in putting into practice in the schools principles upon which the great majority of persons concerned with education are agreed. No one would deny that we need more good buildings and equipment, or smaller classes, or men and women in the teaching profession who are the best the country can breed and train. Many years of hard work will not suffice to meet all these accepted needs.
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> There would not be the same agreement, however, on the need for

> nursery schools, or the best type of control for kindergartens, or the lengths to which the state should go in providing and controlling leisure-time activities for adolescents, or on the development of a national system of adult education, for these are problems in that uncertain zone where the school touches the home, the church, the private organisation, and where the nation must decide in which direction it wants to go before it can consider the means for getting there. My primary reason for calling the Conference on Education is to get the opinions of a wide and representative range of people on the problems that lie on the borders of the school system proper [1]

It is significant that the Conference accepted the Minister's lead without demur, thus indicating that the existing policies concerning the school system proper were in general acceptable as they stood. And, in fact, the outstanding developments in policy since 1945 have been in such fields as pre-school education and adult education.

It was, however, more or less taken for granted that once the war was over conditions would be very favourable for such reforms as reducing the size of classes, lengthening the period of training for teachers, and replacing old and unsatisfactory school buildings. This expectation proved to be far too optimistic. True, the country has been prosperous economically; but continuing shortages of labour and materials, now being intensified by the demands of defence, have seriously hindered the building programme. More important, and more far-reaching in its implications, is the pressure of a rising school population. As a result of the increases in births during and after the war, New Zealand faces an unprecedented expansion of school rolls. Between 1930 and 1943 the number of full-time pupils on all school rolls remained almost stationary, the index number for 1943 being 100·2 as against 100 for 1930. By 1954, however, the index number will be 150 and for 1960 the estimate is 172.[2] This is a much steeper increase than anyone anticipated in 1944 or 1945, and it means, to quote a recent Ministerial statement, that "for the next ten years or more one of New Zealand's major tasks will be to find a place for every child and a teacher for every class". However resolutely the problems of staffing and accommodation are tackled, such reforms as a substantial reduction in the size of classes in primary schools cannot possibly be achieved in the near future.

In general, then, it can be said that the officially accepted policies of 1945, resulting from the revival of the preceding years, had the warm approval of most reformers; and that any disposition to

[1] H. G. R. Mason, *Education Today and Tomorrow*, p. 5 (Wellington, 1944).

[2] *School Population Estimates.* Parliamentary Paper J-5 1950. It may be noted that whereas in Britain the post-war wave of births soon receded, in New Zealand the numbers have as yet fallen little below the 1946–7 peak. Consequently, the latest school population estimates are even higher than those given in the Ministerial statement.

elaborate still more liberal policies has been discouraged by the practical difficulties of the post-war years. Indeed, the problem in 1950 is not so much to plan for expansion as to find ways of maintaining services at their existing level. It is to be remembered, however, that the times of new evangels in education, or of great new Education Acts, are not necessarily those that see the deepest changes in the day-to-day life of the schools. And it may be that although the period from 1945 to 1950 has not witnessed many of those dramatic changes that catch public attention, the developments that have gone on quietly in the schools represent a very substantial advance.

In 1949, the Labour Party, which had been in power since 1935, was defeated at the polls by the National Party. It is too early yet to speak confidently about the effects on education of this political change. The new Minister has affirmed the principle that education should not be a matter of party politics, and although some things have been said and a few done that have caused concern among reformers, the new government has not so far reversed any of the major policies of the Labour administration.

Developments since 1945 at each of the main stages of education may now be described.

Pre-School Educational Services

At the time of the Education Conference of 1944 two main types of educational service were being provided for children under 5. The first was the kindergarten, open on five mornings a week, for children of 3 and 4 years; the second, the nursery play centre, open on one or two afternoons a week, for children from 18 months to 4 years. These services were conducted by voluntary associations, which, however, received some assistance from the state. The free kindergartens cared for a mere 3·4 per cent. of 3- and 4-year-olds, and had long waiting-lists. The Conference recommended an extension of pre-school services, and the general opinion was that the voluntary associations alone could not meet the increasing demand. The Minister of Education therefore set up a Consultative Committee to examine the whole question, and this Committee reported in 1946.[3] Its major long-term recommendations were that a state system of pre-school educational services should be established, which would absorb the existing voluntary services, and that the responsibility for national policy should rest with the education authorities. Recognising that such proposals could not be carried out at once, the Committee recommended that during a five-year developmental period the Education Department should assist the voluntary associations both to extend their services where they were most needed and to build up the training of teachers.

[3] *Pre-School Education*, Report of the Consultative Committee on Pre-School Educational Services (Wellington, 1947).

Major changes in the basis of state aid to the Free Kindergarten Associations followed. The Education Department took over full responsibility for the salaries of kindergarten teachers and of lecturers in the training centres, and introduced uniform staffing schedules, hours, and conditions of work. The subsidy upon money raised for new buildings was doubled, and standards for sites and new buildings were drawn up. To assist recruitment, allowances to students in training were very substantially increased.

The Nursery Play Centres Association has received a fixed annual grant from the state since 1947, but from 1951 the grant has been based on the number of play centres operating, which will allow a steady development of the work. Since 1948 each kindergarten has been required to provide two afternoon sessions a week for children who do not attend the usual morning sessions. In this way every district that has a kindergarten gets two types of service, and the Nursery Play Centres Association is now able to apply its energies in districts that are not able to get kindergartens.

As a result of these measures a rapid expansion of pre-school services has taken place; yet the demand is by no means satisfied. There is, however, little prospect yet of attaining the Consultative Committee's aim of having services available for all who wish to use them. For some time to come this could be achieved only at the cost of depriving school-age children of teachers and classrooms. In these circumstances the state is naturally not anxious to assume full responsibility in the pre-school field.

The Primary School

The reform movement had immediate effects in primary education, the first important change being the abolition in 1937 of the so-called Proficiency Certificate Examination, which had served as a measure of a completed primary education and as a means of selection for secondary school. This action has had two important results. It has changed the system of promotion and liberalised the curriculum and methods of teaching. Age and social maturity are given much more weight than scholastic attainment in deciding what 'standard' a child is to be placed in, and most children move up through the school automatically from year to year. All but the very dullest children go right on to Form II (the sixth standard), though in subjects like arithmetic some of them reach a level of attainment equal only to that of an average youngster in the fourth standard. The teacher's problems have been greatly changed by the new method of promotion, one result of which is that the spread of ability and attainment in each standard is wider. There has consequently been much experimenting with methods of grouping children within the classroom, of 'streaming' classes in the school, and of individualising instruction.

In 1942 the Education Department began a systematic revision of primary school syllabuses, subject by subject, and this has just been completed. The purpose of the revision is to bring the syllabuses into line with modern thought and modern needs and to lay down minimum prescriptions in the basic tool subjects. The method of preparing the new syllabuses is an interesting example of the way in which the Education Department is giving teachers increased responsibilities. Small committees of inspectors and teachers were set up to consider each of the different subjects, arithmetic first and then English, reading, health, spelling, social studies, nature study, needlework, arts and crafts, and handwriting. As each committee has reported, its suggestions have been published and distributed to the whole body of teachers for criticism. New committees have then carefully examined the comments and revised the original reports. Only after all this study and discussion has the Education Department issued official syllabuses. These are always suggestive rather than mandatory, though in a tool subject such as arithmetic the minimum prescription suggested for children of average ability will probably be followed in every school.

To help teachers prepare themselves for the difficult work of putting the new curriculum into practice the Education Department has greatly extended certain of its activities. Specialist officers have been appointed for infant methods, physical education, arts and crafts, visual aids, and psychological services, both to advise teachers directly and in some cases to train specialist teachers. Textbooks in arithmetic and English have been prepared and issued to schools; the *School Journal,* a monthly magazine for primary pupils, has been greatly enlarged; and a series of children's booklets on social studies and nature study, well written and beautifully printed and illustrated, has been produced by the School Publications Branch. The school publications have a strong flavour of New Zealand life, and some of the country's most distinguished writers and artists have contributed to them. At the same time, an attempt has been made to emphasise the advisory as distinct from the judicial role of inspectors of schools, and, to facilitate this change, the grading of teachers is now carried out every second year instead of annually.

The 'new freedom' in the primary school brought with it some danger of formlessness, which in turn could easily have produced a conservative reaction. During the period 1945–50 primary education has found a surer sense of direction, and these dangers appear to have receded.

Post-Primary Education

The year 1944 marks the beginning of a new period in post-primary education. In that year the school-leaving age was raised from 14 to 15, with the result that the proportion of primary school

leavers proceeding to post-primary education increased from 77 per cent. to over 90 per cent. More important, however, was the introduction of accrediting for entrance to the university and the publication of *The Post-Primary School Curriculum*, the report of a Consultative Committee that had been set up in 1942, after it was known that accrediting was to come into operation. Ever since the 'twenties the schools had been increasingly restive under the pressure of the University Entrance Examination, which had come to serve as a general school-leaving certificate and hence to dominate the studies of thousands of pupils who had not the slightest intention of proceeding to higher education. The Education Department had attempted to solve the problem thus presented by instituting a School Certificate Examination with a wider range of options, but this examination was regarded as a poor relation of the Entrance Examination and it gave the schools little relief. The scheme of accrediting adopted by the university was a very generous one. It laid down no specific conditions as to the subjects to be studied by prospective entrants and placed the main responsibility for determining their fitness for university work on the schools. The way was now open for a new effort to establish the School Certificate Examination as the general leaving qualification, and for a comprehensive revision of post-primary curricula. The Consultative Committee recommended that the courses of all pupils in all types of post-primary school should include a 'common core' of studies and activities comprising English language and literature, social studies, general science, elementary mathematics, music, a craft or one of the fine arts, and physical education. In addition the schools would provide, each according to its resources, a range of optional studies. The Committee made detailed suggestions about the content of and approach to the subjects of the curriculum, and drew up new conditions and prescriptions for the School Certificate Examination. Though these proposals aroused strong criticism in some quarters, they were generally well received in the schools, and in 1945 they were embodied in regulations.

These were large changes, and since 1945 the schools and the Education Department have been primarily concerned with the day-to-day problems of making the new system work satisfactorily. There have been difficulties and disappointments—the shortage of trained teachers of arts and crafts, music, and physical education has been a major problem—but in general the progress made has been impressive. The 'common core' is now more and more taken for granted, and the new School Certificate has firmly established itself. The chief criticism with which reformers had to contend was that the interests of the able minority would be sacrificed to those of the mass, but this has been refuted by events. Academic standards in sixth forms have undoubtedly risen during the past five years, and, indeed, have never been higher. As for accrediting, a recent

survey showed that the schools were overwhelmingly in favour of it. Opinion among university teachers is somewhat divided, but the Senate decided in 1951 that the scheme was to continue for another four years at least.

New Zealand's post-primary system has three main branches—secondary schools, technical high schools, and secondary departments of district high schools—and reformers long complained about the administrative and professional divisions that separated them. The new regulations governing curricula, and the new School Certificate, were an important step towards unification; the adoption in 1944 of a single salary scale and a unified system of grading teachers was another; and still further ones were taken in 1946 with the unification of the post-primary inspectorate and the adoption of a common basis of grants to schools. This process of rationalisation has not only resulted in the removal of many long-standing anomalies but has also helped to create a sense of common purpose among post-primary teachers—as is evidenced by the impending amalgamation of the secondary and technical teachers' organisations.

The University

The years 1944–6 brought a sudden increase in the number of university students, which now appears to have stabilised itself at just over 10,000, double the pre-war figure. To tide the university colleges over the first critical phase of expansion, the government made a number of emergency grants in 1946; but, although staffing was increased and further accommodation provided, it was soon obvious that temporary measures were not enough and that long-term planning was urgently needed. For such planning, however, the university was ill-prepared. Requests from the different colleges and from the special schools were submitted separately to the government for consideration—a method that did not permit any comprehensive planning, or a proper consideration by the university authorities themselves of the relative importance of different requests, and that left policy at the mercy of pressure groups. Earlier efforts at co-ordination having met with only a limited success, the Senate in 1948 set up a University Grants Committee whose main duty was to apply to the government for the money deemed necessary for all parts of the university. This tends to enforce joint planning and the development of a general policy. Further, the introduction of the principle of 'block grants', which are agreed on by the government for a five-year period in advance, has made it easier for the colleges to plan ahead.

Ever since the founding of the federal university the colleges have from time to time attempted to secure a greater degree of autonomy in academic matters; and in recent years they have been given many new powers. In 1941 first-year examinations for the B.A. and the

B.Sc. degrees were conducted internally by the colleges for the first time, and in 1944 the internal principle was applied also to Stage II examinations. From 1948, Stage III and M.A. examinations could be of an 'internal-external' character if the professors of the subject so desired. In this way a great measure of freedom to work out individual syllabuses was obtained. The principle now seems to be accepted that the university lays down the general structure of a degree course, while the detailed elaboration of syllabuses may be left to the individual colleges.

Some members of the university, however, will be satisfied with nothing short of complete autonomy. In 1949 the Academic Board considered proposals for constituting four separate universities to supersede the University of New Zealand, and these were submitted to the Senate in 1950. The Senate, however, refused to endorse them, deciding first to watch the effect on the colleges of the recent devolution of powers.

There is another conflict in academic circles between those who, taking the usual English position, wish to limit entrance to the university to a highly selected intellectual élite, and those who accept the much less restrictive colonial practice. Some of the former are pressing for the elimination of extra-mural students, for restrictions on part-time study, and for higher standards of entrance; some of the latter go so far as to favour a completely 'open door' to university studies. Meanwhile, a large increase in the number of bursaries is making it possible for a growing proportion of qualified post-primary leavers to take up university study. Every student who has gained his entrance qualification now has his fees paid, and every full-time student who stays at school for an extra year after so qualifying gets further financial help.

The Training of Teachers

In 1945 reformers were looking forward to big advances in the training of teachers. As most of them saw the situation, the two-year training college course for intending primary school teachers was too short, and the 'probationary year' that followed it often unsatisfactory as a means of training; and the arrangement under which trainees seeking degrees pursued university studies concurrently with their training college work had serious weaknesses. The recruitment of post-primary teachers was rather haphazard, and for certain types of teaching—particularly the teaching of technical and commercial subjects—training schemes had still to be established. The provision for specialist training generally (for example, training for work with dull and backward children) was very limited; and so too was that for the training of teachers in service.

Since 1945 some of the hopes of the reformers have been at least partially realised. 'Refresher' courses, held in school vacations,

have been instituted on a large scale. The Education Department provides financial and administrative assistance, but the responsibility for actually planning and running the courses rests with a committee representing the three teachers' organisations and the training colleges. Though attendance is entirely voluntary, teachers have thronged to the courses in very large numbers. In addition, the Education Department has successfully developed a scheme for the in-service training of its own professional officers, heads of schools, and others in senior positions There have been notable advances, also, in the training of post-primary teachers. Since 1945 the number of trainees has quadrupled, and this has made possible much better provision for their differing specialist needs. Further, the institution since 1947 of post-primary teachers' bursaries—which are tenable for four years of full-time university study and a fifth year of professional training—marks the beginning of a new attack on the whole problem of recruiting, educating, and training post-primary teachers.

Major advances in the training of primary school teachers, however, have yet to be achieved. Faced with a shortage of teachers and mounting school rolls, the Education Department has increased the numbers being recruited, opened a fifth training college, and inaugurated a one-year emergency training course for recruits of some maturity. Even so, the problem of teacher supply remains acute, and any action—such as more rigid selection of entrants or a general lengthening of the period of training—that would have the effect of seriously diminishing the flow of newly trained teachers into the schools, is, for the time being at least, out of the question.

The training of teachers has just been reviewed by a Consultative Committee set up at the end of 1948. The Committee regretfully concludes that many desirable reforms cannot be brought about in the near future, but it recommends that in place of the present probationary year there be substituted a third year of training, half of which would be spent by the student in continuous teaching practice in charge of a small class, and the other half in college. The Committee recommends, also, a scheme of differentiated training for primary school teachers. Hitherto, an attempt has been made to prepare teachers for work over the whole primary school age-range (5 to 13+); it is now proposed that students be trained, in the first instance, for work in either the upper or the lower primary school. The Committee proposes that the teachers' colleges remain independent institutions, though it favours closer relations than at present with the university colleges.

Adult Education

The total picture of adult education in New Zealand is a complex one, embracing not only what goes on with the 'system' of adult

education, but also the education activities of several departments of state, the broadcasting service, libraries, museums, art galleries, and scores of voluntary organisations. Here it is possible to deal only with developments in the 'system'. In the year 1944–5 the government grant specifically allocated to adult education was £12,000. Grants were at that time distributed through a Council of Adult Education to the four university colleges, each of which had a local advisory committee, made up of representatives of the college council, the Workers' Educational Association, and certain other bodies. The bulk of the actual work of adult education was carried out by part-time tutors, but there was a nucleus of full-time tutors, fewer than twenty in all for the whole Dominion, who spent most of their time in the country districts.

The Education Conference revealed a strong desire for a large forward move in adult education, and shortly afterwards a Consultative Committee was set up to consider present and future needs. The Committee's report, published in 1947 under the title *Further Education for Adults*, strongly recommended greatly increased grants and a broadening and strengthening of the administrative organisation. The Committee's administrative proposals were given effect to by Parliament almost immediately in the Adult Education Act, 1947. The existing Council of Adult Education was replaced by a National Council of Adult Education, with wider representation and more positive functions, and the local advisory committees by regional Councils of Adult Education which, while still linked with the university colleges, were rather more independent of them. Further, the government increased the annual grant to the National Council in much the way proposed by the Committee, till by 1949–50 it exceeded £74,000.

The result is that during the past few years adult education has expanded much more rapidly than at any previous period. The full-time staff, small enough yet from some points of view, is none the less more than three times as large as it was in 1945. This has made possible both more intensive cultivation of the ground already being worked and a movement into new fields—for example, among the Maori people. The trend towards a widening of the scope of the work being done, evident since the 'twenties, has been intensified. There has been a strong development, alongside the older type of tutorial class, of classes and schools in drama, music, and the visual arts, and strikingly successful efforts have been made to bring drama and music of high quality to very remote country districts. Further, tutors now spend much time in helping to organise local voluntary activities of the community-centre type, and co-operative relationships between the 'system' of adult education and other agencies are being steadily built up.

In 1950 the government made a small cut in the grant for adult

education,[4] presumably to indicate that in its opinion expansion should be checked. At all events, this was the inevitable result of the action taken. The National Council insists that the need for adult education services continues to outpace provision, and is pressing for increased funds.

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[4] Later the grant was increased, but only to make it possible for existing staff to share in salary increases given throughout the education services.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOUTH AFRICA

ALL opinions expressed in this article are the sole responsibility of the writer and in no way represent the opinion of any official organisation.

In attempting to give an account of educational reform in South Africa one is faced with the difficulty that it is not merely the overt changes in an educational system which constitute reform. Often barely perceptible changes in social and economic conditions and in attitudes towards the schools are of greater fundamental importance than superficial alterations in school organisation.

A further difficulty is the complexity of the cultural and racial situation in South Africa, which makes an adequate treatment impossible in a short article of this nature. The method followed must, therefore, be to select certain types of education and to describe reforms which have taken place without endeavouring to seek too particularly the underlying causes.

Socio-economic Conditions, 1945–50

The period under review has been characterised by the acceleration of industrialisation, the opening of new gold-fields, the growth of the national income and, by comparison, the slow growth of the population, particularly the European population. These processes have led to rapid urbanisation, a phenomenal growth in the opportunities for employment in industry, mining, and commerce, a shortage of skilled labour, especially of artisans, and a rapid rise in the number of women in employment. These developments have given rise to many social and economic problems and have focused attention on education, especially technical and professional, as seldom before. Economic prosperity has enabled the state to support education generously and there has been a general tendency to give to all sections of the population an education longer in duration and of a type more adapted to their specific needs.

There has also been a growing consciousness of the need to make greater and more effective provision for the education and rehabilitation of all deviates—mental, moral, or physical.

Economic development in other parts of Africa has given rise to a heavy demand for South African trained technicians. This, coupled with the expanding local demand, has caused serious shortages.

South Africans have always had a strong traditional interest and belief in education. During these post-war years educational developments in Europe and America have been closely watched and studied. Many reforms in South African education have been inspired by its alertness to what has been achieved overseas.

The Control and Financing of Education

An important factor in influencing the speed and nature of educational reform is the political organisation whereby education is controlled and financed. In a unitary state with a strong central government educational reform may be expected to be speedy and decisive, while in a democrative federation the course of reform must needs be more difficult and tortuous. In the Union of South Africa we have a full union with all powers concentrated in the central government. At the time of the formation of the Union in 1910, however, certain functions were entrusted to the four Provincial Councils, chief among them being education other than higher education, certain health services, the control of municipalities, divisional councils and other forms of local government, roads, preservation of game and fish, destruction of vermin, licensing of motor vehicles, etc. Primary and secondary education constitute the most important single responsibility of the Provinces, and over 60 per cent. of provincial expenditure is devoted to it.

The Act of Union provided that Provincial Councils should be responsible for "education, other than higher education, for a period of five years and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides."

Since 1910 the Union Government has assumed responsibility for a number of types of education in addition to university education either on the grounds of national interest or because certain types of education were too expensive for provincial resources. Thus industrial education, child welfare, agricultural education, vocational and technical education, and certain types of special education have been taken over by the Union Government. The Provinces are responsible for ordinary primary and secondary education, agricultural education, the education of retarded or subnormal children, the technical education of sub-normals, the education of certain types of physical deviates (e.g. hard of hearing, partially sighted, cripples and cardiacs), the training of teachers whose two- and three-years courses are all post-matriculation and therefore, strictly speaking, 'higher education'. The Provinces also administer but do not finance Bantu education, including industrial and technical schools. Coloured and Indian education are the financial and administrative responsibility of the Provinces.

Between 1925 and 1945 the Provinces were responsible for financing their educational work from provincial taxation and from

Union subsidy. This subsidy, while calculated largely on an educational basis, was not earmarked specifically for education. When the basis of subsidy was devised in 1925 it was supposed to cover the 'reasonable' cost of education, which was the Provinces' major service. In fact, however, the provincial expenditure on education was considerably greater than the Union subsidy received. While the Provinces obtained about £15 per pupil in subsidy they actually spent about £21 per European pupil per annum.

Data for the year 1937–8 are given as an example, the amounts being given in brackets to show their relative magnitudes

(i) £16 7*s.* 6*d.* per pupil for the first 30,000 pupils in attendance in government schools (£1,871,777).
(ii) £14 per pupil in excess of 30,000 in average attendance in government schools (£3,210,508).
(iii) £5 per pupil in average attendance in aided private schools (£27,240).
(iv) £60 per student teacher in training beyond matriculation standard (£112,519).
(v) £5 5*s.* per non-European pupil (other than Native) in average attendance (£636,778).
(vi) £2 per 100 pupil-hours' attendance at part-time education (£2,793).
(vii) Grant for native education (£340,000).
(viii) Special grants, £125,000 for Natal and £275,000 for the Orange Free State (£400,000).
(ix) Additional grant for O.F S, £4,637.
(x) Special grants for special education

Subnormals	£12	10	0	per	pupil.
Hard of hearing	£30	3	4	,,	,,
Partially sighted	£19	2	6	,,	,,
Physical defectives (cripples and cardiacs only)	£12	10	0	,,	,,

Total subsidy excluding (x) = £6,607,252.

In 1945 a radical change in the financing of the Provinces and thus of the education entrusted to them was brought about by the passing of Act No. 38 of 1945, "The Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act". The Act lays down:

(1) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) there shall be paid from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to the provincial revenue fund of each province, in respect of every financial year, a general subsidy of an amount equal to fifty per cent. of the nett expenditure (determined as provided by sub-section (3) of the province during that financial year).

(2) If the nett expenditure of a province in respect of that financial year exceeds the nett expenditure of that province in respect of the

financial year 1944–5 by more than five per cent., the general subsidy on the excess above five per cent. shall be calculated at thirty-three and one-third per cent and if the nett expenditure of a province in respect of any subsequent financial year exceeds the nett expenditure of that province in respect of the financial year immediately preceding by more than five per cent. whether general subsidy at the rate of fifty per cent. was paid on the whole amount or not, the general subsidy on the excess five per cent. shall be calculated at thirty-three and one-third per cent.

The Act then goes on to lay down certain moneys which shall be deducted from the said normal or recurrent expenditure. The most important of these latter items is the expenditure on native education, the funds for which are provided under Act No. 29 of 1945 as follows

(1) There shall from time to time be paid to each of the provinces from the Consolidated Revenue Fund such sums of money in respect of native education as Parliament may appropriate for the purpose.
(2) At the close of each financial year all unexpended balances of any amount paid to a province during the year shall be repaid to the Consolidated Revenue Fund

These funds are appropriated on the vote of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science, and are administered by the Provincial Administrations.

The effects of these changes in the financing of those branches of education controlled by the Provinces are not easy to discern but, coupled with marked post-war prosperity, seem to have made the financial position of the Provincial Administrations much easier. On the other hand the efforts to equalise the financial provision for the education of children in different parts of the Union, which were so characteristic of pre-war educational finance, have sunk into oblivion. The present system seems to favour the wealthier provinces unduly, but this effect is at present not felt in the general economic prosperity of the times.

The effect of the changes in the financing of Bantu education may be seen from Table IV in the section on Bantu education, and it will be noted how rapidly expenditure has risen.

Primary Education

In the sphere of primary education there have been no outstanding reforms except a tendency to admit children at a slightly younger age and to abolish the formal external examinations at the end of Standard VI. For European children compulsory education begins at the age of 7 in all four Provinces. In the Transvaal, children must begin school at the beginning of the year in which they turn 7, but may be admitted at the beginning of the year in which they turn 6. There is also a tendency to shorten the eight-years primary course to seven years. In the Transvaal, children

are transferred from primary schools at the end of Standard V. This will be the case in the Cape from 1953.

In 1945 the Registration for Employment Act made it compulsory for principals of schools to supply to employment officers of the Department of Labour certain information concerning pupils leaving school and seeking employment. To meet this need, and also the need for a cumulative school record card for educational uses, a school record card was introduced in 1948 for all European scholars in Standard V and higher classes. Vocational and educational guidance services have been extended and improved, and considerable progress has been made in the standardisation of achievement and intelligence tests for use in conjunction with the school record card.

Secondary or Post-primary Education

Post-primary education has been the subject of very considerable controversy and several bold reforms. The problem which has aroused most interest and controversy has been the question of the best means of providing differentiated post-primary education for all adolescents.

In Natal a committee was appointed to inquire into and report on a number of aspects of primary and secondary education. The committee reported in 1946 and adopted a somewhat cautious attitude in recommending reforms, but remarked, "Secondary education will have to be looked upon as a continuous process flowing out of primary education and catering for the needs of all types of pupils, these needs being determined on psychological, vocational, social and cultural grounds.

". . . In developing this idea the Committee found itself hampered by the existence of the arbitrary system of control in the different phases of education, and also by certain agreements between the Provinces and the central government. . . ." The Committee recommended an intelligence test in Standard V, the use of a school record card, promotion by principals of schools at Standard V rather than on the basis of an external Standard VI examination, and a post-primary school with four streams suited to different types of pupils.

In the Transvaal a commission to investigate and report on primary and secondary education was appointed in 1937 and reported in 1939. Although not falling within the period under review in this article, mention is made of it because of its influence on subsequent events in the Transvaal, particularly in connection with post-primary education. The Nicol Commission recommended that children should be promoted to post-primary schools on the basis of age. "To commence with, we draw attention to our recommendation that all primary school pupils who have reached the age of 14 and have not reached Standard V or fail to pass

Standard V at the end of the year during which they reach that age, should at the beginning of the following year be transferred to the shorter secondary course (modern school). This would ensure that they enjoy at least one year of differentiated secondary education before reaching the limit of compulsory education. In many cases they would complete two years of the shorter course, which would be of more value to them than continuing in the primary school." But the system of junior high schools which gave the shorter secondary course did not prove successful, and a new system was introduced in 1951. (As set out in Circular Minute No. 58 of 1950 (page 346)).

The Nicol Commission (paragraph 265) considered that every child should have three years or at least two years of differentiated secondary education to help him in his preparation for life, which it accepted as a short definition of all education

All pupils who now reach the age of 13 in a primary school will be transferred to a secondary school or department at the beginning of the next year. In those primary schools with Standard VI attached, such pupils will be transferred one year later. This will ensure that every pupil will enjoy at least three years of differentiated secondary education, by which is meant secondary education of a type which should be conceived of in terms of both the needs of the individual and the demands of society (paragraph 160, de Villiers Report).

For the present, however, pupils in special schools and classes will remain in such schools and classes.

Classification of Schools

The junior high school and school farm, i e. the type of school providing secondary education only from Standard VI to Standard VIII inclusive and precluded from developing further, will no longer form part of our Transvaal school system.

The Nicol Commission hoped to provide differentiated secondary education by means of shorter course schools, junior high schools and school farms, and by means of longer course schools, the high school

Scotland attempted to do the same by the establishment of junior secondary schools and senior secondary schools.

Our experience in the Transvaal is similar to that of the Scottish Educational Authorities. The Report of the Advisory Council of Education for Scotland (1947), page 32, reads as follows

The school which takes the pupil right to the threshold of every form of professional training naturally seems preferable to one which, on a superficial view, goes only half the way . Again the senior secondary school (high school) is as a rule selective, which the junior (junior high school) is not, and it seems a fair deduction that the school which is open only to certain levels of ability and attainment is more desirable than one which is open to all. Consequently the bright pupil, though free to choose, goes as a rule to the long course school irrespective of the time he is likely to stay there—and the less bright pupil wishes he/she could do the same Very crippling also to the junior secondary school (junior high) is the narrow age-range in which it has to work. . . . It lacks pupil leaderships of the kind that count for so much in the development of extra-curricular activities and community spirit. . . . To labour with an unbroken succession of average or sub-average classes, within

a curriculum which still leans too far to the bookish side, is a severe test of professional zeal and idealism, small wonder, then, if in many cases, the teacher's sense of disappointment and frustration has silently communicated itself to pupil and parent, heightening their own feeling that in the education scheme theirs is a place of inferiority Lastly, education authorities themselves must take their share of the blame In quality and generosity of staffing, in salary scales and promotion schemes, in the provision of equipment and amenities of all kinds, they have been too often unfaithful to their profession that the junior secondary school (junior high) falls no whit below the five-year centre in importance and esteem

The main advantages for the multilateral type of school which many of our schools will now tend to become are

(i) All the complications of status will be removed and it will be possible to plan an education system on a truly democratic basis
(ii) It will make possible a great variety of educational media and so enable the educational guidance of the child to be more effectively carried out
(iii) It overcomes the problem of the wrongly classified pupil, because transfer within the school is easier to arrange than transfer from one school to another

With regard to school farms, it will be noticed that they are to be reclassified as Group II schools.[1]

When the school farm was established, it was hoped that this type of school would attract many pupils and become the country junior high school, i.e a school ranging from Standard VI to Standard VIII only. The inclusion of primary school pupils must therefore have been purely a temporary measure

The number of pupils in the secondary departments of the school farms has not increased to the extent expected The same causes which militated against the success of the junior high school have been responsible for this.

The majority of the school farms will now have the opportunity to offer secondary courses up to Standard X, provided the number of pupils justifies the introduction of such courses, and in this connection it is expected that agriculture as a subject up to Standard X will be introduced at a number of these schools

In this way the school farm will be able to develop to an extent which will make the establishment of a separate high school possible—its only limiting factor being the number of pupils in the surrounding countryside.

Schools will be classified as follows

Group I: Primary schools.
Group II: Primary schools with secondary departments.
Group III: High schools.

(The reclassification of existing schools providing secondary education will be found in annexure A.)

In the approach to secondary education, development should be aimed at along the following lines.

(*a*) Religious and moral.
(*b*) Social.
(*c*) Intellectual.
(*d*) Aesthetic.
(*e*) Physical.
(*f*) Vocational.

[1] *Reconstruction in the Secondary School*—F. M. Earle, 1944, page 74.

All secondary education should provide for adequate differentiation, i.e. for individual differences.

As "adequate differentiation has", in the words of the de Villiers Commission Report (paragraph 346), "always been and still is secondary education's unsolved problem", a committee will be appointed to study the problem in its relation to the schools in this Province.

For the time being high schools and secondary departments of primary schools making provision for courses other than those of the traditional academic nature should follow the courses prescribed in Departmental Circular No. 1 of 1946, extended and adapted to cover Standards IX and X where necessary These courses will for the time being be referred to as "practical" courses. In addition, the five-year commercial courses, leading to a Secondary School Certificate and Matriculation Exemption on the lines of those at present offered at technical colleges and certain commercial high schools, may also be introduced Such courses include the following subjects. the two official languages, mathematics, economic geography or economics, shorthand-typewriting, bookkeeping and commercial arithmetic, commerce and mercantile law

The Commission on Technical Education appointed by the Union Government in 1945 made the following remarks in its Report issued in 1948: "The Commission realised at a very early stage in its deliberations that any attempt to improve technical and vocational training facilities which did not involve an effort to remove conditions which are at present making a wholesome relationship between general and vocational education impossible would be shortsighted half-measures". It therefore proposed a complete reorganisation of the present educational system along the following lines·

Age of Pupils	*Full-time Education*	*Part-time Education*
± 3 to 6	Nursery school	—
5 + to 12 +	Primary school	—
12 + to 15 +	Junior high school	—
15 + to 17 or 18 +	Senior high school	Compulsory continuation classes.
15 + to 17 + .	Vocational high school	Compulsory continuation classes and part-time apprenticeship courses.
15 +	Technical college	As for vocational high schools plus more advanced courses.
17 +	Agricultural college	Short courses.
18 +	University and teacher training	Vacation sessions and extra-mural courses.

The feature of this system most different from anything to be found in South Africa at present is the junior high school proposed because, unlike the system which has just failed in the Transvaal, it is designed as a school through which *all* pupils would

pass. "It would be a school for the junior adolescent designed primarily to meet the educational needs all junior adolescents have in common. Its major functions would be the provision of full-time foundational general education and the determination of the aptitudes, interests, and other personal qualities on the basis of which its charges have to make their study and career plans" (page 275). It must also provide a variegated curriculum so as to provide an opportunity for pupils to 'try out' their aptitudes and interests. The Commission remarks: "The new junior high school's biggest problem will thus be provision for individual differences, a problem which may at first sight seem to defy solution. The Commission wishes to point out that adequate differentiation has always been and is still to-day secondary education's unsolved problem, and that the throwing together of pupils of various levels of ability and scholastic achievement is not unknown in our school system. . . ." (Page 346.)

Much attention has been given to the report of the Commission on Technical Education and it is probably destined to influence very considerably South African post-primary schools. Further reference is made to the work of this Commission in the section on technical education.

Another marked tendency in post-primary education is for the period of compulsory school attendance for Europeans to be lengthened, and for exemption on the basis of scholastic attainment to fall away. In the Cape Province compulsory education was enforced between the ages of 7 and 16 years or Standard VI from 1919 until 1951, when the compulsory upper limit was raised to 16 years or Standard VII.

In Natal the upper limits of compulsion were raised from Standard VI to Standard VIII in 1950, the age-limit remaining at 15 years. In the O.F.S., exemption by scholastic attainment has been abolished. Provincial Ordinance (O.F.S.) No. 12 of 1945 laid down that Standard VII or 16 years be the upper limit of compulsory education in 1946, and that in 1947 and 1948, Standard VIII would be minimum scholastic standard of exemption. Since 1948 attendance on the basis of age (16 years) is enforced until the completion of Standard X. In the Transvaal, compulsory education has been enforced between the ages of 7 and 16 years (or Standard VIII) since 1941.

Technical Education

Partly because of the socio-economic developments which have taken place in South Africa since the outbreak of the Second World War, and partly because of the anomalous system whereby educational control is divided between the Provinces and the Union, technical education has been the focal point of educational controversy and demand for reform.

Before describing the events which have taken place since 1945 in this field it will be as well to describe briefly the position as it existed in that year. Technical education was divided as follows:

(*a*) the Provinces administered agricultural high schools and a number of industrial schools for Natives;

(*b*) the Department of Education, Arts, and Science of the Union Government administered technical, commercial, and housecraft high schools, as well as reformatory and industrial schools which give technical education to children committed under the Children's Act;

(*c*) the technical colleges were semi-autonomous bodies subsidised by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. They conducted both part-time and full-time technical courses;

(*d*) the Department of Agriculture administered agricultural colleges and also agricultural faculties at three universities;

(*e*) the Department of Mines administered the School of Mines;

(*f*) the training ship *General Botha* provided nautical training, being subsidised by the Department of Customs and Excise;

(*g*) the Department of Native Affairs conducted an agricultural college at Fort Cox. Three other agricultural schools were conducted in the Transkei with funds provided by the Transkeian General Council;

(*h*) the universities, independent corporations but subsidised by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, provided higher technical training in various professional fields;

(*i*) the S.A. Railways and Harbours conducted a training school at Olifantsfontein.

With the growth of the movement in favour of post-primary differentiated education for all adolescents and with the gradual raising of the limits of compulsory education the Provinces have manifested an ever-increasing interest in technical and vocational education or 'practical' education of a pre-vocational nature. There has also been a rising demand for technically trained men for South Africa's expanding industry. Much interest, too, was aroused by the short intensive courses of training which were given during the war by the Central Organisation for Technical Training in order to produce the thousands of artisans required for war production. At the end of the war C.O.T.T. was transferred from the Department of Defence to the Department of Education, Arts, and Science to help in the training of ex-volunteers for reabsorption into industry. Between 1945 and 1947 nearly nine thousand men were trained or trade tested. All these varied influences culminated in the appointment of a Commission to investigate technical education.

In 1945 the de Villiers Commission was appointed with the following terms of reference:

To investigate and report on technical and vocational education in the Union and more especially on the following:

(1) The most suitable methods of training for industry, having regard to the role of apprenticeship and learnership in such training, and the providing of facilities therefor.

(2) (*a*) Whether and to what extent greater provision should be made than at present for instruction of a vocational character in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools which provide educational facilities of a general character

(*b*) The scope of the vocational and technical instruction which should be given in educational institutions established for that specific purpose.

(3) The parts that should be played by the Union and Provincial Education Departments respectively in the matter of vocational and technical education, having regard to—

(*a*) the functions on the whole of technical colleges as they have developed as institutions of higher education under Act No. 30 of 1923,

(*b*) the relationship between the work of the vocational schools of the Union Education Department and of the technical colleges in so far as they fall within the field of secondary education on the one hand and the ordinary secondary education activities of the Provinces on the other,

(*c*) the relationship between the work done at the vocational schools of the Union Education Department and the work done at technical colleges in so far as it is of the same general character,

(*d*) the desirability of co-ordinating the various activities mentioned

(4) Any financial implications arising from the above.

The de Villiers Commission produced a monumental report in 1948. It found that the present organisation of schools was unsatisfactory and criticised severely the manner in which the educational efficiency of the distribution of pupils in post-primary schools was adversely affected by the division of functions between the Provinces and the Union. It proposed not only a new school system, some details of which appear on page 318, but also the creation of " a National Council for Education whose constitution, powers, and functions should be defined by Act of Parliament, the secretariat of the Council to be the Department of Education ". This suggested Council, which did not include members of the Provincial Administrations, would be able to make recommendations which, if approved by the Minister of Education, would have the force of law.

The three years since the publication of the Report have seen it widely quoted and much discussed. But the strength of the provincial system has proved itself, and no real reforms in organisation have taken place. Whether they will in the near future is a moot question.

The question of nautical training for South Africans was investigated by the " Nautical Careers Committee " in 1949, appointed by the Minister of Finance. As a result of the Report the control of

the South African Nautical College, *General Botha*, was transferred from the Department of Customs and Excise to the Department of Education, Arts, and Science from the beginning of 1951. In 1952 it will become a state institution.

The Nautical Academy, Durban, which had been conducted as a continuation class, will now be conducted as a part of the Durban Technical College. A Union Advisory Council on Mercantile Marine Training is shortly to be brought into being.

A most important committee was appointed by the Minister of Labour in 1949—the Committee on Apprenticeship System Revision. Its terms of reference, although lengthy, give an excellent epitome of the problems in this field and are therefore quoted here:

> To examine the recommendations of the Commission on Technical and Vocational Education and having regard thereto, to inquire into, report upon, and make recommendations to the National Apprenticeship Board and the Minister of Labour (including where necessary recommendations for amendment of the law), concerning.
>
> (*a*) the institution of a system of supervision of the actual training of apprentices during apprenticeship,
>
> (*b*) the introduction of a scheme of trade testing (and the designing of such tests) at stages during the apprenticeship and, in particular, a final test the passing of which will confer full journeyman status on an apprentice whether or not he has completed the prescribed period of apprenticeship,
>
> (*c*) the reduction of the period of apprenticeship in certain trades either in addition to or combined with (*b*) above;
>
> (*d*) the institution of a system of intensive pre-apprenticeship training in appropriate trades as an alternative to the system advocated by the Commission,
>
> (*e*) the possibility of providing a continuous fixed period of attendance during working hours in lieu of night classes;
>
> (*f*) the inclusion in the school curricula of subjects essential for particular trades up to the appropriate Standard VII, VIII, or matriculation,
>
> (*g*) the introduction of a system of compelling employers, who possess the necessary facilities, to train apprentices according to their facilities,
>
> (*h*) the provision of hostels, more particularly to assist rural lads and those from poor homes to enter into apprenticeship;
>
> (*i*) the co-ordination of the activities of Juvenile Employment Services, Juvenile Affairs Boards, and Apprenticeship Committees;
>
> (*j*) the revision of wage standards having regard to changed conditions and with a view to attaining uniformity in wage rates as far as possible;
>
> (*k*) the development of the grouping of related trades;
>
> (*l*) the institution of an appropriate incentive system, more particularly when the apprentice by passing the appropriate test has demonstrated his competence although not adult,
>
> (*m*) the revision of designated trades having regard to modern industrial development and the allocating of certain work to operatives;
>
> (*n*) any administrative difficulties experienced in the application of the provisions of the Act within the present framework thereof, with a view to the early introduction of suitable measures to deal therewith.

Largely as a result of the report of this Committee, Act No. 28 of 1951 was passed with support from all Parties. Considerable changes in the apprenticeship system are contemplated, including compulsory pre-apprenticeship training of an intensive nature, the remission of time from the apprenticeship equal to the pre-apprenticeship training, aptitude testing of apprentices, and trade-testing at the end of the course. In addition a scheme of intensive training for semi-skilled adults is contemplated in order to relieve the present acute shortage of artisans, particularly in the building trades.

The period 1945–50 has seen many developments apart from the appearance of the de Villiers Report.

The general development which has taken place may be seen from the following tables:

TABLE I

	*Students**			*Subsidies (Government)*	*Total Expenditure*
	Part-time	*Full-time*	*Total*		
1945	33,125	9,077	42,134	£354,614	£685,855
1946	32,807	10,303	43,110	371,719	679,505
1947	35,410	9,452	44,862	547,100	943,260
1948	40,659	9,818	50,477	587,089	1,028,605
1949	42,264	9,307	51,571	632,444	1,091,860
1950	43,885	10,232	54,117	662,461	1,148,245

**Enrolment in June.*

TABLE II

TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOLS CONDUCTED BY DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ARTS, AND SCIENCE: ENROLMENT AND COSTS

	Pupils	*Cost*
1945	1,349	£186,869
1946	1,399	194,340
1947	1,407	244,553
1948	1,448	260,369
1949	1,486	272,714
1950	1,632	309,571

Special Education

In 1942 the Minister appointed an Interdepartmental Committee with the following terms of reference:

(*a*) To determine the number of European and non-European children between the ages of 3 and 19 years in the Union suffering from physical defects which necessitate the provision of training for them with a view to their adjustment in society.

(*b*) To inquire into and make recommendations in regard to:
(i) the nature and duration of the training, with a view to a

suitable vocation, which European and non-European children of each of the groups of "physical deviates", "mental deviates", and "behaviour aberrants not committed under the Children's Act" should receive and the steps considered necessary in this connection;

(ii) the steps to be taken to provide therapeutic treatment with a view to correcting the physical and behaviour aberrations and to promoting the mental hygiene of these various groups of deviate children;

(iii) the steps to be taken for the placement of these deviate persons in society in a fashion which will ensure that they will, as far as possible, provide for their own needs,

(iv) the steps to be taken to keep a record of such deviate persons during and after completion of their training; such record to reflect their circumstances regarding maintenance, etc, after completion of training.

The Committee reported in 1945 on European deviate children and in 1950 on non-European deviates. These reports and facts they brought to light have stimulated the development of special education to a marked extent.

As in the case of education for normal children, there is a division of functions between the Union Government and the Provincial Administrations in the field of special education. The Union Department of Education, Arts, and Science is responsible for the education and training of blind, deaf, epileptic, and deviate children who are sent to schools of industries or reformatory schools, i.e. children who are socially so maladjusted that they need the care of institutions. The Provincial Administrations are responsible for all other groups of deviates, but there have been modifications of this policy. In 1950 three state schools for physical deviates, including cripples and cardiacs, were opened by the Union Government to provide medical and remedial treatment as well as technical and scholastic education for boys and girls. A scheme of special education for adult physical deviates is also in its initial stages.

Acts No. 43 of 1947, No. 9 of 1948, and No. 15 of 1951 make provision for compulsory attendance "at special schools, classes, or clinics, of those children who by reason of physical, mental, or behaviour aberration or disability are unable to benefit sufficiently from instruction given in ordinary schools". The Provincial Education Departments have increased the number of psychologists available for the selection and treatment of children in special classes.

In 1950 the Department of Education, Arts, and Science instituted an Examination Board for Special Education to conduct examinations for teachers of the blind, deaf, and other physical deviates. Hitherto, teachers have had to secure their certificates from overseas examining bodies.

University Education

In 1945 there were five independent universities, viz.: Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand, Pretoria, and the University of South Africa. The latter was a federal university consisting of the following university colleges: Huguenot (at Wellington), Rhodes (at Grahamstown), the Orange Free State (at Bloemfontein), Natal (Pietermaritzburg and Durban), and Potchefstroom (at Potchefstroom). At Fort Hare the South African Native College admitted Coloured, Bantu, and Indian students who wrote the examinations of the University of South Africa. The University of South Africa also provided examinations for external students over a wide range of subjects.

In 1945 the Universities Advisory Committee, a body of three, was appointed with the following functions:

> To investigate, and to make recommendations to the Minister concerning suggestions put forward by university institutions regarding
> (*a*) the institution of new faculties and departments,
> (*b*) the improvement of salary scales, and
> (*c*) the erection and extension of buildings.
>
> To investigate the basis of state subsidy from time to time, when deemed necessary, and to make recommendations concerning its revision
>
> To make recommendations in connection with any other matter which the Minister may refer to the committee

The above terms of reference are interesting because they embody the classic problems of state support to South African universities. These institutions are autonomous bodies incorporated by Parliament. They have thus considerable freedom to direct their own affairs but, since their endowments are small and have not grown as was expected, the financial support derived from the state is vital to their well-being. State support amounts to about 40 per cent. of the university budgets. In giving the reasons for the establishment of the Universities Advisory Committee, the Secretary for Education remarked in his Report for 1944–5, "During their tour the members of the Commission (concerning subsidies to universities in 1944) were struck by the fact that all the university institutions intended to provide courses in practically all the subjects in which students wished to qualify. Departments and faculties were established irrespective of the fact that the locality of the institution did not always justify such steps. Higher education in South Africa has developed somewhat unsystematically because of the tendency of institutions to compete with one another in regard to the subjects and courses offered to students."

The rate of growth of the number of university students was very great after the end of the war. Generous demobilisation benefits made it possible for a very large number of returned soldiers to enter the universities. This may be seen from the following Table:

TABLE III

THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: SOUTH AFRICA, 1910–50

1910	1,171	1946	19,994
1920	2,946	1947	19,962
1930	7,006	1948	19,972
1940	11,220	1949	18,856
1945	14,222	1950	17,953

With the growth in the number of their students the university colleges, scattered over the extent of South Africa, began to chafe at the slow and involved procedures inevitable in a federal university. As a consequence the Brookes Commission was appointed in 1946 to "investigate and report on the future policy in connection with the University of South Africa and its constituent colleges, having regard to the decision of the Natal University College to promote legislation with a view to its constitution as an independent university and the possibility of other constituent colleges deciding to take similar action, and also as to the future relationship between the University of South Africa and the South African Native College at Fort Hare."

The Brookes Commission recommended that the University Colleges of Natal, the Free State, Potchefstroom, and Rhodes should become independent universities; that Huguenot University College should either be affiliated to Stellenbosch University or be closed down; and that the South African Native College, Fort Hare, should "be affiliated with the proposed new Rhodes University, and take its degrees, subject to detailed terms of affiliation to be agreed upon between the two parties concerned". The Commission also recommended "that the Vice-Chancellors' Committee, as at present existing, should be replaced by a Universities Co-ordinating Board, on which every university should be represented by its Principal or someone nominated by him to take his place."

By Act No. 18 of 1946, statutory recognition was given to the creation of a Division of External Studies under the University of South Africa, with the object of providing not merely examination facilities but tuition and advice for external students.

Save for the last recommendation concerning the formation of a Universities Co-ordinating Board, the proposals of the Brookes Commission were speedily implemented. In 1948 Acts 4 and 21 inaugurated the Universities of Natal and of the Orange Free State respectively. In 1949 the enabling legislation for Rhodes University was passed and the following year Act 19 of 1950 saw Potchefstroom achieve its independence. At the end of 1950 Huguenot College at Wellington, founded as a college for women in 1874, came to an end.

The University of South Africa, save for the Division of

External Studies and its functions as an examining body of external students, had altered out of all recognition. To provide for the changed circumstances of the university, Act No. 30 of 1951 laid down that the Council should contain the rectors (or their representatives) of all the other universities in South Africa.

By 1951 South Africa had the following institutions of higher learning:

(*a*) one examining university, the University of South Africa;
(*b*) eight independent teaching universities examining their own students;
(*c*) the South African Native College, Fort Hare;
(*d*) two small institutions conducting tutorial classes for Natives at Pretoria and Bloemfontein and one conducted by the Roman Catholic Church in Basutoland. These institutions write the examinations of the University of South Africa.

The history of South African universities over the last quarter-century has been marked by recurrent financial crises induced by a failure to solve the classic dilemma of university finance: subsidisation which does not impair academic freedom and which does not involve the state in too great responsibility. From 1923 until 1948 various formulas for the subsidisation of universities have been used, based on the revenue earned by these institutions.

This has encouraged the universities to seek students and to diversify their courses in order to raise revenue. At best this increased enormously the facilities for higher education, the enrolment of students increasing in that period nearly fivefold. At its worst it has led to the duplication of facilities to an inordinate extent and the creation of faculties often too small to be efficient. In the opinion of some it has led to the provision of courses which have no real place in a university.

In 1948 a new formula was proposed by the Universities Advisory Committee:

$$T = S\,(2 \log S - \cdot 75 \log F - K)$$

where T = total subsidy
S = approved instructional salaries
F = fee income
K = a constant to be determined for each institution separately.

This formula, because it was not entirely objective in application, did not prove acceptable; and it was decided to peg university subsidies at £1,100,000 for the years 1949, 1950, and 1951 in order to effect a consolidation in university education, and to enable a new basis of subsidisation to be devised.

As a result of the mounting difficulties of the universities, due to rising costs and their inability to raise salaries sufficiently to com-

pete for able men against the demands of commerce and industry, a new commission of inquiry has recently been appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Holloway, until recently the Secretary for Finance. The terms of reference give an excellent summary of some of the major problems facing university education in South Africa to-day. They are:

To inquire into and to make recommendations on·

(1) the policy that should be pursued to render the asset which the country possesses in its universities as effective as possible and to develop this asset in such a way that the country will benefit to the greatest extent,

(2) a basis on which the state should subsidise the universities, having regard, *inter alia*, to—
  (*a*) the freedom and autonomy of the universities as statutory bodies, and at the same time to the necessity of safeguarding the state against unrestricted financial obligations;
  (*b*) adequate salaries and allowances for the teaching and other staff,
  (*c*) a basis on which staff should be provided in faculties and departments of a similar nature at the various universities;
  (*d*) accommodation and equipment,
  (*e*) research;
  (*f*) student enrolments;
  (*g*) class fees, boarding and lodging charges, and bursaries;
  (*h*) income from other sources,
  (*i*) the training costs per student in the various faculties and departments;
  (*j*) the unnecessary duplication of training facilities, and

(3) such other matters as the commission may consider of importance in connection with its inquiry

Adult Education

In 1945 the Eybers Committee issued its report on adult education. The terms of reference of the Committee were:

With a view especially to post-war conditions, to investigate and report on—

(i) the necessity of adult education; and

(ii) the establishment of a national system of adult education with special reference to—
  (*a*) the aim of such a system;
  (*b*) the means to be employed to give effect thereto;
  (*c*) the financing thereof, and
  (*d*) the control thereof.

The Committee recommended a very expensive and elaborate scheme, but the government decided to embark on a more modest organisation. A National Advisory Council for Adult Education was called into being and a number of officers were appointed under the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. Six regional organisers were appointed whose duties include co-ordinating and stimulating the work of voluntary agencies. In addition to the regional organisers, three organisers have been

seconded to the South African Police Training College, where they give general cultural and linguistic courses.

In 1951 the reorganisation of a number of activities in the field of adult education was undertaken. Four national committees were set up, viz.:

(1) the National Committee for Physical Education and Recreation;
(2) the National Committee for Adult Education;
(3) the National Committee for the Advancement of Art; and
(4) the National Committee for the Advancement of Science.

All these committees advise the National Advisory Council for Adult Education, which in turn advises the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science.

The National Committee for Physical Education and Recreation advises on its field and fulfils the functions of the now defunct National Advisory Council for Physical Education.

The National Committee for Adult Education has replaced the old National Council for Adult Education and advises chiefly on the subsidisation of associations and societies.

The National Committee for the Advancement of Art, besides encouraging art in South Africa, generally advises the government especially on the subsidisation and control of the following bodies:

(1) the S.A. Academy of Science and Art;
(2) the S.A. Public Library, Cape Town,
(3) the State Library, Pretoria;
(4) the S.A. National Art Gallery, Cape Town;
(5) the Michaelis Art Collection;
(6) the Engelenberg Collection.

The National Committee for the Advancement of Science advises the government on scientific matters generally and especially in connection with the subsidisation of certain learned societies and museums, as well as the National Botanical and Zoological Gardens.

Two enterprises in the field of adult education deserve special mention:

(*a*) the establishment of a national theatre sponsored and subsidised by the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. This organisation functions on a non-profit basis and has conducted extensive and successful tours in English and Afrikaans;
(*b*) a non-profit organisation has been founded to produce and publish a journal for adult education, *Lantern*.

Bantu Education

Space does not permit of more than a brief mention of the many and real reforms which have taken place in Bantu education during the period 1945–50. It must suffice to note five developments only:

(1) *Growth*

The growth in the number of pupils and in state expenditure is reflected in the Table below.

TABLE IV

GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF BANTU PRIMARY AND SECONDARY PUPILS AND IN STATE EXPENDITURE, UNION, 1945–50

	No of Pupils	*State Expenditure Administered by the Provinces*
1945	587,586	2,221,592
1946	640,638	2,610,673
1947	671,414	3,665,611
1948	724,577	4,246,873
1949	758,811	4,747,657*
1950	—	5,141,910*

**Estimates.*

(2) *Appointment of Commission*

As a result of the increasing interest of all sections in the education of the Bantu a commission was appointed in 1949 with the following terms of reference:

(i) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions, are taken into consideration;
(ii) the extent to which the existing primary, secondary, and vocational educational system for Natives, and the training of native teachers, should be modified in respect of the contents and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations,
(iii) the organisation and administration of the various branches of native education;
(iv) the basis on which such education should be financed,
(v) such other aspects of native education as may be related to the preceding.

It is expected that the report of the Commission will be published by the end of 1951.

(3) *Attempts to Combat Early School Elimination*

One of the core-problems of Bantu education is very heavy elimination of pupils in the first two years of school. In 1949 the Cape Education Department published the following circular which, because of its importance, is quoted in full:

> Because of his concern over the slow progress of pupils in the substandards of native primary schools, the Superintendent-General of Education has decided to introduce certain measures to overcome the more serious causes of retardation.

A. *The Extent and Causes of Retardation*

(1) According to returns submitted by principal teachers, native pupils take an extra year to emerge from the sub-standards in spite of the fact that they enter school at the age-level almost two years above that of the European beginner.

The extent of retardation in the sub-standards may be gauged from the following facts.

(*a*) By European standards, two-thirds of the pupils enrolled in Sub-standard A should be in Standard I.
(*b*) Similarly four-fifths of the pupils enrolled in Sub-standard B should be in Standard II.
(*c*) Nearly one-third of the pupils now in Sub-standard A fall in the age-group 10–19 years.
(*d*) Nearly half the pupils now in Sub-standard B fall in the age-group 11–19 years.
(*e*) The difference in median age between European and native children at the time of admission is less than two years, but at the Standard I stage the difference is already in excess of three years.

(2) The sub-standards, originally intended as a simple launching-ground for pupils entering upon the more formal work of the standards, have developed a serious 'traffic jam', where congestion increases yearly and where half the school population is held up for three years and more

Originally intended to offer infants an easy introduction to the routine of the standards, the sub-standards for many have developed into a 'school within the school' where over-age pupils are bogged down and terminate their school career without ever reaching the standards.

(3) The school life of a native pupil, under a system of voluntary attendance, is relatively short, averaging about four years. It is imperative, therefore, that the pupil shall receive the fullest benefit from his brief school years and advance from stage to stage as rapidly as the organisation permits.

(4) Much of the congestion in the sub-standards is the direct result of defects in school control and school organisation. Those defects that can and must be remedied are outlined below.

(*a*) *Frequent Admissions during the Year*
The admission of beginners at irregular intervals throughout the year burdens the teacher with a large number of small groups at various levels of attainment. The teacher finds it impossible to keep them occupied all the time, and pupils spend the day in disciplined boredom, patiently watching and waiting.

(*b*) *Overcrowding*
Principals admit all comers without restriction, expanding their enrolment far in excess of the available staffing or accommodation. The more overcrowded the school the poorer the quality of the teaching.

(*c*) *Unequal Division of Work*
It has become the accepted practice in most schools, quite unjustifiably, to form the largest groups out of pupils in the sub-standards. Often the sub-standard teacher is saddled with half the enrolment, while the other half is divided between two teachers.

(*d*) *The Iniquitous 'Small A' Class*
Many schools place beginners in a 'Small A' class, where they mark time for many months, sometimes a year, before transfer to

the A class. Nothing but harm to the pupils' attitude towards school can result from such a practice.

(*e*) *Wrong Medium of Instruction*
The official language is often introduced as a medium of instruction at this early stage, contrary to the regulations and certainly detrimental to the learning process

(*f*) *Irregular and Inadequate Requisitioning*
Neglect in requisitioning results in long periods of enforced idleness. Without the basic reading and writing materials sustained progress is impossible, and the pupil's interest is destroyed.

(*g*) *Irregular Attendance*
The defects listed above may combine to make the school a thoroughly unattractive place, with little to compel the pupil's interest or to stimulate his desire to attend. Where efficiency is low, attendance will always be irregular.

B. *Measures to Combat Retardation*

The Department is determined to change the unhealthy and uneconomic three-year sub-standard cycle to a two-year cycle, and to accelerate the pupil's progress through the lower classes. To achieve this purpose the following regulations have been formulated, in consultation with the circuit inspectors, and the Department expects all schools to adhere strictly to these measures

Principal teachers are therefore instructed to carry the following regulations into effect as from 1st July, 1949.

(1) The total enrolment of a primary school shall not be allowed to expand beyond the capacity of the staff available. The maximum quotas fixed for primary school enrolment are as follows:
One-teacher school: enrolment not to exceed 45 pupils,
Two-teacher school: enrolment not to exceed 85 pupils,
rising at the rate of forty pupils for each additional teacher.

(2) All schools where the total enrolment figures already exceed the maximum quotas given above must refuse further admissions until their numbers conform to the required enrolment limits.

(3) [2]

(4) [2]

(5) In admitting pupils to the sub-standards, principals should proceed as follows
(*a*) Give preference to applicants in the age-group 7 to 12 years.
(*b*) Admit pupils of 6 years only if and as far as the quota permits.
(*c*) Give preference to children whose parents undertake to send them regularly, and to equip them with the necessary reading and writing materials.

(6) Under no circumstances should children under 6 years of age be admitted to the school or the school grounds during school hours, nor should their names appear on the waiting list. It follows that no school will be allowed to run a 'beginners' class', or a 'little A class', or a 'waiting-list class'.

(7) The sub-standards must be regarded as a preparatory period of not more than two years, including an Introductory Year (Grade A) and a Transition Year (Grade B).

(8) All the beginners will be admitted to the Introductory Year (Grade A) and will remain in this class for not more than one year. At the end of the year all the Grade A pupils who have attended for at least 150 school days will be transferred to the

[2] Details not quoted as they are irrelevant.

Transition Class (Grade B) Only in exceptional cases may this rule be broken

(9) At the beginning of their second year at school pupils will be enrolled in the Transition Class. They will remain in this class for not more than one year. At the end of that year all those who have attended for at least 150 days will proceed to Standard I. Only in exceptional cases may this rule be broken

(10) Principals should keep careful records, showing the names of the pupils enrolled in Grades A and B, the date of admission, the number of attendances, and the date of transfer.

(11) The size of the class, or group of classes, assigned to the infant teacher should not exceed forty-eight pupils With a larger number, instruction breaks down and becomes ineffective

(12) In Grades A and B the only language that may be used as a medium of instruction is the pupils' home language An official language may be introduced as a subject, but not as a medium

(13) It is essential for the success of the Department's policy that requisitions for materials and books shall be submitted regularly and well in advance, in order that pupils may be fully equipped with the necessary requirements at all stages of their schooling

(14) To improve attendance and to promote punctuality
(*a*) The attendance register must be marked within the first half-hour, and not at the end of the school day
(*b*) Pupils should be made to understand that frequent or prolonged absence from school, without good reason, may result in the transfer of their names to the bottom of the waiting list.

(15) Principals must understand clearly that the Circuit Inspector, or the Departmental Visiting Teacher, on visiting a school will not only check the methods, organisation, and work of the teachers of Grades A and B, and test the progress of the pupils, but will also investigate and report on the extent to which these regulations are being carried into practice In shaping its future policy the Department will be guided by these reports.

(4) *New Salary Scales for Bantu Teachers*

New salary scales were introduced in all four provinces as from January 1947. These were a great improvement on previous scales. Particulars were published in the Report for 1947 of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education. The scales have been drawn up so as to offer positive inducement to teachers to better their qualifications.

(5) *Opening of New Medical School at Durban*

In 1950 the government decided in favour of the foundation of a medical faculty for non-Europeans in Durban under the University of Natal. This faculty will offer a seven-years course, of which two years will be devoted to preliminary study in the natural and social sciences. The financial contribution of the state will be an immediate capital grant of £203,560 for buildings, £21,200 for equipment, and an annual grant to cover current expenses. This annual grant will increase until in 1956–7, and thereafter, it will amount to £40,300. In addition, the state will provide bursaries annually which will increase in number until in 1956–7, and there-

after there will be thirty at £150 and seventy-five at £200 per year. This will involve an annual grant of £19,500. Half of each bursary will be repayable at the end of the medical course at a minimum of £90 per annum.

Coloured Education

Apart from a steady growth in numbers and facilities the most important development in coloured education in the period under review was the passing of the Coloured Education Ordinance No. 11 (Cape) in 1945, which provided for:

(i) The establishment of coloured education committees in districts where school boards are not prepared to administer coloured education,
(ii) the establishment of coloured public schools,
(iii) the spending of not less than £100,000 every year for ten years on school buildings for coloured children, and
(iv) the bringing into force of compulsory education for coloured children between the ages of 7 and 14. Children who have passed Standard VI and are in regular employment will be exempted from compulsory education When a coloured education committee or a school board considers that sufficient and suitable accommodation exists, it may forward to the Department a resolution asking that school attendance be made compulsory within a radius of three miles of an undenominational public school for coloured pupils The Administrator is empowered to issue the necessary proclamation. This permissive legislation was applied for the first time in two school board areas from the beginning of 1949.

In Natal the legal provision for compulsory education for coloured children is the same as for European children, although practical considerations complicate their application. In the O.F.S. and Transvaal education for Coloureds is not compulsory.

P. A. W. Cook.

SECTION IV

EUROPE

CHAPTER ONE

FRANCE

PART ONE

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

FRENCH educational reform and development to-day are, like the English 1944 Education Act, a direct result of the war. Modern warfare, in which sufferings are borne indiscriminately of age, sex, or class, brings home even to the most privileged the profound injustice of educational opportunity based on the principle of "To him that hath shall be given."

It also displays, with incandescent intensity, that the strength of a nation in a scientific age depends very largely upon its technical advancement, and, since this in its turn depends directly upon the education of the bulk of the workers, military might is a function of the town and village classroom.

For France there was an additional lesson to be learned from the sufferings consequent upon the surrender of 1940. In the words of the Algiers Education Commission of 1944. "The defeat and the tyranny would not have been what they have been but for the faintheartedness, the default, or the treason of the controlling groups in the navy and the army, in politics and finance, in industry and in commerce. Those who could claim to have come from the summit of our educational system are those whose cowardice has been the most scandalous". This appalling fact led Frenchmen to realise that what a few would-be reformers had been saying for years was true; namely, that education means more than intellectual cramming and competitive examination; it is a process for the development of the whole man, body, mind, and spirit. Or, in the words of Martin Buber, "all education worthy of the name is essentially education of character". In French secondary and higher education booklore had been the dominant, almost the only, feature. Physical education of any form played an insignificant part for the majority: to assist the students of secondary school or university in the development of their character was no part of the work of the *professeur*. Even self-government of any form in the

lycée or *collège* did not exist. Discipline was (and in the majority of *lycées* still is) the task of the ill-paid *surveillant*—often a student who acts as usher in return for board and lodging and a small salary.

In this hot-house atmosphere of excessive cerebration the future leaders of France had become strangers to action, excessively burdened with information, much of which was dead wood, and out of touch with the full-blooded life where body, as well as brain, had its part to play.

So post-war education had three fundamental principles widely accepted as its basis. Firstly, equality of educational opportunity; secondly, extended development of scientific and technical studies; thirdly, education for the whole man.

These principles could scarcely be called new. The sufferings of the First World War had brought into existence a group known as "L'Association des Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle", which, in fifteen years of work, prepared public opinion for the free secondary education which was finally established not long before the Second World War. The Association was also partly responsible for the experiment of *classes d'orientation*, which had been only two years in process when Hitler invaded Poland. Despite their short life these *classes d'orientation* subsequently provided a firm base upon which one of the important principles of the recent reform has been built. The aim of the pre-war reformers was to start secondary education upon a new path, namely, that of producing a curriculum to suit the child, rather than pressing all pupils into the standard mould. The *classes d'orientation*, confined to a small number of the bottom classes of the various kinds of secondary education, had as their limited objective the study of the pupils individually, with the object of discovering in what directions their respective talents tend. Thereafter it should be possible to advise them and their parents whether, for instance, the Latin-with-Greek line of studies or the Latin line or the modern line without Latin would be most suitable. But the whole spectrum of the child's abilities would, as far as possible, be revealed.

It is apparent, however, that this is a very modest beginning to any reform and it is also obvious that it makes scarcely any contribution to the fundamental needs subsequently revealed during the four bitter years of occupation.

It was in March 1944 in Algiers that the Commission for Educational Reform, from whose report a quotation has already been made, was called together by M. Capitan, the Commissioner of National Education. The purpose of this Commission was to prepare a first draft of a plan for educational reform. In the autumn of 1944, after the liberation, this plan was published in Paris by the Ministry of National Education, but it was emphasised that the

views expressed were not necessarily those of the provisional government. This disclaimer was perhaps necessary in order to leave the field open for wider discussion. Also many minds in France, despite the occupation, were probably unprepared for the bold sweep of the proposals. These included a secondary education less exclusively bookish, some self-government in secondary schools (this to be based on English practice), and wide development of youth activities associated as far as possible with the schools. The most far-reaching recommendation was that secondary education for all to the age of 18 should be gradually built up, being made both free and obligatory. Since the principle of the *classes d'orientation* was to be applied not merely in the first year of secondary school (11+ to 12+) but also in the second year, the selection examination at 11+ could be abolished and replaced by a carefully compiled cumulative record commenced in the primary school. Suggestions were made for more faculties, new subjects, and increased numbers of students at the universities, for two years of general studies at the universities prior to specialisation, and for some pedagogical training for graduate teachers.

In order to reduce the great social and economic gap between the primary school *instituteurs* and the *professeurs* of the *lycée*, it was proposed that all primary school teachers should, in the course of their training, pass the *baccalauréat* examination.

It was emphasised that the whole plan would take years to implement, though an immediate start was urged. In particular it was stressed that more maintenance allowances, or larger family allowances, should at once be provided for the child of secondary school age.

The government, however, now appointed a new Commission to consider the Algiers recommendations, and others, and to draw up a more definitive plan. Paul Langevin, one of the greatest French physicists of this century, was made chairman, despite the fact that his political leanings were known to be extremely 'left'. But his eminence as a scientist, his qualities as a patriot and a man, his long-standing interest in social and educational matters, and the brilliance of his mind gave the Commission a standing such as is rare in France. The Commission was fortunate also in having the services of several other men of eminence and independence from the Sorbonne and the Collège de France. Though the report of this Commission was not published until 1947, after the death of Langevin, it is still generally known as the Langevin plan. And 'plan' is indeed an appropriate title since, like the Algiers report, it looks some decades ahead. Even if the course of international events had run smoothly it could not, like the Butler Act of England, have been put into immediate action on a delayed time schedule. We have seen that the Second World War revealed the desperate need for some fundamental changes in French education.

It was apparent to many that the time for tinkering was past if France was to regain her proper position in the world. Self-satisfaction with the high standard of scholarship achieved by a limited few would be sheer self-delusion: there could be no future for the nation along that path.

The Langevin plan accepts many of the recommendations of Algiers, including full-time education for all to the age of 18. The secondary period from 11 to 15 would be the *cycle d'orientation,* followed by three years' *cycle de détermination*, which for the majority would be first-class vocational training combined with general education. It also laid great stress on the development of adult education (*éducation populaire*) and urged that this should be available in villages as well as in towns, and that both training colleges and universities should play their part in this extra-mural work.

Needless to say the plan has met with considerable opposition. The entrenched vested interests have used all available means to discredit the report. *Le Monde,* early in 1948, published a series of six articles in which a distinguished professor of the Sorbonne poured scorn upon it. In one of these articles he claimed that what was needed was not a plan which looked far ahead and was based on thoughts of what ought to be, but a very thorough and highly statistical investigation of all that already existed, with careful financial calculation of what might be possible. Such an investigation would have taken several years, during which time the investigators would have become lost babes among the trees; nothing inspiring could have come out of it.

In another article he is angered by the implication in the Langevin report that the existing secondary education makes claims which are in accord neither with social justice nor with the needs of our technological civilisation. He claims that this point of view encourages some people to have an erroneous idea regarding the significance of their place in society. He pretends that this is an attempt to displace pure learning from its accepted position as the pinnacle of intellectual achievement. Particularly, he takes umbrage at a passage in the report which speaks of " the equal dignity of all workers ". He says that such phrases are morally respectable and legitimate but that they are mainly used to attack the hierarchy of values in the society of to-day and yesterday. Nor do they exclude the possible accession to power of a technocracy to-morrow. Neither, says he, has one far to look on this planet to find a country where, under cover of social justice, there has been established a dictatorship of technicians and their ilk. This is a scarcely concealed reference to the fact that several members of the Commission held political views with left-most party affiliation. Indeed this fact has undoubtedly weakened the effect of the report; many people have approached it with a closed mind and opposition

has been stirred up on grounds which are neither educational nor the result of objective thinking. Yet, as a whole, the plan is so irresistibly logical and so clearly related to the inexorable march of events, that nearly all the post-war developments in French education have in fact generally followed the lines of the Langevin plan.

The need for greater equality of opportunity in secondary education led immediately after the war to the elevation of the *écoles primaires supérieures* to the secondary rank with the title *collèges modernes*. Not only did this mean that they were transferred from the care of the primary school inspectorate to that of the *lycées* and *collèges classiques*, but it meant that they would now prepare pupils for the *baccalauréat* at the age of 18. The adjective *moderne* was meant to imply that the lines of preparation for the examination would not generally be the traditionally favoured ones of Latin-with-Greek, and Latin, but those specialising in modern languages, science, and technology. For this last a new *baccalauréat* has been instituted, at least as difficult as the older ones, but with mathematical, physical, and engineering subjects as its core. And the *collèges modernes* are now flourishing secondary schools with well-qualified *professeurs*, but they tend to recruit from lower social strata than the *lycées*, which are still largely upper class and bourgeois in their clientele.

But the attempt has been made—and is continuing—to unify all types of secondary education by giving them similar administrative status and by demanding similar qualifications for teaching in all these schools, except that men and women who achieve the extremely difficult *agrégation* will continue to be found in the important *lycées*.

Even the *cours complémentaires*, which still remain under the jurisdiction of primary education, now include the teaching of a modern language, thus bringing their curriculum more into line with that of the *collèges*. The *cours complémentaires* bear a resemblance, in their position, to the former central schools of London and some other areas of the United Kingdom. But in France they have a particular part to play in rural areas, where the number of pupils would not be adequate to justify a *collège moderne*. So bright pupils can attend a *cours complémentaire* from 11 to 15 at a neighbouring village and, after passing the examination of *brevet de fin d'études du premier cycle du deuxième degré*, they can transfer to the nearest *collège* where, in many cases, they have to become *pensionnaires*, since daily travel from the village is impossible. In other areas, where the number of students is too small to justify both a *collège classique* (or *moderne*) and also a *collège technique*, the process of *jumelage* is now employed whereby a *collège moderne* and a *collège technique* are brought together to form what in England would be called a 'bilateral' school. This development has been proving extremely successful.

In association with all types of secondary school there has been the experiment of the *classes nouvelles*. This represents a nation-wide attempt—organised by the Secondary Section of the Ministry of Education—to leaven the heavy courses of the *lycées* and *collèges* with activity methods, child study, correlation of subjects, and a *soupçon* of self-government. The bottom classes (*sixièmes*) of the secondary schools were, as in the 1937 experiment of the *classes d'orientation*, the starting-point, and for work with these 11-year-olds teams of three or four teachers volunteered to share between them the bulk of the subject teaching. In August 1945 the first two hundred team leaders met at the Centre International des Études Pedagogiques at Sèvres to discuss their plans of action and, for three or four years following this, further groups came and returned to their various parts of France to start more *classes nouvelles*, which now penetrate the secondary curriculum as far as the *troisième* (i.e. fourth form in the schools of England). After that stage the teaching is on traditional lines for the rest of the school life. In all there have been more than eight hundred successful *classes nouvelles*, and these have pooled their ideas and their experience through conferences of the teachers not only centrally at Sèvres but also regionally and locally. The magazine *Cahiers Pedagogiques pour l'Enseignement du Second Degré*, run by the teachers themselves, has played a very important part in spreading new ideas and techniques, not only in the new classes but also among teachers still hesitating at the brink. So far as the extension of the number of *classes nouvelles* is concerned the experiment has reached its peak: there is to be no increase in their number, but all over the country *classes nouvelles* are to be retained as foci of new developments which, it is hoped, will continue to be copied, especially by young teachers beginning their career. Indeed, traditional classes in many places have already become a little modified as a result of this movement. No one, however, who knows his France and knows how deeply the forces of bookish education are entrenched will expect to see very rapid change in the life of most *lycées*. The '*livresque*' tradition dates at least from the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1559, and with only slight interruptions has been the dominant educational philosophy ever since.

In the comparatively new field of technical education the prospects, however, are very different. At the secondary level, in particular, remarkable strides have been made since the war. Not only have there been developed the technical 'lines' in the *collèges modernes* and in some *collèges classiques* and a few *lycées*, but there has been considerable extension of *collèges techniques* and, especially during the period 1945–8, a great proliferation of *centres d'apprentissage*. These take their origin from experiments just before the war aimed at a rapid training of young machine-tool

workers as part of the rearmament campaign of 1937 onwards. They continued with various modifications under the Vichy government, but entered on their period of expansion when the formula for their creation and administration was revised after the liberation. At this stage there was a terrible dearth of skilled operatives of all kinds. Employers were not very willing to undertake the training of apprentices, since with the shortage of such workers, these, when trained, would be tempted to work for the highest bidder. Equally, adolescents were not anxious to bind themselves for the years of apprentice service to the master. But the apprentice centres filled the gap. They offered young people who had completed their study at the primary school a three-years course of full-time craft training associated with general education. At the end of that period an industrious student should have no difficulty in obtaining his *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionelle* in at least one craft. In the first year of his course he would have done basic work in two or three related crafts, so that he could subsequently add qualifications in these if it might prove to his advantage.

The *centres d'apprentissage* are neither schools nor factories, but something of a cross between the two. The hours of attendance are 41 obligatory in the first year, 43 in the second year, and 44 in the third year. Then there are two optional periods for games in addition to the four periods of obligatory physical education included in the total. General education, including civics, mother tongue, history, geography, mathematics, general science, hygiene, and art education, takes up a further fourteen periods. This leaves in the first year 23 hours for craft-drawing, technology, and workshop, and slightly more in the subsequent years. Girls have 3 hours less of this work, so as to have 3 hours of domestic science every week.

While the centres resemble workshops in the weekly number of hours of work, they have the same holidays throughout the year as schools and this gives the young people the long summer vacation from mid-July till October 1st for open-air life. In its work for youth France has made an astonishing development of *colonies de vacances* since the war, so that most students at apprenticeship centres get the chance of some weeks in the country at little or no cost. They can also obtain temporary work in their craft or in harvesting on the farms.

The apprenticeship centres show another departure from French educational precedent in having local control. Every centre is run, within the framework of the general regulations, by a local committee which consists, in equal numbers, of employers, trade union representatives, and nominees of the Technical Section of the National Ministry of Education. So every centre builds up its own life, traditions, and special interests. Moreover, almost every apprenticeship centre prepares for the industries and crafts of its

own region. The exceptions are those which prepare for industries which have no special local applications but which are spread thinly everywhere. These include, for instance, gas-production and distribution, and for this there are two national apprenticeship centres which have boarding facilities for most of the students. It is extremely important to note that the apprenticeship centres prepare for an astonishing range of crafts and that there is a corresponding national *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionelle* for every one of these. To begin with, every activity in the building trades and engineering, including aero-engineering, is covered, and so is every aspect of electrical work. So are all the office activities undertaken mainly by girls and ranging from comptometer-operating to tourism. In addition there are for girls studies in all the arts of feminine adornment ranging from coiffure to corsetry. Other subjects, in the Paris region alone, include radio work, draughtsmanship, refrigeration, boot- and shoemaking, general leather work, wine and spirit work, stained-glass decoration, ceramics, animated drawing, and elementary biochemistry. In the textile regions of the north and of Lyons there are completely new sets of subjects which can be studied, and the ports, too, have their own series of qualifications.

Apprenticeship centres financed by the Ministry of Education now contain about 140,000 students, but the demand for places far exceeds the supply in most regions, and the demand from employers for the trained young people from the centres is also far from satisfied. Indeed, many large industrial concerns have now established their own apprenticeship centres and receive a subsidy from the state on condition that there is a minimum proportion of general education open to inspection by the Ministry of Education. There are about 70,000 students attending the private apprenticeship centres, thus making over 200,000 such students in all.

It will be apparent that this is in fact a development on the lines of the Langevin report, and in three important respects. Firstly it is providing these young people, whose education would otherwise have stopped at the age of 14 or 15, with 14 hours a week of specially planned *general* culture for three years. Secondly, through the technology of their crafts and related crafts it is giving them perspective and pride in their work, whilst it provides dignity to manual labour. Thirdly, when the majority of manual workers are in attendance this will in fact be the '*cycle de détermination*' which the Langevin report envisaged for those who would not continue ordinary school studies on either technical or pure lines as part of the secondary education already described.

No reference has yet been made to agricultural education. Both in connection with *centres d'apprentissage* and with *lycées* and *collèges*, developments have already taken place. But far more has

been done by the Educational Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, with its National Agronomic Institute and its long-famous National Schools of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Veterinary Science. Recent developments include the expansion of Regional Schools of Agriculture, of an intellectual standard comparable with the *lycées*, and, at a lower level, the five schools of the milk industry and the many specialised schools dealing with such groups as sheep, poultry, wine-making, willow-culture, and so on. Among post-war newcomers there is also the 'winter school of agriculture', which provides a four-months course during each of two consecutive winters. The boys are boarders at the school from Sunday night till Friday afternoon, but return home to help on the farm for the week-end. For girls the new development is the *école d'enseignement agricole ménager*, where young women from the age of 16 upwards may take a five-months or a nine-months course of preparation for becoming the wife of an agriculturist—with all that this connotes. In the three or four years that these schools have existed they have met with phenomenal success and only shortage of funds prevents their increase beyond the present total, which approaches a hundred.

The extension of all these various educational opportunities for adolescents of both sexes throughout France will have a profound effect upon the national life and economy. Nor can one ignore the converse effect upon education of the post-war provisions in social security. Not only are the children's allowances large enough to be of real significance in the family budget, but they are payable till the child reaches the age of 20 if full-time studies are continued. At *centres d'apprentissage* the midday meal which at first was free for all is now paid for on a scale adjusted to parental income. And the subsidy for the provision of meals has not kept pace with the prices of food. Indeed, throughout French education financial assistance to the student has neither fufilled the hopes of the reformers nor met the actual needs of the community.

This is made apparent by a study of the social origins of university students, of whom the proportion that come from families of workers in industry and agriculture is less than 7 per cent. Similarly, the fantastic proportion of the students who study law (nearly 30 per cent.) reflects, among other things, the unduly high proportion of children of *fonctionnaires* who enter universities. It is in the faculties of technology and the sciences, both natural and social, that France needs a greater output of graduates. But there is nothing, as yet, in most of the *lycées* and *collèges* to guide students according to either their natural abilities or the opportunities of work that lie ahead. For the primary school children, however, France has evolved a system of vocational guidance which by virtue of its thoroughness and its scientific bases must be among the most advanced in the world. In a few years all children leaving

primary school will have the opportunity (which, however, their parents need not accept) of vocational advice from very skilled counsellors working in conjunction with both doctor and school. When the needs of the children in primary schools have been met it is hoped to extend this service to secondary schools. It is already playing a great part in connection with technical education.

What of the training of teachers? In the primary field, future teachers must now obtain their *baccalauréat,* but most do this in their second year of training college, which they enter at the age of 16 or 17. This higher intellectual level of qualification reduces the academic gap between primary and secondary school teachers, though this new system has its obvious disadvantages and does not prevent the segregation of would-be teachers from the rest of the student community at too early an age. At the other end a beginning is being made with the professional training of graduate teachers. This does not apply to those who win the coveted *agrégation,* who by this distinction become *professeurs* with state security. But it applies to those who have obtained their *Licence*; these may now prepare for a special teachers' certificate. In adopting this course they teach under the guidance of selected experienced teachers who are given the title of *conseillers pédagogiques,* and they also attend some lectures on child psychology and so on. To obtain their certificate they must both show professional efficiency and pass an examination in pedagogical theory. This is a considerable advance towards British, American, and Scandinavian practice.

Two other developments concern the universities. The first is that selection for entry to the university is now governed by a further examination; the *baccalauréat* is no longer sufficient. After this the would-be student must engage in wider studies for one or two years and then submit himself for examination. By this means considerable numbers of young men and women are rejected. These 'propedeutic' studies correspond to some extent with the 'general studies' urged by the Algiers report. But whether this further study and this postponement of the age of admission to the university will in the end prove an advantage to the nation remains to be seen.

The other change is the introduction by the universities of a new doctorate which, unlike pre-existing doctorates, which required wide study, will encourage and reward the researcher in a narrow field. It will, in fact, play a part analogous to the D.Phil. of Germany, the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom, and is specially intended to assist scientific advance.

So the France of the second half of the twentieth century finds herself embarked on a number of new educational developments which should fortify the nation socially, economically, and politically.

But a new, though welcome, problem, raises its head at an inconvenient time—the problem of an expanding birth-rate. This is not, as in the U.S.A. and the U.K., a mere 'bulge' of the birth-rate: it is a continuing phenomenon brought about mainly by the post-war system of social security and family allowances. In the face of the expenditure of reconstruction and rearmament the state finds itself unable either to build schools fast enough or to prepare enough teachers. This is the moment of opportunity for the private schools. In France most of these schools are Roman Catholic schools, many of them staffed, at least in part, by serving orders of nuns and priests who do not accept salaries. Already 40 per cent. of the secondary school pupils of France attend private schools, and nearly 25 per cent. of the primary school pupils. Now is the time for them to demand financial assistance from the state: if these schools were to close, the state could not build others to educate the pupils. The challenge is too powerful: the state has given way and a small *per capita* payment is made for pupils in all schools. Where will this business end? Liberal opinion on this matter in France is deeply perturbed, and so is socialist and communist thought, and several governments have narrowly escaped falling on this issue. For nearly two centuries the Jesuits maintained a stranglehold on French education, a strait-jacket from which it has not yet recovered. The reforms of 1880 associated with the name of Jules Ferry were the first that really gave the ordinary citizen's children anything of an educational chance in life. This system was based on the conception of a national system of education which was free, obligatory, and *lay*. Thursday was set aside (and still is) from school attendance so that the church could provide religious instruction to all children whose parents desired this. But no national funds assisted this, and the schools themselves were free from church interference with what they might teach. the minds of both teachers and taught were free from any biased interpretation of history, of science, or any other subject. For a considerable proportion of Frenchmen this issue is a vital one. Can there be any compromise on this matter of state aid for confessional schools which does not gradually and insistently weaken the national system and undermine its freedom? Pessimists find plenty of evidence from other countries to indicate that any compromise is merely the paying of Danegeld, with exactly the same end as a foregone conclusion. They point out that even the generous compromise made in England in 1944 is persistently assailed as insufficiently generous, and that Holland can show that there is no end to this process.

Meanwhile other forces are also at work: far-reaching scientific discoveries, the surging passions of new nationalisms and of racial alignments, not only of colour but of creed. New international groupings are emerging, and perhaps new conceptions of inter-

national obligations. All these will have their impact on education and will play their part in determining whether the post-war reforms will fulfil their purpose, or whether they will be defeated by established tradition, or whether they will be negated by the upwelling of older and even deeper issues.

C. H. DOBINSON.

PART TWO

THE EDUCATIONAL CENTRE AT MONTGERON

THE Montgeron annexe of the *Lycée* Henri IV is situated ten miles from Paris in a position both sunny and airy, on the edge of the Brie plateau between the valley of the Seine and the valley of the Yerres. It stretches over more than seventy-five acres of woodland, cultivated fields, orchards, and vegetable gardens.

It was founded in 1946 as a secondary school for boys and girls from various parts of the south-eastern outskirts of Paris. It is also intended that it should take as boarders those pupils for which the crowded Parisian *lycées* have no room.

The pupils, who are between 11 and 18 years old, choose one of the following sections: (*a*) Classical (Latin-Greek; Latin-modern languages; Latin-science); (*b*) Modern (science-modern languages; biological and experimental science with one modern language; human and economic sciences); (*c*) Technical.

All the sections known as theoretical prepare for the General Certificate of Education (*baccalauréat*). In the very near future technical sections of a vocational type, to train pupils for industry and commerce, will be opened. This will make possible methodical observation of the pupils in the school itself over a long period and enable vocational guidance to be given. In the more distant future it is hoped to open an agricultural section. The establishment will then have assumed its final form. It will meet the educational needs of a far larger proportion of young people than did former secondary schools, taking more into account, while still remaining a cultural force, the different aptitudes and temperaments of the pupils and, for this reason, offering a choice from among the many subjects taught to-day.

Three hundred and eighty-five of the 540 pupils have dinner at school. The whole of this meal is provided by the town's children's meal service. In this way most of the pupils are in the school from eight-thirty in the morning until five in the evening.

A high percentage of the fathers of the children (45 per cent.) are in various branches of the civil service, 25 per cent. work for the railways, 20 per cent. are employed by banks or business firms,

a few members of the liberal professions and engineers are to be found in the remaining 10 per cent. Only about one mother in three goes out to work. The social position of the pupil rarely affects him in his work. Nearly all the families are prepared to co-operate where the children's education is concerned.

There are no school fees, but travelling expenses and the buying of books and paper cause a certain amount of financial difficulty to some families. One child in six holds a scholarship. Two special buses provide about a hundred pupils, who live a long way from the school, with a door-to-door service; another hundred walk; yet another hundred travel by rail, while the others cycle.

The rather high number of staff is explained by the greater variety of types of work done. There are seventy-nine people in all, of whom forty-six are teachers, both men and women. Most of these teachers joined the staff of their own free will and with full understanding of what they were doing, urged by the wish to be associated with the experiment.

The aim of this article is to describe some aspects of the life led in this school. They are chosen to illustrate the progress of an official public experiment.

The first feature worthy of mention is the wide use of the experiment known as the *classes nouvelles*: in 1951–2 there were fourteen such classes. All the pupils in the lower school, aged from 11 to 15 (sixth, fifth, fourth, third forms) in the *Lycée* of Montgeron are in these classes. Here are some of their characteristic features. (*Note.*—It must not be forgotten that in France in a grammar school the sixth form corresponds to an English first form.)

The number of pupils is limited to twenty-five in each class.

Several times a month the teachers have meetings so that they may co-ordinate their efforts in the interests of the child. These meetings are spent in compiling an account of what teachers have done, in discussing their plans, in contributing to the drawing up of each child's dossier, in making educational studies on themes proposed by the Ministry of Education.

In the main subjects, in addition to the class lessons there are periods of work, for which the form is divided into two. These periods allow the teacher to guide the child and to teach him how to work on his own. The child stays at school longer but has less work to do at home.

The organisation of these classes has been inspired by the following ideas:

(1) To learn, the pupil must do something, not merely listen and repeat.

(2) Unity of action of all those concerned with the education of the child, both the different teachers and the parents, is necessary for intellectual and moral training.

(3) Profound unity between the different elements of education is an essential condition for culture.

As often as possible the teachers appeal to the activity of children's minds, to their curiosity, to their free will; they try to make their teaching an individual thing; in other words, they try to adapt it as far as they can to the aptitudes and character of each child and to make it overcome each difficulty as it is met.

In complete freedom, and without necessarily abandoning systematic exercises as such, the teacher makes use of the different modern teaching methods—free work, individual work, team work, inquiries, monographs, dramatisation, concrete illustrations, rediscovery, separate pieces of paper on which information is given, etc. Memory, and devices which may aid it, are not forgotten. Gradually the child is led on to personal effort and abstract ideas.

The pupils go into the surrounding countryside for local studies, and this makes their education less superficial, for it connects with the actual life of the region. As there are few children in each class discipline can be fair and natural, based on trust and a feeling of responsibility in an atmosphere of solidarity.

A fairly important place is given to drawing, music, and handicrafts, for these are essential parts of a well-balanced training. Children who are successful in these subjects can turn their attention to technical or artistic studies.

A distinction must be made between the sixth and fifth classes and the fourth and third. The sixth and fifth classes, on the one hand, cover the transition period between primary and secondary education and, on the other, are classes where the children are observed.

The child is often worried when he comes into the sixth class by the large number of teachers, by the variety of new subjects which he begins to learn, and by the many places to which he has to go for lessons. In the 'new' sixth class the number of teachers of intellectual subjects is reduced to three, namely one for each of the following: literature, a modern language, science. Periods when their work is directed, or the lessons they have for which they are divided into two groups—French, the modern language, mathematics, Latin, practical subjects, and musical training—make it possible for the efforts of each child to be followed more closely.

A final choice of subjects is made when the pupil enters the second form, but before this in the 'new' fourth and fifth some choice can be made. Whilst all the pupils attend certain classes in the fundamental subjects, they have a choice of one or two subjects.

The subjects which all have to learn are as follows: French, civics, a first modern language, history and geography, mathematics, science based on observation, practical subjects, musical training, manual subjects, local studies, physical education.

They can choose two of the following subjects: Latin, Greek, a

second modern language, science, industrial technology, economic technology, drawing.

As a result of five years' experience of these *classes nouvelles*, certain observations of a general nature can be made.

(i) General feeling and atmosphere are very favourable. The child feels affection for his form.

(ii) Contact with pupils is more direct, more human, and more personal. The children are much better known.

(iii) The general level. Many pupils who would have been sacrificed have been saved by the *classes nouvelles*. The average standard of each form has been, with rare exceptions, high. Classes are more homogeneous.

(iv) In general, verbal expression has improved.

(v) Discipline has become more liberal, but self-discipline has not been a great success.

(vi) Knowledge which has been acquired through activity or which has been made a centre of interest is remembered for a longer time. It has, however, sometimes been believed that memorisation and automatic work could be neglected.

From this point of view co-ordination from one year to the next has been insufficient except when the teacher has gone up with the form. This is generally done for two years, especially in the sixth and fifth forms.

(vii) Contact is made with the outside world. Local studies are found extraordinarily interesting, especially in the sixth and fifth, children find themselves transported into the life of the day, they come to realise its complexity and richness; but plans for a course to cover four years must be made.

(viii) Enthusiasm for research, documentation, inquiries, certain projects spread over a wide and detailed field, but the child feels little disposed to gain knowledge from books.

(ix) There are risks of a certain weakening because of this very richness of interests.

(x) The question of whether masters should teach several subjects is gradually becoming clearer; it is still found difficult, but its advantages are recognised; longer and more varied contact with pupils makes co-ordination easier.

The same desire to work out a culture better adapted to our times explains the opening of three new sections in the senior school for pupils between the ages of 15 and 18.

A mathematics-technics section which leads on from the fourth and third classes with optional science or elements of industrial technics; it prepares pupils for a general school certificate (*baccalauréat*) in technical subjects, and for those who do well it will be easier to enter the engineering schools of the universities.

An experimental science section (called M[I], which stands for 'modern'). This prepares pupils—after passing the General School

Certificate in experimental science subjects—for the careers of doctors, chemists, veterinary surgeons, agricultural engineers, research workers in biological laboratories, etc.

A human and economic science section (called M^{II}). The syllabus includes, in addition to the compulsory studies of economics, social history, and human geography, the more technical study of productivity, an initiation into the organisation of the modern economic world, and, if they so desire, they may learn shorthand and typing. This course normally leads on to the schools of political science, advanced commercial studies, and generally to juridical, economic, and social studies at an advanced level.

It will be noted that these are theoretical studies, which are in no way vocational or practical. The feeling that general culture should evolve from studies disinterested, rather than immediately useful, is identical with that idea found in all sections of the earlier type of French schools.

Before concluding, the reason why this article has not been given the title of 'An *Experimental* Centre' must be made clear. Montgeron is rather a school where new ideas are tried out than a real experimental centre.

The plan of work is imposed from above, and however liberal the instructions given may be, they limit the teaching activities of the staff to a certain degree; and syllabuses are sometimes too full and overburdened, too ambitious; time-tables are heavy (overwhelmingly so in certain sections), and to these is added work to be done at home; instructions to the teachers are sometimes given down to their last detail.

The fact that examinations are prepared for weakens the cultural value of the work and acts as a brake to the initiative and the imagination of teachers and detracts from their ability to turn to the work with renewed vigour and vitality.

The administrative system of the establishment does not yet meet its needs. Yet if a balance-sheet were drawn up for the last five years, there would be more to record on the credit side; a team of teachers is making in all sincerity an educational experiment in an open-air school building where the life is as free and supple as it could possibly be. The pupils seem to be happy to be associated with it, and develop in an educational atmosphere which has so far remained like that of a family. It appears that the general development of the school will make it possible to give continuous vocational guidance on the spot. For this reason Montgeron can serve as a centre of practice for the training of teachers, an all-important problem in the French educational system.

A. WEILER.

*

CHAPTER TWO

GERMANY

In all countries, everything which has to do with education and teaching forms part of public life. It follows that the underlying forces are determined by political currents and opinions in the state which supports the whole complex of educational activities. Even if it were one of the accepted principles that the state should remain neutral with regard to the schools, this neutrality itself would, nevertheless, be a political attitude founded on a particular political ideology. Of still greater importance is the fact that the German states, besides largely supporting the schools financially, are also the competent administrative authorities over the entire field of education. Consequently, in German educational institutions a field completely free of state influence does not exist.

We have to start, therefore, by clarifying the mutual relations between state and school. By limiting oneself to purely educational theories and ideas one cannot hope to get insight into the actual situation; indeed, by so doing, one could not explain why there exists a variety of different educational aims and institutions, and why varying moral concepts as to the aims and essence of education are accepted or repudiated with a fervour which can hardly be explained by concern for children and pupils.

In a word, we can get a clear picture of German education only by recalling the basic political conditions. However, it is not likely to simplify matters very much, for it is precisely owing to these political conditions that there exists such incalculable complexity and divergence in programmes and institutions. To point out only the two principal facts, the educational importance of which is obvious: (i) the partition of Germany into four zones of occupation; (ii) the establishment of two separate German states, of which one covers the area of the British, American, and French zones of occupation, and the other is identical with the Soviet Russian zone of occupation.

Both these political facts are closely linked, even now, since the establishment of the " German Federal Republic " (West Germany) and the "German People's Republic " (East Germany) in 1949 did not entail the abolition of occupation or of zonal partition. On the whole the establishment of these states did not involve any radical change, but signified rather a gradual shift of political initiative, responsibility, and executive authority. Important rights were restored to the German authorities, but the occupation powers reserved

for themselves, though in modified form, the privilege of supervising and accepting decisions on issues of importance. This holds good also for questions touching schools and education. In this field it is the main concern of the occupation authorities to make German educationists familiar with the institutions of their own countries and, by so doing, to provide a stimulus and new ideas for the reconstruction of schools and institutions in Germany.

I. Relation between the State and the Schools

It is intended here to show the mutual relation between the state and education by discussing the connection between the state and the schools as fixed by laws and statutes, whereas the term 'education' is somewhat vague. It is necessary in order to avoid the erroneous implication that 'education' and 'school' are synonymous terms. It can, however, safely be said that, of all the various forms of education sponsored and sustained by the state, the school is in extent and importance its most essential part.

In this paper the term 'school' includes all educational institutions maintained by the state and subject to the principle of compulsory school attendance. Universities, institutions for adult education in evening classes and *Volkshochschulen,* and the training colleges for teachers are excluded; the reason being that the German college system rests on an entirely different historical and administrative basis and its special problems cannot be summarised under the term 'general school matters'. The institutions and problems of teacher training will not be discussed here, as reconstruction in this field is still at a very early stage in most parts of Germany and a fundamental clearing-up of the situation can hardly be expected before another two or three years have elapsed.

The "German Federal Republic" was constituted by the "Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany" of May 23rd, 1949, after this constitution had been recognised by the British, American, and French occupation powers in a 'Letter of Approval from the Military Governors' of May 12th, 1949. Through the same 'Letter of Approval' the Occupation Statute of April 10th, 1949, was also rendered effective, which reserves the right of supervising all the main issues of state politics for the occupation powers.[1] This has a bearing also on the subject under consideration here, as the Occupation Statute under Article 2, section (f), explicitly makes

[1] The second paragraph runs as follows:

"In approving this constitution for submission to the German people for ratification in accordance with the provisions of Article 144 (Section 1) we believe that you will understand that there are several reservations which we must make. In the first place, the powers vested in the Federation by the Basic Law, as well as the powers exercised by *Länder* and local governments, are subject to the provisions of the Occupation Statute which we have already transmitted to you and which is promulgated as of this date."

the reservation of being the competent authority to ensure respect for the Basic Law as well as for the constitutions of the *Länder*; and it is in these constitutions that the relation between the state and the school is formulated. The revision of the Occupation Statute promulgated on March 7th, 1951, brought no alteration here: it relates mainly to problems in foreign policy and economics.

The "German Democratic Republic" (East Germany) was established through the "Constitution of the German Democratic Republic" of October 7th, 1949. The sovereignty of this new state was recognised immediately afterwards by the "Soviet Military Administration of Germany", who acted also on behalf of the Soviet Government. Despite this recognition the influence of the occupation power continues to exist, chiefly because the State President, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Education are members of the "Socialist Unity Party of Germany" (SED). This party, in its turn, declares itself to be an adherent of the ideological principles of Soviet Union policy; and the cultural policy adopted by it falls in line with the aims of Marxism, in particular with those of Leninism-Stalinism.

It stands to reason that the educational situation as a whole in Germany is determined in every detail by the formation of two separate states which are entirely different in character. As it is our intention here to draw attention to facts, we can leave aside as irrelevant that each of the German republics refuses to acknowledge the other and proclaims itself the one and only state for all Germans.[2]

The West German state consists of the *Länder* of: (i) the British zone—Hamburg, Lower Saxony, North-Rhine-Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein; (ii) the American zone—Bavaria, Bremen, Hesse, Wurtemberg-Baden; (iii) the French zone—Rheinland-Pfalz, Baden, Wurtemberg-Hohenzollern.

Legislative and executive power in matters of school policy rests with these *Länder*, i.e. each *Land* has an educational administrative body of its own (Ministry of Education, school authorities), headed in each case by a Minister of Education (called 'Senator' in Hamburg and Bremen). There exists, however, no central Ministry for Cultural Affairs within the government of the Federal Republic, nor is there any kind of authority (e.g. as a branch of some other ministry), which with regard to cultural or educational affairs could exert some power superior to those of the *Länder*. There is only

[2] Whereas the constitution of West Germany, listing specifically those *Länder* contained in the Federal Republic, calls upon the whole of the German people to accomplish Germany's unity and freedom according to the rule of self-determination, the East German constitution refrains from listing the *Länder* at present within its jurisdiction, claiming that this constitution is in fact the creation of the German people. Pursuant to this, Article 1 runs as follows: "Germany is an indivisible democratic republic, the structure of which is based upon the German *Länder*."

the institution of the "Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education", which is, however, without a constitutional basis. With a view to useful administrative work regular sessions of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs have been found desirable, where current problems of joint interest could be discussed. But their resolutions have at best the character of an agreement without any legal force. The latter can be achieved only through corresponding Acts passed by the individual *Länder*, parliaments, or governments. Now, it is fairly obvious that this council of ministers is naturally opposed to any suggestion made by Federal authorities with a view to centralisation. Also, more often than not, it rejects provisions merely designed to co-ordinate by pointing to the independence of the various *Länder* in all cultural and educational issues.[3] The federal structure of the West German republic manifests itself in all clarity in school policy. Nevertheless, several very important points bearing on the general relationship between state and school have been dealt with in Article 7 of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic, the reason being that these points have always been the centre of interest in the course and development of German educational ideas and in school policy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They do not touch merely on questions of outward organisation, but are an expression of the moral and political impulses at work in education. Article 7, dealing with these important issues, runs as follows:

(1) All schools are under the supervision of the state

(2) Persons responsible for the education of their children have the right to decide whether a child is to take part in religious instruction

(3) In the public schools, with the exception of non-denominational schools, religious instruction is part of the normal syllabus. Within the framework of state supervision religious instruction shall be given in conformity with the principles of the respective denominations. No teacher shall be obliged, against his will, to give religious instruction

(4) The right to establish private schools is guaranteed. Private schools as substitutes for state schools can be established only if licensed by the state, they are subject to the laws of the *Land*. A licence shall be granted provided the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their educational programmes and facilities or in the academic training of their teachers, and provided their existence shall not encourage a differentiation of the pupils, the wealth of the

[3] An excerpt from the resolution passed by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education of the German Federal Republic on October 18th, 1949, runs as follows:

"1. The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education wishes to state the fact that the Basic Law recognises and respects as constitutional the sovereignty in cultural affairs of all *Länder* within the Federal Republic of Germany.

"5. Therefore the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education will use its influence to secure the sovereignty of the *Länder* in cultural affairs against organs and authorities of the Federal Government; it will watch over the cultural work of the *Länder* not being curtailed in any way."

parents being made the criterion of such differentiation. A licence must be refused if the economic and legal position of the teachers is not sufficiently guaranteed.

(5) A private primary school shall be licensed only when the competent educational authority shall consider it to be of special pedagogic interest, or provided the persons responsible for the education of their children shall apply for the establishment of an inter-denominational school, a denominational school, or a non-denominational school, there being no public elementary school of the kind in the community

(6) The abrogation of preparatory primary schools shall remain in force [4]

The school policy pursued by the individual *Länder* is governed by these rules and regulations. In practice, however, they need interpretation, and so the various education authorities, reflecting the party composition of their respective parliaments and complying with the directions of the competent occupation power, have to some degree embarked on different kinds of school policy.

The most important aspect of Article 7 is the establishment of a so-called "school monopoly of the state" (*staatliches Schulmonopol*), referring to the state as the competent financial authority for the maintenance of schools and for their supervision, and they are thus called 'public schools' (*öffentliche Schulen*). But apart from these state institutions there is enough space left for the establishment of voluntary schools which, however, are subject to several restrictions underlining even more the fundamental supremacy of the state. Moreover a voluntary school which claims to be an equivalent substitute for a public school needs permission from the state for its establishment, which is granted only after certain requirements demanded by the Basic Law are fully met. The model for establishment and management is obviously the public school itself. The reasons for its continuance may be taken from section 5. In many cases, the decisive factors for the admission of a voluntary school will be the state obligation to guarantee religious instruction or—in case of special *Länder* laws relating thereto—denominational schools, on the understanding that the state itself is unable to provide religious instruction or an appropriate denominational school. Apart from these reasons, the state will also take into account educational research work of special interest, thereby testifying its belief that the voluntary school may be the appropriate institution to test new methods in education which may be much thought of by the education authorities, even if for various reasons they cannot afford to place their own schools at the disposal of educational experimenters.

The second problem in Article 7 refers to religious instruction in schools. The provisions in the school laws offered as a solution to a problem which has always given rise to serious controversies in

[4] This terminology refers only to schools devised to prepare pupils for intermediate and secondary schools.

German educational history and, indeed, in home policy as a whole, consist in the explicit recognition of parental rights, i.e. the parents are looked upon as a partner of the state and are granted the right to decide upon their children's participation in religious instruction.

By admitting the exception of non-denominational schools there is no breach of the state guarantee to provide facilities for religious instruction, since non-denominational schools can be established only by consent of the parents, and nobody desiring his child to receive religious instruction can be forced to send his child into any such school.

Thus the school legislation of the *Länder* is restricted by the regulations of Article 7 of the Basic Law. As has been said before, there remains, however, much room for deciding the individual case, as can clearly be seen from the fact that, in section 5, schools open to both denominations (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*) are mentioned side by side with institutions connected with one denomination only (*Bekenntnisschulen*) and with those without any ties to a particular denomination (*Weltanschauungsschulen*). No attempt is made to state which of these schools is supposed to be the normal type of school in the educational system. And indeed the individual *Lander* have found very divergent solutions to the problem. But the decisions made in the various *Lander* differ even more on issues not touched upon by the Basic Law. Thus, the constitutions of the *Länder* established by decree after 1945 contain a number of articles with regard to schools and education in general which not only lay down the legal basis for the schools but also outline the aims of school instruction.

Owing to the complete dissimilarity of its structure, conditions in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) differ widely from those described. The German Democratic Republic consists of the *Länder* of the Soviet zone of occupation: Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Anhalt-Saxony, Thuringia, plus the Soviet sector of Berlin, although, as has been said before, reference hereto has not been made to the constitution. The structure of the state as a whole is a centralising one. The constitutions of the *Länder* which came into existence in 1946–7 are identical in all essential points. The state is entitled to impose laws on the *Länder* governments. Thus Article 111 rules:

> The republic is entitled to frame uniform laws for all sectors. Legislation should, however, be restricted to the establishment of basic laws, provided that the desire for a uniform regulation is adequately met thereby. When the republic waives its right of legislation, this privilege passes to the *Länder*

Naturally this holds good also in the field of school affairs: contrary to the West German Federal Republic, the government of the German Democratic Republic comprises a Ministry of Education

(*Ministerium für Volksbildung*). The relation of this central authority to the educational authorities of the *Länder* is based on Article 36 of the constitution:

> It shall be the concern of the *Länder* to provide for public school service and to secure the execution of school instruction. With a view hereto the Republic shall enact uniform basic regulations with legal force. The Republic is entitled to establish public educational institutions on its own accord
>
> The Republic shall lay down uniform directions for the training of teachers. The teachers will receive their training at universities or other equivalent academies.

This makes it plain that the Ministry of the Republic determines the construction of the school service in every decisive detail, and sees to it that there is uniformity. As proof for this uniformity one might mention the fact that, as early as 1946, i.e. before the foundation of the East German Republic, the "Provisions as to the Democratisation of the German School" (meant to provide "the basis for a joint bill before the legislature") were passed and published by the various *Länder* and provincial authorities then in office in the Soviet zone of occupation. The texts were almost identical. The instigator of this uniform resolution was the "German Board of Education" (*Deutsche Verwaltung für Volksbildung*), which subsequently in accordance with the "Provisions as to the Transfer of Administration" (*Gesetz zur Überleitung der Verwaltung*) of October 10th, 1948, developed into the Ministry of Education, headed since its inauguration by the Minister Paul Wandel, a member of the Socialist Unity Party (SED).

Thus, in order to judge the relation between state and school, one will have to consider not only the articles contained in the constitution of the East German Republic but also the laws enacted by this Ministry. As a matter of course the legislation of the *Länder* is of subordinate importance since, unlike things in the West German Federal Republic, no space is left to them for any important decisions. What remains for them, is to secure the execution of the central provisions in a way adapted to local conditions.

The constitution (Articles 34–40) deals with questions similar to those contained in Article 7 of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic. A comparison, however, reveals important modifications and even contrasts: the school monopoly is manipulated in a much stricter and more comprehensive way; the state is the one and only competent maintaining power of the entire school service; and, contrary to the settlement of the problem found in West Germany, private schools are not allowed as a substitute for public schools. In Article 38 (of the East German constitution), it says: "Private schools as a substitute for public schools are prohibited."

The second problem characteristic for the relation between the

state and school, namely religious instruction, is solved in Article 40 as follows: " Religious instruction is a concern of the religious communities. The execution of this right is guaranteed."

By this decree the state excludes religious instruction from its range of competence. It guarantees only that the instruction may be given in the premises of the school for those children whose parents request it (Article 44).

The centralised structure of the state, as well as the school monopoly unrestricted by the admission of private schools or by religious instruction through teachers of the public schools, are both apt to simplify the relation between state and school. The problem of limiting the state competence, a question which in other countries has always been the main issue of school policy in former times and still is, does not arise here any more: the institution of the state school has rendered the discussion on the relation between the state and the school unnecessary. The state, with all its plans and ideological aims, manifests itself in the entire educational system.

It is just this close connection between the state and the school, existing similarly, although with a great difference in degree, in both West and East Germany, which accounts for the by no means self-evident fact, that the constitutions contain very detailed provisions as to all educational matters. This peculiarity becomes even more striking in comparison with English school legislation. Thus the comprehensive Education Act of 1944 does not dwell on the subjects and aims of school instruction at all, and refrains from postulating any educational, ethical, or political ideals.

It follows from all this that the handling of the problem concerning the private school is a particularly instructive and unmistakable example for the style and attitude adopted in any school policy. As has been shown above, this problem exists only in the West German Federal Republic. The constitution of the East German Republic, it is true (Article 38), mentions private schools, but only to prohibit them if they are intended to replace public schools. Thereby one might be led to assume that the state is not interested in any other sort of private school, e.g. in private technical schools (private *Fachschulen*) and therefore might tolerate them. But an ordinance of the Soviet Military Administration of August 25th, 1945, declares in section 1 (c) that all private schools are to be transformed into either *Länder* schools or provincial, *Kreis*, county or municipal schools ranging under the competence of the regional or municipal authorities. Furthermore, the establishment of all private schools providing either general education or technical training is prohibited. Private schools, however, which are concerned with neither one thing nor the other cannot be of any noteworthy importance. So, despite its reserved phrasing, Article 38 of the East German constitution in effect

abolishes any private school. This is in accordance with the facts that the private school is not mentioned at all in the articles of the *Länder* institutions bearing on school matters, and neither the lectures given at educational congresses nor the declarations issued by the Ministry of Education concern themselves in any way with private schools, not even for polemical purposes. The private school is considered dead and forgotten, and can be ignored in the dispute about present-day issues in education.

Looking at the whole question from the ideological point of view adopted by the East German Republic, the abolition of the private school is a matter of course. In East Germany the state alone is the authority in all affairs of public interest. "Affairs of public interest", however, imply undeniably the whole complex of education and schools. As a logical consequence of this basic conviction there are two sentences in the "Provisions as to the Democratisation of the German School" of 1946 which proclaim the unrestricted school monopoly in unmistakable terms: "School education of youth is exclusively a concern of the state" (article 2, §1, first sentence) and: "The democratic Unified School (*Einheitsschule*) comprises the entire school education from nursery school up to college; its structure is determined by the tasks resulting from social requirements" (article 3, §1, first sentence).

The consequences resulting from Article 7, section 4, of the West German Basic Law are quite different: "The right to establish private schools is guaranteed", although this basic rule is somewhat restricted by the principle of state monopoly in public school affairs. It is obvious that a certain tension is bound to arise between the power of the state and the private sphere. This is nothing unusual, however, since such tension is one of the symptoms and basic phenomena of parliamentary democracy with a federal structure.

As mentioned earlier, only those private schools are subject to a state licence which appear as substitutes (*Ersatzschulen*) for public schools. So the path to be chosen by the *Länder* in their school legislation is determined by the above provisions of the Basic Law, for these provisions are no mere recommendations or directions but constitute a valid law binding the school policy of the individual territories. This is confirmed by the various school provisions decreed hitherto, as well as by the drafts submitted up to date for a possible future private school Act. There is also unanimity as to the reasons for continuance of the private schools and as to their purposes. Democratic freedom, the variety of educational methods, and the right of the parents are quoted to motivate the claim for an acknowledgment of the private school and its existence side by side with the public school. One of the main points of the argument is, that it is the private school which gives a chance to new and interesting educational principles,

whereas in the state school the stress should be more on the application and co-ordination of unanimously approved methods.

Still another motive of equal importance, dealt with also in Article 7 of the Basic Law, is the consideration of an education built up on the principles of religious denominations and on certain ideologies. In this connection the Hesse draft for a private school Act quotes among others the *Ordensschulen,* the schools of the Herrnhut community, the schools run by the *Diakonissen* (a nursing order), the Jesuit grammar schools, the Benedictine grammar schools, the schools of the Anthroposophists (especially the Waldorf-schools); furthermore, those voluntary schools which sprung up during the twentieth century and already enjoy an international reputation: the "Free school community Wickersdorf" (*Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf*), the Hermann-Lietz-schools, and the Odenwald-school. Apart from these, there exist a great number of voluntary vocational schools and schools for technical training. Finally, it is pointed out in the above-mentioned draft that the voluntary schools had always played an important and highly efficient part within the German educational system up to 1935, when they were suppressed by the Nazis. A special note of appreciation is made of the voluntary secondary schools for girls which flourished in former times.

The state control derived from the principle of school monopoly should—still according to the Hesse draft—concern itself in watching over two things: that the standard of learning in voluntary schools does not compare unfavourably with that of public schools, and further, that voluntary schools do not distinguish themselves socially in any way from public schools, which might happen if they developed into an institution open only to children of a small well-to-do section of the population. Only those voluntary schools which are equivalent to public schools and open to children of all sections of the population should be granted the state's permission to operate. These regulations would have an important bearing on the relationship between the state and the school: viz. the state would then maintain its school monopoly by reserving the right to admit and supervise schools, whilst on the other hand it would limit its own initiative and renounce part of its claim to be the only competent authority in school affairs in favour of voluntary institutions, with a view to securing the evolution of new educational methods and guaranteeing the cultivation of certain religious and ideological principles wherever this cannot be expected by a state school for reasons of organisation, etc. A school policy such as described here is an example of the intention in Western Germany to guarantee a private sphere in personal life as well as in the educational field by restricting itself and judiciously renouncing the claim to omnipotence. What guides all these considerations is above all the belief that democracy can be made to flourish only

through the interaction of both private and state initiative, and further, that both these spheres radiate forces equally valuable to the community.

II. The Structure of the Educational System, its Political and Educational Impulses and Aims

The Situation in the Aftermath of War

The collapse of the National Socialist regime and the immediate consequences of World War II caused a radical change in German public life. A complete reconstruction of the school system was necessary. The physical destruction and the losses among teachers and educationists gave rise to a twofold problem: on the one hand all institutions still functioning had to be preserved and the contact with the old and tested traditions of German educational life had to be renewed; on the other hand new forms and means had to be found in order to educate and train the people facing, as they were, situations and tasks hitherto unknown to them.

Both tendencies, the conservative and traditional as well as the progressive one, are clearly discernible and effective in German school policy. The progressive tendencies, however, rank first in all present-day educational programmes, i.e. it is not simply a matter of choice whether one should proceed in a conservative or in a progressive way; the problem is much more complicated· should the old and traditional, which stood its test many times, be used in the reconstruction of the school, or should a radical new start be made, leaving aside any tradition in the belief that all traditions constitute only a burden and are a drawback to progress? It goes without saying that even the most radically progressive educational policy will have to preserve a certain continuity, simply because the nature of the educational values and institutions already in existence force it to do so, and also, because the handing on of cultural values is one of the main concerns of education. Yet the school policies adopted by the two countries differ widely. in West Germany conservative and progressive tendencies are at strife with each other, causing creative tensions in the field of cultural policy and alternately spurring each other to search for constructive solutions. In East Germany, however, the principle of progress rules alone, keeping traditional values only in those cases where they can be merged into the new political and educational aims of the state school.

But before one could embark at all on a new school policy it was first necessary to set the schools working again. As the entire executive of the country had passed into the hands of the occupation powers, this problem could be tackled only by the educational departments of the four Military Governments, which were helped by Germans appointed for the purpose. Reference is made here to reports on this phase, written by members of the occupation staffs thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and published in THE YEAR

BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1948. These first and most urgent problems were also the most difficult. Here it was not the question of internal educational matters which could be decided one way or another—bare needs had to be met. As any future planning in school affairs depended on how these problems were solved, one may be allowed to quote a few of them here: rooms and teaching material had to be found amidst the destruction of the towns, teachers had to be found with a clean political record and the ability to teach, compulsory school attendance had to be maintained in the face of a badly shaken public order.

The first problem could be solved only inadequately and with great difficulty, and this has remained so up to the present day. Especially in big towns, where the extent of the destruction is greatest, the remaining buildings are being used for a number of purposes in connection with the occupation and with the resettlement (*Umsiedlung*) of the German population. Lessons take place in two or even three daily shifts in order to secure the greatest possible use of the few rooms available. The number of pupils in one form is extraordinarily high—often it amounts to sixty, whereas from an educational point of view the maximum allowable is considered to be forty. The same problem arises in smaller rural communities, although there is no destruction, because they have had to cope with a great influx of refugees and displaced persons with their families who, all in all, now often equal the local inhabitants in number and sometimes even exceed them. As the school premises of those smaller country places were built to meet only the requirements of the original number of inhabitants, it follows that, here too, the classes can be held only under circumstances similar to those in the big towns. It is only very gradually that the situation is being eased by building new schools or placing other premises at the disposal of the school authorities; nevertheless the problem of classes with too many pupils is still very acute. Naturally this is a severe drawback for any planning which aims at invigorating, intensifying, and improving tuition.

In this connection still another factor restricts the success of any educational work—the difficult economical situation and the sometimes abominable housing conditions in which many families with children of school age have to live. Considering the problem as a whole a certain relaxation of the situation makes itself apparent, but nevertheless innumerable cases remain where the circumstances continue with undiminished severity.

The second and third problems could be solved more easily. The shortage of teachers was very acute, but only in the elementary schools. The short training courses for teachers, only thought of as a transitional emergency measure, have been gradually replaced by the usual and regular training. The third problem, i.e. the maintenance of a regular school attendance, could

be solved almost without any trouble. This is indeed a tribute to the moral powers which remained active in educational work despite all disruption and shock. The population showed no signs of inclination to use the hardships of life in the aftermath of war as an excuse for diverting their children from regular school attendance. On the contrary, they themselves wholeheartedly desired regular schooling and supported the state and its endeavours by private aid and initiative.

In this connection also the conception of a complete collapse of the administrative order will have to be corrected: despite the dissolution and complete defeat of the political regime which brought the war to a close, order in public administration and civil service on the lower and middle levels remained. The occupation authorities found this very soon and made use of these (mostly municipal) authorities, at the same time supporting them in their functions. These municipal authorities had always felt themselves responsible for the enforcement of regular school attendance, so now they succeeded comparatively easily in tracing those few cases where regular school attendance was not observed.

This short review of the situation in the aftermath of war shows that there exists a sufficient reserve of moral and political forces to attempt a gradual reconstruction with some hope of success. But it also reveals many difficulties which cannot be removed on the spot nor by new regulations for schools only, as their cause more often than not lies outside the educational sphere.

Political Directions and Aims

The political catastrophe in Germany made it necessary to find new forms in political life. The hope of a uniform solution, cherished at first by Germans and Allies alike, could not be fulfilled. West Germany and East Germany have chosen different methods for the reorganisation of their countries. These methods do not affect the political sphere only, but have a bearing on all sectors of everyday life, including education. But, fortunately, in the sector of education three ideas give a new political impulse to the reconstruction of the school:

(i) Among other reasons, the education of the past is to blame for the political catastrophe as, on the one hand, it cultivated those ill-chosen political convictions responsible for our decline, and, on the other, it failed to implant genuine political interests, so that the people became a prey to seekers after power.

(ii) Education is a factor in the reorganisation of political life, which cannot be dispensed with.

(iii) The political authorities therefore deem themselves authorised and obliged to set tasks and targets for the school and its educational endeavours.

As has been mentioned, political initiative has rested entirely with

the occupation authorities. Their directives were subsequently supplemented by measures and recommendations of the Military Governments of the individual zones, by provisions contained in the constitutions of the various *Länder*, and finally by single school laws (so far as such have been enacted until now).

Most important of all is Directive No. 54, issued by the Allied Control Council under the headline "Basic Principles for the Democratisation of Education in Germany" on June 25th, 1947. The constitutional problem whether this directive (which was not repealed by the Control Council) is still in force, or whether it was superseded by the Occupation Statute, is irrelevant in this connection, as this report concerns itself with the facts of Allied influence on educational affairs. The directive was issued through the initiative of the American Military Government. It contains the following sentences:

> (i) There should be equal educational opportunity for all. (Sentence 1 of Directive No. 54)
> (ii) All schools should lay emphasis upon education for civic responsibility and a democratic way of life, by means of the contents of the curriculum, textbooks and materials of instruction, and by the organisation of the school itself (Sentence 5)
> (iii) Full provision should be made for effective participation of the people in the reform and organisation as well as in the administration of the educational system (Sentence 10)

For a correct interpretation of these sentences it is advisable to refer to the report of the American Education Commission of September 20th, 1946, as the directives under consideration here are based upon this report. It is then easily seen that, although these instructions are, without doubt, intentionally clad in positive phrasing, they contain at the same time a good deal of criticism of the education of the past. The very fact of these distinct and detailed instructions reveals that former methods of education are considered unsatisfactory in some respects. If one follows the arguments of the report previously mentioned by the American Education Commission, the twofold aspect of the American endeavours as to 're-education' can be traced on an even more comprehensive basis. The first and foremost concern seems to be less the consolidation of democracy in Germany than the abolition once and for all of the antidemocratic forces, which may still endanger the policy of all other countries. "The obligation to re-educate the people was not considered primarily an obligation towards the German people but first and foremost towards the world" (pages 12–13). This conception is important, because it shows the degree to which Germany and its educational situation are part of the magnetic field of world politics; moreover, it becomes obvious that all details in school policy, however internal they may appear, will have to be considered in this world-wide relation.

Thus, if we consider the three directives quoted above against this political background, they mean the following: The democratic principle manifests itself in the organisation of the school through offering equal educational opportunity to all children without regard to their social position. Any narrowing of this equal chance, by exclusion on the one side or privilege on the other, runs counter to the democratic principle and would—if it existed—have to be stopped. The education provided in the schools has to implant and cultivate the idea of democracy in children when young, so that they may be familiar with it and live up to it one day. So it is not a question of teaching facts about democracy and its administration, but of showing that democracy means a universal way of life, into which children are then gradually and imperceptibly introduced. The school has to align all its institutions and combine all its forces in order to reach this aim. The report of the American Education Commission expounds what is compressed into a formula in Directive No. 54:

> The Germans are of the opinion that democracy is only a form of government—which indeed it is, partly, but to a much greater extent it is a form of life Without insight into this difference, without an instinct for it, even the most honest German will go astray in that arid valley of the dry bones· the merely intellectual (Page 20)

An application of these ideas on education would mean the following:

> The school represents the meeting-place of all mutual relations, where in the ideal case all children meet all children as children, before some of them have become one-sided owing to their being members of a certain class or of a certain creed But in order to draw nearer to this ideal, we need not only the essential negative security of tolerance in creed, race, and class, but also a positive security *the method of a form of life which will stand its test and flourish in democratic citizenship The aim of democracy is the democratic individual* (Page 22.)

We have quoted these passages for two reasons: first, because the ideas contained in them explain the great confidence placed in school education as a means of propagating democracy as a way of life and—building up on that—as a form of government. Secondly, because it is also made clear in these passages that one of the conditions for such confidence is the ideal of a school which, being itself a true and real form of life, forms and shapes all sides of the character of the growing personality of children. This ideal picture of a school can, of course, be realised only under normal and orderly social and political conditions, as even the report points out. It follows that the existence of democracy is already required to educate for democracy. This objection is relevant, because efforts such as those described here frequently lead people to believe that education could create political forms of life. That is not the case,

either in Germany or in other countries more favourably situated. This fact must be borne in mind in order to avoid the mistake of burdening education with a responsibility which, by its very nature, it cannot afford to accept, and to guard oneself against inevitable disappointments. However receptive an educationist be to all the political problems of his day, he must guard himself against the presumption that he, shaping the growing personality of the child, can thereby also mould the political world. It cannot be denied that this idea is frequently put forward in discussions on political education in Germany, and it is easy to understand, after all that has been said, that a lively dispute might arise about this problem. One must remember that in this controversy it is not the question of democrats opposing anti-democrats, but that a different opinion may maintain itself besides radical optimism, an opinion aware of what are the limits of any education and therefore devoting itself, perhaps with less ardour but nevertheless with an equal amount of responsibility, to the task of finding an adequate way of educating for democracy.

Of the two basic ideas expressed in Directive No. 54 of the Control Council, the first concerning equal educational opportunity to all children appears in almost identical wording in several *Länder* constitutions, but above all in every one of the school statutes hitherto enacted. This is by no means mere outward compliance with the directives. On the contrary, this principle is one of the most important demands of any democratic society.

A few examples may be cited of cases where this principle is expressed in all clarity

(i) Constitution of Wurtemberg-Baden, Article 35:

> Every boy and girl has the right and the duty to be educated according to his aptitude It is considered the duty of the state to abolish any economic and social factors which might be opposed to the realisation of this principle.

(ii) School Statutes of Hamburg, October 25th, 1949, Section 2, paragraph 1:

> All children and adolescents enjoy equal rights to receive an education according to their ability and aptitude It is their duty to make use of this education within the limits of their capability.

The second idea expressed in Directive No. 54, demanding an education towards a democratic way of life, is also embodied in the various constitutions and, to a still larger extent, in school statutes. Here special attention is paid to the spiritual forces of the individual which, as it is demanded, have to be developed and practised so as to secure a democratic way of thinking and acting in all sectors of life. To quote a few characteristic examples:

Constitution of Hesse; Article 56, paragraph 4:

> It shall be the aim of education to shape the growing child into a moral personality, to cultivate his special capabilities, and to prepare him for his future political responsibility and for his duties towards his people and humanity as an independent and responsible citizen, acting in reverence and respect, love of his neighbour, and tolerance, righteousness, and sincerity.

The Berlin school provisions of June 26th, 1948, Section 1, also dwell in all details on the spiritual conditions for, and the aims of, education for democracy:

> It shall be the duty of the school to develop and further all valuable talents in children and adolescents, and to endow them with the highest possible degree of power of judgment, knowledge, and aptitude It must be the aim of the school to rear personalities, who will be capable of accomplishing the reorganisation of the German way of life on a peaceful and democratic basis, who will be inexorable antagonists of the national-socialist ideology and penetrated by the feeling of their obligation towards mankind. These personalities must be conscious of their responsibility towards the community; their actions should be determined by the recognition of equal rights of all people, by respect for every honest belief, and by the conviction of the necessity of shaping the social conditions in a progressive way, and of bringing about peaceful agreement between the peoples of the earth In pursuit of this aim the ancient thinkers, Christianity, and all social movements leading up to humanism, freedom, and democracy, i e the whole of the cultural heritage of humanity including the German, shall duly be taken into account.

These expressions, appearing in the texts of constitutions and laws and not only in educational textbooks, prove the sincerity with which the aim of a democratic education is pursued by the responsible political authorities. The expectations are very high, as may be clearly seen from the passages just quoted and even more clearly than in statutes and laws, where everything has to be condensed into a formula, leaving out the difficulties and drawbacks of a given situation. The educationist, however, must be careful to distinguish between ideal and reality and to look for a reasonable equalisation of the two. This necessity of achieving such balance appears as a root problem of democracy in the formulations quoted, for obviously it is not a matter of the state imposing its will (as one might assume, remembering the supremacy of state mentioned earlier in this article) but of finding a synthesis between the rights of the individual and the rights of the community, between freedom and discipline, autonomy and authority. It is here that the principal problems of political education lie, problems for the solution of which there exist no instructions and which every teacher has to tackle every day anew and by himself.

The East German constitutional articles referring to school matters and the various East German school provisions are almost identical in their wording with the corresponding provisions in

force in West Germany. Two examples will suffice to prove this:

(i) Concerning equal educational opportunity: the corresponding sentence of the German Democratic Republic, Article 35, runs as follows:

> Every citizen has equal rights in education and a free choice of his profession. The education of youth as well as the further vocational and spiritual education of the citizens will be secured in all sectors of political and social life by the establishment of public institutions

(ii) Concerning education for democracy as a form of life: "Provisions for the Democratisation of the German School", Section 1:

> The German democratic school shall educate young people to be citizens, capable of thinking independently, acting with full responsibility, and ready to serve the community wholeheartedly. As an agent for the transmission of culture the German democratic school must consider it its duty to educate youth in a way free of national-socialist and militaristic ideas and in a spirit of peaceful and friendly co-operation with all peoples and of true democracy Led by the social needs of the community the school will give each child a comprehensive education suitable to its inclinations and faculties, disregarding property, creed, or descent.

So the difference between West and East German school policy, which doubtless exists and which has often been emphasised by the representatives of East German school policy, is not apparent in the formulated principles but in their interpretation and realisation. Hence the cross-roads will have to be found, where the path jointly used hitherto actually branches off into two different directions. In attempting this, we could resort to evidence given in educational publications, but instead, personalities holding public offices will be made to speak for themselves, as their utterances have an official character and, what is more important, exert great influence on the shaping of the school system. Judging by their statements, the roads part exactly at that point from where the aims of the East German school policy are directed against the social structure and the political theory and practice exercised in the states of the Western occupational powers and in the areas of West Germany controlled by these. The roads part where, in order to underline the contrast, East German school policy draws attention to the ideological and practical connections with the policy of the Soviet Union. The present head of the Department of Education and Instruction in the Ministry of Education, Hans Siebert, stated in his report on "The raising of standards in the German democratic school" on the occasion of the Fourth Educational Congress in 1949:

> And yet the central concern during the next few years in improving the quality of instruction will be to further still more the democratisation of instruction, to educate our youth for peace, to breed a demo-

> cratic national conscience in the struggle against the Anglo-American oppressors of our people in the West and through friendship with peaceful nations and the Soviet Union; to cultivate our progressive national culture; in short, to postulate an anti-fascist and democratic national education.

These polemical statements show the differences clearly enough, although they do not contain any positive facts concerning different ways and methods of political education. But another passage out of the same lecture makes it plain that an adaptation to Marxist education as adhered to in the Soviet Union is aimed at:

> We are certain that the majority of our progressive teachers share our belief that, although it may be useful to learn from that part of our past which was progressive and non-reactionary, it will be still more useful for the future of our democratic education to learn from the socialistic education of the Soviet Union.

In view of this statement one has to explain why neither the articles of the constitution, nor the school provisions, nor any other directions reveal this political position in any way. There are two general reasons, by no means limited to the field of education alone:

(i) It is with full intention that one makes use of the terminology of democratic politics. This is the same in all sectors of life in the East German Republic—it even holds good for the Soviet Union itself as soon as international affairs are being discussed.

(ii) Communist policy in its latest phase of development, explicitly called Leninism-Stalinism (whereas the much more theoretical term of 'Marxism' is gradually being withdrawn and is already given a historical nuance), is extremely keen on solving all problems by organisational measures. The domination of the people by way of mass organisation is the first step, the infiltration of ideology the next. Proof of the political reliability of a person or a whole group is found not in individual devotion or theoretical argument, but in the controllable membership of, and co-operation within, one of the political mass organisations. By this pattern the style and methods adopted by school policy can also be explained: it is bent on creating a new organisation for the school, designed to be the agent for the implementation of political targets. Hence the creation of a new school system called the *Einheitsschule*—which might be translated as "Unified school"—is praised in all official statements as a most creditable achievement. Here again a term has been borrowed from the traditional vocabulary of democratic cultural policy, which has been current in Germany for several decades. It may be assumed that in examining the organisation of the *Einheitsschule*—which will be the concern of later sections—it will be possible to ascertain exactly where the school policies of East and West separate.

The Einheitsschule: *Its Organisation, Educational Foundations, Aims and Problems*

Directive No. 54 of the Control Council is the starting-point of all reforms of the political aims of the school as well as of its outward structure. The connection between these two is evident since this Directive is built up on the conviction that an education based on democratic principles can be secured only by meeting certain organisational requirements. The latter have been formulated as follows:

> (i) Tuition, textbooks, and other necessary scholastic material should be provided free of charge in all educational institutions fully supported by public funds which cater mainly for pupils of compulsory school age, in addition, maintenance grants should be made to those who need aid. In all other educational institutions, including universities, tuition, textbooks, and necessary material should be provided free of charge together with maintenance grants for those in need of assistance
>
> (ii) Schools for the compulsory stage should form a comprehensive educational system. The terms 'elementary education' and 'secondary education' should mean two consecutive levels of instruction, not two types or qualities of instruction which overlap.

The first of these demands amplifies the principle of equal educational opportunity. In view of the pressing need of great parts of the population, e.g. of refugees and displaced persons, it is evident that a comprehensive and generous system of state grants will have to round off any scheme for providing instruction and teaching material free of charge. These requirements were complied with in school statutes hitherto enacted, and *Länder* with no special school provisions have issued regulations to the same effect.[5] It must be remembered, however, that these innovations mean a sudden and heavy burden on the budget of the educational administration, and that several *Länder* face serious difficulties in their endeavours to raise the funds necessary for the realisation of these schemes.

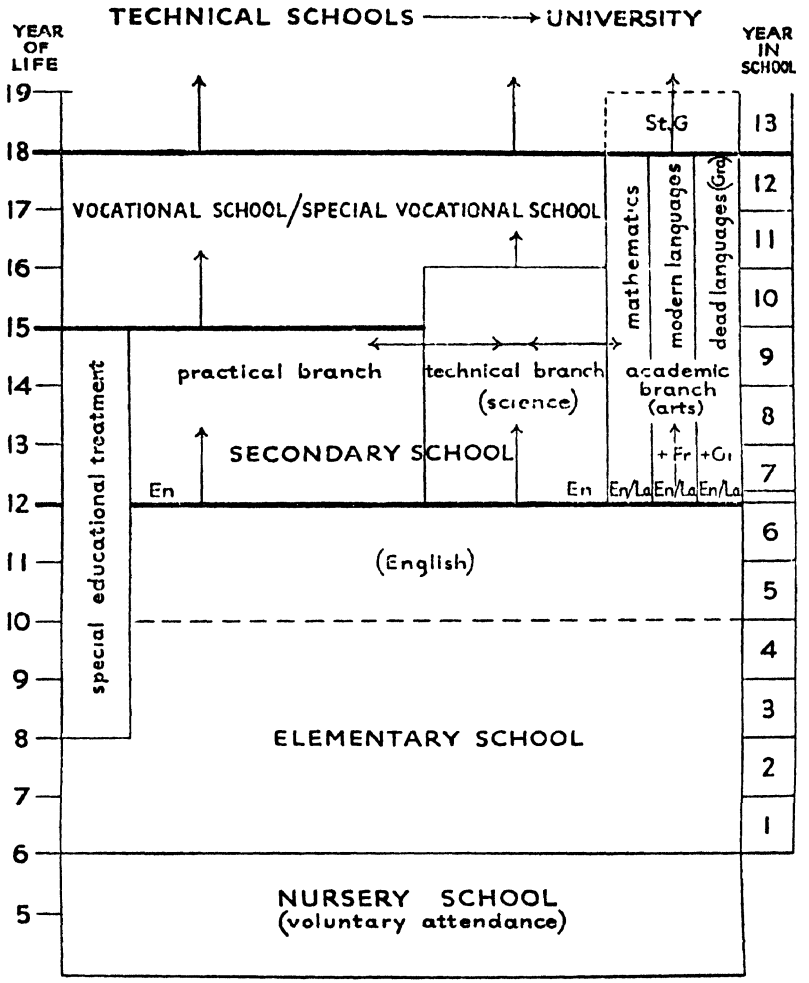
The second sentence quoted from Directive No. 54 raises the problem of the *Einheitsschule*, which has been a subject of discussion for a long time. In so far as its realisation would provide a guarantee of general access to schools at all levels or in all branches there is unanimous agreement about the desirability of the standard type school. Moreover, the idea in Directive No. 54

[5] The school provisions hitherto decreed in Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, and Schleswig-Holstein as well as the East German "Provisions for the Democratisation of the German School" all grant school instruction and scholastic material free of charge; in addition young people worthy of promotion are granted education allowances from public funds after they have completed compulsory school education, i.e. as from their ninth or tenth year in school. Other *Länder* have also decreed regulations to the same effect, e.g. Hesse in its provisions for gratuitous school instruction and scholastic material, of February 16th, 1949.

that 'elementary education' and 'secondary education' should represent two consecutive stages of instruction, and not two types existing side by side and overlapping, has been put into practice already since the Elementary School Act of 1920. In this Act a four-years compulsory attendance of an elementary school is decreed for every pupil (three years in exceptional cases), before he is allowed to pass on to a secondary school. The obligation to attend an elementary school was strengthened by the fact that preparatory schools owned by secondary or higher educational institutions were discontinued by the same Act. In order to proclaim the character of the *Einheitsschule* even by the names of the consecutive levels of instruction, the term '*Volksschule*'—'people's school'—comprising the four years of the elementary school plus another four years of general education, was withdrawn in order to avoid the impression of the existence, side by side, of two schools, a 'people's school' and a 'higher school'. The German *Länder* have chosen a variety of names for the individual stages of the *Einheitsschule*; it would be confusing to list them here. Besides, most of the intended innovations are still at the preliminary stage, so, from the school provisions already in force, the Hamburg plan has been chosen and a diagram showing the structure of the school system is reproduced opposite.

The diagram makes clear the following points: The school-system as a whole is given the name of *Allgemeine Volksschule*, 'general people's school', the top level of general school instruction, called elementary education in Directive No. 54, comes under the comprehensive term *Oberschule* (secondary school or high school). There exists a *praktische Oberschule* (practical branch) along with the *wissenschaftliche Oberschule* (academic branch), the latter having so far been called *hohere Schule* (higher school). Thus, as far as mere names can do this, the impression of elementary and secondary education existing side by side, without any connection between the two, has carefully been avoided. Correspondingly, by including the top level of general school instruction in the system of the *Oberschule* (secondary school), the current opinion is counteracted that what was formerly called *Volksschule* is only an inferior type of school in comparison with the secondary school. The various school provisions and drafts endeavour on the whole to establish the same system and to use similar terms.

However, a lively dispute has arisen concerning oganisational details, in particular about the number of years allocated to the lower level of elementary education, about the question as to when instruction should become more differentiated, and finally about whether or not independent educational institutions should be continued at the secondary stage. Legislation reflects differences in opinion: school statutes for Hamburg and Bremen settled the



question by deciding in favour of an elementary period of six years, whereas Berlin introduced the eight-year elementary school, thereby falling in line with the "Provisions for the Democratisation of the German school". Public opinion in the West German *Länder* is divided on the question whether the present four-years elementary school should be continued or whether the six-years elementary school should be introduced. This public discussion, however, will have little influence on the path to be chosen by the *Länder* in school policy, as the existing advisory instructions of the occupation powers are clearly in favour of a six-year elementary

school. The instructions issued, for example, by the British Military Government make it clear that they think it desirable that the development of a six-years elementary school should be possible within the framework of the new school system. In the American zone a directive was issued by the Military Government office for Hesse on August 8th, 1949, demanding the six-year elementary school.

The education authorities of *Land* Hesse, however, hold the view that an undifferentiated elementary school of the type demanded in the directive is not very satisfactory. They therefore attempt to compensate by proposing a six-year elementary school more flexible in character, which would provide facilities for instruction in foreign languages. In this way, they hope to settle the dispute about the four-year or six-year elementary school. This type of school would, however, not be in exact accordance with the directive of the American Military Government, as the Hesse education authorities themselves admit. In order to justify the deviation from the American directive, attention is drawn to criticism from the United States themselves, commenting on the attitude of the occupation authorities regarding school reforms and urging that an interference of this kind is unfair.

Numerous arguments are being advanced from both sides in the controversy about the four-year or six-year elementary school. Here only two examples, illustrating each of the two positions, can be given:

In favour of the six-year elementary school it is reasoned: (i) that common school attendance of six years' duration for all children would strengthen feelings of social solidarity; (ii) that for psychological reasons six years are needed in order to ascertain the individual talents among the children and to ensure their adequate and just distribution to the various courses of the school, which after all is essential for promoting the greatest possible number of gifted children.

In favour of the four-year elementary school it is argued (i) that an elementary school attendance of six years would hold up the mental progress of talented children; (ii) that an extension of the elementary school period would of necessity shorten the time required for education in a secondary school, which would thereby cease to be an institution providing general education and, instead, would develop into a preparatory academy for scientific careers.

The antithetical nature of these arguments becomes even clearer if one inquires into who presents them. It is the teacher of the elementary school who demands an extension of the elementary school period, whereas teachers in the secondary schools and the universities are opposed to it, claiming that such a measure would curtail the time available to them.

It is obvious that motives deriving from class feelings are also

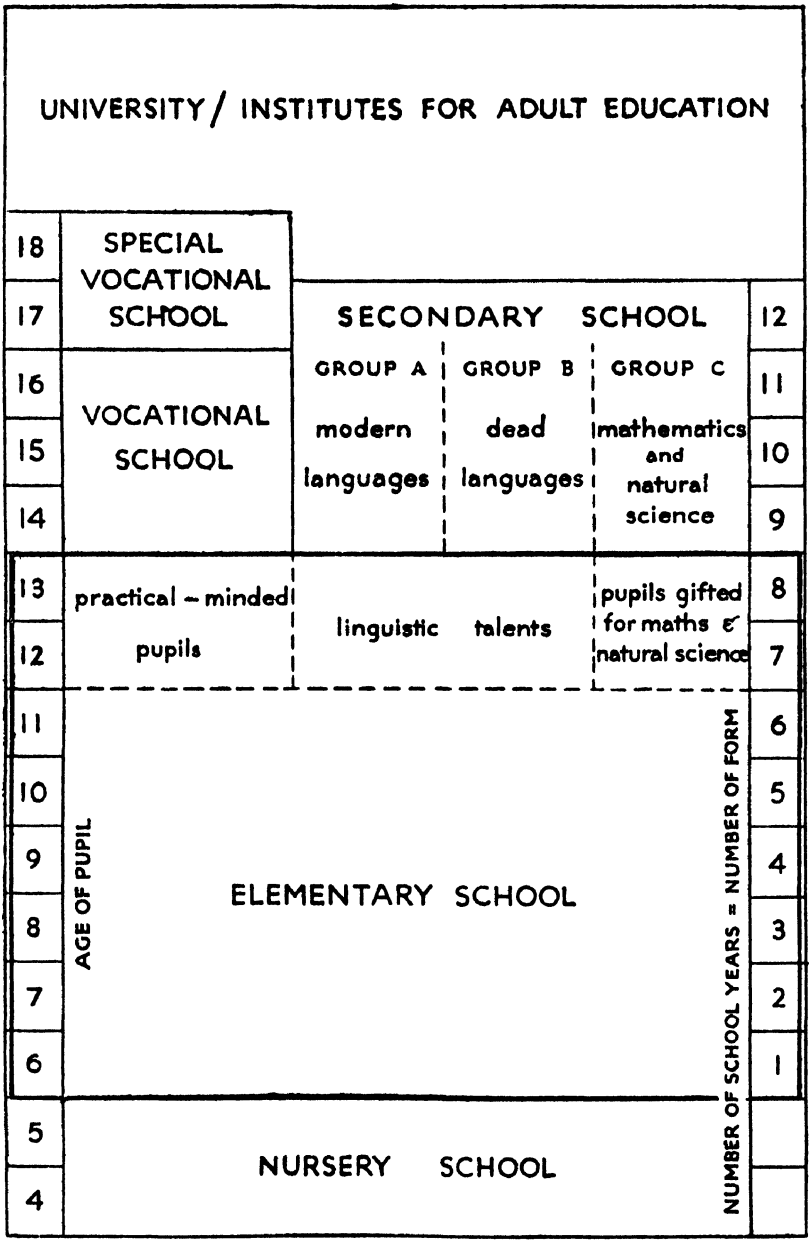
involved in this dispute about the elementary school: this is not even surprising. The strongest impulses in the strife of opinions are naturally to be found on the side of those who seek to extend their position and influence. The majority of teachers of what has been called the *Volksschule* would for the most part acclaim the introduction of a six-years elementary school and of the *Einheitsschule*, as they hope that this would help to strengthen their influence on the entire educational system. In a school comprising all levels and all branches of education the position of a headmaster would then also be open to teachers of all branches. This would mean one step farther on the way towards the financial equality of all teachers. It is also hoped that—in support of this claim—the training of all teachers will soon be acknowledged as being of the same academic level.

Thus the *Einheitsschule* and its organisation, in particular the number of years to be allocated to the elementary school, are still a matter of argument in Western Germany. In Eastern Germany, however, education authorities have anticipated any dispute by simply decreeing an elementary school period of eight years, thereby even extending the number of years scheduled in the original plan of the *Einheitsschule*. The structure of the East German standard type school may be seen from the diagram on the next page, depicting the Leipzig school system:

According to this diagram the elementary school comprises eight years and the secondary school four years. In the seventh and eighth forms, however, special courses are provided in addition to general education, intended to be preparatory and transitional courses for those who wish to attend the secondary school. This has been laid down in section 3 of the "Provisions as to the Democratisation of the German school". As has been said above, the Berlin school provisions of June 26th, 1948 (sections 4 and 20), modelled themselves upon these East German regulations.

It should be pointed out that in the East German school system nursery schools are considered part of the *Einheitsschule*, whereas in Western Germany their attendance is voluntary, although—according to the existing school laws—they are state-supported institutions.

With a consistency already shown in pursuit of uniformity of outward organisation, the standard type school also aims at exclusive uniformity in its aims. The educational work is the same on all levels of the school: its purpose is to breed at least reliable functionaries or, better still, intentional and energetic supporters of the political system. As has been proved earlier in this essay, the best method of achieving this aim is to rally all persons in any way participating in school life into one or other of the big political organisations, which in their turn serve only one purpose: the establishment of a communist social order. Knowing this, it


UNIVERSITY / INSTITUTES FOR ADULT EDUCATION
18
17
16
15
14
SPECIAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL
VOCATIONAL SCHOOL
SECONDARY SCHOOL
GROUP A
modern languages
GROUP B
dead languages
GROUP C
mathematics and natural science
12
11
10
9
13
12
practical - minded pupils
linguistic talents
pupils gifted for maths & natural science
8
7
11
10
9
8
7
6
AGE OF PUPIL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
6
5
4
3
2
1
NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS = NUMBER OF FORM
5
4
NURSERY SCHOOL

becomes plain why instructions and recommendations for work in schools invariably concern themselves also with the incorporation of teachers as well as pupils into one of the political organisations. To quote an example: the "Regulations concerning the final examinations at secondary schools" (*Reifeprüfungsordnung*) of February 27th, 1950, declares: "The examinee, applying for admission to the final examination, will add a *curriculum vitae* with a detailed description, substantiated by concrete data, of his political development and of his activities in the social field". The characterisation of the pupil, agreed on in a conference of the class teachers, assisted by the School Group Leader of the 'Free German Youth' (*Freie Deutsche Jugend*, F.D.J.) who is a voting member, "will give information concerning pupils' special abilities, and his activity in the school group of the F.D.J., in the community life of the school and in parties of democratic mass organisations, such as the *Kulturbund*, or the *Gesellschaft fur Deutsch-Russische Freundschaft*, etc."

What is compressed here into a brief formula for the special case of the final school examination, is explained in full and with numerous political arguments in an article on "preparations for and carrying out of school instructions in 1950–51" written by the head of the Department for Instruction and Education in the Ministry of Education of the German Democratic Republic, Hans Siebert. In this article it is demanded that not only pupils but also teachers should join political organisations. Among other things the essay says:

> We have declared that we hold our teachers responsible—and we know we can do that—to assist in the establishment of the peace committees (*Friedenskomitee*) and to support the "Enlistment for Peace Movement" (*Friedensaufgebot*) in the accomplishment of its third task of winning over the majority of German youth for the F D J. It is our duty to help the League of Young Pioneers (*Verband der Jungen Pioniere*) to rally in this league the majority of our children in the elementary schools, and to double the number of league members, so that it may be announced at the Fifth Educational Congress next year, that there are not only one million, but two million members of the League of Young Pioneers. . . . The work of the teacher and the work of the F D.J. inside and outside the school will have to form an indivisible unity in future

And further:

> As a very valuable result in connection with the contest among the schools we have observed—especially in Mecklenburg where the interschools' contest was combined with a contest within the Teachers' Union—that entirely new forms of co-operation developed in the work of teachers and pupils, for instance the teachers' collectives (*Lehrerkollektivs*), the activist groups of F.D J. teachers (*F.D J.–Lehreraktivs*); studying collectives (*Lernkollektivs*), and activist study groups (*Lernaktivs*).
>
> Copying the meetings held in factory plants and workshops in order to discuss problems of output and production, the Teachers' Union

groups (*Schulgewerkschaftsgruppen*) developed a similar form of conference which led to a regular and organised exchange of experience among the teaching staff of one or a number of schools, and resulted in a contest between the schools . . . It is very interesting to observe in Mecklenburg how the old form of *Lehrerkollegium* (teaching staff of one school) gradually disappears, giving way to the teachers' collective.

Thus, the state school in the *Länder* of the German Democratic Republic is, as may be seen from these illustrations, a standard type school also in the sense that the entire educational work is subject to uniform political aims. These aims, however, have never been theoretically formulated and substantiated; instead, it is sought to achieve them through effective activities in organisations, which work in a most reliable way for the political system. This explains why the educational demands are focused on a mere raising of efficiency only, as everything apt to contribute to the pupil's education is determined by political principles, which in their turn are not founded on any educational theory. Thus the unified school is not merely a state school, but over and above a link in the comprehensive political system and determined in every detail by this system.

In the " Instructions concerning the carrying out of the academic year 1951–52 " of August 9th, 1951 (*Anweisung zur Durchführung des Schuljahrs 1951–52*) recently issued by the Ministry of Education, the political aims determining education are stated more distinctly than ever. Here again, though, one resorts to traditional terminology by using the term 'democratic patriotism'; on the other hand, the conception of the school as of an institution at the service of the totalitarian state becomes more and more apparent. An excerpt from these instructions reads as follows:

Training for democratic patriotism means breeding a new attitude towards work as the source of national riches, and towards social property as the most essential part of our democratic economy It further comprises the kindling of a comrade-like and friendly feeling towards the people around us, towards our workers, activists, and heroes of labour, towards the government of the German Democratic Republic, and in particular towards our state president Wilhelm Pieck. The breeding of the spirit of democratic patriotism is linked indissolubly to the creation of a spirit of genuine internationalism, as it manifests itself in the friendship borne to all peace-loving peoples, in particular to the inhabitants of the people's democracies, but first and foremost in friendship for the glorious Soviet Union, the steadfast bulwark of peace, the leader of the Organised Front for World Peace; and in love for the best friend of the German people, Joseph Stalin. Every teacher must strive to achieve these aims in every subject.

In contrast to this, the school in the West German *Länder* is a far more independent complex within public life. Being under no obligation towards any other powers, it is entrusted with the task of strengthening the idea of democracy as a way of life; and in

addition the organisation of the *Einheitsschule* is not considered an end in itself. On the contrary, all school provisions, whether enacted or mere drafts, unanimously agree that an outward reform of the school system can have a meaning only if it is accompanied by a rejuvenation of educational work and methods. Here, however, a major dispute has sprung up—which under the name of 'inner school reform' is at present considered from various points of view. The problem is, whether an organisation like the unified school can actually have a creative effect on the rejuvenation of education, or whether it would not jeopardise all genuinely creative education by its forcible welding together of all special cases into a unity.

This cardinal issue has a bearing on all didactic problems concerning syllabus and educational methods. In particular it sets in a new light the traditional opposition between the two theories of the *Lernschule* (learn by amassing facts) and of the *Arbeitsschule* (learn by doing).

The contrast between these two theories is founded in history, but it is now a burden as it splits up the educational forces at a time when the school should be an institution open to a variety of educational methods if it is to cope with the many unusual situations of our day.

When shortly before the outbreak of World War I, Georg Kerschensteiner—and with him many personalities in the fields of educational theory and practice—first developed the programme of the *Arbeitsschule* in Germany, thereby resuscitating Pestalozzian ideas, they were opposed to a kind of school which, by its amassing of learning-matter and by its rigid way of teaching, often forced the pupil merely to cram verbally formulated facts, thus indeed paralysing the unfolding of his own individual forces. For this type of school, so very much in contrast with his ideal, Kerschensteiner found the name '*Lernschule*', a term which was nevertheless not a very happy choice. For the consequence was that the noble sense of the verb 'to learn' which, understood correctly, signifies one of the activities of the mind, now became blurred and gave rise to the erroneous idea that acquisition of knowledge was no longer of much value, or at least was of minor importance. But the educational theory put into practice in the elementary school is based on this very principle of promoting the mental independence and activity of the child by making it familiar with the aspects and objects of life. In this the teacher has the advantage of being able to start from the still undivided sphere of imagination and experience in the child; only very gradually, as the relation of things becomes more and more intricate, will he have to differentiate instruction by dividing it up into individual subjects. Moreover, frequently it is the peculiar organisation of the school itself which prevents him from specialising the subjects

too soon. In this connection one should remember the one-class schools in the country, where very few teachers, or even only one, are in charge of all the children. This particular way of teaching requires an unusual amount of educational power and capability.

Work in the elementary school continues in a consistent and undeviating line for the children who leave school at the age of 14 in order to be apprenticed to the various trades. Naturally there is a gradual increase in specialisation; however, great pains are taken to maintain an educational method which fosters personal independence of thought and action and secures a thorough orientation in all subjects. Here it is opportune to point out another difference between the school in East and West Germany, which is based on the contrast in cultural policy. An education, like the one in East Germany bent on the promotion of collectivity, is concerned first of all with raising as much as possible the efficiency of the children according to what the state understands by that term, and with making them function according to expectation. In compliance with the general political ideas mentioned before in this article, education in school is supplemented by the training of youth in collective organisations. In West Germany, however, education seeks to bring about the formation of communities by preserving and respecting the individual mind. These communities may well differ widely in structure; they centre round the independent and responsible individual. Educationists are sufficiently sober-minded to know that they are unable to achieve this far-reaching aim in all cases, but they adhere to it as an ideal

Secondary education in itself is considered a necessary part of the education of the people. Although it is difficult to elucidate its principal aims, one may yet say the following: secondary education aims at: (1) a substantial widening of the intellectual horizons; (2) an introduction into scientific and scholarly categories of thought; (3) the creation of a mind capable of discriminating judgment and of giving a critical account and foundation of its convictions. These three aims are interrelated and can be explained from the course of development of our culture. We are aware of the fact that all sectors of life are penetrated by the spirit of science, i.e. that by thinking in scientific categories one attempts to conceive and explain the facts and even shape cultural life. That is why it is obvious that secondary education endeavours to spread and strengthen the spirit of learning. In order to do this a comprehensive knowledge of the historical and present values of our culture is required. Again, a critical and discriminating judgment can be expected only of those who combine a scientific way of thinking with a well-developed capability of orientation. These aims make it necessary to extend the syllabus considerably by introducing a number of subjects in the arts and sciences. Their choice and order of precedence in the syllabus are largely deter-

mined either by certain traditional educational values or by an educational ideal, humanistic, realistic, or Christian. It would, however, be wrong to conclude from this that a preference for certain subjects entails the exclusion of others: what may appear as preference or neglect is in any case only a matter of slight shifts in emphasis.

The new plans provide that only definitely gifted children should be granted access to one of the branches of secondary education. The Hamburg Plan, for instance, has attempted to introduce types of school to match the various talents, as can be seen from the names of these school branches. There remains, however, the problem which is at present the subject of a lively discussion—whether a precise diagnosis of aptitudes is at all possible, a diagnosis which must be combined with a correct prognosis if it is to be of any use. Here there is reason for caution, and a serious warning is indicated, not to exaggerate the specialisation of school types, as presumably genuine talents of so differentiated a kind do not exist; moreover, the reliability of the diagnosis deteriorates with increasing specialisation. Also, looking at the problem from the viewpoint of cultural and social policy, it would not be advisable to over-estimate the value of specialisation in educational and scholastic matters. It is the purpose of the secondary school to educate on a broad basis, and it must not develop into an institution with the sole purpose of preparing youth for universities and technical colleges. Although, it is true, the majority of secondary school pupils proceed to the university, the secondary school should nevertheless take special care to prepare a sufficient number of pupils suitable for jobs which require qualified intellectual work, even though not a university training. The secondary school must compile its syllabus with a view to preparing the way for its pupils into life and not merely into the university.

Discussing the individual issues has made it clear that school and public life in Germany are closely related. The school considers it to be one of its chief obligations to guide the young people in a way which will enable them to rise to the requirements and master the situations of public life. This recognised obligation affects the style of instruction to a much larger extent than has been the case in the past decades. True, the school had been endeavouring for a long time to cultivate community feeling in the children, but it has often struck close observers that the children's appreciation of the facts and procedures of political life was not sufficiently developed. This lack of feeling for political reality is more noticeable in Germany than in other countries. This is mainly due to historical reasons: the Germans have so far failed to enter into a natural relationship with their state. For a long time the opinion prevailed that the state was a power superior to individual existence. But the profound experience of the totalitarian

state system, which ended simultaneously with the war, caused a noticeable change in the German people's attitude towards the state, an attitude which was to spread, at least in West Germany. People begin to learn that they themselves are the state. This, of course, has important consequences for the school, since it puts it under the obligation of providing adequate citizenship training in order to develop those forces which maintain and support the state.

In the attempt to attain such an objective one has to bear in mind that the majority of pupils leave school at the age of 14 or 15 in order to start their vocational training. This raises the didactic problem whether it is possible to represent the complex political facts in a way suited to child mentality without thereby over-simplifying or even distorting them. On the other hand, it is essential in a democratic state that every individual should be capable of political judgment, an aim which cannot be attained without at least a moderate acquaintance with the facts and procedures in the political sphere.

The elementary school, even at its top level, can tackle this problem only by providing for citizenship training within the framework of *Heimatkunde*—'project method' geography—and other subjects familiar to the children. Even if this kind of political instruction proves a definite success, there will be a limit set by the mental capacity of the 14-year-old. Therefore, what the elementary school and its top level have prepared will have to be taken up and continued by the vocational school. Citizenship training in the vocational school meets more favourable psychological conditions.

While attending it, the pupils reach their 17th or 18th year and display increasing interest in and understanding of the political issues. Through their jobs they are automatically confronted with the problems of public life, especially the political ones.

Conditions for giving political instruction are better in secondary schools. This institution takes care of the young people even up to their 18th or 19th year; moreover, the variety of subjects taught provides ample opportunity for the formation of an independent political judgment. Pupils as a rule respond by showing spontaneous interest. But the necessary orientation will be of real use only if the school succeeds at the same time in developing and cultivating a spirit of true community in youth, thereby adding an ethical basis to political instruction without preaching complete subordination to the state.

The desire for the thorough reorganisation of the German school, proclaimed as a comprehensive cultural programme under the name of inner and outer 'school reform', becomes apparent in every discussion on school problems. Every item dealt with in this article must be seen in this wider connection. It may there-

fore be useful to enumerate the central motives of school reform in Germany. Part of what has already been discussed will recur, though in a more general and condensed formulation:

The phrase ' school reform ' is not new; it has been a slogan since the beginning of the century, and ever since 1945 it has been used continuously to signify a diversity of intentions, plans, and interests proffered to school and concerned with its inner and outer life from all sides. It is easy to point out the chief motives:

(1) The school, in all its forms and at all levels, must in practice and principle be open to any child; this is what we call " equal educational opportunity for all."

(2) The school shall aim at the optimum promotion of the individual, considering solely ability and aptitude, his main interests and characteristic features.

(3) The school shall endeavour to cultivate an attitude towards life which will enable the individual to fill his place in public and in private life, acting with personal responsibility and in a true spirit of community.

(4) Finally, there is an age-old always-recurring demand which must not be left aside or forgotten in any serious school reform: the school shall impart knowledge which is at once thorough and reliable.

Just how these aims can be realised is the cardinal problem of the inner school reform. A brief outline of this problem and a list of the various suggestions for its solution may be indicated:

In the majority of the *Lander*, the *Einheitsschule* is regarded as the best possible form of solution. From the great number of comments we quote one which deals with the main point:

> Unity in educational matters is effected by a homogeneous spirit in education, by the living together of the pupils in a community and by the flexible structure of the school. If one tends to understand by inner unity only the common educational substructure, then the unity, being divided into several different branches in the superstructure, will be deceptive . . The danger of uniformity and levelling to which the so-called standard type school (*Einheitsschule*) would be liable to succumb, will be met by the homogeneous (*einheitlich*) type of school by keeping its structure flexible and by providing special branches as from the seventh scholastic year. These branches take all talents and vocational intentions into full account. Such a structure will prevent the existence side by side and without relation of independent and overlapping types of school. By providing a common core of learning-matter the syllabus should allow smooth changing over from one section to another.
>
> Thus a school dividing up into special sections should be able:
>
> (1) to allow for the various talents;
>
> (2) to look after the wholesome development of the individual faculties of the children;
>
> (3) to schedule the beginning of a new school level in such a way as to make it coincide with the beginning of a new stage in the child's development;

(4) to make the children reach the target of the school without any deviation,

(5) to educate the children into active members of an organic community.

These proposals are prompted by the conviction that the German school will eventually succeed in embodying the idea of 'unity in variety'. For variety is welcomed: the abundance and diversity of talents, the variety of educational values and ideals combined in Western culture, and the manifold kinds of vocational training. However, in order to realise its aim of offering variety while remaining a unity, the *Einheitsschule* will have to differentiate to a large extent its structure, its instruction, and its syllabus, which will of necessity entail for the pupil a constant wandering from division to subdivision. Serious objections are raised against this, of which only one is quoted:

> A so-called differentiated 'standard type school' is a contradiction in itself and must therefore be rejected, it would carry a certain confusion of principles into the structure of the school and only tend to conceal an unsatisfactory situation If one wants to make a school an *Einheitsschule* one ought not to differentiate it at the same time, particularly not the very hinges of the system (top level of elementary school) on which the whole structure is supposed to turn. Only a clear separation of school types will be able to meet the diverse requirements of school education resulting from the natural variety of aptitudes, inclinations, and aims.
>
> The desire for democratisation as well as the educational demands can easily be complied with even in what appears to be a rigid school system. All those branches and ramifications growing on a common trunk are made to meet the requirements of different aptitudes and inclinations according to the degree in which the various faculties in youth become apparent, develop, and specialise. These school branches are by no means determined by social considerations, only the stage of development and aptitudes are relevant. With a view to the fact that abilities and aptitude come to light only gradually, the possibility of changing over from one branch to another must be provided for. Aptitude and diligence are the decisive factors in selecting the pupils for the individual branches. Thus the purpose of school reform, to ensure the best possible education of every pupil according to his talents, is adequately fulfilled.

The comments quoted here represent the case of the *Einheitsschule* from two directions, and they reflect different concepts regarding the nature of education, its possibilities and limitations. On one hand there is the belief that one should be able to guarantee success in education through previously fixed, psychologically and didactically well-thought-out methods. The other side, as opposed to this, holds the view that the decisive part of education should be left to the young people themselves. It is maintained that they should be given the opportunity in educational institutions bound by tradition of developing intellectually and morally into independent personalities, and that this process of maturing should not

be continuously interrupted by organisational changes. In connection with these topical arguments, attention may be drawn to an article by Eduard Spranger, which on account of the author's authority as well as for its value has attracted the attention of many. It was first published under the title of *Entschiedene Schulreform—von innen.*

The author proceeds from two assumptions:

> (i) The school cannot breed, but only educate. This work requires stillness and quiet, a devoted attention to details and smallest occurrences, but above all much time, considering that even the natural process of maturing is subject to a measure of time which cannot be speeded up deliberately.
>
> (ii) Education should reach down to the very roots of moral and religious feeling. It should manifest itself in the moral attitude towards life Thus only can we hope to educate personalities conscious of their responsibility for the maintenance of culture who live up to this responsibility.

Based on these principles the conclusion is drawn that a school system like the one of the *Einheitsschule,* which is of necessity divided up into a variety of courses in order to meet all requirements in a just and even way, and which tries to maintain at the same time its outward unity, will not suffice to impart true education:

> What we need is not knowledge obtained in courses but the sensation of being seized by a cultural ideal concentrated in a stable character, in moral attitude, and in individual and independent mentality Only at the top level of instruction can there be a modest freedom of choice as far as subjects of natural science are involved, but not with regard to ethical subjects. These subjects will have to be the cause for a continuous struggle in the youthful mind, a struggle in which even resistance may still result in new mental and moral strength An educational programme must be a consistent unity superior to the spirit of the time—or it will not be an educational programme

It is no mere coincidence that this report on the educational situation in Germany should close by outlining problems and not by stating facts. This is in true correspondence with the actual situation. Education in our time is at once a true reflection and a logical consequence of the remodelling of public life inside Europe, which has been in progress at least since the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and entered into a new phase in 1945, a phase characterised by turbulent events, basic needs, and dangers, but also brimming over with new possibilities and strong impulses for the reorganisation of the spiritual order.

HANS WENKE.

CHAPTER THREE

ITALY

Introduction

THE educational system in Italy is of the centralised type. The public schools are almost all maintained at the state's expense. The state fixes the curriculum, selects and appoints the teachers, and controls the running of both teaching and administration in training and educational institutions. The staff is paid by the state, which allocates funds in the budget among the various institutions. For primary schools the funds are assigned to the Supervisor of Studies in each province[1] (*Provveditore agli Studi*), and he allocates them directly.

Immediately after the war a vast trend of public opinion developed in favour of regional autonomy, advocating great decentralisation also in educational administration. In fact the new Constitution of the Republic, promulgated December 27th, 1947, lays down on this point. "The regions are formed as autonomous bodies with their own powers and functions according to the principles laid down by the Constitution" (Article 115), and again: "The region promulgates legislative regulations within the limits of the fundamental principles laid down by the laws of the state, provided always that these regulations are not contrary to the interests of the nation or of other regions". These regulations can deal, among other things, with training in craftsmanship, technical and vocational education, and financial assistance, museums, and libraries of local authorities.

To-day public opinion has changed, and even many warm supporters of decentralisation have grown lukewarm. It remains ideally a very plausible aim, but it seems the country is not yet altogether ready for the innovation Experiments in autonomy made in Sicily and elsewhere, under the pressure of special local situations and special centrifugal forces (which the state, weakened by the Revolution and by the military defeat, has not been in a position to dam with sufficient energy), have been not altogether satisfactory.

In any case the laws on decentralisation have not yet appeared, although they are planned under the scheme for reform which the Minister, Gonella, has prepared and which we shall explain later.

After the victory of the Christian Democrat Party on April 18th, 1948 (which is explained solely in its anti-Communist function),

[1] Province can be regarded as county. Region comprises several provinces.

there has been an increased movement which to inexpert eyes could appear to lead to a wide process of decentralisation, at least in the sphere of education, but which corresponds, on the contrary, to the concerns for centralisation of the church's authority in opposition to the government's. I refer to the movement in favour of independent and private schools, especially secondary ones, as opposed to state schools. This has not been caused by any need for decentralisation, or by a public opinion directed towards lessening bureaucracy in the schools in favour of greater freedom of method and of an education more in keeping with the real demands of social life: it has been fed artificially by the church through its organisations and moral influence with the aim of once more making schools, as in time long past, into tools of the church of Rome. All liberal and democratic forces consider this idea as a disguised attempt to restore the old power and monopoly of the ecclesiastical class over culture and education, a power and monopoly which are in direct contrast with the principles governing modern civilisation in all its expressions from economics to philosophy, from politics to art and science.

In the present situation the campaign in favour of independent schools is not inspired by a spirit of liberty and regeneration, but obeys demands fundamentally conservative and even reactionary. The state alone guarantees freedom for teachers and pupils. The private schools for the most part obey religious and utilitarian interests that undermine the foundations of the disinterested function of culture.

Education immediately after the Liberation

There have been no important structural reforms to talk about either in the organisation of studies and schools or in curricula, during the period from 1945 to the present day. We have had first to repair the serious damage inflicted by the war. This was so great and so grave that it has been necessary in the first instance to concentrate all our resources on the reconstruction of what has been destroyed. Besides the moral and administrative disorder (inherited from a long period of dictatorship, war, and anarchy), we had to overcome obstacles even to meeting the most elementary needs of material life. Hundreds of thousands of children were in need of everything, houses and school buildings had been destroyed, school equipment lost, organisations for public welfare were inefficient, crowds of adults and children evacuated in most uncomfortable conditions in rural and urban districts unprepared to welcome them.

The primary schools, for example, had had 7,800 classrooms destroyed and 27,000 damaged. Air, land, and sea bombardment, the ravages of enemy and allied troops, the compulsory billeting of refugees, the partisan war, had turned everything upside down,

teaching equipment, funds, laboratories, and libraries. Many places had to begin again from nothing.

The sweeping victory of the Christian Democrats on April 18th, 1948, also contributed to the hindrance of any radical reform of education. The new Minister, Guido Gonella, set himself to bring to realisation a complete co-ordinated scheme of educational reform. To the preparation of this scheme he devoted a good three years. These were entirely wasted in partial reforms and in the solution of pressing and particular problems. When the scheme was ready, the situation was radically changed. The policy of rearmament within the framework of the Atlantic Treaty now absorbs all the resources of the country, and it is difficult for education to have any hope of fundamental change both speedy and organic. So, in spite of the huge sacrifices faced by our overstrained budget, we have been able to reorganise the schools only as best we could, and to face their urgent and essential needs. Still, to-day, in spite of much building and rebuilding (from 1944–5 to 1948–9, twenty milliard lire have been spent on school buildings, and 46,976 destroyed or damaged classrooms have been repaired or rebuilt, and 2,151 new ones completed), in many schools because of lack of accommodation there is the complaint that two or even three classes work daily in rotation. Many, too many, classes, especially in the primary schools, continue to be housed in dull, unhygienic rooms.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the destruction during the war has aggravated a bad situation existing for a long time, especially in South Italy and in the islands (Sicily and Sardinia), a situation which the new state, completing its own unification only in 1870, had not succeeded in completely abolishing, in spite of remarkable efforts made in the last decade of the nineteenth and in the first of the twentieth century. In fact the percentage of illiterates was still 21 in 1931 (declining to 11 in 1948). Those incapable of putting their signature to the marriage register were 9·52 per cent. in 1938 (declining to 4·39 per cent. in 1942).

On the other hand compulsory education which, according to the law of 1928, confirmed by the new Constitution, should be extended free of charge up to 14 years (five years' primary schooling, three years' vocational training), in too many small centres was limited and still is limited to attending the first three or four primary classes. Since 1945 there has been an increase of the fourth and fifth classes, and thirty thousand new permanent posts for teachers have been created. But this is still insufficient. The failure to implement the law is due largely to the poor circumstances of the parents, who are forced to rely upon the earnings of children even at the age of 9 or 10.

Even in the best cases, moreover, elementary education establishes but a weak hold on the children's minds and is not enough to avoid an only too frequent phenomenon—a relapse into illiteracy

(*analfabetisimo di ritorno*). The country folk also, after leaving school a few years, for lack of practice relapse into illiteracy.

The Present Educational System: Innovations during the Five-year Period 1945–50

Public education in Italy is organised in the following way:

Nursery school (*scuola materna*). Three years—3–6 years of age.

Primary school (*scuola elementare*): Five years—6–11 years of age.

Vocational training school (*scuola di avviamento professionale*): Three years, can be completed by two years of technical education—11–14 years of age.

Intermediate comprehensive school (*scuola media unica*). Three years.

Ginnasio superiore: Two years.

Liceo classico: Three years.

Liceo scientifico: Five years.

Teacher training school (*istituto magistrale*): Four years.

Technical institute (*istituto tecnico*): Five years.

Vocational or teacher training school for women (*scuola professionale o di magistero per le donne*): Five years.

The system is uniform for nursery and primary schools. After the primary school it branches into (*a*) the vocational and technical education for those not intending to continue with their studies, (*b*) the intermediate school for those who do not intend to continue with their studies.

After the intermediate school there are three branches: (*a*) pupils going into the classical or scientific *liceo*—in general with the aim of studying at a university; (*b*) pupils going into the teacher training school to obtain their teaching diploma; (*c*) pupils intending to take up a more modest occupation, following one of the various branches of the technical institute (agriculture, merchant navy, industry, etc.).

A. *Nursery Schools* (Scuola Materna)

Not being maintained by the state, these are run by public or religious or private bodies. They are not compulsory and not generally free. The state is satisfied with arranging the curriculum and supervising their working by means of its educational staff. Various methods are followed: Froebel, Montessori, Agazzi, etc.

In 1939–40 there were 10,930 schools with 780,844 infants. To-day there are 11,273 schools with 888,916 infants—a number utterly insufficient for present needs. They exist, in fact, only in urban and the more important rural centres. State aid is inadequate (130 million lira in the 1949–50 budget). However, the work

of reconstructing destroyed or damaged buildings has been remarkable, as has also the return of children dispersed during the period of the war.

The need to increase these institutions is urgently felt, especially in industrial centres. In the Gonella reform scheme it is made compulsory for all the communes to establish them, with the financial aid of the state, in all places where there exists a certain number of children of an age to attend them.

B. *Primary Schools* (Scuola Elementare)

The primary schools have received most attention in the years following the peace. Many destroyed buildings have been rebuilt, many classrooms repaired, many completely new schools built, thirty thousand new classes brought into being. At the beginning of the school year 1945–6 attendance was 20 per cent. less than for the pre-war period. To-day the gap has been closed. Many teachers torn from their posts by the course of war were prevented from taking up their regular jobs again by lack of housing. A great effort was made to return dispersed children and gradually to bring back teachers to their posts. Since 1945 the position of the teachers, from a legal and administrative point of view, has been improved.

The number of pupils on the registers has increased by 346,612 in 1946–7 by 12,040 in 1947–8 and by 52,528 in 1948–9. But as we have already pointed out, the obligation to attend school is only rarely fully observed. In more recent years, however, a consciousness of the usefulness of education has increased, notably even in the poorest classes. In the last three years the fourth and fifth forms have been increased, and within a year or two we reckon that every area will be able to provide the complete five-years primary schooling. A decisive step, however, will have been taken only with the provision of another fifty thousand new classrooms at least, and with more vigorous encouragement given to school charities (*patronati scolastiche*) and other forms of children's welfare. These two needs are given priority by the Gonella scheme.

With regard to teaching, also, we have seen the spread, especially among young teachers, of a lively sense of dissatisfaction with traditional methods, inspired by some advanced thinkers and educationists. This has made them more familiar with the international movements, canalised in NEF, FICE, CEMEA, and has recalled to mind the most vital and original currents of traditional Italian thought. The experiment of the active and progressive 'modern schools' (*scuole nuove*) has acted as a powerful stimulus. It cannot yet be said that the movement has reached such importance as to be able to impose reform on the official schools, but it has aroused new interests, it has allowed experience to be gained, and it has given consciousness to wide feelings of disquiet. In a word,

it is on the way to building up a current of public opinion of notable importance, which in due course will end by imposing its will upon the organs of the state. New institutions like the Scuola-Citta Pestalozzi at Florence, the Swiss-Italian Asilo 'G. Bordoni' at Rimini, the Children's Republic of S. Marinella at Civitavecchia, the Children's Village 'Sandro Cagnola' of Varese (La Rasa), the Children's Village of Silvi Marina, and still others which in general are linked up with FICE, established in 1948 under the aegis of Unesco, have opened the eyes of many teachers. In many schools in the last two years new techniques have been tried and greater importance has been given to the individual initiative of teachers and pupils.

It was a real and happy inspiration just after the war to collect children and adolescents grown wild and anti-social and put them in family surroundings, for the most part of a rural type, far from the sight of the ruins and demoralisation left by the war, in an atmosphere of serene calm. It was an inspiration no less to renounce discipline and traditional methods of education so as not to make them feel too harshly their removal from an existence bristling with pitfalls, humiliations, and sufferings, but not without its attractions and lures, and to have accepted, moreover, in these improvised centres ways and habits which had developed themselves in the course of their vagabond life.

Almost without realising it the improvised pioneers of these communities suggested clear and concrete answers to many problems which had long been worrying the most alert and expert educationists. They showed with the persuasive language of fact that even in the least favourable conditions it was possible to educate and profoundly change children and adolescents, even when perverted by years of suffering, hunger, and immorality, provided that one renounced the methods and the stupid mechanical routine of traditional education—lifeless, inefficient things—provided that one put oneself on the same level of outlook as the pupils, talked the same language as they did, approached them with affection and an open, unprejudiced mind. Some of these experiments have revealed with time their ephemeral nature. Their creators have not long withstood the passage of time. Characters excellent at facing the exceptional demands of moments of emergency have afterwards failed in the hard grind of daily sacrifice. They have not developed their methods, they have not brought them into line with new needs. They have allowed to crystallise principles and discoveries that were effective in exceptional circumstances, but ineffective under the normal conditions of social life. Others have stood up to the test and are in process of formulating the guiding principles of a new education more in keeping with the life and needs of children and adolescents of the present time.

A real step towards the internal transformation of the official

primary schools has been made with the new curricula of May 24th, 1945. They are not a masterpiece—quite the reverse—but they show in their composers a new perception of education and a distrust of the traditional methods. The necessity for self-government has been openly stated. The accent is placed upon freedom and personal initiative of both teachers and pupils. Stress is given to social education and the formation of character. The focus of the new curricula is shifted from quantity and amount of knowledge taught to development of the pupil's personality. It is a great step forward.

C. *Secondary Schools*

There are few innovations in the internal organisation of the various types of secondary education, except in the case of the teacher training schools (*scuola magistrale*). Naturally, in all their curricula the political elements introduced by Fascism have been eliminated since the Liberation. The curricula for all secondary schools for vocational training and for technical schools have remained substantially unchanged since 1945. An exception is the industrial branches of technical education, whose organisation has been improved by Circular 54 of September 2nd, 1947.

The present intermediate school (*scuola media*) came into being with the law of July 11th, 1940, which has combined the junior *ginnasio* (three years), the junior teacher training school (four years) and the junior technical school into a comprehensive school (three years). Curricula were modified in 1944 by decree of the Allied Military Commission. The latest curricula, at present in force, were approved by decree of the Minister of Public Education in 1945.

The school is comprehensive in the sense that all the junior schools for general education have been concentrated in one for pupils intending to continue studies of a classical, technical, or teacher training type, not in the sense of an *école unique* for general education provided for all pupils. The Italian intermediate school is an unhappy creation produced by compromise. The teaching is very fractionalised (seven teachers), and is too encyclopaedic and too theoretical. No room is given for experience and personal development of ideas. Latin is kept, and this cannot help appearing out of place to those who have no intention of further study. The Gonella scheme, as we shall see, although keeping the designation of an *école unique* (*scuola unica*), with three different subdivisions, is a return to the pre-1940 tradition.

Except for a few modifications dating from 1945, the curricula of the *ginnasio superiore*, the classical *liceo*, the scientific *liceo*, and the technical school remain unchanged. Both the classical and scientific *ginnasio-liceo* continue to be the schools with the soundest organisation, and from them comes the intellectual élite of the

country. Nor is there any demand for substantial changes in the technical institutes.

On the other hand there has been a remarkable transformation undergone by the teacher training schools (*scuola magistrale*) created by the reform of 1923 to replace the old *scuola normale*. The law of 1923 had abolished student teaching (*tirocinio*) and had transformed the *scuola normale* into a school with a humanistic trend on the pattern of *ginnasio-liceo*, leading to the study of classical works of literature, philosophy, and pedagogy.

The biggest innovations since 1945 have been the introduction of the study of psychology and the reintroduction of teaching practice. Another modification consists in offering teachers of pedagogy, philosophy, and psychology an alternative syllabus, the first keeping to the historical method, the second following a systematic method with practical instances.

The introduction of psychology, which from a certain aspect could be considered as answering an urgent need, has not been, up to the present, of any real benefit. The teachers were not ready for its introduction, public opinion much less so. The few university chairs of psychology have not yet succeeded in awakening a keen sense of interest in this subject. The new syllabus for psychology in the teacher training schools has proved too rudimentary and too academic to arouse the interest of pupils and teachers. It tabulates results, imparts notions, and does not aim to introduce the pupils to methodical observation and experiment. Now, if the teaching of psychology to intending primary school teachers wants to produce results, it should concern itself less with systemisation and classification, more with the creation of an effective instrument of observation and experimentation. Otherwise it is mechanical and fruitless. The more the future teachers have learnt to observe children and adolescents in the light of the great psychologists' discoveries, the better they will be prepared. They should verify these discoveries and try them out in the light of their own personal experience, not absorb them passively by heart.

The re-establishment of teaching practice (*tirocinio*) as it was before the law of 1923 has not been an advance. No solution has, in fact, been offered to the problems that induced the Minister Gentile to abolish it, substituting a harmonious, cultural, and moral development of the future teacher for the mechanical methods and artificial practice in the rarefied atmosphere of student teaching classes.

For three years a trial has been made with women's technical institutes, destined to replace the present schools for the teachers' training of women (there are thirty-four of these, sixteen state, the rest run by other bodies). They comprise two years of general education and three of specialisation. Entrance is from the intermediate schools. It is too soon to form a judgment on these

schools. They have not so far gained public interest because they do not furnish certificates of practical value with a view to a career.

D. *Vocational Training*

This is taught in the lower intermediate schools with a vocational character (11–14 years) and in courses of occupational training lasting one or two years. There are various branches agriculture, industry, commerce, merchant navy, domestic subjects for girls, etc.

The secondary vocational schools are divided into technical schools (two years) and technical institutes (five years). These, too, are subdivided into various types of specialisation.

Vocational training outside the schools is given through the 'Provincial Associations (*consorze*) for Technical Education', created in 1935. They aim to train and improve workers and qualify or requalify them in their trades, besides training farm labourers (*contadini*).

Vocational training is controlled by the Ministry of Public Education, which manages it through the Provincial Associations; the courses for vocational qualification are controlled by the Ministry of Labour and are held through specialised bodies and institutes. *Inapli* (National Institute for Training and Improvement of Industrial Workers), *Enal* (National Workers' Welfare Association), *Acli* (Italian Workers' Christian Association), etc.

Vocational training schools have also suffered serious damage from the war, and since 1945 they have had not only to construct their buildings but also to replace their machinery and equipment, endowments often of great value.

They have made few innovations, but their return to normal has been quicker than that of schools for general education. Their ties with industry, which rapidly adjusts itself to changing circumstances, have forced vocational instruction to bring itself up to date as well. Almost everywhere factories and offices have been utilised for training· often, too, a school of this sort springs up near the industrial works which use it and maintain it in order to draw from it skilled craftsmen and specialist technicians. The state is accustomed to step in when the school was founded and established itself in order to give it legal recognition and a definite framework, making it branch out in other directions where initiative is less prompt and the surroundings less favourable. Since the end of the war there has been a steady increase of vocational schools having their own legal and independent status, with their own boards of administration to manage them autonomously. On these boards the industrial element tends to predominate more and more over the bureaucratic, and this helps to bring the schools closer to vital problems of social and economic life and to adapt their methods to the tempo of technical development.

Courses in vocational rehabilitation sprang from this close con-

tact with social problems. It was a matter of retraining skilled workers thrown out of their jobs by the end of war production, in order to give them the chance of fitting themselves for peace-time work. They have shown themselves, in fact, an excellent method of combating unemployment (one of Italy's most pressing problems) and of increasing production as well.

The courses, schools, and workshops are more readily attended by the young than by the old. Workers there receive the rates of pay in force in the area for normal work. This financial help, increased during the last three or four years, is, however, still inadequate to meet the most urgent needs.

The task that faces vocational education in the years to come is vast in all its aspects. A method has to be found of giving a vocational training to millions of children between the ages of 11 and 18, not at present attending any school.

E. *Teaching in the Universities*

The conditions in which university teaching found itself just after the war is exactly pictured in the following extract from an official document:

> The situation in which university institutions found themselves after the end of the war was particularly grave, almost complete bankruptcy of university funds as a result of monetary inflation, in some places almost complete lack of buildings from the destruction and devastation caused by the war, equipment inadequate and sometimes non-existent, serious losses from the destruction and theft that took place during the war, financial difficulties of the staff of every grade; and an ever-increasing student population rising from 85,000 in 1940 to 127,000 in 1941, 146,000 in 1942, 190,000 in 1946. One must also add that the normal rate of work had been greatly upset by the need of meeting, in the students' interests, the special conditions in which many of them found themselves, exiled by force of circumstances from their normal places of study. From this came examinations at strange universities, the formality of entering their names for courses year after year, the holding of extra examinations and so on

It was, above all, necessary to re-create the essentials implicit in the function of a university. The principle of free election (which Fascism had replaced by nomination from above) was re-established in the appointment of members of the *Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione* (Higher Committee of Public Education), and in the election of the university rectors and heads of faculties. Distinguished members of the universities such as De Sanctis Orlando and Nitti, dismissed by the Fascists for refusing to take the oath of loyalty to the regime, were recalled to their chairs as an *amende honorable*.

By a series of measures the financial conditions of all the staff were improved and competitive appointment to permanent professorships (*cattedre di ruolo*) was reintroduced (about two hundred appointed since 1945). This had been suspended since 1943. The

most important measure dealing with the staff refers to the improvement in the position of the *assistenti* and technical instructors (*tecnici*), who have real importance in scientific research and teaching. Up to 1945 all these members of the staff were paid by the university which, in view of strained resources, paid ridiculous salaries, utterly insufficient to meet the simplest requirements. By the legislative decree of May 7th, 1948, all the members of staff mentioned above were given a permanent appointment by the state, and the *assistenti* and technical and administrative staff were assured a decent career.

A regular series of state regulations has also fixed, since 1945, the position of the students. Their fees up to now have been kept within very modest limits, quite out of proportion to the increased cost of living. To meet the needs of the poorest the Minister of Public Education has allocated in his budget every year since 1945 sums which are the equivalent of £10 million, supplemented by extra grants either from the same ministry or from funds available in individual universities.

Special forms of aid have been given exclusively to ex-Service students amounting to more than a milliard lire since 1945.

The state had spent more than 10 milliard lire up to the end of 1949 on the restoration of many buildings which had been destroyed or rendered unsuitable, and a further 3 milliard lire on the replacement of technical and scientific equipment. The Marshall Plan has made it possible also for the Ministry of Public Education to allocate for the same purpose the sum of 3 million dollars for the academic years 1948–9 and 1949–50. Unesco has made a handsome contribution to the replacement of books destroyed or stolen during the war.

Great efforts have also been made to straighten out the finances of special scientific institutions, which are of vital importance to the scientific future of the country. The allocations, however, made so far have been quite inadequate for the most urgent scientific and social needs.

Aid and Welfare (Assistenza)

(*a*) *General*

In spite of the great progress made also in this field since 1945, one cannot say that our schools have been enjoying up to now any wide or regular organisation dealing specifically with it. If we except the great contributions made by ECA, at present international grants limited to pupils in need, the duty of looking after primary school pupils lies with the School Charities (*Patronati Scolastici*), legal bodies to which, moreover, the communes are legally bound to contribute. This contribution is still quite inadequate. The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Public Education in the last two or three years, instead of

increasing these charities, recognised as legal bodies with public and legal status by a law of 1947 bearing the signature of the present Minister Gonella, have preferred to help with remarkably large subsidies church bodies (such as the *Pontificia Commissione di Assistenza*), which have almost entirely swallowed up the available funds amounting to about 15 milliard lire a year. Up to now, of this sum the School Charities have received at most 150 million lire by special dispensation, to provide for the needs of over seven hundred communal charities.

Church interference has also up to now prevented a definite settlement of the charities and lay welfare institutions in the question of the disposal of the vast funds left by the Fascist organisation *Gioventa italiana del Littorio*. These funds have for years continued to be in the hands of a special commission at the mercy of the greed of church institutions.

Since 1945 there has been a great increase in the provision of free meals and distribution of medical supplies through the efforts of the Swiss Donation, American, and other worthy international or foreign organisations. For example, in 1947 meals were provided for 862,761 pupils in 10,825 schools. In the secondary schools welfare work has been limited to schools for vocational training only. In the others, some assistance has been given to pupils in need with the help of school funds financed by the voluntary contributions of the better-off pupils. These funds to a limited extent contribute towards the payment of fees and the provision of textbooks.

Aid, such as funds, meals, etc., is given to university students in need from various sources, not all well organised in all universities. Only a few universities have places of residence, colleges, and students' hostels. Aid has been given in various forms also to secondary school pupils and university students who have suffered through the war, by the Office for Post-War Educational Welfare.

Although in the last five years a lively interest has been aroused in those concerned for the development of a school health service, and although various steps have begun to be taken in the direction of a more co-ordinated and effective medico-pedagogic organisation, we are far from the systematic establishment of such a service. By the efforts of the communes, especially larger ones, or by the initiative of the School Charities, there are in operation here and there preventive centres, clinics, sanatoria, for the treatment of special diseases (dental clinics, etc.), but no regulation yet lays down a permanent and complete health service in all schools. In recent years, in the schools of larger towns, there has been an increase in the number of women 'health visitors' (*vigilatrice sanataria*), who often extend their activities even into the children's homes.

(*b*) *Welfare of Handicapped Children* (Minorati)

This is one of the branches in which more attempts at improvement have been made since 1945. For children physically or mentally handicapped in Italy there are schools and institutes, some maintained by the state, others run privately and recognised and subsidised by the state.

Apart from the traditional institutes for the deaf and dumb and the blind there has been an increase in recent years of institutions for physically and mentally handicapped children. Among the former must be counted the institutions for children maimed in the war, which have given excellent results.

For backward children so-called 'special classes' (*classi differenziali*) are being established in the ordinary schools and they are entrusted to staff trained in the technique with special time-table and handling.

The education of handicapped children is continued in the secondary schools, which they enter from the special primary schools. They are there prepared for some vocation.

The institutions for handicapped children are also, however, at present exclusively restricted to the towns and are insufficient for the need.

In this sphere also the greatest efforts have consisted in reconstructing ruined and damaged buildings, reorganising school health services, welfare, and in the equipment of accommodation to take in as many mentally handicapped children as possible, of whom the number has been sadly increased on the one hand by urbanisation and on the other by the disturbances of the war. In the task of reconstruction, moral welfare organisations such as the Orthophrenic Training School at Rome have been outstanding. Among new institutions we can point to the '*Paolo Bini*' School for Epileptics at Milan, the Committee for Children's Medical and Pedagogic Welfare at Bologna, the *asilo-scuola* at Trieste, the Medico-pedagogic Institute called after Dr. Negroz, a pioneer in special education, at Bologna. The training of specialised staff has also made great progress.

Methods of educational activity based on the initiative and co-operation of the pupils have also penetrated into many institutes for medico-pedagogic welfare, and are facing their first trials with satisfactory results.

(*c*) *Training of Social Welfare Workers*

This has been provided only for a few years in a systematic way. To-day the preparation of personnel specialised in social work is entrusted to a number of schools—thirteen in the whole of Italy, nearly all created in 1946 and 1947—some of which are excellent, some less good. They have a two-years course of study, completed by a third year of specialisation. Students enter with a diploma

or certificate from the higher secondary schools (*maturita* in classics or science, etc.).

The teaching is given by university lecturers and qualified social workers. The theoretical side includes legal, psycho-pedagogic, medical subjects, and social economy. The practical side consists in training with business and welfare institutions and visits to organisations Those qualifying in these schools do not at present always find employment easily. The idea of social service has not yet penetrated deeply into public consciousness, but those with a diploma from these schools are beginning to find jobs in industry (as factory welfare officers), with workers' and trades-union organisations, welfare bodies, etc. Juvenile courts, and centres for observation and re-education have begun to make use of their services. Some have been employed in the few medico-pedagogic centres recently founded.

School Buildings

This is an old unsolved problem. School buildings were already inadequate before the Second World War. Few new buildings; in general, it was a matter of modification of old convents embodied by the state under the law of 1866, or of private dwellings badly adapted to educational purposes. The reason for this neglect can be traced to a fault in our legislation; the state has taken education upon itself little by little, while leaving the burden of the buildings to local authorities (in the case of primary and classical schools to the communes, in the case of technical schools to the provinces). But neither the communes nor the provinces, even in their most flourishing days, ever had at their disposal means adequate for this purpose. War destruction and the rise in school population have aggravated the need since 1945. There has been much building and rebuilding, but still not enough. What is more important, however, is the fact that there is a steady development of the view that the state cannot now any longer limit itself to subsidising the communes and the provinces for this purpose, as it has done in ever greater proportion in recent years, but that it should take upon itself the entire burden of school buildings. This is proposed by the Minister Gonella in his reform scheme.

The more recent buildings, especially those dating from the last five or six years, are built on a rational system, even if many of them have soon shown themselves inadequate in face of the rapid rise in school population. They have generally two floors, enjoying plenty of space, and are provided with gymnasiums, libraries, rooms for teachers' meetings and conferences, instructional museums, and sanitary installations. Recently the Minister of Education has insisted that the rate of building should more and more match the still great needs. At present there is a lack of 38,000 classrooms, 17,000 are below standard, and 20,000 must be

uilt to cope with the new classes recently created. A total of 5,000 new classrooms has to be provided.

dult Popular Education and the Fight against Illiteracy

Popular education, according to a recent official document, had een carried on up to 1946 by means of evening schools and *scuole estive* (held on holidays and Sundays) provided under the laws lealing with primary education which had been collected together n the comprehensive code of 1928 (*Testo Unico*). Only after the nd of the war did the Minister of Public Education organise a eally true movement with its own standing for adult education nd the fight against illiteracy.

With the law of December 17th, 1947, popular education for dults was established in Italy with three subdivisions: A lliteracy; B: Semi-illiteracy; C· Vocational refresher courses. Courses of types A and B are intended to replace or complete lementary education for all who missed it at the proper age. Courses of type C answer a demand for bringing up to date or nitially starting in a vocation adults already provided with full primary education. The age of admission is 12 years, the length f the courses five months, with a ten-to-fifteen-hours-a-week time-able.

This education is free, given day or evening, in the primary chools, factories, agricultural estates, emigration organisations, barracks, prisons, and every popular centre, especially in rural reas, where the need of it is shown.

Courses can be started when the number attending is not below en, and are entrusted to primary teachers, preferably unemployed. They numbered about 12,000 in 1947–8, 13,000 in 1948–9, and 9,000 in 1949–50, with special attention paid to central and outhern Italy and the islands, where more type A courses are eld. Private bodies, organisations, and societies take part in rranging and running these courses.

Besides the popular schools, there are courses of popular educa-ion arranged, above all with the help of private individuals and rganisations, among which are numerous courses on domestic life Milan, Turin, Rome, etc.), courses in social education, and other inds. One can mention particularly the National Society for the ight Against Illiteracy, and ENAL (National Workers' Welfare ssociation). Since 1947 a Central Committee for Popular Educa-ion has been at work at the Ministry of Education, with which all hese activities are linked.

he Gonella Scheme for Reform

On April 12th, 1947, the Minister Gonella started a vast national nquiry into educational reform which came to an end on April

29th, 1949. We wanted his questionnaire answered by schools, associations, organisations, families, civil and religious authorities. Too many people, and too many not competent. Democracy does not consist in consulting the general masses about the most subtle technical problems, but in consulting those competent and giving importance only to their suggestions. This initial mistake has robbed the inquiry of much of its authority and prestige. The religious preoccupations that inspire the Minister have helped to create wide suspicion about it among experts. On what lines is this reform, shortly to be presented to Parliament?

The scheme makes a new division of education into four stages (apart from some changes in nomenclature keeping fairly close to tradition): preparatory, junior, senior, and university. Special measures are envisaged for the teaching of art and for adult education. Compulsory education is extended from 6 years to 14 years. In so far as it is compulsory, secondary education is also free. School welfare work is extended as well to secondary schools and is financed by the state, which gives effect to "aid for pupils and their families". These last words envisage an attempt to make the state subsidise private schools by means of family subsidies, as is done in Belgium—a well-known church policy.

To enforce attendance an annual call-up of children reaching school age is introduced, based on school records to be kept in every educational centre.

Free compulsory junior education is given in the primary schools (five years) and in the secondary schools (three years). Primary schools have to be started in every place where there are at least fifteen children of school age, and where there is no other school, private or not, judged adequate by the educational authorities to implement the law.

A remarkable innovation is the new concept of the secondary school. The Minister insists on their being comprehensive, but in fact he returns to the past, dividing them into three sections, normal, classical, and technical, which should lead respectively to trades and vocational institutes, to the *liceo*, and to technical and vocational institutes.

The three sections have a common curriculum of general education, and specialised instruction for each section relative to the requirements of their aims. It is made easy for a child, making the wrong choice, to transfer from one section to another.

In reality the three branches answer very different requirements and have distinct aims. Even the teachers have different qualifications. The normal secondary education is in the hands of *maestri*, and is directed and supervised by teaching directors and school inspectors, while classical and technical secondary education is in the hands of *professori* and headmasters.

A three-years course at a school of art and the first three years

at a *conservatorio di musica* are equivalent to secondary education and count as school attendance.

Senior or secondary education (five years), preparing for the university and the practice of certain professions, is divided into three groups:

Group A—the *liceo*, classical, scientific, and teacher training (for the production of primary teachers). The scheme provides for the establishment of 'specialised departments' (*sezioni differenziate*) in the first two years of the various types of *liceo*, and these should enable capable, worthy, and impecunious pupils with certificates of the normal and technical schools to continue their studies by means of a shortened curriculum covering the special subjects taught in the classical secondary school and the ordinary curriculum for the subjects of the first two years of the *liceo*. Entrance to these departments is by competitive examination, which would grant a scholarship or a free place in a college.

Group B—technical institutes of various kinds (agricultural, industrial, etc.). Also, the establishment of specialised departments for pupils coming from the normal schools is envisaged, in them evening programmes could be adopted to allow young workers to attend.

Group C—vocational institutions, defined by the Minister as polytechnics (*politecnico del lavoro*). They are innovations which could turn out very successfully, if they are well realised. They have the aim of promoting "the moral and social development and vocational perfection of the workers, with cultural and technical education, and with practical training for qualification and specialisation of the workers within the scope of trades and of employees of operative class". Consequently they are open to young workers already employed, and it is made compulsory, moreover, for employers to guarantee their apprentices the chance of attending them. The employers can be made to contribute towards the maintenance of these institutions, which are divided into various categories: agriculture, industry, merchant navy, domestic subjects for women.

The greatest autonomy is assured these institutions. They ought to be widely extended, especially by the region and by the provincial associations (*consorzi*) with duties towards vocational education. In order to promote their development, the Minister of Education will set up an inter-Ministerial Committee of Vocational Education, with the task of co-ordinating the activities of the various ministries dealing with this aspect of education.

Art teaching, which has to train the young in the practice of arts and artistic crafts (*arti e artiglanato artistico*), will be provided through the following institutions: (*a*) schools of art (three years), with a complementary course of specialist training for artistic crafts; (*b*) institutes of art (five years), for the production of quali-

fied teachers of art; entrance from schools of art; (*c*) *liceo* of art (five years); entrance from institutes of art or from secondary schools: preparatory for the Academy of Fine Arts (five years), the College of Design, and the Faculty of Architecture (four years). The picture is completed by the Academy of Dramatic Art for the training of actors and producers for the theatre, the Academy of Cinematographic Art, and the Academy of Ballet.

A National 'Pensioner' (*Pensionato*) of Art has the task of completing the training of graduates from the Academies of Fine Arts or the *Conservatori* of Music, and of young people who show special aptitude.

The curricula for the primary and secondary schools are laid down by the newly created Consultative Council of National Teaching (*Consulta didattica nazionale*), and approved by the Minister of Education.

In the scheme a large place is given to private schools; the potential harm of which to the state schools is one of the strongholds of the party to which the Minister belongs.

There is envisaged a double type of free parental school (*scuola paterna libera*), when the education is given "on the initiative and under the responsibility of a number of fathers of families" associated for this purpose, state intervention is limited to ensuring that the compulsory lower education is carried out, when, however, it is given by private schools managed by organisations and private individuals, these cannot grant legally valid certificates of study unless the teaching staff and governing body are recognised as of sound moral and social behaviour, and unless the curriculum is approved by the competent authority.

The scheme envisages the setting up of special types of non-state schools with special aims and autonomous status. The object of these is to satisfy some of the needs of technical-vocational education and to encourage experiments and new methods. These schools can grant legally valid certificates of study with the previous approval of the Consultative Commission for Non-State Schools and the Consultative Council of National Teaching. Lastly, local and central authorities are given the power to allow the establishment by organisations or private individuals of special schools or educational communities on the lines of 'Children's Villages', 'School-Cities', 'School Families', 'Open-air Schools'. It is envisaged that the state can help in their maintenance.

Private schools complying with certain conditions can claim equality of status (*parita*) with the state schools. This comprises: (*a*) full freedom in teaching and administration, (*b*) treatment of the pupils on a level with that of pupils in state schools, (*c*) full validity for all results of studies and examinations. At the Ministry there are set up a Central Department of Non-State Schools and a Consultative Commission of Non-State Schools.

The attempts to favour the non-state school reach the point of making provision that "for their educational and social function non-state schools and educational institutes can be exempted from all fiscal burdens", an arrangement quite new in Italian legislation.

State examinations, envisaged by the Constitution, are instituted to ascertain the standards reached by the candidates and their capacities for further study or for their practice of a vocation, and also to ensure state control over all education, state or private.

At the end of the junior school courses, the pupils have to take a state examination for a secondary certificate (*licenza secondaria*). Senior school education also ends with a state examination having the validity of matriculation to university institutes or qualification for entry into a profession. The effectiveness of the state examinations will depend upon the way they are regulated. The Christian Democrats are inclined to stop its becoming a real form of selection according to ability, insisting on the inclusion in examination boards of members from private schools, who are ready to favour, often unduly, their own pupils' interests. The state examination boards ought to be formed of members having no connection with the schools from which the pupils come, whether state or private. Only on this condition can dispassionate and objective judgment be given.

The Gonella scheme does not introduce any basic changes in the organisation of the universities. Besides the existing faculties, though it may reorganise them slightly and gives them a large amount of independence, it introduces a Faculty of Pedagogy (the present Faculty of Teaching, *magistero*), and envisages the foundation of a university institute for physical education and sport.

In place of the present *laurea*, a degree at the end of each faculty course, there will be granted a *diploma dottorale*, which qualifies for schools of scientific specialisation (lasting at least one year) that grant the *laurea scientifica*, or schools for professional qualification (lasting at least one year) leading to state examinations qualifying for entry into a profession. When qualified, a student can enter a school specialising in a specific branch of the professions (*scuola di specializzazione*).

A notable innovation under the scheme is the attention paid to popular culture, of which no mention is made in present legislation. For popular education Gonella does not intend any longer that only the popular schools should fight illiteracy, but also workers' cultural courses, courses of lectures and readings, visits to museums, factories, and farms, tourist and recreational activities of an educational character. To facilitate the realisation of these aims he creates a school for social welfare workers (*assistenti sociali*) whose task would be to assure the working population's welfare in the sphere of education, trade unions, social insurance, and to draw closer the bonds between school and family. For this purpose there

is set up at the Ministry a new Central Service for Popular Education. The work of the schools is integrated by complementary institutions: the Consultative Council of National Teaching, National Teaching Centres, Teaching Departments of the Provincial School Representative Bodies, Parents' Associations (*comitati scuola-famiglio*). The first is the most important, being in substance a replica of the Higher Council of Public Education. They are largely institutions created on paper not corresponding to real needs of education.

The way the Minister, before the law has been approved as a whole, has already selected members of the council and the centres by criteria almost exclusively political and religious, paying almost no heed to real competence, has already robbed these bodies, with a very delicate task to perform, of all prestige.

The scheme gives an important place to school welfare, hygiene, buildings, and equipment. Welfare work will have to be carried out in the nursery and lower primary schools by the School Charities (*Patronati Scolastici*); in institutions of senior and artistic education by means of granting subsidies, bursaries, free places in colleges, family allowances; in the universities by means of bursaries, university allowances, family allowances, free places in colleges, etc.

A national fund for school welfare is created at the Ministry, to which the state assigns a yearly contribution to subsidise these activities.

A Central Service for School Hygiene has to supervise hygiene, directing the work of provincial school medical officers and school doctors, one for each school or group of schools.

School buildings and equipment of the primary schools and the *scuole normali* are the concern of the communes, whose task is taken over by the state, when they are not in a position to perform it. This is the greatest improvement on the present system. There are also envisaged state competitions with money prizes for the best scientific planning of universities, institutes, and centres for scientific research. The administration is largely decentralised. In addition to the present provincial authority a regional authority works in conjunction with the administration.

Conclusion

Real progress since 1945? Yes, and no. Yes, if we look at the work of material reconstruction and the administrative and bureaucratic reorganisation, which has been really remarkable. No, if we take into consideration the social reforms essential to any truly democratic reform of education: no, if we take into consideration the spirit of education. The political atmosphere of our country is ill-suited to the objective treatment and solution of educational problems. Italians are divided into two blocs, Communist and

clerical, both little disposed to listen to the voices of reason and truth, bound by dogmatic tenets that hinder the free flow of ideas and the creation of an open, dynamic public opinion. The hopes and enthusiasms for reform of the best days of the Resistance have faded in many hearts in the face of what are only apparent difficulties. The task ahead, however, will be hard. Any thorough reform of education implies the return to an atmosphere of normal human relationship and true liberty that can spring only from the lessening of international tension and the disintegration of the two antagonist parties. They seem as solid as granite but are not, and are destined, in fact, to crumble away reciprocally. Only then shall we be able to rededicate ourselves unselfishly to the task, and take up again the fight to create an education truly open to all according to their merits and abilities, truly alive and free, answering better to the constructive and critical demands of the modern civilisation of our time.

ERNEST CODIGNOLA.

SECTION V—PART ONE

THE U.S.S.R.

EDUCATION IN THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

THE Great October Socialist Revolution, arousing as it did the powerful creative forces of the Ukrainian people, created broad opportunities for the development of public education. Education became truly for the people, i.e. available to all, and aimed at satisfying the interests of the people.

In the Soviet years the Ukraine has become a territory where everyone is literate. The Soviet system flung wide the doors of elementary, secondary, and higher schools to the children of all the workers. The enormous allocations every year for public education make it possible to give every child a schooling, to build new schools, and to keep the schools properly equipped.

Before the revolution, under the tsarist regime, only one-fifth of all the children were able to attend school. Take the 1914–15 school year in the Ukraine: it saw 1,666,000 children in school, primarily the elementary school. There were only 449 secondary schools, and they were attended by 139,800 children, most of them the children of landlords, capitalists, high officials, and the clergy. The path to education was barred to the children of the working people. The children of workers or poor peasants could not even dream of attending a secondary or a higher school.

To-day the situation is quite different. The number of schools in the Soviet Ukraine is growing from year to year, and the number of children attending school is increasing. The republic has now 29,506 schools, attended by 6,643,400 children. The overwhelming majority of the children attend the junior secondary (with a seven-years course of study) and the secondary schools (with a ten-years course). The secondary schools have an attendance of 2,555,300, and the junior secondary 3,331,500. In the past few years there has been an especial increase in the number of junior secondary and secondary schools. The following figures show this: in the 1946–7 school year there were 8,617 junior secondary schools; now there are 12,921. In the same school year there were 2,468 secondary schools; now there are 3,952.

In the Soviet school the child is ensured the right to tuition in his native tongue. In the Ukrainian schools 5,103,200 children study in Ukrainian, 1,228,400 children in Russian, 33,900 in Moldavian, and 17,500 in Magyar. There are also Rumanian, Hungarian, and Polish schools.

Between 1917 and 1927 a total of 1,619 school buildings were erected in the Ukraine. In the following Five-Year Plan period (between 1928 and 1932), another 2,391 schools were built. Altogether, more than 7,000 big school buildings had been put up by the year 1941. In Kiev alone, in the few years before the Great Patriotic War, 70 new, multi-storey buildings for secondary schools were erected, whereas in the previous three hundred years the tsarist government had built only 12 schools. In the years since the war the republic has built 1,533 new schools—717 of them in the towns and 816 in the rural areas In 1950, 178 new secondary school buildings went up. Besides this, in the post-war years the Ukraine has had to restore the schools that were wrecked by the fascists. The invaders completely destroyed 8,108 schools and partially demolished more than 10,000 schools. For children who live more than three kilometres from the nearest school there are 1,400 schools, with places for 32,000 boarders.

During the period of the German fascist occupation most of the schools in the Ukraine were forced to close down. After the war ended the republic opened a network of evening schools for young workers and rural youth that gives all those desiring to obtain a diploma the opportunity to do so. In the current school year there are more than 270,000 urban and rural youth studying in these evening schools.

Before their reunion with the Soviet Ukraine, the western regions of the Ukraine had a population that was 70 per cent. illiterate. At the present time the western Ukraine has 7,680 elementary and secondary schools, attended by more than 1,300,000 children. In the past three years 1,087 schools have been built there. Before, the western regions had only five higher schools. Now there are 25 higher schools and 120 secondary specialised schools. The city of Lvov, which before had three higher schools, now has 14, and 32 secondary specialised schools. The higher schools of Lvov have a total enrolment of 15,000 students.

The youngest region of the Soviet Ukraine—the Trans-carpathian region—now has 845 schools, attended by 135,000 children. When the Trans-carpathian region was liberated only 10,000 children were attending school. The growth of schools has been especially significant in the mountain regions inhabited by Guzuls, where previously there were no schools at all. Secondary schools, with a ten-years course of study, have been established in Rakhovy, Bolshoi Bychkov, Yasevy, and other Guzul villages.

Besides, the Trans-carpathian region has 81 evening schools for

urban and rural youth who work, 6 seven-years music schools, 13 secondary specialised schools, a pedagogical institute, and a teacher training institute. In Verkhovina, where 80 per cent. of the population was illiterate, there are now 27 secondary and 170 junior secondary schools. Four years ago there was only one secondary Ukrainian school in Uzhgorod, and the town had 3,000 illiterates. To-day there are 11 schools, attended by 3,522 persons. Before it became a part of the Soviet Ukraine, Uzhgorod had only fourteen persons attending higher educational establishments, in other cities. To-day Uzhgorod has a university with a student body of 1,400, a music school, an industrial arts school, a school for intermediate medical personnel and midwives, and a secondary school training workers for the trade network.

There was not a single secondary school in the Volovetsk area of the Trans-carpathian region before it was reunited with the Soviet Ukraine, and the elementary schools were attended by only 1,650 children. Now there are 31 schools, 17 of them junior secondary and secondary schools, attended by more than 10,000. The area spends three million roubles annually on public education.

Before it became a part of the Soviet Ukraine, the Trans-carpathian region did not have a single club-house. Now there are 420 rural club-houses, 110 reading-rooms, 14 houses of culture, and 32 libraries. In 1951 the Trans-carpathian region spent 14 million roubles on education and enlightenment.

The Ukraine has a large number of extra-mural establishments for children. It has 248 young Pioneer Palaces and club-houses, 17 tourist stations, 63 children's Technical Stations, 42 athletic schools. In 1951, group activities in the schools of the Ukraine were conducted in 128,000 different types of circles, embracing more than 3,221,000 children.

The Soviet government is not sparing in its allocations for public education. In the course of the post-war Five-Year Plan period, more than 14,000 million roubles was spent under the state budget in our republic to operate the schools.

Every year tens of millions of roubles go to purchase visual aids and books for the science rooms and the school libraries. In 1950, 39,378,000 roubles was allocated for purchasing library books. In 1951 the school libraries of the republic contained 19,566,000 books. Since the war more than 136 million copies of textbooks have been issued in the Ukrainian language. More than 30 million textbooks were published in nine months of 1951. Since the war almost 500 million roubles has been spent on additional study equipment and aids, and on literature for the libraries

The schools of the Ukraine employ 292,273 teachers. The Ukraine has 27 pedagogical institutes and 33 teacher training schools, attended by 33,824 men and women. In addition, 39,440 people are studying by correspondence. These higher schools

annually graduate up to 8,000 teachers. The university, the pedagogical institutes, and the training schools graduated about 17,000 young teachers last year.

Great attention is paid to refresher courses for teachers: thousands of teachers attend such courses every year. These courses embrace special seminars, excursions, and conferences on teaching methods.

The Ukraine has exceptional successes to its credit in the development of higher education. Before the revolution the Ukraine had only 19 schools of higher learning, attended by 27,000 students. To-day our republic has 581 secondary technical schools and 158 higher schools, including seven universities with a total student body of about 418,000 persons.

There are more than 160,000 students in the higher schools. In addition, 55,000 persons are obtaining a higher education by correspondence. In 1951, 55,000 men and women matriculated at the higher schools. This year, in Kiev alone, 7,000 students entered the city's higher educational establishments. Since the end of the war, 356,000 specialists with higher and specialised secondary education have been graduated, and all of them have received work in their field.

The entire system of education and character building in our republic is permeated with ideas of humanism, peace, and friendship among the peoples.

GRIGORI PINCHUK.

EDUCATION IN THE BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.

BEFORE the Great October Socialist Revolution, that is, before 1917, Byelorussia was a backward borderland of tsarist Russia. No Byelorussian-language newspapers were issued there; no theatre staged plays in the Byelorussian language; there was not a single institution of higher learning. Eighty per cent. of the population of Byelorussia was illiterate.

There were entire districts, especially in the Pinsk and Polesie area, without a single school. 'Education' for children of the working folk was limited to primary school—but even these meagre opportunities were beyond the reach of vast numbers of children.

In the year 1911 only 21·8 per cent. of the total number of children of school age were attending primary school.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a broad road of political, economic, and cultural development for the Byelorussian people. The system of public education in Byelorussia was funda-

mentally reorganised. Education was made available to all working people, irrespective of sex, nationality, or property status. The Soviet Government did away with the system of schools of different types, each for children from a different class of society, and introduced a new system, the basic principle of which was a uniform, free, general-educational school. This system enabled any Soviet citizen to advance progressively from the primary school to the college or university. The number of primary, junior secondary (with a seven-years course of study), secondary (with a ten-years course of study), and higher schools in Byelorussia increased from year to year. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War there were more than 11,500 schools in the republic, a seventeenfold increase as compared with the pre-revolutionary period. While before the October Revolution there was not a single higher school in Byelorussia, in 1940 there were 26, and they had a student body of more than 20,000. During the Soviet years the technical high schools and the institutions of higher learning have trained tens of thousands of specialists for all branches of the republic's national economy and cultural fields.

Scientific research has also been developed on a broad scale in the republic, especially since 1929, when the Academy of Sciences of the Byelorussian S.S.R. was founded. Byelorussian Soviet art and literature have made big progress.

In September 1939 the Byelorussian people's dreams of a united Byelorussia came true; the western regions of Byelorussia were reunited with the Byelorussian S.S.R. Vast constructive effort was launched in all spheres of political, economic, and cultural activity in the western regions.

As part of this upbuilding the Soviet system of education, which embraces all the children, was set up in the western regions Here are some indicative figures. In September and October of 1939, primary and junior secondary schools were opened in all urban and rural localities. All children between the ages of 7 and 15 began to attend school, with instruction conducted in the native language. In the 1940–41 school year, 2,971 primary, 433 junior secondary, and 51 secondary schools were founded and functioning in the western regions. For the first time in their history the working people of the western territories of Byelorussia saw institutions of higher learning, which were opened in four regions. The 1940–41 school year found 430,000 children attending school in the western regions and 12,000 teachers working in the schools.

During the years they occupied Byelorussia the Hitlerites completely destroyed 6,808 primary, junior secondary, and secondary schools. Many other schools were greatly damaged and plundered.

Immediately after the Soviet Army liberated Byelorussia from the German fascist invaders, restoration of the schools and the public education system was begun on a vast scale.

At the present time 11,663 schools with an enrolment of 1,500,000 are functioning in the Byelorussian republic. The number of junior secondary and secondary schools has increased considerably. Whereas in 1940 there were 2,572 junior secondary schools, now there are 2,942, or 370 more. In 1940 there were 842 secondary schools, and now there are 913, or 71 more.

In 1949, on the basis of the successful post-war rehabilitation and development of the national economy, the Byelorussian republic, like the other republics of the Soviet Union, introduced universal, compulsory seven-years education in all urban and rural localities.

The network of higher schools has also grown substantially. To-day there are 31 higher schools in the republic (17 of them teachers' colleges). In 1950 they had a student body of 31,600, as compared with 21,500 in 1940. In the first five years after the war the higher schools of Byelorussia graduated 12,000 specialists, and the technical high schools graduated 34,500.

A broad network of evening schools for urban and rural working youth has been set up in the Byelorussian S S.R. In the current school year there are 232 such schools for urban working youth and 870 for rural working youth, as well as four inter-regional correspondence schools, with an enrolment of approximately 70,000 young workers and collective farmers.

In the post-war years 4,200 school buildings have been erected in Byelorussia. During the past three years (1949–51), 16,487,000 copies of textbooks have been published in the Byelorussian language, and the schools of Byelorussia have received, from the Textbook Publishing House of the R.S.F.S.R., 10,472,000 copies of textbooks published in the Russian language.

The expenditures for education in 1950 were 1,603 million roubles, or twice as much as in the pre-war year of 1940.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of teachers, chiefly from the graduating classes of the higher and secondary pedagogical schools and of Byelorussian State University. To-day, 66,000 teachers are employed in the schools of the republic; this is 11,500 more than in 1940.

The republic's network of extra-school establishments and methods bureaus, refresher courses, etc., has been restored and considerably enlarged. Now there are 181 district methods bureaus, 12 teachers' refresher institutes, 28 district Houses of Young Pioneers, 45 children's athletic schools, 26 Young Naturalists' Clubhouses, etc. The Institute of Teaching of the Ministry of Education of the Byelorussian S.S.R. is conducting a wide programme of work in the study and popularisation of teaching methods, as well as research on methodological and pedagogical problems.

We note with deep satisfaction that instruction in the schools is improving from year to year, and that there is a steady increase in

the number of pupils who graduate with gold or silver medals.

The noble and honourable work of the school teachers of the Byelorussian S S.R. has received a high appraisal from the Soviet Government, which has decorated 1,502 of them with Orders or Medals for prolonged and meritorious service. The Ministry of Education of the Byelorussian S.S.R. has awarded the Excellent Service Badge to 1,898 persons and has conferred the title of Honoured Schoolteacher of the Byelorussian S.S.R. on 217 persons.

FEDOT KAZAKOV.

EDUCATION IN THE LITHUANIAN S.S.R.

LITTLE attention was paid to problems of education in bourgeois Lithuania.

The difficult economic position of the working people and high tuition fees actually barred children of the working people from school: 60 per cent. of the children remained outside of school. In the 1938–9 academic year Lithuania had only 69 secondary schools and 27 junior secondary schools, attended altogether by 26,700 pupils, children of landlords, merchants, and rich peasants.

In 1940, after the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania, educational bodies were faced with urgent tasks of a radical reconstruction of education. In the 1940–41 academic year the law on compulsory universal education was applied for the first time in the history of the Lithuanian people. Children of the working people came to the republic's schools.

The Soviet state has made available to the broad masses of the Lithuanian people all the riches of education, science, literature, and art. Education has been developed on real democratic principles which express the interests of the entire people.

In 1950 Lithuania had 3,577 elementary, seven-years, and secondary schools, attended by 415,000 pupils. With the introduction of universal seven-years education the number of schools has increased to 4,074 and the number of pupils to 459,000. More than 12,000 young workers and collective farmers study in evening schools without interrupting their regular work. On finishing at these schools they are able to enter higher educational establishments.

The overwhelming majority of secondary school graduates continue to study at institutions of higher learning.

A big part in the development of education in the Lithuanian republic has been played by the application of seven-years com-

pulsory education. The organisation of seven-years and secondary boarding schools has helped to make education really universal. In these boarding schools pupils who live at a distance of more than three kilometres from school receive free of charge everything they need for study.

Instruction in schools of the Lithuanian republic is conducted in the native tongue. Textbooks, visual aids, and fiction are being published in Lithuanian.

In 1950, expenditure for education in the Lithuanian republic exceeded 450 million roubles. More than 500 million roubles for education were appropriated by the state budget of the Lithuanian republic for 1951.

The republic has established many extra-curricular institutions: five children's athletic schools, two palaces of Pioneers in Vilnius and Kaunas, a house of Pioneers in Klaipeda, a technical hobby centre in Kaunas, and a children's railway in Vilnius.

In post-war years 250 school buildings have been erected in the republic. Greater allotments for school equipment and study accessories have enabled educational bodies to provide schools with everything they need.

Many school libraries have been set up in the republic. In 1947 the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic assigned special funds from the centralised budget for replenishing the stocks of books in these libraries. In 1950 these appropriations amounted to 1,440,000. Much attention is paid to the publication of textbooks. In the current year 1,965,000 textbooks have been issued in Lithuanian.

Special educational establishments—the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, three teachers' institutes, and ten teachers' seminaries—have been set up in the Lithuanian republic. Correspondence departments have been opened at the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, the Siauliai Institute, and at the Kaunas, Klaipeda, and Panevezys teachers' seminaries. This year 2,253 teachers have attended advanced training courses. In 1951 the pedagogical educational establishments of Lithuania have graduated 1,300 teachers. The number of teachers in 1951 has reached 17,940, including 11,900 in rural districts.

The number of higher and special secondary educational establishments has grown considerably in the Lithuanian republic during recent years. Besides the Vilnius State University, the republic has a pedagogical institute, a polytechnical institute, a medical institute, agricultural academy, veterinary academy, physical-culture institute, art institute, institute of applied and decorative arts, a correspondence financial institute, and three teachers' institutes. The number of students in 42 special secondary educational establishments has increased from 6,400 in 1940 to 11,500, and the number of students in higher educational institutions from 5,900

to 14,000 in 1951. During the last two years more than 3,000 young specialists have been graduated by the republic's institutions of higher learning. How great an achievement this represents can be judged from the fact that in twenty years in bourgeois Lithuania only about 2,000 students received graduation diplomas.

The social composition of the students has changed considerably. In Soviet Lithuania the doors of higher educational establishments are wide open to children of working people. For example, of the 570 students who entered the Vilnius State University in autumn, 206 come from families of collective farmers, 163 come from workers' families, and the rest are children of office employees.

The radio, cinema, newspapers, and books have become part and parcel of the life of Lithuania's working people. Functioning in the towns and villages of the republic are now 110 houses of culture, more than 3,000 clubhouse reading rooms, and 128 big libraries. Close to 6,000 libraries have been organised in the villages.

The Soviet state has created all the conditions for the progress of the culture of the Lithuanian people. The new socialist culture has penetrated into the remotest corners of the republic.

ALBERTAS KNYVA.

EDUCATION IN THE ESTONIAN S.S.R.

THE rulers of bourgeois Estonia spread the legend that all children attended elementary schools. But even the official statistics of bourgeois Estonia refuted this. In 1938–9, in former Petsers *uyezd*, only 23 per cent. of the children of school age attended elementary school, in Vyruma, 44 per cent., and in the Tartu, 50 per cent. The same official statistics assert that about one-third of the school buildings were absolutely unfit for use. According to the statistical report for the 1938–9 school year only 58·8 per cent. of the children of school age received a six-years schooling.

The bourgeois government allocated meagre sums for education. In 1936–7 the budgetary expenditures on public education constituted in all 225,000 *kroon*, whereas the minimum required was 5 million *kroon*.

In 1940 the Estonian people established Soviet power and effected a radical reform in public education. Compulsory, free, seven-years schooling for children was introduced throughout the territory of the Estonian S.S R., and payment of state stipends in technical schools and higher educational establishments was instituted.

Soviet power eliminated the private colleges and boarding schools and transferred all schools to the state budget.

In all general educational schools (elementary, seven-years, and secondary schools), secondary technical schools, and institutions of higher learning throughout the territory of the Estonian S.S.R., tuition is conducted in the Estonian language. The Russian language is studied as a special subject. Only in the big cities of the Estonian S S.R. and in separate inhabited centres with a large Russian population have schools been opened where tuition is conducted in the Russian language, but in these schools, too, the Estonian language is obligatory as a special subject.

Compulsory, free, seven-years schooling has been realised in the republic.

Great damage was caused to the schools by the German Fascist invaders, who during the occupation of Estonia destroyed hundreds of school buildings and much equipment. And yet a month after Estonia's liberation from the Fascist invaders all the schools were already open. Some 1,026 general educational schools, including 781 seven-years, 205 elementary, and 40 secondary schools, functioned in the republic in the 1944–5 school year. By the beginning of the 1951–2 school year there were already 1,147 general educational schools, among them 86 secondary schools.

In bourgeois Estonia, 18 9 per cent. of the then meagre budget was spent on social-cultural measures. In the Estonian S.S.R., 54·5 per cent. of the substantially increased budget is allocated for these purposes. In 1951 the Estonian S.S.R allocated 324,952,000 roubles from the budget for public education. Three hundred and seventy boarding schools have been opened, which are attended by about 15,000 children. Most of the pupils in these schools are maintained by the state.

One hundred and fifty-seven schools have been restored and built anew in the republic in the years of Soviet power, of which 111 schools were completed in the four years 1948–51.

Evening schools for the urban and rural youth, correspondence courses at secondary schools, and secondary schools for adults have been opened. Young people engaged in production raise their educational level without leaving production. Functioning in the Estonian S.S.R. to-day are over 80 schools for the urban and rural youth, which are attended by about 7,500 people. Ten new schools for working youth have been opened in the current year, the attendance in which has increased by almost 1,000 people compared with last year. In addition, there are eight correspondence-course departments, and three schools for adults at secondary schools which are attended by about 2,000 people.

The more than 1,200 general educational schools now functioning in the Estonian S.S.R. are attended by over 150,000 school children.

The republic has 34 secondary technical schools, 12 of which are

within the system of the Ministry of Agriculture. Thousands of people attend agricultural schools and schools for mechanics.

A broad path to higher education has been opened to the youth of the Estonian S.S.R. Eight institutions of higher learning have been opened which are attended by about 7,000 students. The number of students is growing from year to year. While there were 1,187 students in the Tartu State University in 1944, the number to-day is close on 3,000. In the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute there were 1,191 students several years ago, and to-day the number is 1,736. Teachers' institutes have been opened in Tallinn and Tartu, which are to-day attended by about 2,000 students.

On the decision of the Soviet government another higher educational establishment—the Estonian Agricultural Academy—was opened in the Estonian S.S.R. in 1951. The new educational establishment has a staff of highly qualified teachers and an excellent material base. The Estonian Agricultural Academy trains agronomists, zoo technicians, sylviculturists, veterinary doctors, and other specialists.

In the Soviet school, children are brought up in a spirit of love and devotion to their homeland, in a spirit of respect for other peoples. The school inculcates a socialist attitude to work and develops feelings of deep responsibility for the common cause, feelings of comradeship and friendship.

The school maintains close contact with the pupils' parents. On their part, the parents, too, take a great interest in the life of the school. Parents' meetings, parents' committees, lectures for parents about how to bring up children—all this has taken firm root in the life of the family and school in our republic.

Our schools are well equipped and the equipment is being constantly replenished. Each secondary school has special rooms for physics, chemistry, and natural science. All the urban and rural seven-years schools also have well-equipped physico-chemical and natural-science rooms.

The republic's schools are well supplied with textbooks and study aids. Last year alone the publishing houses of the Estonian S.S.R. issued 113 textbooks in a total edition of 1 million copies.

The Ministry of Education of the Estonian S.S.R. has a staff of 8,306 teachers, 7,954 of whom work in general educational schools. All the teachers systematically improve their knowledge.

The Ministry of Education of the Estonian S.S.R. trains pedagogical cadres for schools and educational establishments in the following manner: three pedagogical schools train teachers for elementary classes; two teachers' institutes train teachers for the sixth and seventh classes, and the Tartu State University trains teachers for the eighth to eleventh classes.

In five years, 1,044 young specialists came to the schools of the Ministry of Education from pedagogical schools, 261 from peda-

gogical schools of pre-school education, 1,863 from teachers' institutes, 1,099 from the Tartu University; in all, over 4,000 specialists.

Functioning systematically in the republic are refresher courses for teachers.

The achievements attained in public education in Estonia created a real base for the development of the republic's science and culture, for the flourishing of literature, the theatre, music, and painting.

The Academy of Sciences of the Estonian S.S.R. was founded in 1946. About five hundred scientific workers are engaged in its thirteen scientific research institutes. Particularly fruitful is the work of the department of biological and agricultural sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian S.S.R.

The republic has a wide network of cultural-enlightenment institutions: 619 people's houses, 54 houses of culture, 27 trade-union clubs, and 1,335 libraries.

A society for the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge was organised in the Estonian S.S.R. in September 1947. At the beginning of 1948 the society had a membership of 160 people; to-day it has over a thousand regular members, and hundreds of candidates who delivered thousands of lectures.

This is how the culture of the Estonian people has flourished, a culture national in form and socialist in content.

VOLDEMAR OYA.

EDUCATION IN THE LATVIAN S.S.R.

THE bourgeois rulers of Latvia liked to vaunt their law on "universal compulsory six-years schooling". In reality this was a law only on paper, and tens of thousands of children stayed out of school. Only the well-to-do could give their children an education, while the overwhelming majority of children of working people, even when they somehow managed to get into elementary school, were able to attend only two to three years: they had early to go out and work for a living.

Besides the written law on universal compulsory six-years education, there was in Latvia an unwritten law under which it was held that a worker's education need not go beyond his ability to sign his name when getting his pay.

Here is what statistics show. In the 1933–4 school year, 46,922 children were admitted to the first grade of school, while in the sixth grade there remained only 12,338 pupils. Thus, only a quarter of the children who had enrolled in the first grade went through to the sixth grade.

But even this does not mean that all those who reached the sixth grade finished it. The educational system in bourgeois Latvia was so arranged that only a very restricted number of working people's children were able to finish the sixth grade and get the right to go to secondary school. Thus, in the 1936–7 school year only 60 per cent. of the pupils finished the sixth grade.

All this incontestably proves that the law on compulsory six-years schooling existed only on paper and in the demagogic speeches of the rulers.

To complete the picture it should be recalled that tuition fees in the secondary schools were very high, and therefore workers' children rarely managed to finish secondary school, let alone the university.

Truly enormous changes have taken place in the sphere of public education in Latvia since she has become a Soviet republic. The Soviet Constitution has not only granted the Latvian people the right to education, including also higher education, but has provided the conditions which make this right a reality.

In our republic we have universal compulsory seven-years education. Compared with 1940, the number of children attending school has greatly increased. At the end of the 1950–51 school year we had 1,532 schools, with an enrolment of 272,356. This year the number of schools has risen to 1,549 and their enrolment reaches nearly 297,000.

The census taken in 1935 revealed that 11·2 per cent. of Latvia's population over 10 years of age was completely illiterate.

In Soviet Latvia we now have such forms of education as skill-advancement courses at factories and mills, three-years agro-technical courses functioning in all the collective farms of our republic, and a ramified network of evening schools in the towns as well as in the rural communities. Thus we have now attained a position when every third person of our republic is studying.

By decision of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian S.S.R. we have this school year begun compulsory secondary education in six big cities of our republic: Riga, Liepaja, Jelgava, Daugavpils, Ventspils, and Rezekne. Also many rural districts are approaching this. For example, in Dobel District, 94·5 per cent. of the pupils who in the spring finished seven-years school are now continuing their education in general secondary schools or technical and other specialised technical schools. In many districts where, under bourgeois rule, there was not a single secondary school, we now have two to three such schools.

To date, we already have 156 secondary schools in our republic, which is more than twice the number we had before the war.

Doubled also has the number of secondary specialised schools in our republic. Thus in the 1950–51 school year we already had 66 secondary specialised schools with an enrolment of 17,876, including 1,200 correspondence students.

While in bourgeois Latvia the basic type of school was the four-years school, in Soviet Latvia the basic type is becoming the eleven-years secondary school.

Our government is devoting great attention and care to the education of young workers. This school year we have 67 evening schools in which 11,150 working lads and girls are getting a secondary education; and besides this, 58 rural evening schools. It should be noted that schools of this kind, with the exception of one single evening secondary school, did not exist at all in bourgeois Latvia.

Under the post-war Five-Year Plan, a number of higher educational institutions were opened in Latvia, including a theatrical, a medical, and a physical-culture institute. In all we now have 10 institutions of higher learning, attended by 14,000 students. In the course of the post-war Five-Year Plan, our higher education institutions and secondary specialised schools graduated 16,700 young specialists.

The composition of the student body in our schools and higher educational institutions has utterly changed. To-day our secondary schools and higher educational institutions are attended by children of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia.

The increase in the number of pupils in our republic has called for an increase in the number of schools. This was made further imperative by the fact that many school buildings were destroyed by the German invaders and many others required capital repairs.

Thus from the very first days after the termination of hostilities we began to rehabilitate existing schools and build new ones. The Soviet government provided large funds for these purposes. And in the past five years we have capitally repaired, rehabilitated, or built anew hundreds of schools. In 1951 alone, we have erected 23 new school buildings, including 14 for secondary schools to accommodate 7,510 pupils. All these schools have large and airy classrooms, recreation halls, laboratories, and sports grounds.

The expansion of the school network called for the training of more teachers. In the post-war years, 3,553 young teachers, graduates of teaching institutes, have come to our schools. In 1952 our schools will receive another 1,500 college-trained teachers. Our teachers of the older generation are systematically improving their knowledge at special courses.

The Soviet government allocates enormous funds for public education. For example, this year's budget provides 471,549,000 roubles for these purposes.

The Latvian youth is taking a most lively interest in science, literature, and art. That is why diverse extra-curricular circles have become so widespread and popular in our schools. Such circles as physics, chemistry, agronomy, literary, and chess draw particularly large numbers of pupils.

In the post-war years it became necessary to rewrite anew and publish textbooks and educational literature. This work was carried out by our best school teachers with the aid of specialists in methods of instruction and in the various sciences. The publishing house of our republic has in the past five years put out 949 titles of special school literature, aggregating 13,249,700 copies.

We can now confidently state that the schools of our republic possess rich material facilities, the necessary instructional aids, and cadres of skilled teachers able to carry on the work of rearing and educating our rising generation.

VILIS SAMSONS.

EDUCATION IN THE MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.

FOR twenty-two years Bessarabia lay under the yoke of the Rumanian *boyars*. During this period of occupation culture in Bessarabia fell into a total decline. The Moldavian people were almost all illiterate; only a small number of children received an elementary education.

The school network which functioned under the Rumanian *boyars* was cryingly inadequate for the needs of the working people. Fees had to be paid for secondary school instruction, which put it completely out of the reach of the sons and daughters of working folk.

As for higher schools, Bessarabia had none whatever, with the exception of the departments of agronomy and theology opened by the Jassy University in Kishinev.

The Rumanian *boyars* deprived the Moldavian people of the right to speak, write, or study in their native language. Instruction in all schools was conducted exclusively in Rumanian.

In 1940 the Moldavian people established Soviet rule in Bessarabia and rejoined the Soviet Union. Complying with the wishes of the working people of Bessarabia and of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, on August 2nd, 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted a law on the formation of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

One of the primary tasks facing the Soviet government of the Moldavian Republic was the creation of a new school system.

The government introduced the Soviet system of public education and opened a wide network of schools. It fully implemented the principle of a uniform general educational system, with instruction in the native language.

For the first time in history the working masses of Bessarabia

were able to provide their children with instruction in their native tongue. The doors of the schools were flung wide open to all.

In 1941 the Moldavian S.S.R. had 1,896 schools, of which 1,478 were primary schools, 327 junior secondary schools (with a seven-years course of study), and 91 secondary schools (with a ten-years course of study). School enrolment, including over-age adolescents and those attending junior secondary and secondary evening schools, was 465,059.

Eloquently indicative of the mighty upswing in public education are the budget figures: under the 1941 budget of the Moldavian S.S.R. the appropriations for public education totalled 192,315,000 roubles, and for social and cultural undertakings, 295,000,000 roubles, or 63·5 per cent. of all budget expenditures.

In 1940 and 1941, funds were appropriated for the construction of fifty new school buildings and other children's establishments. Extra-school and pre-school establishments were opened in the cities and villages of the republic.

An outstanding achievement was the development of higher education in the Moldavian S.S.R. Four institutions of higher learning were opened in Kishinev to train specialists for the national economy and the cultural fields. They were: a college of agriculture, a college of pedagogy, a teachers' college, and a conservatoire of music. Full opportunities for a higher education were opened up to the children of the workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia.

Besides the higher schools, thirty-two secondary, professional, and technical schools were founded. These schools, attended by lads and girls of the local nationality, trained teachers and specialists for work in agriculture, the trade network, the libraries, and other fields.

During the Second World War the German invaders dealt the Moldavian public educational system colossal damage. They wrecked a large number of schools and pillaged the school equipment. The Fascist barbarians shipped out and destroyed more than three million books and a vast quantity of teaching aids.

Immediately after Moldavia was liberated from the German Fascist invaders the government of the republic set to work to restore the schools. At the same time, major attention was paid to further development of the system of public education. In 1950, compulsory seven-years education was instituted in the rural localities and ten-years education in the towns.

The number of junior secondary and secondary schools is growing. While in the 1944–5 school year there were 253 junior secondary schools and 37 secondary schools in the Moldavian Republic, to-day the figures are 935 and 171 respectively.

From these schools Moldavian boys and girls go to specialised secondary schools or higher schools to continue their education.

There are now 38 specialised secondary schools in the republic, and eight higher schools: the state university, colleges of medicine, agriculture, and teaching, a conservatoire of music, and teachers' colleges in Tiraspol, Beltsy, and Soroki. They are attended by more than fourteen thousand boys and girls. In recent years Moldavia's higher schools and specialised secondary schools have graduated more than twelve thousand specialists.

The broad programme of further economic and cultural construction which is being carried out in the republic includes another expansion of the network of secondary schools, especially in the rural localities. At rural junior secondary schools, boarding schools have been set up for pupils who live farther than three kilometres away.

In 1951 the government of the Moldavian Republic appropriated 404,800,000 roubles for public education.

All the schools are now housed in regular school buildings. Thanks to the increasing budget appropriations, the schools are supplied with all the necessary equipment, and their libraries are growing all the time.

In view of the substantial increase in the number of junior secondary and secondary schools, the Ministry of Education of the Moldavian S.S.R. is paying much attention to the training of teachers. To-day, 17,900 school teachers are employed in the republic.

Advanced training for teachers has been carried out on a broad scale.

At the beginning of the current school year a new contingent of 896 young teachers began work. They are graduates of the teachers' colleges and schools and the university.

The progress in public education has created the prerequisites for the development of science and art in Moldavia. The culture of the Moldavian people is in full flower.

Books, the radio, newspapers, and the cinema have become part and parcel of the everyday life of the people of Moldavia. Since 1940 the number of cinema installations in the republic has increased four times, and the number of cultural clubs and libraries more than five times. Four times as many books are put out: textbooks, social and economic literature, science and popular science, and fiction and poetry.

The profound changes that have taken place in the life of the Moldavian people in this brief period show strikingly that the Soviet social system ensures the popular masses unprecedented opportunities for the development of their creative forces.

AGRIPPINA KRACHUN,

SECTION V—PART TWO

EASTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER ONE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE first post-war government on the soil of the Czechoslovak republic, which was nominated by the President's decree on April 4th, 1945, at Košice, submitted the next day a programme indicating the chief aims which it would endeavour to fulfil. This Košice government programme, which forms a historic document of the beginnings of the reliberated republic, states also the main principles for the education of young people and the work of the schools in the new state.

The government's first concern was for the removal of all the handicaps and the repair of the damage which Czechoslovak education had incurred as a result of the German occupation. It was necessary to restore the Czech and Slovak schools which the invaders had closed. It was necessary, as soon as possible, to enable all students at universities and colleges, which had been closed during the occupation, to complete their studies. It was necessary to provide educational accessories and equipment which had been destroyed or stolen by the invaders.

The Košice government programme proclaimed a cultural scheme with new directives emerging from the new situation and the new international position of the Czechoslovak republic. In the first place there was a demand for a thorough-going democratisation of the schools and universities. This meant making the schools and other sources of education and culture accessible to the masses, and popularising the actual system of education and the nature of culture, which was no longer to serve only a narrow section of people but the nation as a whole. This meant also establishing the closest possible relations with the Soviet Union, our great ally, in a cultural respect as well. The curriculum of the schools would make it possible for our young people to become acquainted with the origins, the foundation, the development, the economy, and the culture of the Soviet Union, and to acquire a knowledge of the Russian language before learning any others which would be taught in the schools.

With regard to all these principles, the government's programme was prompted by the work of our classical writers, and insisted that

the further development of our culture should proceed in an enlightened, popular, and national spirit.

The principles of the Košice government programme were at once introduced into all schools in Czechoslovakia through a number of measures affecting their organisation. At the same time the fundamental structure of the educational system underwent no change as compared with the period before 1938, and the progressive elements in the national front now prepared a profound change in the educational system, so that, in respect of organisation and general trend, this system should conform with the aim pursued by the Czechoslovak people in the creation of a socialist state. Accordingly, after 1945, these popular elements of the national front, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, postulated the need for a unified school which would fulfil the educational demands of the Košice programme.

Preparatory work was performed relating to a law for the provision of a unified school, and this law, just as a series of other fundamental laws (the new constitution, agricultural legislation, etc.), became the subject of a political struggle, with the bourgeoisie in opposition. This opposition on their part was intensified to such a pitch that, in February 1948, they made an attempt to reverse the political development, but in the end a decisive defeat was inflicted on the reactionary elements in the national front, and the progressive forces in Czechoslovakia were victorious. This victory of the working people, led by the Communist Party, in February 1948 brought Czechoslovakia on the road to socialism. After this victory, cultural education became a powerful implement in the hands of the working classes in the struggle against the remnants of capitalism and for the training of a new generation which would build up socialism and develop it further.

After the victory in February, the law providing for a unified school was quickly put into effect. It was passed by the National Assembly on April 21st, 1948. This was the first decisive step on the road towards socialist education. Under the terms of this law, the education and training of all young people up to the age of 15 were entrusted to the common school. A uniform curriculum was drawn up, involving compulsory school attendance for nine years, and providing all young people in Czechoslovakia with the same fundamental general education. This law put an end to the educational curriculum in Czechoslovakia, which had been of a bourgeois character with class prejudices, and favoured the interests of the ruling capitalist class by allotting young people to various types of schools which fulfilled a twofold purpose. The schools of the lowest type trained the masses of the workers in a manner making it possible for them to be better exploited, while the schools of the higher type trained the children of persons belonging to the exploiter class.

Thus, from the beginning of the school year 1948–9, the common school in Czechoslovakia was fully established. The law relating to it set up also a higher grade of school, the selective school of the third grade, linked up with the common school and either preparing pupils for study at institutions of university rank or training those who intended to specialise in industry, administrative work, agriculture, health services, etc.

After these changes in the educational system had been effected under the terms of the Common School Bill, the National Assembly on May 18th, 1950, passed a law relating to institutions of university rank. This ensured the complete reconstruction of the educational system in Czechoslovakia.

These two important laws enunciate the principles of the internal trend of the whole educational system. All Czechoslovak laws passed by the National Assembly after February 1948 are an expression of the will of the working people to construct Czechoslovakia into a socialist state. Accordingly, by these laws the schools in Czechoslovakia are given the task of training the younger generation as conscious builders of socialism. Education and teaching serve the great purpose of transforming society into a socialist society. Hence the entirely new position of the school in society, and the entirely new relationship of the working people towards education. Their attitude towards schools and teachers is one of keen enthusiasm, and they follow with close interest the work of the schools, helping it in every possible way. At the same time, the school is in the closest touch with all those constructive problems raised by a period in which socialism is being built up, industrialisation rapidly developed, and agriculture transformed into co-operative large-scale output. The school is also closely associated with out-of-school activities, and this not only promotes its educational influence upon pupils, but brings it to bear upon the widest circles of the public as well.

Educational System in Czechoslovakia

Preparatory Training

Children between the ages of 3 and 6 attend a kindergarten school. This attendance is voluntary, but the government can specify under what conditions it can be made compulsory for children from the age of 5. In 1951 the number of children between the ages of 3 and 6 attending kindergarten schools was 256,000, and the number of these schools is rapidly increasing. There are, however, still not enough of them to provide for the needs of all children coming within the appropriate age-category. Only when the economic bases of socialism have been fully constructed will the conditions make it possible for this type of education to reach all the children for whom it is intended. At this stage in the development of socialism, when output is increasing by

leaps and bounds, when new industrial factories are spreading throughout the country and agriculture is being transformed, there is a considerable shortage of labour. The result is that women who hitherto attended only to their households and their children are entering industry, and their children have a priority for admittance to the kindergarten schools.

The main task of the kindergarten schools is to educate children under the guidance of specially trained teachers in collective surroundings, the educational work being supplemented by due regard for the children's hygienic and social requirements, these latter activities reaching a high standard.

Great care is devoted to the premises of kindergarten schools. As a result of the democratic revolution in 1945, the mansions and villas previously belonging to Nazi collaborators were made available for these schools. Facilities for meeting the material needs of the children are being extended, thus making it possible for their mothers to be engaged in productive work. This means that to an ever-increasing extent the children are being provided with meals and are being looked after all day. These arrangements in 1948 were available in only 9 per cent. of the kindergarten schools, while in 1950 the percentage was already 30, and progress in this respect, supported by the state, is rapidly on the increase. Thus these schools, besides fulfilling their educative purpose, are substantially contributing towards the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in industry.

The National School (First Grade)

At the age of 6 every child enters the national school, which provides a curriculum covering five years. During the past few years there has been a constant increase in the population, and particularly in the urban areas there is a shortage of accommodation for classes. In the cities this temporary difficulty is being dealt with by a system of teaching in two shifts. In the rural areas there is a decline in the number of pupils. We are building new schools in the industrial towns, and wherever new settlements or new towns are growing as the result of industrial factories recently established in such areas.

The internal trend of our national schools is fundamentally different from that of the schools under capitalism. In the era of capitalism the children of the workers were given only a superficial general education, scattered in many directions and touching upon many interests, the result being that it failed to provide them with a basis for a further development of their knowledge of the world, nature, and society. On the other hand, the work in our national schools aims at a deeper penetration of the main subjects, and its purpose is to provide lasting fundamental knowledge. Primarily it aims at equipping all pupils with a thorough mastery of their native language, spoken and written. It also seeks to inculcate the

habit of independent reading as a means for the further development of knowledge. The teaching of the native language in the national schools is accompanied by instruction in the rudiments of social and natural sciences. The next subject of primary importance is mathematics, the function of which is regarded as being not merely a means of preparation for practical life but also a medium for the exercise of logical thought. During the first three years the work in the national schools is concentrated entirely on native language and figures and, in the last two years, it is extended so as to include also history, geography, and natural science.

The scheme of education in the national schools is the same both in the urban and in the rural areas, but at village schools in the smaller communities the work is arranged on somewhat different lines. Where the number of children is small, the whole national school consists either of a single class or of two classes, and such schools are attended by 27 per cent. of the children. In schools of this kind, the teachers' work is more difficult and, in consequence, the results are not up to the standard of those in the schools with five classes. The educational authorities are devoting considerable care to the work in the rural schools, and during the school year ahead considerable progress in this respect has already been planned. In the rural areas during the period of transition towards socialism the national schools have an important political mission. In them the pupils are made acquainted with the fundamentals of socialism, and they are trained for their new tasks. At the same time, the influence of these schools operates beyond their actual scope and is exerted upon the parents of the pupils and, in fact, the whole of the rural area in which they are situated. Teachers in these schools are of great assistance to the farmers in the establishment of agricultural co-operatives, while many of them carry on research work and give talks on Soviet agricultural science. This is an outstanding instance of the democratisation and the popularisation of the school system, which is thus brought into touch with everyday life.

The Secondary Stage

The law relating to the common school has created conditions making it possible for every child, after completing attendance at a national school, to enter a school of the second grade, a secondary school. Attendance at such a school begins at the age of 11 and continues for four years. As early as 1948 so dense a network of secondary schools was established that, apart from the remotest areas, no pupil lives at a distance greater than three miles from a secondary school. There are only 1,763 pupils throughout the republic this year attending what are known as 'incomplete secondary schools', which have been set up for the few children in the remote mountain areas. Thus, practically speaking, all young people now have an opportunity of attending a secondary school.

The aim of the secondary school is a fundamental general education in all subjects preparatory to further specialised training or to courses of study at schools of a higher grade. In addition to the two fundamental subjects on the curriculum, which continue to be the native language and mathematics, social and natural sciences are also taught. The object of the secondary school is to provide the pupil with the foundations of a scientific outlook and a knowledge of the laws of science, as well as an understanding of social development and an active attitude towards the building up of socialism.

Both in the national and the secondary schools all teaching is accompanied by systematic instruction in the chief methods of manufacture, and in the rudiments of technical knowledge and processes. Pupils are also instilled with a respect for labour as the source of social progress and prosperity. In this way, the school enables each pupil to perceive his aim in life and the clear perspectives of socialist society.

At an early stage in his education the pupil is encouraged to develop an interest in those subjects for which he has a particular ability and liking. After school hours pupils undertake voluntary work, either in the school workshops or in the workshops of factories, which are affiliated with the schools for this purpose. In this way they gain a knowledge of the fundamentals of technical subjects or they work in biological, physical, or chemical laboratories. From 1951 onwards every school has its own experimental area of ground on which the pupils carry out practical tests in scientific agriculture and gain a knowledge of the methods of the Soviet scientists Michurin and Lysenko.

In 1951, for the first time, all pupils underwent final examinations at the end of their compulsory school attendance. This served as a means of assessing the results of the school work and led to a considerable improvement in it. At the same time the results of these examinations made it possible to advise the pupil and his parents as to his future occupation or as to what course of higher study he should pursue. The examination commissions were kept informed about the requirements of the individual branches of manufacture and study, so that as a sequel to the examinations young people of the age of 15 were duly allocated to employment, not only in accordance with their special abilities but also in a manner best suited to the purposes of the five-year economic plan. These arrangements proved most satisfactory both to the pupils and to their parents, and the scheme has become a permanent one which will undergo further improvements. It has been found that this system stimulates the pupils to take a pride in their work and an eagerness to display their abilities before the examination commissions, on which there are representatives both of the schools and of the parents, together with representatives of the national committees and youth organisations.

Training of Apprentices

After completing their compulsory school attendance, the majority of young people enter one or other branch of industry as apprentices. At the present time there is a considerable expansion in the mining, engineering, and building industries, and they accordingly absorb the largest number of apprentices. In 1950 and 1951, modern hostels, capable of accommodating thousands upon thousands of apprentices, have been set up as annexes to industrial concerns and coal-mines. In these hostels the apprentices have their living-quarters, and in their leisure they continue their education, carry on sporting activities, learn music, etc., under expert guidance. In the factories they have workshops and training centres of their own. The workshop, the training centre, and the hostel form a single educative unit under joint leadership. From the beginning of 1952 special training centres for factory work will be set up for apprentices and, on completion of these courses, the trainees will form a state labour reserve, similar to the system in the Soviet Union.

The Third Stage

Higher education is available in the selective schools, to which the best pupils are admitted on completion of their compulsory school attendance if, as a result of their final examinations, they have been recommended for further study. These schools are also open to all young workers who make application and pass the requisite test. Before undergoing this test young factory workers take a revision course covering the secondary school syllabus, and for this purpose facilities are granted to them in the vicinity of the factory or in the factory itself.

The 'gymnasium' or grammar school prepares pupils for further study at universities or technical high schools. The course of study there covers four years and is completed by a qualifying examination. Before the law relating to the unified school was passed, the 'gymnasium' was a school comprising eight classes, attendance beginning at the age of 11. Even at that age young people were then sorted out into two groups, one selected for study and the other for physical labour. In the unified school all young people are educated in common until the age of 15.

Parallel with the 'gymnasium' there are further types of schools of the third grade which provide higher education. There is, for example, a four-class pedagogic 'gymnasium' which trains teachers for the national schools, and some of them have special courses for women teachers who intend to take up employment in the kindergarten school. This type of school was established at the beginning of the school year 1950–51, and the first year of its activity has proved extremely successful. The setting up of these schools and, in particular, the improvement in teachers' salaries have made the

teaching profession very attractive, so that there will certainly be no shortage of teachers to supply future needs.

Specialists intending to work in administrative capacities, trade, health services, and all branches of manufacturing output receive their preparatory training in special schools adapted to their particular purpose. These schools form a very complex system, and the rapid development of industry and the whole of the national economy make it necessary to add to their number and to the scope of their specialisation each year. New schools which give training in industry are being opened in the vicinity of industrial works or as an integral part of them. As compared with 1938, the number of classes in such schools has increased by 180 per cent., and the number of pupils by 340 per cent.

Among these schools should be mentioned the agricultural colleges with two-years and four-years courses. The more advanced students in them specialise in such branches of their subject as those connected with factories, co-operatives, planning, home trade, foreign trade, etc. They include, also, colleges of hygiene, which give a training to middle-grade health workers, and also colleges which provide courses in nutrition. These latter are intended chiefly for female students.

The training of middle-grade technicians is provided by colleges of industry with two-years and four-years courses. According to their chief subject of instruction they are divided into engineering, electro-technical, building, chemical, mining, smelting establishments, etc. This process of specialisation is being constantly elaborated, and already there are such establishments as, for example, an engineering college for mechanised agriculture, a chemical college for the technology of synthetic products, etc.

During the capitalist period higher education, which we now include under the category of schools of the third grade, had quite a different purpose from its present one, under the people's democracy. At that time it was for the benefit of children of the ruling bourgeoisie, who were to be trained as representatives and servants of the capitalist order. To-day these schools train the most gifted children of workers, industrial or agricultural, and of intellectuals to cope with the tasks involved by the building up of socialism. The social background of the pupils in these schools has fundamentally changed. Up to 1938 they were attended on an average by 8 per cent. of children of workers, while to-day the corresponding percentage is more than 50. Most of these schools are now provided with accommodation for boarders, and in 1951 the scholarships tenable at these schools involved a state expenditure of 223,332,000 crowns.

The period occupied with the building up of socialism, however, requires a far greater number of qualified workers than can be trained in the normal schools. For this reason large industrial

works are organising specialised training which will not only ensure for them a constantly increasing supply of specialists, but will also promote the development of inventions and new working methods. At the beginning of 1952, evening classes are being opened in the factories where workers, in their spare time, can receive a training equivalent to that given in schools of the third grade, and will be enabled also to continue their studies at an institution of university rank. This arrangement will ensure that the right to education, guaranteed to every citizen by the constitution, will not remain an empty phrase but will be put into effect.

In a popular democratic country in which the leading political power is the working class, one of the primary tasks is to train intellectuals of working-class origin. From 1949 onwards this task had been carried out by state courses to prepare workers for university study. Each year about 2,000 young workers, industrial and agricultural, take these courses and qualify for admittance to a university. These pupils live in hostels, and during the period of their studies they and their families are supported by the state.

Universities

The development of science and technical knowledge is essential to the successful building up of socialism, and for that reason the universities in our republic have particularly important and responsible functions. The period since 1945 has therefore been marked by a conspicuous expansion of the universities. In 1938 Czechoslovakia had eleven universities or institutes of university rank, situated in the three largest cities. In 1951 there are twenty-one such institutions and eleven subsidiary faculties, situated in eleven cities. As compared with 1938 the number of university students has doubled, while in Slovakia the increase has been as much as 3·6 times greater.

An advisory body has been set up, known as the State University Committee, the members of which comprise not only university professors but also prominent specialists from the domain of industry and economy. This body works in close touch with the Minister of Education, and its chief object is to ensure that the universities can keep pace with the needs of the country's development. In this respect much help has been derived from the Soviet Union, from whose experiences valuable guidance has been obtained. Moreover, lectures are delivered at Czechoslovak universities and other centres of learning by Soviet specialists, while Czechoslovak students are admitted to universities in Soviet Russia.

After 1945, new university colleges for the study of engineering, chemistry, and mining were established in industrial areas, new medical faculties came into existence, and a number of institutions of university rank were founded for the study of subjects connected with political service, home and foreign, and for the training of

practitioners in the domain of the graphic arts, music, the theatre, and films.

The decisive factor, however, is the change in the internal trend of these institutions. The tendency of the teaching provided in them is opposed to the survivals of bourgeois doctrine, and knowledge is developed on a basis of dialectical and historical materialism. The fundamentals of the doctrine of Marxism and Leninism form a compulsory subject for all university students, and our universities train a new type of scholar and intellectual, devoted to the development of socialism and the idea of the international solidarity of the working class.

Hygienic and Social Welfare in Schools

Since 1945 there has been an extension of the care devoted to the physical development of pupils in all schools, as well as to their state of health and conditions of life. All pupils regularly undergo medical inspection by doctors who keep records of their findings and are responsible for preventive medical attention, in close co-operation with parents and teachers. The state is defraying the cost of a constantly widening system of providing meals for school children, and kitchens and dining-rooms are already established in most of the national and secondary schools. The pupils receive light refreshments and, later on, a midday meal, part of the cost being defrayed by the state. Special arrangements are also made for the benefit of pupils whose parents are absent from the home for many hours each day at their work, and also for pupils living at any considerable distance from the school.

Physical and military training is compulsory in all schools. In addition to this, however, voluntary physical training in the pupils' spare time is given under the direction of the Sokol gymnastic organisation. The value of this physical training is reinforced by the fact that pupils are under constant supervision, and that for the most part they are living in state hostels or are taking their meals in the schools. As a result, a new generation of young people is growing up, physically fit and with a high working morale. Their patriotic sentiments are shown by the enthusiasm with which they enter into their work in all its aspects, and also by their firm determination to defend their popular democratic country against any aggressor.

Pedagogical Studies and the Training of Teachers

In 1945, centres were started for the development of progressive pedagogic theories as a source of assistance to all our schools. At Prague the Komenský Pedagogical Research Institute was founded, and at Bratislava the State Pedagogical Institute. Independent pedagogical faculties were opened at the universities, and in them training is given to students intending to become teachers in schools of Grades I to III. Teachers in schools of Grade III receive train-

ing in their special subjects in the scientific, philological, and philosophic-historic faculties. The new pedagogical science is based upon that taught in the Soviet Union, and is opposed to the survivals from the pedagogical doctrines of the bourgeoisie by which the schools were influenced before 1945.

Since 1945 the pedagogical research institutes have been helping with the preparation of new textbooks for schools. In 1950–51 no fewer than sixty-nine miscellaneous textbooks for national and secondary schools have been issued, the total number of copies being 4,876,000, while textbooks for schools of the third grade are also being published as required. All textbooks are issued by the state textbook publishing concern, and are supplied to the schools direct at cost price. These textbooks are among the cheapest books in Czechoslovakia, and each pupil has his own because he can afford to buy them. This means that poorer pupils will no longer, as in the past, have to borrow their textbooks.

The Ministry of Education is constantly promoting the further training of teachers. It issues fifteen pedagogic periodicals and, together with the teachers' co-operative organisation, a weekly paper, *Učitelské noviny* (*The Teachers' News*). It arranges special and political courses which last for three months and which are attended by selected teachers, grouped numerically according to their special subjects in such a way that, in each local area, a collective of highly qualified pedagogic workers is brought into being. The Ministry also arranges holiday courses, fortnightly and monthly, attended by thousands of teachers, who for this purpose are accommodated in hostels and receive support also from their professional organisation to make such attendance possible.

At the end of each school year a conference is held at Prague, attended by teachers and educational workers from all parts of the republic. Addresses are delivered there by the Minister of Education and delegates from regional and local areas and schools.

The government is also attending to the material interests of teachers, and the salary law, passed in 1950, places them among the best-paid callings in the state. In the 1951 budget 11 per cent. of the total was allotted in education. In 1951 was initiated also a new system enabling teachers, while continuing their employment, to benefit by the courses at pedagogical faculties. This means that, as in the Soviet Union, teachers previously unable to study at a university receive written instruction from the authorities at a pedagogical faculty. They also send advisory representatives to meet them at specified centres and arrange laboratory practice for them.

Youth Organisations

The Czechoslovak Youth League is establishing pioneer sections at schools for pupils up to the age of 15. In these sections collective

educational work is carried on out of school hours, and is under the charge of young workers or students. These sections contain the best and aptest pupils. Their sense of discipline and attitude towards school work have a favourable influence on the other pupils, and thus help the teachers in their duties. At schools for pupils above the age of 15, school groups of the Czechoslovak Youth League pursue activities, the aim of which is to promote political education and to encourage young people to share in the building up of socialism during the holidays. The influence of youth organisations upon the education of all pupils is a new asset which was unknown in the bourgeois schools.

School Administration

After the declaration of the new constitution in 1948 the whole of the state administration was reorganised, the guiding principle of this process being decentralisation. As regards educational matters, the central body, the Ministry of Education, Sciences, and Arts, has functions which involve directing, supervising, and the setting up of standards. The actual administration of schools is carried out by the national committees in districts and regions. In each district responsibility for the work of the schools is borne by an elected functionary, with specialists and school inspectors under his jurisdiction. Schools of the first and second grades are administered by a district national committee; schools of the third grade by a regional national committee; universities and institutes of university rank are administered by the Ministry direct.

Conclusion

The conditions for the transformation of the Czechoslovak educational system were brought about by the political victory in February 1948 of the working people who, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, are being guided by the state on the road to socialism, side by side with the Soviet Union and the other popular democratic countries.

It has been possible not only to put into effect a rapid reconstruction in the organisation of the educational system, but also to achieve considerable successes in the schools themselves. The young people now leaving the schools are familiar with the laws of social development, and each year they are better equipped by a world outlook, based upon scientific ideas. This enables them to proceed, with a clear knowledge of their aims, either to build new industrial concerns or else to pursue their studies and to enlarge the scope of learning and technical knowledge, as required by a society which is building up socialism. The Czechoslovak school is passing through a period of transformation into a socialist school.

JINDŘICH ŠMÍDA.

CHAPTER TWO

HUNGARY

EDUCATION in Hungary has undergone a radical transformation since the end of the war. Almost from the moment when the country was liberated from both Nazi occupation and its native fascism, educational planners began their task. To-day it is possible to assess what has been accomplished in the light of the objectives aimed at, and to forecast with some certainty the future lines of development.

The broad aim laid down for the reform of Hungarian education was indicated in the autumn, 1945, decree of the provisional government, which accepted the principle of the *école unique* for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, on which was to be built a superstructure of diverse secondary schools for the 14s to 18s. This system was to replace the old one, in which about 15 per cent. of the pupils were 'creamed off' at the age of 10+ from the elementary school for 'municipal' schools (with a leaving-age of 14), and about 5 per cent. for 'grammar schools' which provided an eight-years course.

This old system was condemned not only on educational but on social grounds. For, in effect, the elementary schools were meant for the children of the industrial workers and poor peasants, the municipal schools for the children of the lower middle classes, and the grammar schools, supplemented by exclusive 'public schools', for the children of the bureaucracy and upper classes The rigid class division in education was emphasised by the fact that very many poor children were unable even to complete the elementary school for economic reasons; it has been estimated that nearly two-thirds left before they were 12. In addition, about 20 per cent. of the children (especially in the villages) remained outside the educational net and grew up illiterate. Only about 4 per cent. of workers' or poor peasants' children succeeded in penetrating into the grammar schools, which were the sole avenue of advancement to higher education.

The aim of the *école unique* was to end class divisions in education, an aim which was legally formulated in the Constitution of 1949, Article 48, in these words:

> (1) The Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the right of the working people to education.
> (2) The Hungarian People's Republic carries this right into effect by

expanding and making universal popular education, through free and compulsory general school education, secondary and higher education, by continuing the education of the adult workers, and by giving financial aid to those receiving education.

Already by 1949 important steps had been taken to make these provisions a reality. In the first place the problem of 'bricks and mortar' was tackled, as will be described below; and in the second place organisational decisions were taken in order to remove obstacles in the way. Most important of these was the 1948 law on 'nationalisation' of the schools, which abolished both private schools and church control over education, and brought nearly all the schools within the orbit of the Ministry of Education. A few schools were left to the control of the Protestant denominations, and finally, in 1950, after lengthy discussions, eight schools were handed back to the Catholic church (the main Hungarian church) to ensure the provision of personnel for the priesthood. In practice the changes meant that the state now controlled a large number of schools which it had previously, in any case, financed.

Nationalisation, it should be explained, did not mean the end of religious instruction, which remains in the curriculum, to be taught only by priests. Unlike the British practice, however, parents have to 'contract their children in' to the religion lesson. Most recent evidence shows that about half the parents avail themselves of the opportunities provided.

The new organisational structure thus established hastened material progress to such an extent that when the Law on the Five-Year Plan was published in 1950 the objective of the complete abolition of 'the cultural monopoly of the former ruling class' was laid down for achievement by the end of 1954, and was expressed in terms of precise targets in every sphere of education.

Planning

The achievement of the aim of a unified school system catering for all children and the removal of previous class barriers to advancement have involved both bold and careful planning. At every stage education has had to be dovetailed into the country's economic plan. Thus the various economic plans in operation since 1945 have all had an educational section laying down material targets to be reached in every part of the school system. This has had the twofold advantage both of giving teachers and parents an educational perspective whose realisation they can test for themselves, and of showing the people how educational advance is an essential prerequisite of the country's economic reconstruction. There has been no question of a tug-of-war for 'priorities' once the plan has been fixed. On the contrary, the general drive on the economic front has inevitably meant a drive to surpass and 'overfulfil' educational as well as other targets.

Material Developments

During the war 30 per cent. of the schools were either destroyed or damaged, and a communal effort involving teachers and students as well as building workers was undertaken to clear rubble and render first-aid to buildings. The first state budget, announced a few months after the liberation, allocated resources for the task, and by the beginning of 1947 two-thirds of the damaged and destroyed schools were rebuilt. In the following three years, under the Three-Year Plan, 53 new schools were built and 1,572 restored. The Five-Year Plan which commenced in January 1950 allocated 1,700 million *forints* for school and university building apart from investment in various schemes of 'further education'. But at the end of 1951 an augmented plan was announced involving, for example, the building of three new universities not previously contemplated, and bringing the total of new secondary school places up to 77,000, as well as greatly increased targets for technical education.

The new school buildings contrast vividly with the old. They make ample provision for science and crafts and are well equipped with staff, dining, and medical rooms. Outstanding points are the spacious corridors and great entrance lobbies, which act as alternative playgrounds in bad weather. New features are the parents' rooms, facilities for private study, and rooms for the exercise of hobbies. It is aimed in time to replace all schools which do not conform to the new standards.

The General School

The '*école unique*' finds its main expression in the new general schools taking all children from 6 to 14. But below the compulsory system is a growing base of nursery schools, and day nurseries attached to factories, co-operative farms, and machine tractor stations. In the 1949–50 session these institutions catered for about 141,000 children, and the Five-Year Plan provides for 30,000 new places.

The establishment of the general school proceeded rapidly after 1945, so that by the beginning of the 1951–2 session 1,205,000 of the 1,214,000 children of compulsory school age were within the new system. The Five-Year Plan provides for the completion of the system by the end of 1954, a process which involves the training of another 12,000 general school teachers.

Along with the increase in the number of general schools has gone a process of staff reorganisation. Whereas in the old 'people's schools' all classes were taken by a 'form teacher', in the new schools the 10s to 14s are taught, as in the old grammar schools, by subject teachers. This change is due to a conscious effort to raise standards, and results have proved wrong the opponents of the reform who denied the ability of the mass of

the children to reach the same levels as those who, under the old regime, went to grammar schools at 10+. Shortage of teachers has prevented the provision of subject teachers in small village schools, a difficulty which is being partly overcome by the establishment of central schools in the countryside for the 10s to 14s, with boarding facilities where necessary. This has, of course, resulted already in the raising of the educational level of the rural children, and represents a major step in social reform, with obvious repercussions on the possibility of more rapidly mechanising agriculture to the advantage of the whole community.

Secondary Education

The growth of secondary schooling (which provides a four-years course from 14–18) is conceived as an integral part of the country's planned economic development, and the achievement of the objectives set have demanded a substantial increase in the number of children going on beyond the general school. Whereas during the 1949–50 session there were 77,000 pupils in the secondary schools, the revised Five-Year Plan sets the target of doubling this number, a truly formidable task, since it will mean over 38,000 children of 17–18 at school in the 1954–5 session, out of a total population of about 9 millions. Equally striking has been the change in the social composition of the pupils. In the 1950–51 session over 60 per cent. of the pupils were of worker or small peasant origin, and the proportion of this type of pupils is increasing further. It is clear that the secondary school reform has brought great new opportunities to thousands of children who before the war found all avenues of educational advancement closed.

There are many varieties of secondary school; the general secondary schools, which correspond to the English grammar schools but have a greater bias towards the natural sciences; the economic schools, which specialise in training for the operation of a socialist economy; the agricultural schools, which prepare their pupils for work in mechanised and scientific agriculture; art and music schools; and sports schools for training physical-culture experts. Since, however, the Five-Year Plan aims at the training of an additional 11,000 skilled engineers, 17,000 technicians, and tens of thousands of skilled workers of other types, it is not surprising that the main emphasis in the secondary sphere is being laid on technical education. In the current 1951–2 session forty-six trades are being taught in the secondary technical schools; in 1951 alone, five new schools with 56 classrooms and 22 workshops were built, while extensions to other schools included 61 classrooms and 44 workshops.

All types of secondary school have equal status—a big change from pre-liberation days, when only the grammar school gave

children access to the universities and institutions for full-time higher education. But although pupils can proceed from any secondary school to a university, most of those who wish to do so tend to enter the general secondary school, while those who go to the technical schools tend to leave for industry at the end of their courses. This is due to the fact that considerable opportunities exist for such young people to obtain their higher qualifications while working, and many prefer to do this rather than spend another three or four years in full-time study. This trend will undoubtedly continue while there is such a great demand for technicians of all grades; it is considered, too, to be a healthy trend, since the theoretical studies of the technicians are continued in the background of practical work in socialist industry.

No account of current changes in the secondary sphere would be complete without reference to what may be described as 'adult secondary education'. Afternoon and evening schools exist for workers and peasants who for one reason or another left school at the age of 14, and who now wish to grasp opportunities previously denied them; industrial and agricultural enterprises must give the students time off where it is necessary. These schools provide a full secondary course on the same lines as the ordinary types of secondary school and are doing a great deal to develop 'the new people's intellectuals'—which is one of the big social objectives of the new regime. The number of such students will be doubled during the course of the Five-Year Plan. Among the most interesting examples of this development are the special one-year 'matriculation' courses which prepare students intensively for university entrance and so enable workers from the bench to begin a new educational career leading towards the professions. This, again, is helping to change the social composition of the professions. In 1950–51, 4,400 workers and peasants matriculated in this way and laid the foundations of their new professional studies.

University Reform

In the last years of fascism, university numbers were dropping and the class-privileged character of higher education was more marked than ever. The universities were, in fact, forcing-houses of fascist and racialist ideas, and the fine scientific tradition of the past was being increasingly rejected. The new society, aiming at vastly enhanced material and intellectual standards, was thus faced with the problem of both expanding university numbers, altering the social composition of the student body, and restoring and developing the scientific content of university studies to meet the new and pressing needs. While reform began almost at once, it was not till after 1948 that big changes became visible.

To-day, after three years of intensive development, twenty-eight universities and institutions for full-time higher education exist in

place of the sixteen of pre-war years. The new institutions include a university of agricultural science, two polytechnics, four teacher training colleges, one special training college for technical teachers, the Academy for Economics and Technology, the University of Economic Sciences, and the Academy for Foreign Languages. The augmented Five-Year Plan has set the target not only of modernising all university equipment but also of establishing three new universities and completing extensions to the existing ones.

The emphasis on scientific education is evident, also, in the operation already of plans to build new institutes of experimental physics, inorganic and organic chemistry, agro-chemistry and agro-biology, as well as an institute of economic science. At the same time the leading scientific institution, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is to be expanded " to serve the productive forces of the country ". These institutes are all research bodies, and the attention paid to their expansion indicates a thorough appreciation that all technical improvements must be founded on sound theoretical study and research.

This expansion has, of course, meant a big increase in students' numbers, from 12,000 in 1938 to 33,000 in 1950–51; a figure of 53,000 is aimed at for 1954. It has also meant a big change in the social origin of the student body, the trend of which is indicated by the fact that, in the 1950–51 session, workers' or small peasants' children accounted for 60·9 per cent. of the first-year students.

Popular Education

Since education is conceived of in the broadest sense, a great deal of attention is being paid to all forms of adult and 'out of school' education. Thus, the Five-Year Plan sets the objective of establishing by 1954 a new academy of dramatic art, a new national theatre, and of expanding the existing academies of industrial art, music, and fine arts. Sixty new houses of culture (they are a kind of community centre) will be built and another 140 extended and improved, and the augmented plan aims at bringing the total up to 3,500 in 1954. The network of public libraries in factories, machine or tractor stations, and village co-operatives is to be greatly increased, including the establishment of twenty new large district library centres. To facilitate cultural development the price of books is to be brought down and their number enlarged; already editions of a wide variety of publications are printed in numbers vastly greater than ever before in the history of the country.

By no means the least important of the developments in the sphere of 'popular education' is the considerable investment in museums. The museum service was reorganised in 1949 and is under the direction of a separate department of the Ministry of Education. War damage to buildings has been repaired, and

national monuments of historic and artistic importance restored. Three-monthly meetings of museum curators discuss plans and exchange ideas for popularising the service, and a uniform system of classification is in operation in line with the system adopted by both Unesco and the U.S.S.R. To ensure that the nation does not lose its treasures, individuals wishing to sell privately owned objects of artistic merit must first offer them to the Museums Department. An inventory has been made of such objects in private collections, and advice is given on their preservation and restoration. The importance of museums as an educational medium is emphasised by the creation of a Faculty of Museumology at the University of Budapest, which provides a four-years degree course for prospective museum workers. The result of the intensive efforts made to popularise the work of the museums has been evident in vastly increased attendances; museums are no longer considered 'dull' by the general public—a great tribute to the careful and well-thought-out work of the museum curators and their assistants.

New Ideas in Content and Method

The remarkable expansion of Hungarian education has inevitably posed serious theoretical problems. In Hungary it is taken for granted that the schools must not only reflect the new social order, but play their part in changing it. Thus the old curriculum was rejected not only because it served the needs of a fascist regime, but also because, being conceived in terms of 'culture for the few', it helped to maintain a class-privileged social structure. The new assumption on which the curriculum is based is in conformity with the new social outlook; briefly it can be stated as 'mass educability'. This is interpreted to mean a broad general education for all, at present to 14, followed by a period of secondary schooling in which specialisation is developed to a high degree. The perspective is one of increasing secondary opportunities leading to full secondary education for all.

Beginning from these assumptions it is easy to follow the course of change that has taken place. Textbooks have undergone radical alteration. History books have been produced based on the historical materialist approach and with a broad internationalist standpoint instead of the old chauvinistic and racialist outlook. Science teaching has ceased to be abstract and has been reorientated to bring it into close relation with the practical problems posed by a rapidly expanding economy. Thus, for instance, biology is taught on the basis of the Michurinist principles that man can change nature in ways hitherto undreamed of. Far greater attention than before is given to the Hungarian language, and political geography has been discarded and replaced by human and economic geography.

As a consequence of the assumption of 'mass educability', high standards of attainment are aimed at throughout the child's school career, and methods of teaching are directed towards this end. The prevailing view is that children can achieve high standards without being driven, given the necessary materials and equipment and the right methods. It is for this reason that some of the methods in vogue in other countries are being increasingly rejected in Hungary. 'Free activity' is frowned upon, as are other methods based on 'child-centred' theories, because, it is claimed, they view the child abstractly as an isolated individual and so ignore the realities of social life of which the child is a part. Education is seen as a social function and process, not as the spontaneous unfolding of natural qualities. This, of course, does not mean that teaching follows the old traditional 'formalistic' pattern and that the child is injected with doses of knowledge. It does mean that the curriculum is carefully planned, that individual attention is given to help children reach standards set, and that the interest of the children is a means to this end, not an end in itself. It also results in initiative being fostered and emulation being encouraged. The pupils are made to feel that education is not only personally desirable but socially necessary, and that educational progress is the child's patriotic contribution to his country's welfare.

The second conclusion from the idea of 'mass educability' is that there are no insuperable barriers in the way of the child's advancement. Since Hungarian education gives all children equality of opportunity, it follows that theories and practices which insist on rigid limitations to human capacity, on either environmentalist or hereditary grounds, have been rejected. Thus intelligence testing has been abolished on both philosophical and practical grounds as educationally restrictive in conception and purpose.

Overcoming Difficulties

Changes as wide in scope and bold in aim as those detailed here have obviously not been easy to accomplish. They have required the fullest co-operation of teachers, parents, administrators, and pupils. At first this was by no means universally forthcoming, the main difficulties among the teachers arising from the ingrained habits and practices derived from past training and theories. In overcoming these obstacles the Teachers' Union had a vital role to play in the organisation of refresher courses, pedagogical education, and participation in the production of new school materials. At every point to-day the Union is called into full consultation by the Ministry, and the government's co-operation has given the profession a new status, which is reflected, also, in greatly improved economic standards.

As far as the parents were concerned it was a case of persuading those who undervalued education of its importance for their

children and the nation. Thus parents' organisations have been formed around every school to engage their co-operation in maintaining school attendance and helping to solve individual problems. The role of the parents has become more important with the establishment of the local people's councils (local authorities), who are now responsible for administering the schools. It should be added that the parents' councils may not interfere with the curriculum.

Administrative obstacles to progress, at one time serious, have now largely been overcome after a widespread discussion in the Press which occurred in 1950. The result was the progressive elimination of bureaucratic tendencies, which had tended to weaken the responsibility of head teachers and curb the initiative of the school staffs. There also followed a big improvement in both the quantity and the quality of school books and materials, backwardness in the production of which had been holding up progress.

If the tempo and spirit of the social revolution in progress are understood it will be appreciated that difficulties have also had to be faced among the pupils themselves. With urgent and pressing economic and social tasks to be accomplished and an abundance of well-paid jobs to fill, numbers of young people felt it their social duty to go into industry and agriculture at the first opportunity, and did not adequately appreciate the equally urgent need for improved educational standards. There was also a tendency for the youth organisations to weaken school discipline by overmuch calling on the pupils for various social duties outside school. A campaign of public education has altered this situation. From the schools themselves there has arisen the ' Better Study Movement ', in which the co-operation of the better pupils assists the progress of those in difficulties. That the teacher's and pupil's first duty lies in improving education, no matter what other calls there may be on their time and abilities, is now generally recognised.

It has been by facing up to the problems of a new educational system in its growing-pains that progress is being achieved with increasing rapidity. Many problems still remain but the perspective is clear, and with each successive advance becomes clearer. It is a perspective of a society of fully educated human beings, in which culture in its broadest sense is the heritage and possession of all.

MAX MORRIS.

SECTION VI

THE MIDDLE EAST

CHAPTER ONE

EGYPT

It is impossible to give a true picture of education in Egypt since 1945 without going back to the earlier origins of present-day developments and without reference to what is at least hoped for in the near future. The beginnings of present-day education go back as far as the year 1836, when Mohammed Ali Pasha conceived the idea of putting Egypt on the same footing as the Western countries. The main type of education that existed until that time was that of Al-Azhar University and the Kuttabs. That education is mainly directed towards mastery of the Arabic language and the memorising and understanding of the Koran. Its roots lie in the culture of the people. Mohammed Ali wanted to introduce a form of education which would ensure to Egypt a place amongst world powers. He concentrated on creating a strong army, for which he needed officers, engineers, doctors, and other experts. He therefore established colleges to train these specialists, sent outstanding people on educational missions abroad, and brought specialists to Egypt from other countries to help him carry out his ideas. He thus developed higher education, a numerous army, industry, and a strong administration. Later he found it necessary to establish secondary education to provide students for the colleges, and, later still, primary education to 'feed' the secondary schools. In this way, a form of modern European education was established which was parallel to the classical, religious, and linguistic education of Al-Azhar and its derivatives, and as time went by, people found that this led to the occupation of governmental and similar posts and the acquisition of prestige, authority, and prosperity. There then existed two educational ladders, which were parallel but not connected with each other.

After the British occupation in 1882, the 'modern' schools supplied the government officials. The language of these schools was English, and history, geography, science, and other school subjects were taught in that language. The resulting duality in the educational system, which was accentuated by the fact that education at Al-Azhar and its derivatives was free while the other education

was not, produced many problems, one of which was the creation of two classes whose interests could not be reconciled. Various attempts have been made to root modern educational ideas in Egyptian culture and to modernise all schools.

The full story of these attempts is too long to tell, but eventually there came a period which may be considered the turning-point in Egyptian education. At the beginning of the present century there was a worthwhile educational channel open only to those who could pay its high fees, and another channel open to everybody but not useful for practical purposes. The awakening of nationalism in Egypt early in the century led many private benevolent organisations to provide this modern education for a large number of those who could not pay for it. Fundamental changes have taken place since 1923, when the Egyptian Constitution came into existence and almost complete control of domestic affairs was taken over by Egyptians. According to Article 19 of the Constitution education is compulsory for every child from 6 to 12. It was acutely felt that a healthy social life could not be achieved unless the people were educated. Education was seen as the royal road to social reform and to a truly democratic state.

It is true that no two governments saw the way to educational reform from the same angle; but when examined more deeply, the differences are seen to be differences of detail only; the objectives are always the same. One government sees that more care should be given to elementary education catering for the people as a whole; the next sees that more attention should be paid to secondary and higher education so that a class of leaders may be developed to help the country get further development, a third sees that the duality in education must be brought to an end, that a single and basic primary education must be made available to all and 'equal opportunity' offered to all Egyptian children. The term 'equal opportunity' is itself differently interpreted by different leaders—one says that every child must receive the type of education which will allow for the fullest development of his abilities; another school of thought says that no form of restriction ought to exist, and all education should be open to everybody who desires it.

Although such varying directions all aim at the spread of education, their interference with educational policy, in my opinion at least, hinders the fulfilment of their own aim and slows the rate of progress towards the provision of a useful, worthwhile education for all the educable children of Egypt. The rapid changes of government to which, for extrinsic reasons, Egypt has been subjected in the past unfortunately arrested the development of a number of excellent projects, especially as two succeeding governments, representing two different political parties, had diametrically opposed views. In spite of this, however, progress, in one way or another, has been marked and continuous; in fact, the emphasising

of different points by different governments made for a good all-round educational advance.

Budgets Analysis

A glance at Table I shows that between 1905 and 1951 the total financial allowance to the Ministry of Education has increased to almost three hundred times the original amount. The 1951 allowance is about three times that of 1945. If this increase were merely proportional to the increased size of the total budget it would mean little, but that it indicates growing awareness of the vital importance of education may be seen from the last column of the table, which shows that whereas in 1885 the Ministry of Education budget was only 0·58 per cent. of the total budget, by 1951 the proportion had risen to 13 per cent. The most marked rise—7 per cent.—happened between the years 1920 and 1930. During this period national consciousness was developing, and in the year 1923 the Egyptian Constitution came into existence, giving every Egyptian child the right to receive education.

TABLE I

SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDGET FOR STATE EDUCATION, AND ITS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BUDGET

Year	*Budget for State Education in Egyptian Pounds*	*Percentage of Total Budget*
1885	81,131	0 58
1905–1906	119,981	0 93
1925–1926	2,336,447	6 83
1945–1946	11,635,657	12·21
1946–1947	12,416,018	12 11
1947–1948	12,576,619	13 30
1948–1949	18,656,817	10 17
1949–1950	22,145,727	11 81
1950–1951	26,738,440	12 98
1951–1952	over 30 million	over 13

In my opinion, the most important aspect of the Egyptian education budget is the relative increase in the amount allocated to elementary education. The proportion of the total education budget devoted to elementary education was approximately 15 per cent. in 1920, 39 per cent. in 1945, and 40 per cent. in 1951. In the past greater care was given to higher and secondary education because that was the type of education which provided the government with its technicians and employees; in other words, that was the type of education which helped the government to have a closer control of the people. Gradually the education of the people as a whole has been growing more important, and the idea of emancipation from authoritative control was always implicit.

From Six to Twelve

It has already been said that in Egypt there were two educational ladders; one of them began with what was called 'elementary education', and the other with 'primary education'. The latter was the better of the two, both in itself and in the opportunities it afforded. A child educated at a primary school could, at the age of 12, sit for the Primary Certificate Examination, and, if he passed this, go on to a secondary school and thence to a university. The child at an elementary school could, at best, go on to an elementary training school, to Al-Azhar or to an elementary trade, agricultural, commercial, or technical school, after which he had no further opportunity for further education.

There were other fundamental differences between the two types of education. The primary school child had to pay fees, while the elementary school child did not. The primary school child had to learn a foreign language at the age of 8; he also had better teachers, better books, better equipment, and better buildings than the elementary school child. As a result, at the age of 12 he was by far the better educated of the two and his prospects were much brighter. The only factor which decided that a child should climb one ladder rather than the other was ability to pay the high fees; personal endowment did not count at all.

Several methods were employed to bring the two types of education nearer to one another.

(i) First, the foreign language was removed from the first-year curriculum of primary schools in 1938 and from the second-year curriculum in 1945, thus permitting the elementary school child to switch over to the primary school up to the age of 10. This was a great improvement.

(ii) The elementary school child was allowed in 1945 to sit for the Primary Certificate Examination. He was exempted from the foreign language examination and given a paper on the Arabic language instead. This opened the way for the elementary school child to go on to a worthwhile secondary education. It was the beginning of a new era for elementary school pupils.

(iii) But the most important step was the abolition of primary school fees in 1944. In 1949 this was given constitutional sanction, and parents were also exempted from paying anything towards books, materials, or school meals. It has been felt since then that, in principle at least, all children have had an equal opportunity to follow whatever education they like, no matter how poor they are. Incidentally, every child is given a free midday meal.

(iv) With the exception of the foreign language, which is begun in the third year of the primary school, the syllabuses for the primary and elementary schools were made the same (1949).

(v) The present tendency is to give to all schools catering for children from 6 to 12 the same name and the same status.

As an index of annual development we may take the number of children in the government schools of the first stage. This is shown in Table II.

TABLE II

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PUPILS IN GOVERNMENT ELEMENTARY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Year	*Number of Elementary School Children*	*Number of Kinder-garten Children*	*Number of Primary School Children*	*Total*
1925–1926	190,673	1,035	31,053	222,761
1945–1946	740,178	9,781	64,776	814,735
1946–1947	682,180	12,432	82,369	776,981
1947–1948	799,390	13,301	95,400	908,091
1948–1949	818,774	15,218	105,014	939,006
1949–1950	838,937	19,340	116,482	974,759
1950–1951	862,929	45,413	122,144	1,030,486

The number of children attending primary-stage government schools in 1950 was four times the number attending in 1925; there is a 25 per cent. increase between the years 1945 and 1950. While the rate of increase in the number of children attending elementary schools from 1945 to 1950 has been negligible, the number in primary schools has been doubled. This shows that people are pressing for primary rather than for elementary education, and confirms the view, stated above, that the former is the more useful. The three types of education (elementary, primary, and kindergarten), taken together, show a marked increase in numbers. The figures given do not include the large number of children at foreign and private schools.

With this rush for education at the primary stage the Ministry of Education was faced with the usual problems of teachers, buildings, and finance. As an example of building difficulties we may mention that the number of kindergarten classrooms was 338 in 1945 and 1,052 in 1950. This means that the average number in a kindergarten class had risen from 25 to 40. Under these conditions it was far from being a kindergarten. This difficulty is leading to a fundamental change in policy—i.e. that no child shall begin its formal education before the age of 6 (1951). Any schooling of a kind that could take place before that age (e.g. nursery) is not the business of the Ministry of Education (1951).

A new Bill was passed by parliament in August 1951 making primary education compulsory between the ages of 6 and 12. In the first two years, called kindergarten grades, the child is taught language, art, arithmetic, and games. In the third and fourth years he is taught the Koran, Arabic, arithmetic and practical geometry,

arts and crafts (or gardening or needlework), physical education, games, and music. In the fifth and sixth years he is taught practically all these subjects in addition to a European language, social studies, and scientific subjects.

In my opinion these subjects are too neatly classified for primary education, and as a result primary will be merely a miniature version of secondary education. Nor do I approve of teaching a foreign language in the primary school, for the simple reason that the child is only then beginning to acquire the basic skills in his own language; a foreign language should be introduced only when the child has a good control over his own. I think that the introduction of a foreign language at the age of 10 is detrimental to the child's progress in his own, and useless in learning the new.

From the point of view of general policy I think that before passing the 1951 Law the government should have considered questions of teachers, buildings, and finance. The idea behind ignoring such problems in planning is—although most improbable—that they are bound to be solved as they arise.

Rural Education

Until recently the elementary and primary schools in the rural areas gave their children the same type of education as that given to the elementary and primary school children in towns.

In 1943 rural schools were started in Egypt. It was thought that if fundamental reforms were to be effected, special attention must be directed towards training teachers to work in such schools, and in 1947 a training school for rural teachers was established about twenty miles outside Cairo. Professor M. F. Galal states that the objectives of the school were formulated on a clear and simple basis, namely: training teachers destined for rural schools in such a way that they could educate their pupils to be good citizens, possessing a deep understanding of the problems of rural life, ability to participate in the life of rural society, and a willingness to serve the community in a way which leads to continuous progress in the countryside. The programme of work is essentially an activity programme aiming at developing understanding and skill in dealing with the problems of land, agriculture, rural industries, rural economics, and rural social problems in general. In addition, of course, the required pedagogical training is given. To achieve these aims the following course is offered: Arabic language, religion, mathematics, history, geography, civics, general science, hygiene, projects, problems of rural society, agriculture and rural industries, rural arts and crafts, physical training, music, education and psychology, practical teaching.

This enumeration of subjects may at first sight give the impression that they are treated in the formal traditional way. But they are not. The study of hygiene, for instance, begins with observa-

tions made by the boys on drinking-water, food, the condition of houses and roads. These observations are recorded and brought to school as a basis for guided discussions, for further reading, and for further study and practical suggestions. Even mathematics, which seems to lend itself least of all subjects to such methods, is being dealt with in this way. The study of mathematics is based on surveying, market figures, dairy data, constructive material, etc. —in other words, the mathematics is functional, and the same description applies to all the other school subjects.

The fact that another, similar school for the training of rural teachers was established in another area in October 1951 shows that the Egyptian authorities are firmly convinced of the value of such schools. The period of training is five years, and the students are recruited from among those who have finished their six years of primary education.

Secondary Education

Until February 1949, secondary education in Egypt was organised under the terms of the Education Act of 1928, modified in 1930 and 1935. In the latter year the Minister of Education, Naguib el Hilaly Pasha, published a memorandum which was really a penetrating critical study of secondary education, in which he suggested methods of reform. His criticism was directed against the overloaded curricula, the lack of balance between general and specialised education, the examination system, the methods followed in language teaching, the overcrowding in classrooms, the system of inspecting and supervising the schools, the highly centralised system of administration, the teacher preparation, and finally the lack of balance between the two educational aims of building character and developing constructive and critical faculties, on the one hand, and providing the pupils with a body of factual information, on the other. The various attempts at reform which were based on this memorandum produced a new and vigorous outlook, which persisted until 1949. Up to this time, any pupil who had obtained his Primary Certificate could go to a secondary school; there he had four years of general education, at the end of which he took a public examination, the Secondary Certificate Examination (General Section). If he passed this he had one more year at school and could choose whether he would spend it in the literary, scientific, or mathematics section. At the end of this year he sat for the Secondary Examination (Special Section). The whole period of secondary schooling lasted five years for boys and six years for girls, the only difference between the boys' and girls' courses being in the practical subjects of arts, crafts, cookery, embroidery, and physical education. The secondary schools led the way to the university, where one could work for a degree. Having a degree gave a person great prestige in the community and generally quali-

fied him to obtain a government post, which is still looked upon as a very important achievement. As a result, the pressure upon the secondary schools increased enormously. In 1935 the Minister of Education complained that some schools, designed to hold four hundred pupils, were holding seven hundred; in 1950 these same schools were holding thirteen hundred.

It was seen, in 1945, that secondary education was in urgent need of fundamental reform. The maximum age of entrance was lowered from 17 to 15 and the method of allotting places in secondary schools was altered. Previously, the places had gone to the candidates with the highest totals of marks irrespective of age; henceforward, an allowance of 10 per cent. of the total marks was made for each year of chronological age; for example, a boy of 12 with a total of 80 per cent. would be preferred to a boy of 13 with a total of 85 per cent. It was made possible for an intelligent poor pupil to have his secondary education free. These schemes were designed to raise the intellectual standard of the pupils pursuing the secondary education which leads to the university.

It was found that the average pupil entered the secondary school at the age of 12, and was thus not able to begin on a specialised course of study until the rather late age of 16 or 17, according to his interests and ability. To remedy this, Law 10 (1949) divided the total period of secondary education into two; the first two years were for general education, and in the last three the pupil was allowed gradually to specialise more and more according to his ability and interests. The general education was so general, so varied, and so practical that it allowed for the gradual finding out of the pupils' characteristic tendencies and potentialities. In the first year of the second period the pupil was allowed some choice. In the remaining two years there was a more limited choice and thus greater specialisation. This system of secondary education was based on the fact that from the age of 13 onwards the differentiation of children's abilities becomes increasingly wide and detailed.

It is obvious that, in principle, the first two years of secondary education were considered as a continuation of the primary school. At the end of the second year the pupil sat for the Central (or Intermediate) Certificate Examination. The remaining three years constituted secondary education in the true sense of the word. The pupil chose his subjects with a certain bias towards three of the following groups: languages, social sciences, biological and physical sciences, mathematics, technical arts, and philosophical studies. While the various committees and other responsible bodies were still engaged in putting the new law into effect, there was a change of government, and the new administration proceeded to reconsider the education laws in the light of its own policy.

The result is that the 1928 Law, with the 1930 and 1935 modifi-

cations, is still in operation; but a new secondary education law was passed in 1951. This makes two main provisions: first, that all secondary education shall be free, and second, that all post-primary education shall be called secondary and that it can lead not only to the university but to all other vocations as well.

According to this new law, the pupil spends the first two years receiving a varied general education. These two years form what is called the preparatory stage, which ends with a public examination. The pupil may then go on to the second stage, where he chooses between the academic and the practical lines of study. The former lasts for two years and is called the academic cultural stage; the latter lasts for three years and is called the practical cultural stage. Both end with a public examination, and the certificate obtained in both cases is called the Cultural Certificate. The practical stage offers four branches of study: commercial training, agricultural training, technical training, and training in the feminine arts. The pupil who has finished the second stage may go on to a third, orientation, stage, which lasts for one year in the academic schools and from one to two years in any of the four types of practical school. In the academic schools the orientation stage is divided into two sections, the literary and the scientific, while in the practical schools the type of specialisation and the details of work are to be decided by ministerial orders.

The result of all these attempts at educational reform is that secondary education in actual practice is still much the same as it was in 1935. The two laws of 1949 and 1951 represent two different schools of thought. The former aims at a gradual spread of worthwhile education based on accepted pedagogical lines and taking into consideration the actual financial possibilities. The latter aims at giving the people the education they want regardless of the problems that may arise; such problems, it is felt, must be settled as they appear. The sponsors of the 1949 Law do not want to make secondary education completely free before the problems of staff, buildings, and finance have been settled. The sponsors of the 1951 law do not want to wait for planning, but want to make secondary education available to as many as possible, believing that the pressure of public opinion will force the state to find solutions for the difficulties that arise. Moreover, it does not matter much to this school of thought if the wider spreading of education is at the expense of quality, for they feel that quality will be secured in the future. It is obvious that these two policies are diametrically opposed, and for one to succeed the other without any transition period must result in some waste.

Leaving educational theories aside for the moment, there has been a definite increase in the number of pupils attending secondary schools. By secondary schools we do not mean all post-primary education, as stated in the 1951 Act, but only the academic

secondary schools leading to university education. An index of the progress is given by Table III, which shows the increase in the numbers attending government schools alone. There are large numbers of pupils attending private or foreign schools.

TABLE III

SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT IN GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Year	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1925–1926	8,059	41	8,100
1945–1946	35,435	3,388	38,823
1946–1947	40,736	4,074	44,810
1947–1948	44,943	5,336	50,279
1948–1949	53,717	6,330	60,047
1949–1950	62,131	8,193	70,324
1950–1951	80,957	12,810	93,767

The number of boys attending government secondary schools in 1950 is more than double the number in 1945. The number of girls in 1950 is almost four times the number in 1945. While the total number of pupils in 1950 is almost three times the total number in 1945, there are only twice as many classrooms. The average number in a class is about 38, but some classes have more than 55 children. This is bound to lower the standard of education.

Technical Education

In Egypt the need is felt for increasing the number of people who are trained in commerce, agriculture, and industry, and there are what are called the central commercial, the central agricultural, and the central technical schools. These provide the community with a number of people who are half-way between the ordinary worker and the large-scale planner. By the 1951 Act they have been turned into commercial, agricultural, and technical secondary schools, and it is hoped that while they will prepare pupils to take university courses in commerce, agriculture, and engineering, they will continue to provide a very essential class of highly skilled workers in these fields.

Egypt needs technically trained people of all kinds because it is a thickly populated country, and its agricultural resources alone are not sufficient to keep the population employed. The number of pupils in trade schools of all kinds has decreased markedly since free academic secondary education has been made available to practically every child who has completed his primary education. This does not imply that we wish fees in secondary schools to be reimposed, but it does define a problem which is rather acute.

Other Aspects

From whatever angle we look at education we find a marked improvement. Nevertheless the views of enthusiastic educationists are bound to differ as to the adequacy of this improvement. Education for women has in recent years developed in many ways. Until 1949, secondary education for girls lasted for six years, while for boys it lasted five years. At present it lasts five years for both. In 1920, the number of girls at government schools was 28, in 1950 it was 1,500. The variety of schools open to girls after they have had their primary education covers a very wide range—music, domestic culture, feminine arts, nursing, social work, mothercraft, physical education, teaching, commerce, etc. Every faculty in the university is open to women, and they enter them in large numbers.

In Egypt there has always been a demand for the expansion of higher education. This is partly the result of the traditional prestige attached to higher education, but it is also the answer to the acute need felt for leaders in industry, commerce, law, medicine, agriculture, and the other fields of life. The classical University of Al-Azhar has been in existence for more than a thousand years; but the first university designed on modern lines was established in 1925. At present there are three modern universities, and a fourth is in the making. The number of students in these modern universities was 15,000 in 1944 and 33,000 in 1950. There are also 1,600 university students following courses of study in England, America, Switzerland, and other countries.

It is well known that the illiteracy figure for Egypt is very high, and at present equals a little more than 75 per cent. of the population. It was argued that literacy campaigns, attempts to provide fundamental and adult education, would not only raise the efficiency and improve the outlook and standards of the people, but would also help to increase the faith in education of the masses as a whole and thus benefit the education of children all over the country. In 1944 an anti-illiteracy campaign was inaugurated by law. In 1945 the amount of the Ministry of Education budget allocated to this part of its work was £E200,000, in 1950 it was £E700,000. The Ministry of Education supervises and subsidises the studies and the classes are organised by firms, landowners, social centres, co-operative societies, benevolent societies, trade unions, and various other bodies organised for the benefit of labourers and farmers. The total number of illiterates who are educated under this Law increases by about 100,000 per year, jumping from 24,000 in 1945 to 700,000 in 1949.

There have been various other developments, concerned with school health services, social services, social life, free school meals, the greater care given to physical education, school camps, school excursions, audio-visual aids, and various other aspects. Since 1945 there have also been improvements in school inspection,

teacher training, administration, and in the long-range planned policy of education in general.

An inspector until 1945 was regarded as a sort of policeman whose object was to find out the mistakes made by a teacher in his special subject. The attitude adopted by Kabbani in 1945 aimed at making guidance rather than fault-finding the main function of the inspector, and at making inspection general rather than specialised. With the expansion of education, specially prepared teachers are needed. A variety of teacher training institutes exists at present in which men and women are prepared for the various grades of education. Emergency training courses are also being given, yet the number of new specially prepared teachers available every year is about one-third of the number needed. This is one of our most stubborn problems.

With the expansion of education the highly centralised system of administration has had to be changed. Egypt is divided into zones, every one of which has a controller of education and a number of assistants. As time goes by it is said that the main responsibilities of the Ministry of Education are being given over to the zone controllers. In my opinion, since the zones do not have their separate budgets and cannot allocate their own teachers they still have a long way to go.

A few words may be said about examinations, which formerly have been practically the only method of transferring pupils from one school year to another. According to the old system, if a pupil failed to reach the required standard in any one school subject, he had to repeat the school year in all subjects. As a result, we had widely varying age-groups in the same class in both primary and secondary schools. Examinations underwent various modifications in 1925, 1936, 1949, and 1951. By the terms of the 1949 Law, a pupil's promotion from one school year to another depended on his year's work plus the results of the end-of-year examinations. In the secondary schools a pupil's ability in one subject was allowed to compensate for his inability in another.

In 1951 a new law was passed according to which every pupil in the primary school must be promoted at the end of the school year unless the school staff board decide that he is so hopelessly weak as to be unable to pursue the work of the higher class. A pupil should never repeat any year more than once, and he should not be allowed to stay at a primary school after he has passed the age of 14. Examinations are still held in primary schools but, since the marks obtained do not affect the pupils' promotion, they no longer have any practical importance. It is argued that this system resolves the examination complex, but, on the other hand, it demands certain conditions to make it successful. We have to have special schools for the mentally backward and the mentally defective. We have to have teachers trained in observing and

studying the various characteristics of their pupils. We also have to have a programme of work which provides suitable conditions for child study. Moreover, we have to have suitable equipment, books, grounds, and buildings, and classes with fewer pupils in them, if we are to make our knowledge of the child fruitful and purposive.

Summary and Outlook

It is difficult to give a fair critical review of educational developments in Egypt since 1945 in so small a compass. In order to understand Egyptian difficulties we must keep in mind the heavy load of handicapping conditions and the strong self-defeating factors passed on from earlier days. Egypt was subject to suppressing and oppressing foreign interference for some time; but since she has had control of her own domestic affairs, educational reform has been exceptionally far-reaching. We have not, indeed, reached the stage we hope for, but we are certainly well on the way. With the literacy campaign, fundamental education, and adult education, the application of the principle of equal opportunity and the increased facilities for training technicians, the attention directed to health, social services, and character building, and the care given to rural education, the model schools and teacher training, the expansion of education for girls and higher education for all, the improvement of methods, administration, buildings, and equipment, there is improvement in every aspect of education in Egypt.

Our main difficulties are the insufficiency of money and the lack of specialised teachers and administrative staff and of buildings and equipment. Another important difficulty lies in the lack of co-ordination between various attempts at educational reform directed from different sources; in my opinion, one of the greatest of all hindrances to progress lies in our inability to reconcile the two main educational theories, the one demanding that plans for reform should start with quantitative development, in the belief that quality will follow; the other advocating initial concentration on quality and the setting of a high standard, with quantitative development to follow. Future leaders will have to serve both ends simultaneously and will have to attack the self-defeating factors in an effective way.

A. H. El-Koussy.

CHAPTER TWO

ISRAEL

In the last four years the educational system of Israel has grown from 98,000 pupils and 5,000 teachers, in the school year 1947–8, to 305,000 pupils and 13,000 teachers in 1951–2. Surveying this rapid expansion, we can only wonder which is greater—the progress and the achievement, or the tremendous problems facing us and the efforts we shall have to make to solve them.

The two factors responsible for this unparalleled rate of growth are mass immigration into Israel and the Compulsory Education Law passed in 1949. During the current school year the provisions of the law have been applied in the case of every child who was from 5 to 13 years of age at the beginning of the term and every boy and girl of 14 to 17 years of age who had not completed an elementary school course.

The Problem of Absorption

The chief and basic concern of our educational system is the absorption of the children coming to us from the lands of the Dispersion. Essentially, there would seem to be alleviating circumstances. New immigrants are generally eager to identify themselves with the settled community they find in the land to which they have come, they wish to imitate its manner of life and social structure, and usually only a small minority among them is nonconformist and aggressive. Nevertheless, even with the best will on the part of both new and old settlers, there is not and cannot be any short cut to rapid absorption of masses of immigrants. Absorption is inevitably a slow, continuous process, made possible only by incessant work and creative imagination. Adjustment to a new situation is actually a half-way position between stability and the desire to break hurriedly away from the old. Those who are eager for change see what is new as good; those who are conservative by temperament see good only in the old. While it is obviously our desire to have our immigrants do all that is possible to learn, to understand, and to absorb the new, we do not for a moment wish to have them cut themselves off suddenly and completely from the old. It is in the nature of things that those who have a respectful attitude towards their group and their origin, loyalty to their community, and a co-operative approach to their environment, are the type of men and women capable of becoming good citizens in any new society into which they are being absorbed. Over-

acceleration of the absorptive progress is liable to lead many newcomers to psychological insecurity, inferiority complexes, and an unbalanced state of mind.

It is our good fortune that children can be adjusted far more quickly than grown-ups. Psychological adjustment is relatively simple at a tender age, and a child can achieve in two months what it sometimes takes a grown-up years to grasp. The Jewish community in this country followed a very sound instinct in concentrating, to an extent unparalleled in other countries, upon the establishment of educational institutions for younger children, particularly those of kindergarten age.

Remarkable Achievements of the Kindergartens

The kindergarten is the strongest link in our educational system. The government of Israel has strengthened this link still further by making schooling compulsory for children of between 5 and 6. We cannot forget that the kindergarten has proved itself to be the most important factor in shaping the emotional personality of our children, giving them a psychological balance which freed them from fear, despair, distrust of others, and implanted in them the sense of security and stability characteristic of the *Sabra* (the so-called native-born Israeli).

In addition to the specifically educational reasons for the emphasis placed by Israeli education on the kindergarten, there are a number of other reasons of the utmost importance. From the national point of view, the kindergarten is an effective instrument for teaching the Hebrew language and inculcating Israel's characteristic way of life. From the economic point of view, the kindergarten is essential in that Israel has an unusually high proportion of working mothers—100 per cent. of those in the communal and co-operative villages are working, while the percentage of urban women who work is higher than can be found in any other country except Russia. From the hygienic point of view, the kindergarten's value lies in the instruction it gives the child in food, clothing, and sanitation habits. From the demographic point of view, the kindergarten gives the experience of social living to ' only ' children or to children who are members of very small families. Approximately two-thirds of all our children in the 3- to 5-year age-group, and nearly 100 per cent. of all those who are 5 and over, are now in kindergartens. If I am not mistaken, this is not only a very large number, quantitatively speaking, but proportionately many times as great as that in any other country.

Elementary Education and Immigrant Children

As far as elementary education is concerned, even during the mandatory period, when there was no compulsory education law, more than 90 per cent. of the Jewish children in the appropriate

age-group attended elementary school. Attendance is now nearly 100 per cent. It should be pointed out that the introduction of free elementary education has considerably weakened the position of the preparatory classes in the private secondary schools of the undemocratic 'gymnasium' type prevalent in Europe before the First World War. There are now fewer than 3,000 pupils in these preparatory classes attached to eight secondary schools. National solidarity will benefit by this weakening of class distinction in education.

It is no inconsiderable achievement to have introduced compulsory education for tens of thousands of immigrant children. The bulk of them study in schools exclusively established for them, while less than a third have entered normal community schools. This must be attributed partly to the ecological factor, since the new immigrants live in distinct neighbourhoods of their own. It would, of course, be possible to bring immigrant children by bus to town and village schools from not too great a distance. This would give them a Zionist educational atmosphere they now lack, as well as the opportunity to become absorbed into the daily life of Israeli children. Yet, on the other hand, it is quite possible that joint education of new and more settled children might lead to grave psychological conflicts and to a sense of inferiority on the part of the immigrant group.

We have not yet grappled adequately with this problem, but we shall not be able to evade it. The educational level in the immigrant schools is particularly low, and for the first time in our educational history we have had to appoint special attendance officers to investigate the reasons for the abnormally high rate of truancy and the failure of so many 14–17-year-olds, who have not completed an elementary school, even to register for schooling.

In the past, when immigration was much smaller, the newcomers to this land used to go through extensive preparation for life here. Now they come in great masses and without preliminary training of any sort. Consequently, the process of adjustment will have to be continuous and lengthy. Immigrant children in moderate numbers will have to be accepted—after some preparatory stage—into normal community schools, though it is clearly impossible to transfer large groups all at once. We shall have to find ways and means to put an end to the educational 'ghetto' of special immigrant schools, without exposing the newly arrived children to the detrimental effects of a sudden introduction into a strange and non-congenial atmosphere.

The government is gradually taking over vital services which were formerly conducted by voluntary agencies, particularly *Hadassah*. School nurses are actively teaching proper health and hygiene habits, school luncheons are being served daily to many thousands of boys and girls, who not only receive a nourishing

meal but learn the elements of cooking and table manners. Daily distribution of a glass of milk to over 150,000 children—aided until recently by UNICEF—has just been transferred to the Ministry of Education. The Youth Section of the Ministry has expanded its network of recreation activities in summer camps, clubs, student houses, and youth hostels. Work with physically handicapped children, with emotionally disturbed children, and with special schools for backward children has also been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry. A field which seems to me to be neglected is the care of gifted children who, for lack of proper attention, are sometimes in danger of becoming problem children.

Under the government of Israel, as in the mandatory period, our educational system, and particularly the elementary schools, are divided into various trends. A new one has been added—the *Agudat Israel*—as well as a new sub-trend in religious schools within the Labour category. The largest trend is Labour, which included 37·3 per cent. of the school population last year; while 32·7 per cent. attended general schools, 18·5 per cent. *Mizrachi* schools, 6·6 per cent. *Agudat Israel* schools, and 4·9 per cent. attended schools belonging to none of the trends. The struggle among the trends has become increasingly bitter and has even been responsible for major government crises. The new government has included among the fundamentals of its programme the following clause (Number 20)

> A government committee is to draw up a programme of public education for all elementary schools A fixed minimum curriculum is to be required in all schools Variations on the standard educational pattern can be made in accordance with the wishes of the parents, provided there is no interference with the minimum curriculum. Religious education is to be provided for all children whose parents wish them to have it Government grants are to make it possible for gifted students to continue their education after completing their elementary school training.

Meagre Provision for Secondary Education

Such grants to gifted adolescents are most necessary. Though the state of Israel has carried out a task introducing free, compulsory elementary education for children, it has done very little to develop secondary and vocational education. No more than 13 per cent. of youngsters in the 14–18 age-group attend secondary schools, while only 9 per cent. attend vocational (or agricultural) schools. This situation in secondary education creates a serious bottle-neck in professional training. Approximately 1,200 young people were graduated from our secondary schools last year, but we are told that next year we shall need 2,500 new teachers, 500 engineers and architects, 500 lawyers and social scientists, and many hundreds of officers and officials, chemists, physicists, business and industrial executives, agriculturalists, doctors, dentists, etc. Inadequate provision of secondary education sharply reduces our intellectual *élan*

and weakens our competitive ability in the fields of economics, security, and culture. The comparative indifference to this problem shown by our central and local authorities seems to be an anachronistic residue of the Zionist Labour attitude before the First World War. At that time the first three secondary schools in the country, established in the three main population centres of Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa, were met with much opposition, particularly among Labour circles. It was felt that the new schools would simply add more intellectual proletarians to the Jewish people, whose real need was social re-stratification and economic normalisation. What use was there in university students abroad leaving the academic world and becoming farm workers in Palestine, when Palestine Jewry itself prepared its youth for academic professions? Within the course of the last generation this attitude has undergone a fundamental change, notably in the settlements among our agricultural workers, who have themselves set up extension classes for their children up to the age of 17 or 18, though it is true that the programme in these settlement schools is of an advanced post-elementary character, rather than one for the preparation of an élite for university and higher studies.

There are thus two parallel types of secondary instruction in the country: formal, academic, urban gymnasia, including even students unfit for such a curriculum; and informal, non-academic extension classes in the farm settlements, including some very gifted students. There is a grave danger here to both the individual and the community, for the cities should also provide non-academic secondary education for mediocre students, and the agricultural sector should also provide educational facilities on a high, academic level, at least for exceptionally gifted young people. Our state must not dare waste its most precious asset—the intellectual gifts and spiritual appetites of adolescent youth. It is hoped that the government will be able to redeem its pledge to provide a system of grants and scholarships for the secondary education of gifted students. The number of government and municipal stipends is now extremely limited, while the schools exist mainly on students' fees amounting annually to a hundred pounds or more per student. Despite some initiative in granting stipends shown in recent years by local authorities, only a small beginning has been made towards solving the problem. As for the secondary schools themselves, high fees do not enable them even to equip their laboratories adequately, and last year they spent, on the average, only 5·4 per cent. of their income on equipment, books, and furniture. This vital need for improved educational equipment must be given proper attention.

Vocational and Agricultural Education

Vocational education has not been sufficiently fostered by the government, although there has been an encouraging change in the

attitude of the general public. Great headway has been made towards conquering the contempt for manual work originating in the Diaspora, and we have gone far, too, towards correcting the romantic early Zionist identification of social re-stratification and economic normalisation with agricultural labour. This shift of outlook has become a corollary of the fact that the growth of Israel's absorptive capacity is dependent upon urban industry. During the Second World War and during the War of Independence, technicians and skilled workers were very much in demand. They are needed quite as much now in this period of speedy growth. Most of our young workers are trained in workshops and factories, while only a small minority attend the evening courses in which the government has evinced great interest. Careful concern must be given to the problem of training apprentices under expert workers. The industrial future of the country stands or falls to a large extent by this. Of the meagre 9 per cent. of Israeli youth studying in vocational and agricultural schools, half are in urban schools and half in agricultural schools. Most of these institutions give 2–4-year courses, concentrated on a small number of subjects such as machinery, auto-mechanics, carpentry, electrical engineering, radio, agro-mechanics, and fine mechanics. Courses in sewing, cooking, domestic science, weaving, embroidery, and office work are given to girls. Study of the traditionally Jewish trade of printing has hardly been developed, while education for the all-important building trade has been given almost no attention. Most of the equipment in the vocational schools is poor, and the falling-off in attendance from class to class is abnormally high. The problem of training teachers and instructors is particularly grave, and it is up to the government to help fill this void. The economic future of Israel depends to a very great, and perhaps to a decisive, degree on the vocational education of its youth and on their acquisition of proper work habits: accuracy, persistence, initiative, and responsibility.

The Youth Immigration (Youth *Aliyah*) movement has served in recent years to strengthen our agricultural economy to a very marked extent. To date it has brought 54,000 boys and girls to the country, 30,000 of them during the last four years. These children were rescued from annihilation in Europe and from degeneration in the lands of the Crescent. More than half of them have been placed in communal agricultural settlements, and the remainder—somewhat less than half, and chiefly orthodox—have been placed in institutions. Education in the Youth *Aliyah* movement has consistently emphasised agricultural training and community living. From the point of view of spiritual hygiene, Youth *Aliyah* has proved a notable school for adjustment and integration. Its graduates have distinguished themselves both in the struggle for liberation and in the establishment of agricultural villages.

Growing Numbers of Girl Students and Women Teachers in Arab Education

The state of Israel has the delicate and responsible task of providing education for the children of its minorities, particularly the Arab population. There are 27,000 of these children studying to-day in government schools, while 4,500 attend other institutions —notably Christian church schools. The total Arab (both Moslem and Christian) and Druze population of Israel is 170,000, of whom some 42,500 are children to whom the Compulsory Education Law applies. Of this number, 75 per cent., or 31,500, are in elementary schools—a proportion which compares favourably with 47 per cent. in Egypt, 20 per cent. in Iraq, 39 per cent. in Syria, 72 per cent. in Lebanon, 28 per cent. in Jordan, not to mention the almost complete illiteracy prevalent in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The number of Arab girls in Israel government schools has grown from year to year, so that in the first two years of elementary schools the enrolment of Arab girls has almost equalled that of boys. Three-quarters of the Arab schools have become co-educational, a revolutionary social development in Moslem education. The government of Israel has carefully avoided the imposition of co-education upon the Arab population, but it has come about as a result of the shortage of school buildings and the proportionately small number of female pupils and teachers in the village schools which form the great majority of Arab educational institutions. Without question this development involves a fundamental change in Arab social values. The number of women teachers is constantly growing, and it now amounts to almost one-third of the total number of teachers. Women teachers are allowed to marry, whereas during the Mandate they had to resign in case of marriage. During the Mandate, too, the number of girl students in the village schools did not exceed one-eighth of the total, while at present they are already about one-third. The curriculum used during the Mandate is to some extent still in force, and it is unfortunately excessively formal and verbal. Hebrew has been introduced in the intermediate and upper grades, while English is taught only in the latter.

A start has been made in the direction of secondary education and towards provision of government scholarships to gifted Arab students for further training in secondary schools and in the Hebrew University.

Scarcity of Teaching Personnel

A disastrous scarcity of teachers affects all schools without exception. Students in teacher training schools have not been allowed to finish their courses and have been put to work. Accelerated courses have been introduced and special emergency institutions (*Ulpanim*) have been set up to give intensive training for teaching in four to six months. Last year, seventeen normal

schools and twelve *Ulpanim* were engaged in preparing teachers, but the institutions for the most part were small and weak and the training over-hasty. The efficacy of such training, it is well known, is directly proportional to the length of the course and on the whole stands in inverse ratio to the number of small and inadequately equipped institutions.

Elementary school teaching is increasingly becoming a woman's profession; 90 per cent. of last year's normal school candidates were girls. The exception to this rule is the Hebrew University Department of Education, which prepares teachers for secondary and normal schools. The academic standards of the department have not been lowered in recent years.

Adult Education

An increasingly respected place in the government's cultural work is occupied by adult education. Hebrew has been taught to 30,000 adults, mostly immigrants. Good work has been done in intensive four to six months' courses (*Ulpanim*) for training in Hebrew and civic education. The greater part of the day is devoted to study, and the students are housed at the *Ulpan*. There are also half-day courses for working students. The language instruction is very similar in method and intensiveness to that in the American and British armies during the Second World War. Some 20,000 persons study in courses conducted by the Ministry of Education's department of popular education and traditional religious instruction, while there are thousands of other adult students in courses conducted by the Labour Federation and the Extension Department of the Hebrew University.

Higher Education

The government is giving constantly increasing help to the three institutions of higher learning in the country: the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Haifa Institute of Technology (*Technion*), and the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovoth. However, it scrupulously avoids interference with academic freedom. Last year, in the Knesset Parliament, the then Minister of Education, the late David Remez, stated that " the Knesset and the government desire the university to enjoy as great a degree of freedom as the best universities in the world. While the latter are generously supported by their governments, there is nevertheless no direct dependence of the universities on the government."

It is estimated that there are 5,000 Israeli university students, 3,500 of them at the Hebrew University and the Haifa *Technion*, and 1,500 abroad. Of the latter, about half are in the United States, approximately a quarter in Switzerland, and the rest mainly in Britain and partly in France and other countries. The number of Israeli university students may be considered absolutely inade-

quate to meet the future needs of our country. Comparative data in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand demonstrate that in accordance with the proportion of the students' population to the general population of these three states, Israel should have respectively 20,000, 15,000, or 12,000 university students. It is clear, however, that the present number should at least be doubled to reach 10,000, so that Israel's spiritual and cultural aspirations may be realised, and its administration, economics, and security assured. Without an extraordinary effort on the part of our secondary and advanced educational institutions, we shall be threatened with cultural impoverishment, for the present immigration pouring *en masse* into the country has been on the whole of a low intellectual pattern.

Great Tasks Ahead

There are great tasks to be performed in the internal work and administration of our educational institutions. One of the most pressing needs is the preparation of a minimum curriculum for all four trends. About two-thirds of the curriculum is to be used in common by all four categories of schools. Such curricula must take into consideration not only the differences among the trends but the distinction between town and country, and between immigrant children and settled children. By all communal and pedagogic standards there is no reason for continuing to use an elementary school curriculum devised in 1923, as so many great changes have come about since then. After so many centuries Jews have acquired statehood and, on the other hand, they have lost within three or four years six million of their own people—psychological and demographic facts of infinite significance for pupils in Israel. The centres of Jewish learning in Europe have been destroyed, making the state of Israel the chief guardian of the heritage of Jewish culture. The outer world, too, has changed enormously since 1923, particularly the elements of social education in a dynamically democratic society. It is essential that up-to-date curricula be prepared for elementary, secondary, and vocational schools without any further delay, though doubtless innumerable improvements and additions will have to be made in the future.

Sociologists have long debated whether education is a prime factor that shapes society or is simply one of the functions of economic, political, and social conditions. Whatever the answer, it is clear that in the light of the dynamic development of Israel to-day, education in this land and this generation is a factor whose influence for good or evil is potentially greater than it has been in almost any other country, in any period of history.

ELIEZER RIEGER.

CHAPTER THREE

TURKEY

THE educational problems which confront us to-day are in the main the direct result of the fact that our society is being completely modernised, although this modernisation has been retarded by the Second World War. It is felt that it is of the utmost importance that our society should be yet more highly developed. With this end in view, educational activity has become intensified during the last ten years. On the one hand, the struggle against illiteracy is more and more successful. On the other hand, the adaptation of education to social and economic conditions can be seen put into successful practice in the newly established village institutes and '*eğitmen*' courses which have as their aim the raising of the economic and social standards of the village. In the towns, technical schools, whose aims have been much the same, have achieved good results. A third aspect of this educational activity is the resolve to adopt teaching methods based on a fuller understanding of child psychology. This tendency is shown clearly by the new syllabus for the primary schools, in which the activity of the child is given great importance, and in which the personality of the children is also taken into consideration. Amongst these improvements are the educational congresses held every three years. At these meetings, educationists and teachers do their utmost to solve problems which brook no delay.

Having stated clearly the range of our problems, we will now attempt to analyse them as they occur in the different aspects of our educational system which is becoming modernised. We will examine them under three different headings.

I. The Fostering of a National Spirit by means of Education

One of the most important characteristics of our educational system, and one which permeates every other aspect, is the feeling of nationalism. For, in a not very distant past, our country, faced by the danger of extinction, found the strength it needed by uniting all its forces. We feel permeating all things those inspiring words of Ataturk: "O youth of Turkey, your highest duty is to protect and to defend for all time Turkish independence and the Republic of Turkey!" This attitude can better be appreciated if one takes into consideration the fact that it has been necessary to maintain a large army for the last ten years despite the fact that Turkey took no part in the war of 1939. It is obvious that much more could

have been achieved in the realm of education had only a portion of the money granted to the Ministry of National Defence been at the disposal of the Ministry of Education. It will be seen that each attempt to modernise schools has been somewhat restricted through lack of financial resources. Yet much has been achieved, for 15 per cent. of the budget is devoted to public education. At no other period in the history of Turkey has so great an effort been made.

This national spirit does not imply that the Turks intend to form a narrow circle which would impede their intellectual development. It is desired to eliminate harmful elements and to give added strength to all that can make our country and its people prosperous. An attempt is being made to spread Western methods and to adapt them to conditions which are the result of Turkey's national history. It is clear that our nationalism is allied to a desire for modernisation. It follows that religion no longer takes any part in affairs of state. Furthermore, particular attention is being paid to the tracing of the character of the Turkish people throughout their history.

In the primary schools the aims of the national educational system are as follows The primary school is a national institution for education, in which the child is made familiar with the culture of Turkey. In each lesson there will be an opportunity to awaken in the child the love of his native country and the will to serve it. When learning history, for example, the child while learning the history of Turkey will come to understand the duties which devolve upon him with regard to other countries.

Since about 1938 or 1939 the need has been felt for clearer vision in the field of teaching and educational theory. Organised effort increases daily. All those interested in education, both theoretical and practical, have gathered together for three congresses in Ankara; the first in 1939, the second in 1943, and the third in 1949.

The second congress considered three problems, of which two only concern us at the moment· namely, the teaching of history and the native language. We shall later examine the third problem, that of moral education.

Particular attention is given to the teaching of history, " for history has a very important part to play in the strengthening of the national ego and to assure the full development of the national character. This educational factor must be fully used ", Ataturk pointed out. Those who attended the congress in question came to the following conclusions:

(*a*) History books must be in accordance with the understanding and the interests of each age. In the teaching of Turkish history not details but general trends must be taken into consideration.

(*b*) Special courses should be organised to give the teachers a better knowledge of new ideas in this field.

(*c*) Teaching material can be made more varied by the addition

of time-charts, atlases, collections of photos, by the use of projectors, of the wireless, of films, etc.

The teaching of the mother tongue in the schools is different in character, and it has been a matter of concern not only to the congress of 1943, but even to-day interests parents and the general public. During the congress of 1943, methods were sought of improving the teaching of Turkish at every stage. The training of teachers also needs special, careful consideration. In order to do this it is suggested that the number of language classes be increased and that the students in the 'normal schools' (training colleges) should sit for a searching examination. Where the teaching of Turkish is concerned, changes must be made not only in primary but also in secondary education. Wherever Turkish is taught, steps will be taken to develop in the students the ideal of a pure language. Above all, teachers need books on method. The books provided for the children must be attractive in form and content. Special attention must be given to composition, and care must be taken not to spend too much time on the history of literature.

These conclusions show that improvements in the teaching of Turkish are necessary. This is made abundantly clear by the reports of all the Faculties of the Ministry of Education, for they say that students find difficulty in this subject.

This is a result of the fact that our language is undergoing a change. It contained ponderous expressions and words of Arab and Persian origin, which made our literature inaccessible to the ordinary people. Moreover, a need was felt for new words to meet the demands created by discoveries in the realm of science, in social and economic life.

II. Education for Democracy

A democratic tendency can be observed in the spread of public education throughout the country. In the year 1938–9 the total number of children receiving primary education was 762,040. During the same year, the number of pupils of school age living in towns was 460,000, of which only 375,000 were receiving public education. As for the villages, the corresponding numbers were 1,500,000 and 387,141. In 1947–8, the total number being educated in primary schools was 1,487,997, and the number of schools had been increased to 16,000. It can be seen that, in ten years, the number of pupils attending primary schools had almost doubled. Actually the number of pupils of school age is 3,644,513, of which 1,659,096 are receiving public education.

Since 75 per cent. of the population lived in villages it was essential that educational facilities provided in them should be improved. In 1936, for the first time, special measures were taken with regard to the teaching in village schools. The ordinary teacher, used to living in a town, trained in a normal school, although inspired by

a spirit of self-sacrifice, could not succeed in adapting himself to village life. He found village life very different from anything to which he was accustomed, and he was not prepared to live there under conditions which he was powerless to change. He limited his activities in the village to the school itself. He had no real contact with his surroundings, or with the village people. As he did not feel able to throw himself wholeheartedly into his work, he was not willing to plan his work according to a long-term policy. A large number of teachers expressed the desire to be moved from village schools.

In Turkey there are, in all, 40,000 villages, of which 32,000 have fewer than 400 inhabitants. In 1939 in only 4,638 villages was there a school. Therefore schools had to be established in more than 35,000 villages. Consequently, more than 40,000 village teachers were needed. It was impossible to provide this number, since our normal schools at that time were training only 800 teachers a year, and as 400 usually left the profession each year, the total number of teachers was in reality increased by only 400 per year. Even if the number of normal schools were increased, it would take much too long to provide the necessary number of trained teachers.

The fact that so many of our villages are sparsely populated and that our finances are limited made another solution necessary. So in 1936 *eğitmen* courses which last eight months were started. This was a temporary measure to last only until there was a sufficient number of teachers who had been trained in the normal schools. These *eğitmen* teachers went to work in villages where there were not more than fifty children of school age and not more than four hundred inhabitants. They taught the first three years' work in the primary school. Later the number of classes in these schools was increased to five, and the *eğitmen* were replaced by village schoolmasters. The *eğitmen* were chosen from among peasants who had distinguished themselves during their military service and had become sergeants. Most of them had been educated in a primary school. The classes which trained them to become *eğitmen* comprised three types of activity. Their knowledge of the principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic was consolidated; they were given a general idea of history, geography, and the sciences; and finally they learnt something of teaching methods. The *eğitmen* courses also included theoretical and practical lessons in agriculture and building and were, in general, practical. There were eight to ten students in each class. A teacher who had already worked in a village, and another who had qualified in the school of agriculture, were in charge of each group. Moreover, special courses have been established for travelling teachers whose work it is to inspect the *eğitmen* and complete their training. The task of an *eğitmen* is not only to teach the children but to work, body and soul, for the good of the village, to educate the village people

by his example and by his love of work, and in every way to take a share in the work of the village.

So that the *eğitmen* may be even more attached to the village, and to make them more useful to the community, houses are built for them, they are given a strip of land, provided with grain for sowing, given machines, a weaving loom, medicines, and other things of this kind.

In addition to these practical temporary measures, more durable methods have been introduced. In villages with more than one hundred and fifty inhabitants it was necessary to have specially trained teachers.

Accordingly there were opened for village teachers normal schools different in type from those in the town. These were called 'village institutes', and the pupils themselves constructed the buildings in which they were going to teach and live. At the beginning, these consisted sometimes of but a few small houses and tents. All those who came to enrol as students of the institute helped in the work of building. The need to build one's own house gave a sense of direction to the lessons to be taught. Sometimes conditions were very difficult; as when, for example, wood had to be fetched from a long distance. No notice was taken of the weather. It was not enough to construct the buildings. It was also necessary to exterminate mosquitoes, install telephones, plan water-courses, lay out gardens, arrange a supply of drinking-water, prepare sports fields, construct bathrooms and an open-air theatre, and many other such amenities. Sometimes the different institutes also helped each other. In this way three hundred buildings in all were constructed.

Village Institutes and 'Eğitmen' Courses set up to Improve the Economic and Social Standards of the Village

It was necessary to found institutions which would train teachers who would have a love of the soil and who would also make it prosper. The task of these teachers is not only to teach children to read and write, but also to prepare the villagers for improved economic conditions in the village. This idea has become an accomplished fact; for to-day there exist some twenty-one such institutes, attended by a total of 13,066 pupils. These institutes now train 2,000 teachers a year, and since 1941 15,472 teachers have been trained. They are organised like modern villages. The teaching and clerical staff and other people who work in the institutes live there in houses built for them—a fact which creates a family atmosphere. In each institute the number of students added to that of the teaching staff varies between 800 and 1,200. The future students are chosen from among the village children who had completed their course of study at the primary school. Their studies last for five years. The classes may be grouped into three categories:

(1) The classes concerned with general culture.
(2) Theoretical and practical work in agriculture.
(3) Theoretical and practical technical work.

When the students leave the village institutes they have two sorts of task to accomplish:

(*a*) They must work to build the school, they must take care of its garden and its arable land, so that these may be examples to the villagers; they must make the school's workshop of use to the villagers; they must direct the general education and learning of the children and instruct them in health education.

(*b*) On the other hand, they must raise the cultural standard of the villagers, prepare them to meet the demands of social life, direct village celebrations, introduce the villagers to the radio, put into effect various agricultural, artistic, and technical projects to serve as examples to the villagers, and develop the economic life of the village; exhibit what has been achieved, help the villagers to improve both the quantity and the quality of production, see that historic buildings are preserved, and take an active part in village life, etc.

As each year the number of these institutes increased, it was necessary to find qualified teachers to staff them. It was also essential to train inspectors for the village schoolmasters. It was in order to meet this need that in 1943 a special village institute for advanced studies was founded, as a result of a year's experimental courses. The length of the studies in this latter establishment is three years. Nowadays universities, teachers' colleges and institutes of education train these teachers.

Let us now consider public education in the towns. It has been pointed out that in 1939 in all the towns the total number of children of school age was 460,000, of which only 375,000 were attending state schools. There seemed to be four main reasons for this state of affairs:

(1) Resistance set up by parents who were poor and who needed the help of their children.
(2) There was no effective way of keeping a check on the children who did not attend school.
(3) The lack of school buildings.
(4) The shortage of teachers.

These last two factors depend on the material resources of the towns, for each town is responsible for its schools. In 1939 it was proposed to do away with these difficulties by imposing a tax on everyone. The people of the villages had to pay a similar tax, and they themselves worked to build their schools. This tax burden has been considerably lightened, as the state now advances the necessary money. It was also essential to increase the number of teachers by 20 per cent.

The difficulties experienced by poor parents were resolved in the

following way: lessons were to begin at 8 a.m. and to continue until 1 p.m. In this way children in difficult financial circumstances were able to earn money outside school hours.

The law enforcing attendance at school must be more carefully adhered to. Great interest is being shown in this question. In the years 1934–44, 65 per cent. of the pupils whose names were on the school registers left before completing the school course. Every attempt is being made, by means of the radio and by every sort of publication, to make the people fully aware of the importance of education. The number of pupils of school age living in towns is 1,005,620, of which only 476,012 are receiving public education.

But the most effective way of making children feel attached to their school has been the opening of village institutes. The schoolmasters trained to work in these establishments have a better understanding of the needs of the village; the village people are quite willing to send their children to a school where they will not only receive a primary education but also learn practical subjects.

Efforts are being made to improve the material conditions of the teachers. Money spent on public education is provided by the local authorities of each town. Unfortunately statistics show that it is no longer possible for each town to provide all that is needed in the way of buildings and also to pay the salaries of an increased number of teachers. Nor are they able to increase the salaries of those already working for them. In addition, every year the number of pupils increases. So it is obviously essential to find some other way of meeting these urgent financial needs. During the last three years teachers have been paid directly by the state.

It has been seen that the problem of public education in Turkey is affected by the density of population and by the financial position of the country. A lasting peace for our country, and indeed for the whole world—for it is no longer possible to speak of the peace of one country, since countries are more interdependent than ever before—will make our villages, in which so much has already been achieved, yet more prosperous.

Vocational and technical schools play an important part in the technical development of the country. Without any doubt the desire to safeguard our economic independence, to which our political independence is so closely linked, was one of the chief reasons for the founding of these schools. The following figures show with what enthusiasm they have been received by the young people of Turkey.

Year	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Pupils*
1938–9	50	14,934
1947–8	228	66,652

These figures mean that most young people on leaving secondary schools no longer take up positions in offices—especially those run

by the government, but instead engage in manual work so that they may earn their living in a productive way.

A plan for the development of technical education was worked out by representatives of all the Ministries in collaboration with those of the university. Before this—in 1939—technical schools trained their students to be qualified workmen, foremen, and men to fill the lower ranks of technicians. According to this plan, in addition to the Engineering School of Istanbul, which has since become the Technical University of Istanbul, a Polytechnic School at Ankara will soon be opened. These establishments will, above all, train highly qualified engineers, and it is intended to open 'technicums' to provide trained technicians and engineers for every branch of industry.

It would be helpful if the students who wished to enter these schools were made to sit for a preliminary examination which would help in their vocational guidance.

Two institutions, in both of which the course lasts three years, are concerned with secondary education. The first is called '*Ortaokul*', and trains clerks for either government or private offices, and also those who will go on to the grammar schools, or to technical and vocational schools. As most of those who leave the *Ortaokul* do not continue their studies, but immediately start work, it would seem a good idea for these young people also to sit for a selective examination with an intelligence and general knowledge test. This would make the teacher's task very much easier, and would decrease the numbers in the classes. The general aim is to make the education provided in the secondary schools more able to satisfy the demands of society.

As early as 1939 the number of pupils attending grammar schools attracted notice: the number of grammar schools had increased by 100 per cent. in thirteen years, and the number of pupils attending them by 800 per cent. But, since 1939, the development of vocational schools has entirely changed this proportion. A glance at the following figures will prove this point.

Year	*Number of Students Successfully Completing the Course*
1938–9	3,553
1945–6	4,906

In the grammar schools it is considered essential to perfect the student's knowledge of his native tongue, as a method of training his powers of judgment. Methods used with this end in view include the writing of compositions, the insistence that the pupil should express himself perfectly clearly in all other lessons, and the fostering of a taste for reading.

During the last few years it has been felt by many that the grammar school syllabus is much too full. As a result, the pupils

have only superficial knowledge and have not the time to go deeply into any subject. The Educational Congress which took place in 1949 considered this problem.

It would seem necessary that students planning to enter the teaching profession should stay at the university for an extra year. This would make it possible for them to gain a greater knowledge of teaching methods and to spend some time training in the schools. As a result, teachers would be better trained for their profession.

Another example of the democratic principles underlying education is that autonomy was granted to the universities in 1946.

III. Moral Education

Moral education is an all-important problem which occupies our minds at the present moment. In 1943 the Ministry of Education called together all those interested in educational problems. They came to the following conclusions: A characteristic feature of moral education is a national and humanitarian trend. The aim of moral education is to instil in a child, deeply attached to the Turkish ideal, all the lofty principles accepted by civilised nations, and to help him to develop into a person who respects himself and others. This national and humanitarian ideal is shown in other conclusions arrived at by the members of the congress. The ideal Turkish child will have high standards of goodness, beauty, and justice; his daily activity will be ruled by its usefulness to the nation. His happiness is one with that of the state. He will strive to raise the standard of civilisation of his country to the highest level, and will constantly enrich the store of human, moral, and national values handed down to him by past generations.

The social and individual principles of morality are also considered from a national and human point of view. Turkey, our native land, is our only reason for living. Our highest task is to sacrifice ourselves for the protection of the republic and our independence. Any life which is not based on our national independence is worse than death. We must work tirelessly to make up for the years lost while we were governed as if we had still been in the Middle Ages. Manual and brain work must be held in equal esteem, for both serve our country. The family must be kept as the nucleus around which society is built.

How is moral education in the schools to be developed? The moral system as outlined is, above all, one of action. A true code of morals is one which is put into practice in everyday life.

In the primary school, from the age of 7 to 12, good habits can be instilled in the child by good examples and suggestions. Nationalistic feelings can be strengthened by holding up to the child as his models the heroes of Turkish history. Moral feelings can be developed by fostering a love for nature, the fine arts, and music.

In the secondary school the child between the age of 12 and 15 is more aware of national, social, and moral standards than are younger children. Moral principles and virtues can be inculcated by both the example and the precept of the teachers. Use can be made of pupils' associations to increase their sense of responsibility and their desire to help each other. Pupils will acquire the habit of discussing scientific, social, and aesthetic problems. Harmful books and films must be forbidden. In any case it would be expedient for Turkish films, inspired by the history of Turkey, to be made. With the same end in view, visits can be made to historical buildings, etc. Folk houses will be equally beneficial in awakening a love of Turkey. The Boy Scout Movement gives life to moral ideas.

Once the pupils are between the ages of 15 and 17, and among the university students, judgment and reasoning power assume a great importance. The ego is highly developed among young people of this age. It is important that this feeling should be directed into scientific channels. They work in laboratories. They must be given the power to organise their work, and they must feel a sense of responsibility for what they are doing.

The congress also came to the conclusion that in classes on sociology, philosophy, and the general study of Turkey, a great importance should be given to discussion on the ways in which a moral code may be applied to everyday life.

The suggestions made by the congress for education in the schools were full of interest and showed how great was the awareness of the need for moral education. It seems to us that the feasibility of these suggestions depends directly on the amount of time the teachers can devote to them. Now, in the primary school the teacher has to stay in one school, and has every opportunity to become interested in the children, for during five years he is in close contact with them. This is not at all true of secondary education. As the teachers are not sufficiently well paid to teach in one school alone they have to go from one school to another, and so have not the time to educate their pupils in the true sense of the word.

The congress further considered, and quite rightly, moral education received before reaching school age. The education received as a member of the family is the foundation of all education. If this aim is to be realised, parents must be given help in how to care for their children. This can be done by means of lectures, books, the wireless, etc. The congress also touched on infant schools. It would appear that greater importance should be attached to this last point. The primary school takes children from the age of 6–7. For children younger than this we have no establishments which help in education within the family. It is true that there are some infant schools, but not nearly enough, and they are, moreover, private. If

the state assumed responsibility for this branch of education, encouraging at the same time private initiative, much would be accomplished. These modern schools inculcate the young child's first habits, and will help the development of his character.

It was also proposed by the congress, with regard to education within the family, to increase the importance in girls' schools of classes dealing with child welfare. The congress also proposed that parents and schools should collaborate in educating the child. This suggestion has already been successfully put into practice.

As for moral education outside the school, the congress proposes that the child's out-of-school activities should be organised. Students' clubs, libraries, music, groups meeting for conversation and discussion, are all to be encouraged. Books, magazines, and films must be controlled.

We have shown that in the schools we are trying to give our pupils a moral education based on the desire to live together in a free and independent group.

Since 1924, schools have been undenominational. From that date onwards not only have the schools been undenominational but all religious influence outside school has been banished. This was a fairly natural reaction on the part of an authority which desired not only to rule souls but also to direct social and economic life.

During the last few years public opinion has been concerned with religious education. The matter has been discussed in the General National Assembly and in the Press. Efforts are being made to give new life to religious teaching, in addition to the compulsory lessons given in the school. Since 1947 non-compulsory religious instruction has been given to children at the fourth grade in primary schools. In 1949 theological colleges were founded for training teachers, and a department of theology was established at the University of Ankara.

REFIA SEMIN.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFGHANISTAN

General Outlines

(*a*) *Administration*

IT was at the beginning of the twentieth century that a system of public education, modern in form, was first set up in Afghanistan. From this time onwards, its organisation has been centralised. As this system has developed, the activities of the Ministry have multiplied, and its influence and importance continue to grow.

Among the countries in which public education is becoming centralised, Afghanistan is to be found well to the fore; for from Kabul, the Ministry directs education, even in its smallest details, in every part of Afghanistan. It controls the syllabus, the appointment of teachers, the amount of their salaries, the provision of supplies, equipment, and books, the construction of buildings, and all other questions of upkeep and finance. It organises regular inspections of schools throughout the country. The share taken elsewhere in all these activities by local authorities is here made up for by the greater role played by the central organisation.

At the beginning, when the field of public education was limited, the Ministry even worked out the details of the instruction to be given in schools. As a result of the continuous expansion of public education it has recently become obvious to the central authority that, so far as certain aspects of education are concerned, it is necessary to grant some concessions and a measure of liberty of action to local directors, who are themselves, in any case, civil servants. This is particularly true of primary schools, for it has been found possible to staff these schools with teachers who have received some training.

If the practical application of the syllabus is being taken over by the local representatives of the Ministry, the setting up of the broad outlines of the syllabus, nevertheless, still remains in the hands of the central organisation.

It is unnecessary to enter into a long, detailed account of the complete evolution of the Ministry of Education since 1945. It will be sufficient to examine its interior organisation at the beginning of 1950.

The Minister is assisted by two Under Secretaries of State; one is concerned with the administrative side of the work, the other

with education proper. The different branches of the Ministry (*Wizarat Ma'arif*) are:

(1) General Direction of Education.
(2) General Direction of Administration.
(3) General Direction of Inspection.
(4) General Direction of Publications.
(5) General Direction of Sport and Hygiene.
(6) General Direction of Museums and Archaeology.
(7) General Direction of Accounts.
(8) General Direction of School Buildings.

Education at an advanced level is directed by the University of Kabul, and will be discussed more fully later.

(*b*) *Essential Characteristics*

Education has always been, and continues to be, absolutely free at all stages. This principle, and that of "one school for all" (*École Unique*), form an essential characteristic of public education in Afghanistan.

In addition, the state provides pupils with everything they need for school up to an advanced level. Scholarships covering all expenses are granted by the state to pupils who are boarders at the technical college; these are won by means of competitive examinations. Students who are at the University of Kabul, just as those who, as a result of competitive examinations, are studying abroad, receive financial aid from the Afghan state. Moreover, pupils whose families are not well off financially receive a sum of money to provide for their maintenance. In this way every child, whatever may be its social position, has every chance of reaching any level of education. In Afghanistan no class reserves for its children a special type of school; country children have as much chance as town children. The intellectual capacity of each pupil must be the only factor taken into account in deciding how far studies are to be pursued. This traditional principle can in no way be modified.

For this reason the number of students attending grammar schools, technical schools, and the university continues to increase.

The number of students is three times (or four times in some establishments) as great as before the Second World War.

(*c*) *The Problem of Education and its Place in the Plans for Modernising the Country Socially and Economically*

(1) The Second World War made it very difficult to put into effect plans for economic modernisation which were still in early stages. As soon as the end of the war came, these plans were

taken up again for consideration, and this time on a larger scale.

The difficulty of appointing foreign engineers and technicians during the war years linked yet more closely public education and the plans for economic modernisation. Educational plans had to be kept in harmony with purely economic technical plans. We shall find that there are actual instances in which every effort has been made to adapt the teaching given to the practical needs of technical subjects.

(2) *Education of Girls.* It was only at the time of the Second World War, and during the years which followed it, that a modern trend became apparent in the education of girls. For this reason it deserves special attention in a general survey of the normal activities of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan. Since 1945 primary education for girls has been developed not only in the capital but also in the provinces. The Girls' Grammar School (*Lycée*) in Kabul is a result of this general trend, and a new grammar school has also been founded. But the most outstanding changes are, on the one hand, the creation of higher education for women, and on the other the founding of an establishment for the education of grown-up women.

As far as higher education for women is concerned, in 1947 when a need for women as teachers in secondary education was felt, a sufficient number of women who had received a school-leaving certificate applied for posts, and in this way the Training College for Women (*École Normale Supérieure*) was founded in Kabul. This college has two sections—science and arts. The level of studies is equivalent to that reached by students preparing for post-primary school teaching in English training colleges. On the science side mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology are taught, on the arts side literature, history, and geography. The students in both sections attend classes in educational theory and foreign languages. They spend part of their time in educating themselves and the rest in teaching practice. They teach young girls in the primary classes and in the early stages of secondary education. This training college is directed by the university.

To help in the education of women, the semi-official Women's Benevolent Society (*Anjuman Niswan*) was founded in Kabul. Women who, by reason of their conditions of life or their age, are not able to attend the girls' grammar school have made use of this society since 1946. Here, as part-time students, they learn to read and write, they learn foreign languages and attend classes in domestic science (cookery, dressmaking, child welfare, etc.). Thus an effort is being made to compensate for the deficiencies in the education of girls during the past years and to encourage women to play a larger part in society.

In addition to this society there is a nursery, a library, and a cinema service.

(d) The Problem of Language

The problem of language is so important culturally, socially, and politically, that it is worthy of a special mention. In 1946 Persian was reinstated on an equal footing with Pashtoo in the schools.

Fifteen years ago Pashtoo had become the only obligatory language in all the schools in the Afghan territory. Although this met with approval in districts where Pashtoo was spoken, it caused certain difficulties in Persian-speaking regions. Early in 1946 the Higher Council for Public Education and the authorities concerned decided that instruction would still be given in Pashtoo in districts where that language was spoken, whilst Persian would be taught as a language; the position was reversed in the Persian-speaking regions. The putting into practice of this decision plays an indisputably important part in the fostering of a feeling of political and cultural unity in the different regions of Afghanistan; this feeling is a most important element of national unity.

(e) International Co-operation in Education

During the years after the war this has been of sufficient importance in Afghanistan to be mentioned among the general outlines.

Friendly ties—such as the appointment of teachers—already existing with France, Germany, and Turkey, have been taken up again and strengthened. Afghanistan has, in addition, set up similar relations with England and the U.S.A.

These foreign teachers, sprung from such different origins, obviously have different ideas concerning educational training, and this has caused certain difficulties. Afghanistan decided to make use of Unesco. It asked to be allowed to become a member of this international organisation, was admitted in 1947, and took part in the annual assembly in 1948. It was agreed with Unesco that certain suggestions should be made concerning the administration and reforms necessary in the educational system of Afghanistan. For this purpose a commission of three experts was formed, consisting of a Frenchman, Mr. Jean Debiesse, Assistant Director of Primary Education in France; an American, Mr. Harold Benjamin, Dean of the Faculty of Education, Maryland, U.S.A.; and an Englishman, Mr. William Abbot, H.M. Inspector. The first-named has agreed to conduct an inquiry into secondary education, the second into primary education, and the last into vocational technical education.

In 1949, this mission, given every assistance by the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan, studied on the spot for nearly four months Afghan educational establishments, in order to make a report which was all the more valuable because of its objectivity.

The Society for the Protection of Children (1948) is another

organisation founded as a result of post-war international influence.

This swift review of general outlines brings us back to the closer study in detail of reforms carried out at the different levels of education.

Advanced Education

(*a*) It is especially in advanced education that *new creations* are to be found.

The development of secondary education, the inclusion of Pashtoo classes within the framework of higher education, and the ever-increasing importance of the Press, demanded staff of a certain cultural level. So during the academic year 1944–5 a Faculty of Arts rather like a training college (*école normale supérieure*) was created. Courses were given in education, philosophy, and sociology, and also in the history of culture. Pashtoo was considered the central point round which the syllabus was built. In 1946 the new policy with regard to the language in which education was to be given brought it about that Persian was introduced on an equal footing with Pashtoo in the syllabus. The addition of courses in history and geography is being considered.

(*b*) Another important fact in the recent history of advanced education in Afghanistan is the creation of the University of Kabul (*Pohantoon*).

Modern advanced education began with the foundation of the Faculty of Medicine of Kabul in 1932, followed by that of the Faculty of Law and of Political Sciences in 1938, the Faculty of Science in 1941, and of the Faculty of Arts in 1944.

This development soon made necessary the foundation of a central institution to direct the faculties, an institution with special regulations, independent of the Ministry of Education, which had until then controlled advanced education. It was in 1946 that the *Pohantoon* of Kabul was created with a rector, a university council and offices, supervised only by the Minister himself. Once the constitution of the *Pohantoon* had been set up, the sending of students abroad could be considered. This question was studied, in accordance with the regulations, in the course of several meetings of the university council.

It was planned that each year forty-five graduate students, selected by means of competitive examinations, should continue their studies abroad. The particular branches in which they should specialise, scientific, technical, or social studies, should be determined by the needs of the country. By the beginning of 1951 more than two hundred students—whose expenses are paid by the Afghan government or by industrial and commercial societies, according to the subjects studied—had enrolled as students in foreign universities. (Before the Second World War, there were only fifty students studying abroad.)

(*c*) Side by side with these new creations there have also been important changes in the different establishments for higher education.

The Faculty of Medicine, having passed through its first phase of development from 1932, underwent certain reforms in 1946. In 1945 an agreement was signed with the French government according to which thirteen appointments in the Faculty of Medicine were granted to French university professors (the remaining posts were still occupied by Turks and men of other nationalities). At the end of 1946 certain French university teachers arrived in Kabul and proceeded to make plans for the development of the Faculty of Medicine and connected establishments. The Higher Council of the *Pohantoon* accepted, on an experimental basis, these plans, which made it necessary that the money granted to the Faculty of Medicine and connected establishments should be three times as much as formerly. The system of financial administration and the rules governing the equipment of laboratories and of hospitals have been reformed and made complete, and measures have been taken to proceed with elementary 'research.'

A pharmaceutical section has been added to the Faculty of Medicine. During the last seven years, increasing efforts have been made to adapt the syllabus of the Faculty of Science to the needs of the country.

(*b*) In accordance with the recommendations of the Unesco Mission it is intended to found an institute of education as part of the university, alongside the Faculties of Science and Arts. Lectures on education had been given previously in each of the latter faculties. The study of the subject will be centralised in this institute, which is to play an important part in the country's plans for the education of the future.

The Schools for Advanced Islamic Studies

The desire to adapt Western knowledge to the culture of Islam has resulted in the fact that since public education was first instituted in Afghanistan, religious instruction and classes in Arabic have taken an important part in the school syllabuses. However, there were also independent schools of Islamic studies in which similar work was being done. In recent years both the *'Ulama* and the government have insisted that the links between the two systems of culture, each of which represents a mode of education, not contradictory to the other, should be tightened. On the one hand the teaching of the canon law of Islam has been developed in the Faculty of Law, and on the other hand the Institute of Islamic Studies was founded at Kabul in the course of the school year 1944–5. Earlier establishments of this sort drew their students from mosque schools, but to this institute come pupils who have finished their primary studies in state schools. The course of work in the

institute covers nine years, and in addition to purely Islamic studies attention is also paid to modern subjects. The graduates of this establishment hold degrees in theology and Islamic canon law. In addition to Persian, Pashtoo, and Arabic, they also learn one European language.

The syllabus for the different years is so planned that at the beginning the pupil's studies are similar to those in an ordinary *lycée*, then gradually, as he becomes older, more time is given to classes in which greater emphasis is laid on elements connected with Islamic studies. At the present moment the institute has reached its last stage of development and has become a Faculty of Theology and Canon Law.

In the future the Institute of Islamic Studies will play an all-important part in the religious education of students preparing for secondary school teaching; for it will train future professors of theology, and for this reason matters connected with pedagogy have been introduced into the syllabus of the institute.

In addition, the Minister of Education has made every effort to bring the teaching of modern studies into the various religious schools.

The Problem of Teacher Training

Recently there has been a sudden development in the realm of primary education, and this has brought the question of the training of teachers to the fore.

By 1938–40 there were, in Afghanistan, four times as many primary schools as there had been before, and the need for teacher training was felt to be urgent. The Minister of Education had temporarily to make number and quantity his chief aim.

The standard of the entrance examination for training colleges (*écoles normales*) for both primary and secondary education has thus been lowered because of the great demand for teachers. In the last few years, however, this demand has ceased to be so excessive.

On the other hand the number of pupils who have passed a first examination (*brevet élémentaire*) has increased during the last three years, which means that there is a larger number of candidates from which to choose students for the training colleges.

The syllabus of training colleges has been the object of successive reforms, all of which have tried to adapt it to meet the practical and concrete needs of the schools. Recently the courses in these 'schools' have increased in length, and at the same time their pedagogical side has been developed.

Part-time evening classes have also been organised in Kabul, in order to improve the professional training of teachers who already hold diplomas granted by the training colleges.

Two other innovations have been made. Teachers of gymnastics

and games and teachers of art and manual work now receive special training. We should note that even before this, the authorities had paid attention to these two sides of education.

The far-reaching reforms made in the training of teachers since 1945, in accordance with the demands of modern life, are mainly valuable in that they have put into the correct perspective the fundamental importance of educational theory, as opposed to the purely technical side of the training.

The Development of Schools for Professional and Technical Training

The development of technical and vocational schools has been influenced by the fact that since the Second World War educational problems have become more and more closely connected with the economic reforms that are being carried out in Afghanistan.

Students are sent abroad so that in the future the government may have at its disposal a trained cadre of people capable of filling responsible posts.

The Afghan authorities have been specially concerned with the training of those who are to fill the intermediate posts.

Formerly, vocational schools admitted pupils if they had passed a First School Certificate (*brevet élémentaire*). Since 1944, on the one hand primary studies have been improved, with the result that the standard of knowledge of the candidates has been raised, and on the other hand attempts have been made to ensure that the education given in vocational and technical schools is more complete.

As a result the syllabus of the school of agriculture of Kabul has reached the same standard as that of a *lycée*. Students entering this school—of which the name has been changed to the Agricultural *Lycée*—must have completed the first section of their secondary education. Here the pupils spend three years, not only studying agronomy, but also receiving a general education and learning a foreign language.

Before the candidate is granted his final diploma he must, in addition, devote one more year, still with the status of a student, to practical work of a kind determined by his capabilities. The Ministry of Education has invited the co-operation of the government's Department of Agriculture and of its experts who are members of the teaching staff of this *lyceé*. Recently it has been possible to improve its laboratories and to form an experimental farm.

In a similar way the commercial *lycée* of Kabul has been improved. The Ministry of National Economy, the banks, and business centres have been consulted, so that the syllabus of this school of commerce should be adapted to practical requirements. Arrangements have been made for students to work during their annual

holidays in these establishments in order that they may improve their practical knowledge.

The school for the training of secretaries and accountants has increased the length of its course by one year. This establishment, directed by the Ministry of Education, is dependent on the Ministry of Finance.

The syllabus of this school has been revised in order both to make it more practical and to make sure that pupils reach a certain level of general education.

The school where apprentices are trained in the use of machinery was hampered by the fact that it was difficult to import mechanical apparatus and machines for the workrooms, but since the end of the Second World War it has been possible to buy such things as are necessary from abroad, and as a consequence the standard of instruction has improved.

In 1946 evening classes in financial studies were started in Kabul, and in 1949 similar classes were commenced in legal administration for civil servants on a voluntary basis. Civil servants who wished to gain some knowledge of these subjects found these classes very useful.

The Development of Secondary Education

The foundation of five schools—some of them accepting boarders —without fees, in which secondary education in its early stages was given, was made more necessary by the fact that it was planned that a larger number of pupils should be admitted to the vocational and technical schools. The plans for the economic modernisation of the country made this increase even more urgent. In these five schools, founded within the last five years in different towns in Afghanistan, pupils are prepared for entry into the vocational and technical schools of Kabul or to continue secondary education at a more advanced level.

As a result of consultation between the Ministry of Education and the economic authorities, the latter have consented to supply the money for these schools which help both to raise the standard of work of those entering the vocational and technical schools, and to increase the number of entrants. In addition, these schools foster a closer relationship between primary and secondary education, which had, unfortunately, ceased to be connected one to the other.

At the same time the old schools, in which the first stages of secondary education were given, have increased the length of their courses by one year, and in general scope are almost equal to *lycées*.

As a result of these measures there are four times as many pupils receiving a secondary education as there were before the war.

The development of educational laboratories, the supply of books, educational films, and other helpful material has made it

easier to put theoretical improvements into practice. Yet it must be admitted that the Afghan Ministry of Education has not yet succeeded in giving all girls and boys a secondary education. For this reason, although secondary education is free it is not compulsory. Similar problems are to be found if one studies the principles governing primary education.

The Development of Primary Education

(*a*) Primary education (from 7 to 13), although compulsory by law, is not yet completely enforced in Afghanistan. Although the Ministry of Education makes every possible effort, it can do little to remedy the fact that there are far too few teachers. The amount of money granted each year for the development of education, although it is one-fifth of the total budget for the Afghan state, is not nearly sufficient to solve these urgent problems. In 1948 the state first realised that it would have to set up schools consisting, for the time being, of one class only, in small, out-of-the-way villages. The former schools for the religious instruction of children, which held their classes in the mosques, have been useful for this purpose. The 'Molahs' were appointed as teachers. The children stay in these schools for three years, and books are provided. Because of the large amount of money necessary for these plans to be carried out it will be some time before they become concrete reality. Nevertheless, each year a few such schools are started.

(*b*) Intellectual Afghan circles are particularly concerned with the question of the rudimentary education of adults. Although the radio, the cinema, and the Press are playing an increasing part in the education of adults, and the quality of what they produce is improving, yet what they do is still not sufficient. The struggle against adult illiteracy becomes more and more urgent. The Press Department of Afghanistan has set up special classes to meet the difficulty, and special manuals have been printed.

The Defence Ministry, making use of existing facilities in the military organisation, teaches illiterate young conscripts how to write and to do elementary arithmetic. At the same time they receive instruction in civics.

Other Activities

The simplification of syllabuses and the provision of school textbooks are two other innovations which should be pointed out. The syllabus covering elementary education had been revised before the Second World War; that concerning secondary education was revised in 1943. This revision was carried out so quickly that the syllabus in its new form was inclined to be theoretical and abstract, and this has recently given rise to certain practical difficulties. In the course of the school year 1948–9, the Ministry of Education set

up a special commission to conduct an inquiry and to report back on the necessity for a new practical revision of syllabuses. The commission continued its work until the Unesco Mission arrived. The latter also drew up a report, and its findings were in the main identical with those of the Ministry's commission. They agree that education must be made more vital and simple. The combination of these two principles will bear fruit in the near future. At the same time the revision of secondary and primary textbooks has resulted in the publication of a certain number of new textbooks. In 1950, *Erfan*, a literary, scientific, and educational review, which had stopped publication for a few years, was published again for the benefit of Afghan intellectual and educational circles.

The Difficulties

The difficulties which faced the Ministry of Education in its efforts during the last seven years have thus been made clear. The reforms undertaken have not been put into practice throughout the country owing to the insufficient number of teachers, and to absence of buildings suitable for use as schools. Indeed, half of the schools have buildings which are modern neither in construction nor in equipment.

The provision of all sorts of teaching materials—books, laboratories, apparatus, etc.—often imported from abroad, makes credits in terms of foreign currency essential. Although 20 per cent. of the total budget is granted to education, it is not nearly enough to meet the immense needs.

Conclusion

A few general remarks will bring this brief account to an end. During the Second World War, Afghanistan remained absolutely neutral and took no part whatsoever in the war. However, it has not kept itself aloof from the great changes which have come about as a result of the war.

The year 1944 (not 1945, as in Great Britain's case) marks a turning-point in the evolution of the contemporary history of Afghan education.

The foundation of establishments for higher education, the progress which has been made in the education of women and girls, the close connection between the plans for the reform of education with those for the economic modernisation of the state, the development of international cultural relations, the efforts made to improve the pedagogical knowledge of teachers and to give a practical and vital character to teaching methods, are the important innovations introduced by the Afghan Ministry of Education in spite of many difficulties, which arise at every point.

Beyond the frontiers of Afghanistan the Ministry of Education

has made every effort to develop intellectual contact with other countries.

Within Afghanistan the principle of 'one school for all' (*école unique*) and equal opportunities for every social class to receive an "entirely free education" has already assumed an unshakable, traditional aspect, and appears to be an active force in uniting all Afghans. The passing of time will allow us to judge the whole matter objectively.

ABD-UL-HAKIM ZIA'I.

SECTION VII

ASIA

CHAPTER ONE

CHINA

THE attempt to forge a modern China is now forty years old. The birth pangs are protracted, and the era of peaceful stability and planned reconstruction continues to elude China's grasp. The revolt of 1911 was to have produced a nation that would develop its powerful resources along modern lines the attempt continues, though the methods differ. Undoubtedly a people with such ancient traditions of culture, endowed with an intelligence which easily perceives the unrealities of political emotion, is not the ideal tinder for revolution. The ardent desire for reform exists: but not all governments can succeed in going beyond the sanctions of average opinion. It is not surprising, therefore, that policy has wavered. Sun Yat-Sen saw the dangers of haste, and for a decade practised a progressive conservatism. The experience convinced him that the revolution must be completed more forcibly; but the struggle was bitter and he turned to Soviet Russia for assistance, and died in disappointment. In 1927 Chiang Kai-Shek emerged to lead the revolution in the basis of strength and a one-man dictatorship. He collapsed twenty years later, to be followed by communist Chairman Mao. The revolution goes on, and the modern state is still to be built. But the methods are different, and the pace is again for the moment accelerated.

The communist government is therefore not the first to try to capture and canalise the national aspirations of China. But it is the first government to have the opportunity of putting into practice a positive policy on a national scale. The field has been cleared by military victories, and an era of reform opened that may be called dynamic. It is wise to discern national need as the inspiration of the reforms, besides the tenets of Marxism. National needs are permanent: Communism is a very recent power in the land. Until late 1948 the communists controlled no great urban centre. It may well be true, as is often claimed, that the communists of the blockaded border regions had shown genius in the organisation of educational facilities. But nobody would measure such achievements by the standards of a modern nation. Moreover, the back-

ground was predominantly agrarian. Not until 1949 did the communists come face to face to the problems of China as a whole. All the evidence suggests that they brought with them no blueprint for dealing with the complex issues of an established educational system. Writing as late as February 1950, S. B. Thomas, in *Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China*, published in March 1950 by the Institute of Pacific Relations, makes it clear that the communists were still treading cautiously, leaning to Soviet Russia for advice, and attempting slowly to fit communist ideas to the nation's needs.

Some consideration, however brief, of the national needs is essential to any understanding of the role of education in China, of its significance in the whole effort of reconstruction, and of its impact upon the Chinese mind.

The basic fact is that China is still an undeveloped country. The Chinese have enormous leeway to make up in order to attain material standards that are commonplace in the West. Only in September 1951 did China succeed in making its first motor-car. At a guess, it may well take half a century of peaceful development before all those material standards are attained which must be attained before universal compulsory elementary education is an established fact. How long will it be before China can declare a free meal for all children in attendance at school? Or offer free transport to all infant children who live more than two miles away from school, and all senior children who live more than three miles away from school? These transport arrangements, and even more generous ones, pass without comment in England: but to develop mechanics of this kind as props to education in China would appear at this time of writing as fantastic as any piece of Wellsian imagery. The most sanguine of communist leaders themselves talk of rehabilitation in three to five years, and speak of a developed economy in ten. Development plans, such as are called for under the 1944 English Education Act, planning a place in a primary or secondary school for every child, are as yet remote from reality.

The government is accordingly committed to a gigantic policy of economic reconstruction on all fronts, with a background of social revolution at home and a great war on its frontiers. Health and housing, communications and industrial development, will confront China with work for two generations before reasonable standards are reached, and present a bottomless pit of needs which no statistics are available to portray. In order to carry on life as a modern state, and in order to sustain leadership in South-east Asia in the arts of peace and in war, China is engaged in a reorientation of her past policies. Her greatest immediate assets are her vast numbers, and the undoubtedly high intelligence of her people. Already great movements can be discerned. Industry is being built up in the northern provinces between Tibet and Mongolia,

where safety from aerial bombardment will be at its greatest in any future world war. Trade figures already reveal that a determined bid is being made for the all-important self-sufficiency. In 1950, for the first time since 1877, China claimed to have achieved an export surplus, amounting to 9·34 per cent. of the total value of the import trade. The import of foodstuffs, formerly substantial, is dropping quickly, and the import of luxury goods has been forbidden. Seventy-nine per cent. of the total imports were industrial raw materials and goods needed for economic reconstruction. And for the first time, export trade with the Soviet Union exceeded trade with the U.S.A. and with any other single country, constituting as it did 26·58 per cent. of total exports as against 17·66 per cent. with the U.S.A.

These large movements towards urgent industrialisation, self-sufficiency, and close connection with Russia, are all mirrored in educational policy. They would, indeed, have been sufficient in themselves to give certain directions to educational policy for some years to come. But as a communist state, China also stands committed to a social revolution as the accompaniment of her economic plans. Before the Korean war, land reform constituted the most important single objective of the Chinese government. Eighty per cent. of China's population are farmers; the Marxian programme for the abolition of the landlord and the redistribution of land to the peasants was being carried out in every corner of China with varying degrees of disturbance. A parallel transfer of power along the same economic-social lines has taken place in industry as well. This economic unheaval is necessarily accompanied by corresponding changes in the educational system, the nature of which must furnish an important part in any survey of the educational field.

Not even by writing at great length, however, would it become possible to get the function of education into a perspective that would be true as applied to China as a whole. The cumbersome and sprawling mass of China presents a picture of infinite variety; from a purely communist point of view, the 'progressive' regions which have been long dominated by communism require a different prescription from the 'unenlightened' regions that have only recently been 'liberated' in the south.

The only safe way of describing the relative role of education in the whole effort of reconstruction is to quote the views of responsible leaders themselves in the various regions and municipalities. Thus, when the East China military and administrative commission surveyed the field in March 1951, it appeared that three of the eight cardinal tasks facing the East China regions were educational in nature. The chairman, Jao Shu-Shih, listed the main tasks. They were reconstruction for national defence; realisation of the agrarian reforms; suppression of counter-revolutionary activities; the achievement of a sound financial policy; educational and cul-

tural development and the training of technical workers; municipal development; training for all the various posts for government; and the ideological conversion of the Chinese people.

The chairman did not say that he had listed his tasks in order of priority. He simply made mention of the major tasks in his region; and the list as it stands is sufficient to indicate the tremendous importance of the educational front in relation to the Chinese effort as a whole. In any description of purely educational policy, the chairman's last point should certainly be put first.

Basic Purposes

Education in communist China is an essential cog in the vast machine for propaganda. It exists to perpetuate the state, and to serve state policy. The success or the failure with which education is furthering the aims of the state is a matter of prime governmental interest; and the publication of data concerning educational achievement is at once a natural and highly effective method of keeping mass interest in governmental policy itself. There can be discerned five major policies to which the communist government has committed itself, and for the accomplishment of which educational institutions have been made the instrument. As a result a new face has been put upon the Chinese educational body. The five policies are:

(1) The ideological conversion of the Chinese people.
(2) Economic reconstruction.
(3) Anti-Americanism.
(4) Pro-Russianism.
(5) The improvement of health.

In practice the policies overlap, like waves in the sea; between them they have set a pattern for the new Chinese education. On May 18th, 1951, the Minister of Education, Ma Hsu-lun, gave the General Administration Council a review of educational work in 1950, and attempted to lay down the main policies for 1951. He made it clear that the main method of reform was the summoning of national conferences. Large numbers are summoned to these conferences, in order that they may hear their leaders, and return to their regions, their provinces, and their municipalities to implement what they have heard. "In December 1949," said the Minister, "the first National Educational Work Conference stressed that education must meet the needs of national reconstruction; and that the doors of the schools must be opened to workers and peasants, and that the old education should be reformed and the new education developed." First steps were taken in the easiest direction—the Kuomintang ideological courses were everywhere abolished and communist ideology was substituted. Great strides

were made in the organisation of political education for the workers and peasants. From the first it was understood that the existing educated class was not to be destroyed, but converted and used. "Various administrative regions," said the Minister, "have set up people's revolutionary universities in the effort to rally and reform the intellectuals. Thus the level of political consciousness has been raised for teachers, students, and other intellectuals of the nation, and important successes scored in wiping out fascist ideology, and developing the ideology of serving the people. In particular, as a result of the patriotic education of resisting the United States, and aiding Korea, the pro-America, revere-America, and fear-America tendencies of certain people have been successfully eradicated and national self-respect and self-confidence greatly raised."

In the same report, the Minister made a careful statement of policy. The fundamental task laid upon schools and colleges was the all-out development of the patriotic education of Chinese students in resisting the U.S.A., and aiding Korea, "so as to eradicate all traces of imperialistic influence, in particular American imperialistic influence, in cultural aggression against China". Education is first and foremost the handmaiden of communist ideology; and in the second place, it must serve the needs of national reconstruction, and train all types of workers Education in a communist state must serve the interests of the workers, peasants, and servicemen, and open its doors to them. Inside the schools themselves, the Minister stressed "the work of regulation, unification, putting to order and consolidation", by which he implied that programmes of teaching and methods of control had to be devised which would tie educational institutions to communist purposes. He also looked forward to the adoption of effective steps for carrying out Chairman Mao's principle of "Health above all" to improve the students' state of health. And he hoped to improve the remuneration of middle school and elementary school teachers.

Surprisingly, the Minister made no reference of indebtedness to the Soviet Union in the whole report. But in other respects the policy he laid down has been followed throughout China, with varying degrees of emphasis and varying attainment. Ma Hsu-lun himself is a highly reputable scholar educated in the Chinese classical tradition, and is fully conscious that violent jolts cannot be given to educational institutions without inflicting harm. It is regrettable, and most certainly has brought irreparable loss to Chinese educational progress, that his policy has been carried out with a great lack of responsibility. He himself has always advocated that educational reform should proceed step by step in accordance with careful, long-term plans. If education is indeed to represent the focal point of the Chinese renaissance, the propagandist and the hot-head must be prevented from trespass. There has indeed been repeated emphasis by official commentators that a

long period of education is the only way towards success in achieving widespread political conversion. Chao Yi-min, Director of the Culture Education Committee of the Central-South Region, wisely pointed out that the remoulding of ideology is "a long process of development from unawakened to gradual awakening, and, in educational and cultural reform work, the foremost thing to be prevented is overhastiness". In the stress and strain of the Korea war, the principle was often submerged. The new ideology is the new culture and the new religion, and its advocacy passed from fervour to fanaticism. Just as political education of industrial workers is regarded as the key to increased production, so in the educational sphere it is intended to release patriotic energy, in zestful reform of the old, and eager search for new ways. But under the influence of the propagandist, political movements may cease to become educational instruments. The anti-American and aid-Korea campaign did in fact produce chaos in the schools and colleges. The vast campaign, undertaken by all the resources at the disposal of the state, represents the triumph of the propagandist and the nadir of the educationist. In Shansi province, it was boasted that 200,000 students from universities and middle schools had been mobilised for the campaign. In Peking, 30,000 students conducted propaganda in streets and factories, and far into the night. It may have been great fun while it lasted. But serious educational progress was impossible in these conditions. The actual results will be analysed later. The wise advice of Chairman Mao suffered a temporary eclipse. He had defined long-term policy as being· "Systematically and cautiously to undertake to reform the former school education and former social, educational, and cultural enterprises and to win over all the patriotic intelligentsia to serve the people. In this connection, any thought of procrastination or reluctance to reform is wrong, and so is the inclination to undertake reform by means of rough methods."

The measures for the disposal of American subsidised universities, middle and primary schools were accordingly carefully planned. P'an Tze-nien, Director of the Central Department of Education, asked for care in the execution of the movement. All connection with America in all institutions was to be severed, and the institutions were to be run from Chinese financial resources, and that more successfully than had been done by Americans. All offers of American help were refused firmly, because "even good intentions, through the hand of American imperialism, change their character into aggression and insult to the Chinese people". Even the higher salaries paid in American institutions were continued so that the teachers concerned should more easily "come to the arms of the Chinese people". And difficult and delicate though it might be, it must be made clear that the measures taken were not anti-religious: religion could be carried on outside the

schools and colleges. Nor were they to be anti-foreign. Suitable foreigners were to be induced to stay on, so long as they took no part in the administration. It was obviously of political importance that enemy propaganda should not accuse China of xenophobia. But in spite of all the restraint at the centre, in practice the liquidation of the powerful American influence was carried through with violence, wild accusations, and total lack of finesse. This campaign may be compared with the dissolution of the monasteries in England in the sixteenth century.

The other elements of central policy have been carried out with more positive gain in the educational field. All educational organisations adopted an introduction to the Soviet Union as part of their work. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association made available a continuous stream of information, organised co-ordination with Soviet societies, and arranged exhibitions in large cities. In February 1951 it was claimed that, quite apart from the lecture tours undertaken by distinguished personages, during the space of a year some 7,000 volumes of publications, 11,000 copies of periodicals, fourteen kinds of Russian newspapers, 140 sets of pictorial illustrations in series, and five big trucks equipped with generators, projectors, radio reception sets, cameras and microphones for modern publicity purposes, were received by the S.S.F.A. for the Soviet V.O.K.S. Furthermore, such articles as motion-picture equipment, films, sound-recording apparatus, sound-recording wires, lantern apparatus, lantern slides, gramophones and records were sent, as instruments for publicity. Touring exhibitions introduced the Soviet Union, and more than 1,500,000 persons are said to have visited them.

In the border province of Sinkiang, Soviet influence is naturally seen at its height. The Sinkiang branch of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association claims to have a membership of more than 3 million. On the other hand, there are signs that Russian influence is not popular, be this due to the high pay the Russians receive, or to the antipathy to foreigners, or to the notorious inadaptability of Russians in foreign countries. The programme for the training of skilled workers in such spheres as mining, industrial methods, farm-tool making, co-operatives, accounting, and health work has also been launched with some success, and much more will be heard in future years of developments on this front. The health campaign, too, is now having effects in the schools and universities. Chairman Mao gave great impetus to the policy by announcing the slogan of "health above all" for the year 1951. Later in the year, when the disastrous results of over-emphasis of the ideological campaign had been made clear, one of the reasons given for the softening of the pressure was that the health of the students was being injured by overwork and exposure.

Schools and universities, therefore, in China are used by the

communist government as major instruments in the furtherance of its own policies. Those policies will change: but the method of using the schools will remain. The editorial of April 8th, 1951, of the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao*, states "the view that education for patriotism is a passing phenomenon and temporary in nature should be disposed of. Though education for patriotism can be and should be through the medium of various transient movements, in itself it has become a regular permanent feature of education". And in the meantime, a seal has already been set on the evolution of the communist educational system, and certain permanent marks have been made in the minds of young persons in China.

SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE VARIOUS SPHERES OF EDUCATION

Primary Schools

The possibility of offering universal elementary education is still remote. In May 1951, according to incomplete statistics, there were more than 395,000 primary schools throughout the country, with a total enrolment of more than 29,330,000. In October 1951 a sharp rise was claimed, with 440,000 primary schools and an enrolment of 37 million pupils. It appears unlikely that more than a half of the children under 12 years of age have been able to find a full-time place in a school. On the other hand, a far larger proportion of the children in school are now the offspring of workers and peasants than formerly. The Ministry of Education claims that in the areas which have long been under communist domination—in the north-east, North China, and in Shantung—80 per cent. of the total number of children in school are the offspring of workers or peasants.

The problems of definition of accommodation standards or of the appropriate curricula for each age-group, so familiar in the West, are yet only on the far horizon in China. The aims of the primary school are really threefold: to demonstrate that education is no longer the privilege of the few, but that it rightly belongs to the working classes; to convert those lucky enough to find a place into good communists; and to teach as many as possible to read and write. In this early phase, there is bound to be a struggle for places, with preference being given to children aged 13 and 14 who have had no schooling before, and find themselves doing the basic work of a child of 7. The initiative in the provision of new schools rests firmly with individuals rather than the state. Private schools are everywhere for the moment encouraged and even assisted by the state. In the villages the peasants are building their own schools according to their own standards and resources. Published pictures of new schools sometimes show children densely packed, sitting on long benches at roughly hewn desks. Localities like to

boast of their progress: in the countryside of Hsuanchen, South Anhwei, the enrolment of pupils is claimed to be 64,000, being 17 per cent. higher than that claimed for 1950: and children from peasant families now occupy 30 per cent. of the places. In Kwantung, 862 schools have been set up since the liberation (July 1951). In North Szechwan, primary schools have doubled in number (May 1951), and in 15,000 schools there are 1,200,000 children, representing an increase of 242 per cent. since 1950. When a locality can claim to offer accommodation to 60 per cent. of the children, then indeed it may congratulate itself. In Hunan, the number of primary school children has increased 52 per cent. since last year. In Changsha, children of workers and peasants constitute 90 per cent. of the new students. In the North-east Region, covering six provinces and one municipality, the number of students rose to 4,576,111 in 1951; included in this figure are 206,000 children in attendance at 2,858 village schools newly opened by the peasants on their own account. The north-east, too, claims to be giving a lead in another field of primary education: it is a government instruction that every industrial plant, where the women workers have more than ten infants among them, must have a crèche; where there are more than twenty children between the ages of 3 and 6, a kindergarten has to be provided. These developments, if sustained, may well offer an interesting field of study in the years to come. In the plans for reorganisation published in October 1951, a kindergarten is designated as a school for children between the ages of 2 and 7, and developments are planned for the cities first. All in due course the old division between the senior and junior elementary school is to disappear, and the elementary school will offer a five-year course for all children between the ages of 7 and 12. As many as 90 per cent. of the workers' children used to leave school after completion of the three-years junior course. The new five-years course will begin to come into being in 1952, and the change will be completed in the quinquennium 1952–7. The real problem of the future is the financial one: voluntary effort alone will never achieve universal primary education, nor will a properly qualified teaching profession emerge until adequate scales of remuneration can be offered. The curriculum, too, needs a drastic overhaul. It is a common criticism that children spend far too much time in school singing revolutionary songs and practising their role for the next act of mass demonstration. That political exhibitionism will have to be put sternly in its place may be guessed by noting the beginnings of an attempt to link the senior classes with industrial needs. The summer of 1951 saw the establishment of short courses, with a target figure of a quarter of a million students, intended to initiate workers into the mines, industry, farming, accounting, and health work. These apprentice classes are now being established in various selected senior elemen-

tary schools. Interesting and significant this development may be; but with a characteristic lack of skill in these hurried early phases, the government has given no warning on the obvious dangers to the general education of the children concerned.

Middle Schools

With universal elementary education but a remote objective, universal secondary education as a basis for an enlightened nation is obviously a futuristic dream. Chinese leaders themselves recognise that the task for some years will rather be to make the best use of available resources. Whether the Chinese are capable of meeting the challenge to create and sustain an ever-enlarging and progressive secondary education will for long be questioned both at home and abroad. Already middle school education is being made a central point of communist attention. In March 1951 a National Conference on Middle School Education was convened, and lasted for twelve days. The conference furnished the basis for the issue by the Ministry of Education of *Provisional Regulations for Middle Schools*. Two hundred and fifty of the better middle schools were selected for the experimental implementation of Chinese regulations. The attempt to create a secondary technical education has begun: a spectacular expulsion of American and other foreign and missionary influence has taken place: regions rival each other in opening the schools to workers and peasants; Soviet influence is strong, and a spate of technical textbooks directly copied from Soviet prototypes is appearing; teacher training is being organised, and Chairman Mao's " On Practice " is the source of the teaching method; and the health of the student body, the élite of the future, is of great consideration.

A few figures reveal the alarming scope of this problem for a nation of 475 million. According to statistics available for the latter half of 1950, there are in existence only 5,137 middle schools with 1,560,000 students on roll. Of these, only 507 were technical schools, with 110,000 students. These figures represent the reserves from which China must draw its technically qualified personnel in industry, in agriculture, in public health, in teaching and propaganda; from this source, too, must be drawn the large number needed for intermediate cadres of the People's Liberation Army, and for the institutes of higher education. Progress has been recorded in the older liberated areas: in the north-east there has been an increase of 60 per cent. in the number of schools and of 109 per cent. in the number of students as compared with pre-liberation days. In the six provinces and two municipalities of the North China region, there has been an increase of ten middle schools and 30,000 students in the latter half of 1950 as compared with the first half. Special quotas for the offspring of workers and peasants have had to be fixed by the various localities. The off-

spring of workers and peasants make up 67·6 per cent. of the total number of students in the north-east, with 79·9 per cent. in Hopei, 81·9 per cent. in Shansi, 76·7 per cent. in Pingyuan, and 65·7 per cent. in Chahar. These figures represent percentages which the other regions of China must try to emulate. This same region claimed a further increase of 54 per cent. in its number of enrolled students in the spring of 1951, with 155,748 students in its middle schools. In Peking itself there were 807 classes in middle schools before the liberation; early in 1951 there were 825, and the number of students had increased from 33,549 to 43,699. Thirty-one per cent. of the students came from working-class families. In more recently liberated areas, such as the Central-South Region, it is clear that there has been a recession since pre-liberation days; in the spring of 1951 the province of Kwangsi claimed to have restored and maintained 202 middle schools, this number being under 85 per cent. of the old figure. In areas where national minorities live, a certain percentage of the coveted places is reserved for working-class children. In Kweichow province, for instance, between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of places in middle schools are wisely reserved for the minorities.

The eye of the foreign observer is naturally caught by the spectacular, if degrading, expulsion of American influence from the middle schools. The process is now complete; it has been spectacular as a revolutionary assertion of the nation's capacities to conduct its own intricate enterprises; and degrading in its accompaniment of disgusting accusation meetings, mob outbursts in educational institutions of repute, and the forcible deportation or imprisonment of Americans. The shock and the loss will long be felt in the schools; and intimidation and wild assertions represent a strange foundation for a cultural renaissance. But in spite of all the upset, creative efforts are being made. The all-out development of intermediate technical education has emerged as the first objective. The 507 existing technical schools are being regulated, and certain ordinary middle schools are being given a technical bias in co-operation with industrial and commercial interests. As yet details of actual achievement are meagre. One specific claim in October 1951 was that 50,000 students were taking secondary medical courses for nurses, midwives, and the like. Attempts to gather technically qualified staff have begun in some regions. Before the secondary technical high schools can become really powerful, relations between the Ministry of Education and the Political Department of the People's Revolutionary Council will have to be much more clearly defined, and short-term needs will have to be differentiated from long-term needs. The Political Department is charged with recruiting personnel suitable for technical training to meet Army needs in medicine, telecommunications, engineering, radio, supplies, public security, Russian and other

foreign languages. Recruits are found amongst the students in the first or second year of the senior middle school, and often amongst students who have not achieved even that. It was reported with pride in February 1951 that between two-thirds and one-half of the middle school students had volunteered under the current recruiting programme.

Equally important and significant is the attempt to develop worker-peasant high schools for adults. In this sphere, progress is more easily discernible. The students are adult, between the ages of 18 and 35, with an average of three years' distinguished service in the revolutionary cause. The course is planned to last three years, and in practice some students will certainly take more time. Chinese language, mathematics, and natural sciences receive the most emphasis, for the aim of the students is to qualify themselves for admission to universities. The most famous school of this kind is the Peking Experimental Worker-Peasant High School, which was opened in June 1950. In Chinese language, after a year's study, some of the students have achieved a mastery of a thousand words; in general it is claimed that they have achieved the level of Senior II students. In 1950, in North China, there were seven schools of this type, seven in the north-east, three in East China, two in Central-South China, three in South-west China, and one in Inner Mongolia. Together these schools housed some 4,000 students. Similar schools are in preparation in North Kiangsu, Chekiang, North Anhwei, Hupeh, and Kwantung during the latter half of 1951; by October the number of schools was thirty-seven, with 7,000 on roll. This conception of the worker-peasant high school for adults, and the vision of a network of secondary technical schools, are the two most important ideas so far, and promise far greater things than the various short-term classes, the recruitment for military needs, and the sporadic Soviet advice for training in certain industries.

Eighty per cent. of existing middle schools are still of the ordinary type. There are 4,015 such schools, with 1,290,000 students on roll; and only one-fifth of this number are senior middle school students. These schools exist to give all-round education, and are now beginning to show the characteristic communist marks. Political studies and current affairs occupy a high place: science will no doubt receive great emphasis as teaching resources become available. The March conference stated quite firmly that class study and class teaching are the basis of school life. Extra-curricular social and political activities and manual labour are in future to be planned and co-ordinated by the teacher. If the influence of the educationist remains as strong in the schools of the regions as it was at the national conference, it is not unreasonable to anticipate steady progress in the future. The assumption is a large one, however: propagandists were calling upon all schools to take part in

the nation-wide anti-American campaign at the very time the middle school conference was in session.

A firm extension of government control of middle schools is to be expected. It was announced in October 1951 that graduates of both junior and senior middle schools would in future be subject to government direction. Middle schools are certain to be given a technical bias, or become the main production centres for elementary school teachers. They cannot carry out their task unless they are assured of a certain standard of attainment by their pupils before entry. The plans in both fields are rightly flexible, and possibly confused. Elementary school teachers will in the main find their training at junior middle school level, and the brighter ones will, after a period of teaching service, be offered continued education in senior middle schools. For older people some junior middle schools are going to organise a one-year course for prospective teachers, possibly drawing inspiration from the British emergency training scheme. But the fact that the bulk of the teachers in future will be children of 15 or 16 is the measure of China's need to-day. These are the slender bases of the five-year programme for the reorganisation of elementary education announced in October 1951; and these graduates of the junior middle normal schools will in fact form the bulk of the new body of 1 million teachers who are to be produced. By October 1951 there were 605 schools for the training of elementary school teachers, with 165,000 students. Emergency methods and short-term training classes will be needed if the teachers are to be produced in sufficient numbers.

With its determination to create an industrialised China, the Chinese government must continue to search for ways of producing large numbers of technicians of all sorts. For the next decade, emergency methods will be required. It is, however, easier to recognise the emergency than to bend the middle schools to the needs of reconstruction. Chinese leaders themselves recognise that the existing middle schools are entirely inadequate even to produce the numbers required. A perpetual dilemma will be to release technically qualified staff from industry and production for teaching duties. Large industrial enterprises will have to carry over-large training programmes as part of their day's work. The schools themselves, if present policy matures, will be increasingly subjected to short-term needs. There will be an extensive development of short courses, correspondence courses, and special courses, offering both technical and political knowledge, and only the chosen few may expect an education in the middle school lasting six years. The assessment of the strength and weaknesses of the Chinese effort to produce large-scale secondary technical education will certainly prove a most fruitful and fascinating field of study for future observers.

Higher Education

In 1950 there were 201 institutions of higher learning, of which 69 were universities. Twenty-two of these universities were private institutions, including 10 which were American sponsored; the total number on roll of all institutes of higher learning was 130,000. In 1951, as a result of various changes, universities numbered 57, and only 14 could still be classified as in any sense private; the total number of institutions of higher learning had gone down to 195, and the enrolment to 128,000.

Some comparative figures taken at random reveal the inadequacy of the Chinese provision. Figures for June 1950 show the number of students in universities as 34,000. The figure is to be compared with 85,421 in the United Kingdom in 1951, where the population is only one-tenth of China's; or with the 2 million university and college students in the U.S.A., and over 1 million in the Soviet Union. The total number of graduates from all sources in 1950 was only 17,500 in China (it sank to 17,400 in 1951), of whom perhaps 7,000 were graduates in science. this figure of 7,000 is to be compared with the 36,000 science graduates produced by U.S.A. in 1947 alone. Again, the number of registered doctors in China in 1950 was under 20,000; a figure which gives each doctor an average of more than 20,000 people to look after. Even this figure is no real indication of the need in many parts of China, for doctors tend to settle in the more attractive parts. There were 3,900 doctors in Shanghai with a population of some 5 million. When every allowance is made for the difficulty of ascertaining reliable figures under present conditions, the general conclusions to be drawn are clear enough. Sometimes ministers themselves state requirements which become significant when the background figures are available. The Ministry of Heavy Industry stated in 1950 that it needed 6,000 graduates in the next five years, and the Ministry of Fuel that it required 660 graduates in the same period. Meanwhile an omnivorous war is consuming both graduates and students. It must not be forgotten that the serious deficiencies in the technical and scientific spheres are paralleled by similar shortages in the arts faculties.

In a situation of such compelling gravity it may seem worse than pointless to boast that graduates have now no fear of unemployment. Yet the statement is frequently made, presumably to justify the government's policy of allocating all graduates to posts. As details of policy become known, the absolute rejection of those principles of freedom that are the glory and the strength of Western universities becomes more and more clear. Even a private university to-day is under the same strict control as the rest, the sole difference being that the government does not foot the entire bill. The Ministry of Education has assumed direct responsibility for the curriculum. In order that education may serve national recon-

struction, liberal education is considered reactionary. In 1950 the Ministry sent to all institutions of higher learning a first draft of the revised curriculum, and this draft will almost certainly become an annual affair.

The Ministry's instructions are, as usual, based upon the findings of conferences on curricular reform; they are designed to secure that political ideology has its proper place, that courses which do not contribute to national reconstruction are abolished, and that what is taught shall have a practical side. A central idea of the scheme is to provoke early specialisation. General courses have been greatly reduced. A botany student, for example, is required to take only one course in general chemistry; he is no longer required to take physics or mathematics. In his third year he must choose a specialised field, such as marine botany, plant physiology, or plant morphology. A graduate from such a system is at best well trained in only one particular branch of botany; he will not have the knowledge required of a university demonstrator in botany. Students studying engineering, agriculture, or medicine are required to undertake stretches of field work of between one and three months' duration, in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of the country and the people. Individual students are subject to the same strict control as universities in general. Once a student is registered in one department, he may not be transferred to any other department. No student is allowed to transfer from one university to another unless his whole family is moving. Once graduated from a university he is not allowed to choose another field of study: a chemistry graduate, for example, is not allowed to study medicine. Even though a square peg will not fit a round hole, China's need is such that all wastage must be prevented. A Chinese university student now works within much of the framework of conscription: he receives certain benefits from the regimentation as well. He is not allowed to work as hard as many of his contemporaries in the West. So that his health shall not suffer, his work in lectures, practical work, and private study is restricted to fifty hours a week. And his troubles that used to arise from differing matriculation standards is disappearing, now that each region runs a common entrance examination.

Higher education in China will continue to present a basic problem for many years to come, and the handling of it furnishes a real test of communist skill and vision. It is too early as yet to do more than attempt to discern the emergence of significant policies.

The story so far is hardly one of self-congratulation to the government. Details are not easy to ascertain, but 1951 appears to have witnessed a further disastrous failure to attract students in sufficient quantity or quality. In May 1951 the Minister of Education announced the target figure of 35,000 new students to be enrolled by universities, technical and normal colleges. The figure

was realistic and even modest: it has not been achieved. One report from Canton stated that candidates for institutes of higher education in 1951 numbered fewer than 1,000, whereas 5,000 used to apply to Sun-Yat Sen University alone. The University of Shantung, but recently amalgamated with the two-years-old East China University, was some 200 students short. The South-west Region could recruit only 6,000 students for the 11,000 places available in senior middle schools and universities. Some departments have failed to open at all: amongst these may be listed the department of education at Kuang Hua University, of history and of journalism at St. John's, of education and agricultural economics at Foochow, of agricultural economics at Nanking, of anthropology at Chekiang, of agricultural economics at Amoy, and of forestry at Anhwei. Official reasons for failures to open are given as shortages of equipment or teaching staff. The official reason for the drop in numbers in some places is that middle school graduates now get posts so easily. But most of the reported failures come from the newly won regions in the south. It may be assumed that the social and political upheaval has confused many families whose offspring would normally now be at the universities. The knowledge, too, that entry into a university brings certain liability to direction if not conscription is certainly a deterrent.

Poor business conditions, and liquidation of the landowner class, have also affected the size of the enrolment. It is a widespread allegation that there is nothing worth learning in universities any more, and that a student is employed at everything except study. By August 1951 the authorities were openly admitting that chaos had been caused in the schools by indiscriminate recruitment· henceforward students can be called up only with the consent of the regional department of Cultural and Educational Affairs; and distractions of propaganda work are to be restrained.

If an increase in numbers is not easily effected, the need for a wise direction and insistence on quality is all the greater. To discover the general policy it is again necessary to probe the findings of national conferences and to study ministerial declarations, for there is no self-government in Chinese universities now. In June 1950 the first All-China Higher Education Conference was convened. The conference laid down three general points. First, university studies are to be co-ordinated with the needs of agriculture and industry. Science for science's sake, and art for art's sake, are classed as ideas that satisfied the vainglories of individuals, but did not serve the people. Secondly, the door is to be opened to offspring of workers and peasants: but the preparatory work lies elsewhere, and there is nothing new in China in the admission of students to a university without the payment of fees. Thirdly, teaching staffs are to be created from home resources, rather than trained in foreign universities as in the past. In May 1951 the

Minister of Education made somewhat more specific announcements.

He envisaged extensions in engineering, political and legal education, and in teacher training. The Chinese People's University, the Harbin Engineering University, and the Peking Normal University are to be developed as models for the rest of the country. The first two give advanced training to specially selected teachers in finance, engineering, and science. There are a hundred places available in each faculty. In addition, research scholars are being found places here. He also stated that every effort was to be made to induce skilled Chinese to return from abroad. the activities of the special organisation charged to effect this return is worth a chapter in itself. By February 1951, 470 had returned to China, and the University of Canton had established a special course of indoctrination for the returned Chinese before they were dispatched to their new posts.

Soviet influence and Chinese communist ambitions are both revealed in a striking fashion by the People's University, Peking. The university was opened on September 1st, 1950, with 72 per cent. of the students taken from the ranks of those who had served the party well. As academic standards of entry were therefore low, the university itself offers supplementary courses of up to two years, and also night courses in order to qualify the student to enrol in one of the eight faculties. These activities, outside the scope of university work as such, allowed the university to claim a roll of 2,981 in 1951. Courses in law and diplomacy last for four years; the Russian course takes two years. the remaining five, in economic planning, finance, trade, co-operative organisation, and factory management, take three years. All students spend about 25 per cent. of their time pursuing political studies. Under Russian influence there is nothing left to spontaneity. Every lecture is said to be carefully planned and approved; in the second year, students carry out practical work in the factories, mines, farms, and banks in which they will later spend their days. The other interesting feature, again clearly organised by the Soviet professors, is a two-year course for 370 students who already held responsible teaching posts before the communist take-over. The object is that these teachers should go back to important posts after these two years of political indoctrination and alleged research. What higher research of real value can be carried out in such a diverse organisation is still to be revealed. Richer results might be obtained by assembling China's own best brains and devising a native organisation rather than by attempting adaptation of the inflexible Soviet pattern.

Now that the eradication of American and missionary influence is formally complete, it is possible to see signs of a new policy of co-ordination of research and higher technological education.

Largely under the influence of Professor Chu Co-Ching, incidentally a Ph.D. of Harvard and one-time president of the National Chekiang University, and now Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences in Peking, the Academy has given a lead. The Academy itself has been reorganised from the Academia Sinica and the Peiping Research Institute, and now has twenty research organs under its control. There are departments of geology, astronomy, sociology, and palaeontology in Nanking; organic chemistry, marine biology, experimental biology, physiological biology, and chemistry and engineering in Shanghai. Other units are in Peking, namely those concerned with mathematics, physics, applied physics (where atomic energy is studied by Professor Chao Chung-Yao, recently returned from America, and others), botanic classification, psychology, history, archaeology, and philology. An era of co-operation and exchange of staff between universities has begun. Plans are going ahead, too, to attain self-sufficiency in the supply of scientific instruments, the publication of general catalogues of all the scientific books available in China, and the printing of new textbooks. Amongst the means adopted are the translation of foreign textbooks, and the reprinting of current issues of scarce technical periodicals. In 1951, 269 million textbooks had been printed for primary and middle schools, as compared with 140 million in 1950. The Ministry of Education has begun to centralise certain technological studies in certain places: the transport administration departments, in East China Chiao Tung University and in North China Pei Fang Chiao Tung University, have been amalgamated; the department of civil engineering in this latter university has been amalgamated with that of Futan University; the Peiyang University in Tientsin and the Hopei Engineering College now form the Tientsin University. The Tsing Hua University, Peking, now has a College of Aeronautics with staff and equipment brought from Peiyang University and the North-west Engineering College. Three hundred students work in the recently established Hwai River College of Water Conservancy Engineering. New courses are being offered in subjects such as 'labour policy' and 'civic administration'. On April 26th, 1951, China's institution for training mineralogists, the China Mineralogical Institute, was opened by its President, Chen Yu, who is also Minister of Fuel Industry. The college system is giving way to departmental organisation under the influence of the interested ministries. The Hua Chung University, formerly American, has been joined by the Normal College of Chungyan University to form a state university devoted to the training of middle school teachers.

Internal life of the universities has changed considerably for both students and teachers. Power radiates from the centre; the important appointments are made at the level of the General Administration Council. Policy and detail are matters that require dis-

cussion between ministers, the regional department of education, and the university board of directors, workers' trade union, and students' union. If a professor wishes for leave, his application must survive the scrutiny of both students' and cleaners' representatives· students, too, play a larger part in deciding what examinations shall be required. All concerned have to subscribe to the doctrine of the dignity of labour, and show the practical side of their work, and take part in propaganda movements. Even Ma Yin-ch'u, the seventy-year-old President of Peking University, has started to learn Russian and walk up Coal Hill every day for his health. The university teacher has lost his academic freedom and no longer carries the lonely burden of personal responsibility: on the other hand, he has been brought into the main stream of communist life whether he likes it or not, and many teachers may have found a new impetus as a result of the government's insistence on using their talents in practical spheres, and in the encouragement given in exchanges of staff with other communist countries. For years to come, the big need will not be so much for clarification and definition of functions but for insistence on standards of attainment. The government must as yet insist that institutes of higher education meet short-term needs. But the signs are that theoretical work and examinations are due to make a return in order to ensure that graduates will in fact be able to do the job when their time comes.

Hand in hand with the raising of standards must go a continued drive to ensure the loyalty of university staffs. A good housewife, it is said, must be loyal to her husband as well as proficient in her household duties: a university teacher in China must be absolutely loyal to the people's government besides proficient in his work. In September 1951, Premier Chou En-lai himself issued an appeal with a five-hour speech concerning the reform of intellectuals; in response the recently appointed President of the National Peking University, Ma Yin-ch'u, launched a reorientation course for some three thousand faculty members in twenty universities and colleges in Peking and Tientsin. The course is designed to serve as a model for other courses throughout China. By attendance at lectures given by leading officials, by criticism and self-criticism, and by the study of writings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung, it is intended to wean the university teaching staffs from their individualism and encourage them towards their full stature as servants of the Chinese revolution. The communist government has a deep belief in the intimate connection between spiritual conversion and technical achievement in work and reconstruction. Whether the forces of the steam-roller and sheer physical weariness can secure spiritual conversion in men and women of high intellectual calibre is open to doubt; but a country in the throes of fundamental social change, in its efforts to educate for patriotism, must understandably adopt

entirely different methods from those pursued in Western countries with long-established traditions.

The Campaign against Illiteracy

The Chinese communist government is nowhere seen to better advantage than in its determination to produce a literate population. It is probably conducting the world's largest mass-education movement; 85 per cent. of the adult population were reckoned to be illiterate in 1949. The first National Conference on Workers' and Peasants' Education was held in September 1950. The conference stressed that progress must depend upon the willingness of the masses to learn; and that essentially the problem must for the moment be tackled largely with spare-time students. Soviet-inspired middle schools for adults, it has been seen, can only scrape the surface of the problem. Mass desire to learn, and readiness to teach by anyone who can read, are therefore the keys to progress. Winter schools for the peasants, spare-time schools for factories, and group efforts in alleyways and shops are the main organisations; but every improvised grouping in workshop, mine, or paddy-field is encouraged. Some schools which began as winter schools now receive part-time students all the year round. In 1949, 13 million peasants studied in winter schools, and the figure rose to 25 million in 1950 with over 290,000 winter schools. In 1951, the target figure was 30 million. 3,480,000 peasants studied through the year in 1950, and the target figure for 1951 was 5 million. In late 1950, 1,064,000 industrial workers studied in spare-time schools. A year later, the figure was reported as having risen to 1,780,000. In 1951 a committee for research on linguistic reform was set up to select the most simple and commonly used characters and give advice on teaching them; writers such as Lu Hsun are held up as models in the use of simplified Chinese; whilst many localities developed formal committees charged with the overseeing of spare-time education. Regions give wide publicity to their achievements so as to preserve enthusiasm. Dairen and Port Arthur, inspired by Soviet specialists, led the way by establishing classes and libraries, by organising literacy competitions, and by arranging supervision for children so that mothers could attend classes.

Nowhere have the communists shown more skill than in their treatment of national minorities. Very few of the national minorities have anything but the scantiest provision for education; and some have either a very simple written language or no language at all. Where the minorities have a written language, this is being used in the literacy classes and in the schools. If no written language exists, then the government is setting out to create one as a basis for literacy and elementary education. Thus a new language written in Roman characters has been created for the Yi, a people living in Sikang Province. The new language sets out

to be easy to learn, and adaptable to the creation of new words. There were few indigenous words that could be written, and the language had no grammar. There are dozens of minority nationalities in China, and the government has shown great skill and sensitivity in harmonising the needs of the people themselves with their needs as communist citizens.

The communist government claims that all organised workers will be able to read, write, and do elementary arithmetic in three to five years' time. The standards to be attained are now fairly well defined. When a student can recognise 100 characters he is presumed to have made a good start. When he can recognise about 1,200 he is equipped to receive much of the propaganda that is aimed at him, and to fill up simple forms. The general plan in factories allows for a study period of two hours on three days of the week. The peasants attend between 150 to 200 classes a year. There is a steady stream of individuals coming forward who claim that within one year they have learned to read newspapers and write simple compositions, or keep accounts. Simple materials of a propaganda nature are now becoming available for use in the literacy movement and some attention is being paid to the use of films. It is interesting that there does not appear to have been any attempt to learn from the efforts of Unesco in similar programmes in other parts of the world. Chinese experience may demonstrate that to fan the flames of desire to read is a far more important element in success than to evolve technique or even to provide qualified and paid teachers. But the signs are that the communist government recognises that more formal machinery is needed if real literacy—implying a mastery of 4,000 to 6,000 characters at least—and a real educational ladder are to be offered to adult workers and peasants. The reorganisation plans announced in October 1951 envisage the widespread creation of short-course elementary schools giving adults a two- or three-year course, and allowing the students who can qualify by examination to pass to workers' and peasants' short-course middle schools, which give a course of three to four years. It is hoped that 100,000 workers will be able to graduate to these middle schools in the next five or six years. Extensions are also to be expected in the other type of elementary school for adults, the 'spare-time' school for those who cannot attend full-time courses. During the first term in 1951, 1,500,000 adults were studying in this type of school. Naturally the length of these courses is unpredictable, but again spare-time middle schools will be built to accept graduates from the spare-time elementary school.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise that all this activity is closely linked with the political education of the peasants and workers. In November 1951 the Ministry of Education issued a special directive insisting that the literacy groups generally, and the winter

schools in particular, should use their opportunities for political indoctrination. The onus was laid on the provincial and municipal departments of education to compile suitable teaching materials upon austerity and the marriage laws; the old-standing 'resist-United-States and aid-Korea' campaign, land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries have each given birth to a substantial literature. In order to learn to read in China to-day, it is necessary to take ever-stronger doses of political propaganda.

Summary

The changes now taking place in Chinese education are as yet provisional in nature, but are none the less revolutionary. The fundamentals of the revolution are the principles of Marx and Lenin, and the practical experiences of the Soviet Union both involve a self-conscious rejection of Western traditions and aims. The focal points of this educational reform are undoubtedly to be found in the spheres of primary, secondary, higher, and adult education. Even so, the vastness of the communist effort is insufficiently established by noting the changes in these spheres alone. The whole cultural and educational resources of the nation are being transformed into a machine for propaganda, enlightenment, and pleasure in that order of importance. China has already witnessed the herding of Chinese youth into the Pioneers or the New Democratic League; the organisation of literary and artistic people to portray the life of the masses and enhance the new virtues; the reform of the stage and screen with the same purposes in view; and the establishment of the Motion Picture School in Peking to produce actors and actresses who are imbued with communism; the marketing of a few new Chinese films; the dissemination of popular science to serve the principles of materialism; the use of historical monuments, folk-lore, and traditional dance as a source of pride and patriotism; the complete subordination of the Press and all other publications to communistic ends; and the 'reform' of all religions, be they Christian, Confucian, Buddhist, or Taoist, that might rival communism by producing a conflict of loyalties. That academic freedom is gone, and that educational institutions no longer exist to develop the individual for his own sake, are now matters of fact. The living issues of the future are whether Christianity can survive at all in China; and whether the gigantic effort to capture the minds, the passions, and the imagination of the nation is succeeding.

Education is in the forefront as a self-created test of achievement for communist China. Events have moved fast and far since the adoption of the Common Programme in September 1949. The government has already shown a willingness to admit its repeated failures in technique, in order to rectify any mistakes. This attitude is perhaps the strongest weapon in their armoury of progress.

Equally certainly the most potent difficulties have been caused by the destructive intrusion of the propagandist into educational institutions, with the resultant dissipation of student energy. The Ministry of Education has too often failed to declare its independence and insist upon its exclusiveness; the communist government will pay heavily on the reconstruction front if it continues to treat the Ministry of Education as the tail of the dog. Without insistence upon standards of attainment, the educational edifice, however imposing the façade, will deteriorate into a hollow mockery. There are already signs of returning health: the most important of these are perhaps the intention to erect an entrance examination barrier to each stage of education; the definite cessation of irresponsible recruitment of middle school and university undergraduates in the middle of their courses; and the growing realisation, mirrored in a recent editorial of the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao,* that " one-sided emphasis on the practical, and the neglect of systematic knowledge and theoretical studies, are completely mistaken and will inevitably lead to failure."

As time goes on, the communist government may be expected to discover that revolution is too large a word for easy application to the educational process. Expansion there will be, and changes in organisation and direction; but the fundamental truths discovered by the practice, philosophy, and psychology of other civilised nations may not be warped without peril. It was Dewey who made clear to this generation that education is for life; the loss must be balanced by the gain if schools no longer select experiences from life that are morally and intellectually valuable for the growth of the pupils, but select instead those experiences of labour which contribute to the production of the country or to sympathy with the working class. It was Pestalozzi who pointed out that good discipline is not necessarily coercive, and Western psychologists who have changed discipline in schools by calling for the cultivation of self-control: these doctrines may well be more valuable for Chinese educational institutions than Russian rigidity. The government's political aims are its own affair; and communists could quote Aristotle, besides Marx, to justify the use of education for political aims. It is pointless to apply purely Western standards of criticism to Chinese educational work: equally China cannot reject the profound educational truths that are the common meeting-ground of educationists of all creeds.

K. E. PRIESTLEY.

CHAPTER TWO

INDIA

INDIA attained her freedom on August 15th, 1947. On January 26th, 1950, the new Constitution by which India became a sovereign democratic republic came into force. The Preamble to the Constitution declares that the people of India have—

> solemnly resolved to secure to all its citizens
> Justice, social, economic, and political,
> Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship,
> Equality of status and opportunity,
> and to promote among them all
> Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

Clearly the Constitution aims at the establishment of a democratic welfare state in India. Article 43 directs the state to secure to all workers "work, a decent standard of life, and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities". Article 47 lays down that "the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living and the improvement of public health shall be among the primary duties of the state."

The realisation of these objectives would require economic and social changes of a far-reaching nature To-day an overwhelming majority of the people of India are unable to satisfy adequately the primary needs of food, shelter, clothing, and protection from disease.

The first great task before India is to raise the standard of life of the people. This cannot be achieved without economic development on a considerable scale. First of all, it is essential that Indian agriculture should be developed and modernised. The First Five-Year Plan (1951) under the consideration of the government of India lays the greatest emphasis on the development of agriculture. It says: "The primary aim of the plan is to improve agricultural production".[1] Forty-three per cent. of the total expenditure of 14,930 million rupees [2] to be incurred on economic development in the next five years is allotted to agriculture, rural development,

[1] *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 2.
[2] Rupee = 1*s* 6*d*.

irrigation and power projects, the main purpose of which is to help agriculture and rural development.

But the standard of living of a country with a population of 350 million cannot be appreciably raised within a reasonable length of time without a high degree of industrialisation. The First Five-Year Plan proposes a considerable increase in the production of textiles, iron and steel, aluminium and paper. It also aims at an increase of one million kilowatts in the production of power. Though the progress of industrialisation must needs be slow in the earlier stages, due to lack of adequate capital resources, industrial expansion has to be kept in view as a major economic objective.

At the same time the development of cottage industries has to be specially emphasised in a country with a large population and inadequate resources in capital, that is in finance and machinery. The plan states that in India, as "labour is plentiful relatively to capital . . . preference must be given, wherever technical conditions permit, to labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive processes".[3] Also there is a long tradition of skilled artistic craftsmanship amongst the artisans of India, and if up-to-date modern tools and cheap power are made available to them the products of their workmanship could stand comparison with the best products of craftsmanship in the world. This is not to imply that large-scale industrialisation is not necessary. What is wanted is an integration of heavy industries and handicrafts in an over-all plan of industrialisation. Economic development will not succeed in raising the standard of living of the people of India unless a policy of population control is also adopted. The First Five-Year Plan says "unless measures are initiated at this stage to bring down the birth-rate and thereby to reduce the rate of population growth, a continuously increasing amount of effort on the part of the community will be used up only in maintaining existing standard of consumption".[4] The population of India is growing at an alarming rate. In the last fifty years it has grown from 235·5 million in 1901 to 356·9 in 1951. "The increasing pressure of population on natural resources (which must inevitably be limited) retards economic progress, and limits seriously the rate of extension of social services so essential to civilised existence".[5] Probably this is the first official recognition of the necessity for a population policy, though Indian thinkers and social reformers, and notably the All-India Women's Conference, have long been stressing the need for one.

The question of raising the national standard of health and physical fitness is no less important than that of economic development, for malaria, tuberculosis, cholera, small-pox, typhoid, and other diseases not only take a heavy toll of life but cause still

[3] *First Five-Year Plan.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[5] *Ibid.*

greater national damage by lowering immeasurably the physical fitness of the people.

The greatest single cause of ill-health and low vitality in India is undernourishment. With economic improvement there will probably be a rise in nutritional standards if people spend their income wisely. Still, there is an urgent need for organisation of public health and control of disease. Pure air, clean water, and hygienic food are primary necessities of life, a sanitary drainage system is a minimal condition of civilised existence in modern times; and it is the right of every citizen of a progressive state to receive protection from epidemics and infectious diseases. Unfortunately these means of civilised living are not within the reach of the majority of people in India. Therefore, one of the main tasks before the Indian state is to make them available to all.

According to the Constitution, India should be a people's democracy, in which every citizen should be able to participate in the political and cultural life of his country. India has to evolve a democracy specially suited to her needs and in keeping with her past. For the last three thousand years the village communities of India have functioned in autonomous democratic units, and new democratic institutions should not ignore their existence. Though a century of centralised bureaucratic administration has paralysed the local government of the *panchayats*, a democratic tradition of such long standing could not have been exterminated and efforts must be made to revitalise it. The Indian Constitution lays down that village *panchayats* should be established as democratic units and that government should be decentralised as far as possible. Social thinkers are increasingly aware of the dangers from centralised political and economic power, none more than Gandhiji, who was opposed to large-scale industrialisation chiefly on the ground that it leads to centralisation of power and consequent exploitation of the individual. Though India will have to industrialise herself to a considerable extent in order to raise the people's standard of living beyond the level of bare existence, yet the development of industries has to be so planned and controlled as to safeguard against centralisation of power as far as possible.

The above is a very brief sketch of the socio-economic objectives before the government and people of India. The educational implications involved in the realisation of these objectives can broadly be discussed under the following heads:

(1) Education and Science.
(2) Education and Culture.
(3) Education and Democracy.

(1) *Education and Science*

The inculcation of the scientific spirit, the spirit of inquiry, "the habit of forming disinterested judgments based upon exact

evidence",[6] should be one of the most important aims of Indian education. For centuries the people have been accustomed to traditional patterns of thought, and their vision has been circumscribed within narrow bounds. The true remedy is the promotion of the scientific outlook which would break the intellectual stagnation and vitalise the thought and life of the people. This process of radically altering the outlook of a whole nation involves a mental revolution which cannot be brought about unless a bold lead is given by the leading thinkers of the country and all the educational resources of the country are utilised in its service.

Closely related to the scientific outlook but distinct from it is the realisation of the importance of science in human life to-day. Large-scale economic development, control of disease, and promotion of material welfare require that the whole nation should realise the significance of science and its application to agriculture, industry, public health, and other aspects of life.

Thus inculcation of the scientific spirit and the emphasis on the role of science in the modern world should be important objectives of general education in free India.

From the standpoint of immediate usefulness the extension of technical education of all grades is a matter of great importance. Pre-vocational technical education should be made available to all who have aptitude for it. The introduction of basic education providing a variety of crafts will go a long way in fulfilling this need in rural areas. Secondly, a very large number of technicians, such as engineers, chemists, metallurgists, and experts in agriculture, have to be trained. Lastly, facilities for scientific research and higher technological education should be greatly expanded.

(2) *Education and Culture*

An understanding of Indian culture through a proper study of Indian philosophy, literature, and art should form an essential part of education. Importance should be given to a study of the Sanskrit language, which has been sadly neglected so far and which is essential for a study of Indian philosophy and culture. Also the environment of Indian schools and colleges should be suffused with Indian culture. India should uphold her own scale of values, in which peace, equanimity, and social duty take precedence over love of comfort and material possessions.

At the same time "the clear stream of reason should not lose itself in the dreary desert sand of dead habit". The central concept of *dharma*, meaning duty, that which holds (society) together, has to be vitalised and applied to the social needs of the day. The blind belief, superstition, rigid traditionalism which masquerade as

[6] *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard Committee Report)

dharma to-day have to be swept away. Though the edifice of to-morrow is to be built on the foundation of yesterday, the debris of the past should not be allowed to weaken the structure. India has to achieve a synthesis of the vital elements in her ancient culture with the positive spirit of modern science. "The true task of education is so to reconcile the sense of pattern and direction deriving from heritage with the sense of experiment and innovation deriving from science that they may exist fruitfully together." [7]

(3) *Education and Democracy*

Education for democratic citizenship is no less important than any of the objectives mentioned so far. A condition prerequisite for the growth of democracy is the development of healthy nationalism. Communalism, sectarianism, and provincialism constitute a serious challenge to democracy in India. And there is a bewildering diversity of linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups. Therefore, it is essential that a sense of national solidarity should be fostered, and loyalty to religion, community, and province should be integrated with it. Nationalism in this sense does not stand as an obstacle to international understanding and peace. A very effective way in which education can help fulfil this aim is to popularise the national language all over the country and thus establish a means of communication and mutual understanding.

Besides fostering a spirit of national solidarity, education for democracy requires that (i) all citizens, adults as well as youth, should be educated in the problems of democratic citizenship through books, discussions, talks, and other means; (ii) they should be trained in the democratic way of life through the organisation of actively functioning democratic groups in various fields of community life, in industry, agriculture, and civic life, as well as in schools and colleges. These groups should function through responsible participation and criticism, and the basis of group decisions should be mutual understanding rather than the strength of the majority. This was the spirit in which the village *panchayats* and other institutions of community life were organised in India, and the task of education is to revive that spirit and apply it to modern situations.

It goes without saying that a good standard of education for democratic citizenship presupposes a universal system of education and a literate body of citizens who can benefit from books, periodicals, and other literature. Therefore, the liquidation of illiteracy through a national plan of adult and primary education should receive first priority in all educational planning.

For a long time Indian educationists and thinkers have been alive to the need for educational reform and expansion. Official

[7] *General Education in a Free Society*, p. 50.

and non-official inquiries have been made from time to time by commissions, committees, and individuals who have submitted admirable reports and made valuable recommendations. But no recommendations for radical reform have been put into effect. In 1937 Gandhiji placed before the country his plan of universal compulsory basic education, which seeks to correlate education with the personal and community life of the pupil and thus to bridge the gulf between education and life which has done immeasurable harm to India.[8]

Gandhiji's proposals were placed before a conference of educationists which met at Wardha in 1937 under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain, and a practical scheme was drawn up. Later, schools were started in different parts of the country to experiment with the new type of education. To-day a large number of schools are being run on these lines. Basic education has already been discussed by Shri Mahadev Desai, secretary to Gandhiji, in the 1940 issue of this YEAR BOOK, and the present position of basic education will be examined later.

It was in the last years of World War II that the government of India realised the need for a national plan of educational development and entrusted the task to the Central Advisory Board of Education. The proposals drawn up by the Board, and known as the Sargent Scheme after the chairman, Sir John Sargent, constitute the first comprehensive plan of national education for India. It proposed universal and free compulsory basic (primary) education for eight years (between the ages of 6 and 14), adult education for all citizens between the age of 15 and 40, numbering 90 million; diversified secondary education for 20 per cent. of the students completing eight years' basic education; and university education for deserving students, estimated at 250,000, and technical education for 75,000. This plan was to be fully implemented within a period of forty years, when government expenditure on education would rise to 2,770 million rupees per annum from 170 millions in 1944. The Sargent Scheme adopted basic education as suitable for Indian schools. It was published in 1944, but it could not be implemented on the termination of the war as the attention of the government and the people of India was absorbed by the all-important problem of independence. Nothing was done until the transfer of power in 1947, when the new government of India convened a conference of provincial education ministers, vice-chancellors of universities, and other eminent educationists to consider the whole question of educational reform and development. The conference took the following important decisions: [9]

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[8] Discussed in THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1940, by Shri Mahadev Desai.

[9] *Education in Free India* (August 1947–August 1948), pp. 1–3.

(1) The period of forty years envisaged by the Sargent Plan for the liquidation of illiteracy should be substantially curtailed.

(2) The period of compulsory education should extend over eight years as proposed by the Central Advisory Board (in the Sargent Plan). But if financial and other difficulties made it impossible to introduce compulsion for eight years, at least junior basic education for five years (6–11) should be made compulsory within a period of ten years.

(3) A comprehensive scheme of continuation education through the agency of adult and social education centres should be put into effect in the immediate future to prevent the products of basic schools from lapsing into illiteracy.

The Conference also appointed the following committees:

(i) A committee to consider ways and means of financing educational development, under the chairmanship of Shri B. G. Kher.

(ii) A committee to examine what system of secondary education would be suitable for India.

(iii) A committee to consider the question of medium of instruction at different levels of education.

Among the recommendations of the first committee, known as the Kher Committee, are the following:

(i) The provinces should aim at introducing universal compulsory education for the children of 6–11 age-groups within a period of ten years, but if financial conditions compel the programme may be extended over a longer period but in no circumstances should it be given up.

(ii) A fixed percentage of central and provincial revenues—about 10 per cent of the central and 20 per cent of the provincial—should be ear-marked for education by the respective governments.

(iii) About 70 per cent of the expenditure on education should be borne by the local bodies and provinces, and the remaining 30 per cent. by the centre [10]

(iv) Students after passing their matriculation or equivalent examination should, subject to such conditions as may be laid down, be required to serve as teachers for adult education for a period of *at least* six months, and government may enact necessary legislation for the purpose.

It also recommended that voluntary efforts at financing in running educational institutions should be encouraged,

that contributions for education approved by provincial or central government should be exempted from income-tax, that adequate percentage of the income from charitable trusts should be used for educational purposes, and that where conditions permit, the same building might be used for two shifts in urban areas

As an emergency measure the committee suggested raising the teacher-pupil ratio to 1 : 40 for five years.

[10] Government of India, Bureau of Education Pamphlet No. 64, p. 6.

In 1948 the government of India appointed another committee to draw up a national plan of adult education. Nor was technical education neglected. The Higher Technical Education Committee was set up to investigate the facilities available for advanced study and research in technology and engineering; the Scientific Manpower Committee was appointed to survey the technical personnel required for the activities of the state and industry; and the Overseas Scholarships Committee to examine the conditions for the award of overseas scholarships. The government also appointed a University Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan, to inquire into the whole question of university education and make recommendations for its improvement.

Thus, soon after the attainment of independence, the government of India and the provincial governments set about the task of educational reconstruction in real earnest. Schemes for the expansion of basic (primary) education and organisation of adult education were complete by the beginning of 1949, and the budget for 1949–50 was framed in the light of these objectives. But a sudden deterioration in the financial position in the latter half of 1948 compelled a curtailment of the programme of expansion. The Ministry of Education intended to provide 110 million rupees in their budget for 1949–50, but they had to cut down their provision to 58·8 million rupees They had to submit to a further reduction of 15·3 million out of this sum of 58·8 million, under a scheme of retrenchment. The grants promised to the provinces on the basis of the Kher Committee's recommendations were drastically curtailed from 13·6 million to 7·5 million (revised budget, 1940–50), and to 1·5 million in 1950–51.[11] As yet there are no signs of adequate funds being available for educational development.[12] The state governments were also forced to curtail their plans for expansion. So far no state has been able to introduce compulsory primary education except in selected areas. Nor has any state been able to put into effect a programme of adult education on a comprehensive scale. However, in spite of grave financial difficulties a considerable advance has been made in various fields of education, notably in those of technical and social education.

Efforts will now be made to assess the progress made in the various fields of educational endeavour in relation to the targets aimed at, to enumerate the difficulties which stand in the way of the fulfilment of these objectives, and to discuss the ways and means to overcome these difficulties in the present set of circumstances.

The greatest problem that Indian educationists have to tackle is to educate the whole nation in a new pattern of national culture

[11] Bureau of Education Pamphlet No 79, p. 13.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

suited to a scientific and democratic age. The difficulty of this gigantic question is aggravated by the fact that more than 80 per cent. of the people of India are illiterate. A plan of liquidating illiteracy and educating the masses in new ways of thinking and feeling has to be put into effect. There are two aspects of this question: the education of adults, and the education of youth in primary and secondary schools.

The number of 'adults' between the ages of 15 and 30 is roughly 77 million, about 85 per cent. (65 million) of whom are illiterate. They are the citizens of to-day who have to shoulder the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. It is obvious that their education is a problem of great urgency. The Sargent Plan and the recommendation of the Kher Committee have not been implemented fully, and no programme of nation-wide adult education has been put into effect.

But undoubtedly there is a recognition that adult education (now called social education in India) is an urgent need of the day. The central government has launched an ambitious programme in centrally administered areas, and the states are going ahead with their own programmes. In Bihar the state government has prepared a Fifteen-Year Plan to educate 23 million adults through 13,000 social education centres. The state of Bombay proposes to start a social education centre in every *taluka* (sub-district). Madhya Pradesh is also laying a great emphasis on social education. Over 250,000 persons, of whom over 70,000 were women, were made literate by means of a literacy campaign conducted during the summer vacation and monsoon months of 1949. Uttar Pradesh has taken up a five-year scheme of adult education. They started a hundred adult education and 400 adult literacy centres in 1949, and intend to add 300 new centres every year. In the small state of Orissa, 928 social education centres were opened in 1949–50, 708 by the government and 220 by voluntary agencies. During the months of October–December 1949, 26,000 adults were imparted social education.

It is very difficult to assess the quality of the work in this field. Education on such a vast scale, employing a large number of part-time or voluntary workers, is not likely to be uniformly efficient. There is a considerable amount of wastage, and the majority of the people educated in recent years have hardly progressed beyond bare literacy, which would mean little to them unless there is a planned follow-up programme. Efforts are being made at following-up through circulating libraries and post-literacy centres, but the quality and the extent of the follow-up work also vary greatly from place to place. There is a recognition of the necessity for efficient and lasting work, though the organisational difficulties of planning on such a vast scale are almost insurmountable.

Mention has previously been made of the financial crisis which

is retarding the progress of social education. There is another great difficulty, that of personnel, which has to be faced. The number of workers required would run into thousands. Then they have to be trained for social education work, which requires not only some knowledge of social sciences and language but also a considerable amount of tact, leadership, and understanding of the mentality of the rural masses. In recent years much work has been done in the way of evolving a technique of social education specially for the rural areas. The Asian Adult Education Seminar, held in 1949 at Mysore under the auspices of the Unesco, and the National Seminar held in 1950 at Jubbulpore, did much to clarify the problems and methods of adult education in the light of Indian needs As recommended by the Mysore Seminar, a Janta (People's) College has been opened at Alipore, near Delhi, to train workers in rural areas. In different states short-term courses are held for workers from time to time. Suitable literature is being prepared for adults. The Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, the Indian Adult Education Association, and other voluntary organisations are doing valuable work in the production of literature and training of workers. Experiments are being tried linking up adult education with agricultural improvement, sanitary reform, and organisation of co-operative societies, and some pioneers have achieved conspicuous success in revitalising community life through such projects. But, when viewed in the light of the country's needs, there is no ground for satisfaction with the pace at which adult education is progressing in India. Perhaps it would be necessary to resort to some sort of conscription in order to make up the shortage of workers. The Kher Committee recommended that all students who pass the matriculation or an equivalent examination should be required to put in six months of service in the field of adult education. Some universities are considering the desirability of framing regulations on a similar basis.

In order to implement a programme of social education on a national scale in a period of financial stringency it would be necessary to utilise the material and human resources of the whole community. Industrialists, traders, members of the learned professions, students, craftsmen, and farmers can all contribute to the movement by helping with funds, housing accommodation, equipment and furniture, means of transport, etc.; by educating their employees and colleagues, and by actively participating in the programme of rural development, health improvement, or social reform.

Primary Education

Though adult education on a nation-wide scale is urgently needed in India, the greatest educational problem before the country is to establish a sound system of universal primary educa-

tion. The Indian Constitution has laid down among the Directive Principles of State Policy that " the state shall *endeavour to provide*, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years ". Mention has been made earlier of the inability of the central and state governments to introduce compulsory primary education even for five years (between the ages of 6 and 11). Yet the different governments are going ahead with a programme of expansion of primary education. The state of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) opened 4,400 new primary schools in 1948–9, and another 4,000 in 1949–50. It has introduced compulsion in all cities and towns having a municipality, and is planning to extend it to rural areas. In Madras, 3½ million children between the ages of 6 and 11 were in schools in 1949–50, and the state government intends to bring in the remaining 3½ million within ten years. Madhya Pradesh (C.P.) opened 1,144 new primary schools in villages with a population of 500 and above Government expenditure on primary education has increased from 136·6 million rupees in 1946–7 to 320·2 million rupees in Part A and Part B states.

In most of the states special importance is being given to basic education. A number of basic schools are being opened and old schools are being converted into basic schools. Training colleges are being started to train teachers in basic education. The state of Bihar has achieved notable success in this direction and is rapidly changing its old primary schools into basic schools. It has also opened a number of post-basic schools which impart secondary education along basic lines. It seems that basic education has gone a great way in revitalising rural education by linking it with work and with the life of the village community. Whereas in earlier basic schools there was a tendency to adopt spinning as the basic craft, newer tendencies are towards a considerable variety; agriculture, gardening, clay-work, and carpentry being the crafts often taught. Wherever land is available, agriculture is specially favoured as an educative craft. Though it is a highly controversial question whether the income from the sale of the school products could make it self-supporting, it would be reasonable to expect that a portion of the current expenditure of the school could be met from the sale of the produce. Dr. Zakir Hussain [13] and Shri B. G. Kher [14] maintain emphatically that basic schools can be self-supporting and that, considering the financial position of the country at present and in the near future, universal primary education can be introduced only by opening basic schools which *should*

[13] Presidential address to the All-India Education Conference, 1950.
[14] Address as Chairman of the Central Advisory Board of Education, January 1950.

be self-supporting in regard to their current expenditure. Though opinion is still divided about the value of basic education, yet the results achieved so far amply justify the extension of the system. But if lack of funds and trained teachers do not allow a rapid expansion of basic education, the growth of primary education should by no means be held up. Non-basic primary schools can impart real education for life if the attitude of the teachers in these schools is changed. At present the primary school is a factory for drilling in the mind of the child an instruction in the three R's in a dull and lifeless manner. The child does not enjoy being at school because what he learns there has little relevance to his life in the home and the village.

It is largely due to the low quality of the education in primary schools that there is a deplorable wastage and stagnation in primary education. Only about a third of the students who join the school in Class I (age 6–7) reach Class IV (age 9–10). The number of those who are detained in one class for another year or more is very large. The standard of teaching is very low, and the schools are meagrely equipped. In 1947–8, 38,462 out of 174,059 primary schools were single-teacher schools. One reason for a large number of small schools is that the rural population is very widely scattered, and means of communication are little developed. Efficient inspection of schools is extremely difficult under such circumstances. In spite of these difficulties, efforts have to be made to renovate the primary schools and introduce joy and meaningful activity into them by reorganising the curricula and introducing new methods of teaching. This would require a re-education of the teacher through refresher courses, conferences, camps, and handbooks of suggestions. The salary and the social status of the teacher, which are both deplorably low, must be raised to attract the right type of persons to this much-neglected profession.

Secondary Education

In the field of secondary education the first need is not so much expansion as reform. As the University Education Commission remarks, secondary education is "the weakest link in our educational machinery". There is little diversification of courses in Indian secondary schools. Almost all of them prepare students for a public examination leading to admission into colleges. All the students study almost the same subjects, English, mathematics, regional language, history or geography or both, science or drawing; Hindi, being the federal language, has recently been added. Commerce, music, classical language (Sanskrit or Persian), and homecraft (for girls) are provided in some schools as alternatives to science or drawing. Provision for crafts or workshop training has been made in very few schools.

Indian educationists have been devoting anxious thought to the

form that secondary education should take so as to serve the country's needs best. The Sargent Plan proposed selection at 11, and suggested that those students who show intellectual interests should be admitted to secondary schools, those who were dextrous with their hands should be educated in technical high schools, and the rest should complete their education with a three-year course in senior basic schools. In making this proposal the Central Advisory Board was obviously influenced by contemporary developments in English education. This tripartite scheme has not been implemented, and opinion in India is sharply divided on the form secondary education should take. Already the gulf between intellectual workers and craftsmen is very wide in India, and their education in different schools would tend to widen it further. There is a serious danger that secondary technical and senior basic schools would carry a stamp of inferiority with them. Also the selection of pupils at 11 on the basis of 'aptitude and ability' would be very difficult. Though the Sargent Plan provided for transfer at 14, if necessary, it would in practice be almost impossible. The experience of English secondary education since 1944 confirms this conclusion. There is a tremendous rush for admission to grammar schools, and the secondary modern school is the Cinderella of English secondary education from the point of view of the parents. Undoubtedly there is need for diversity in the curriculum of secondary schools, and yet it is also highly desirable that Indian students taking different types of courses should not be isolated into separate schools, as far as possible. The committee appointed for secondary education by the conference of educationists in 1948 did not consider this crucial problem except to say that, as far as possible, schools of multilateral type should be started. Later it was decided by the Central Advisory Board of Education that a commission should be appointed to inquire thoroughly into the whole question of secondary education, but so far no action has been taken on the decision.

The University Commission has made some important recommendations for the reform of secondary education. They propose that for the large number of students who intend to leave school after the tenth grade the course for the ninth and tenth grades should include vocational training for at least half of the school time, the remaining time being devoted to general education. For those who would stay to complete the eleventh and twelfth grades (intermediate) course, but will not go to the university, " the element of general education might vary from over half of the time for the first year to about a third in the fourth year (twelfth grade). For students who intend to go to the university the greater part of classroom time might be devoted to general education." [15]

[15] *Report of the University Education Commission*, p 123.

The courses for the ninth and tenth grades include: (i) a compulsory core consisting of the mother tongue, the federal language (Hindi), English, elementary mathematics, general science, and social studies, and (ii) fifteen optional subjects, in any two or more of which the student may specialise. These fifteen subjects include languages, social sciences, physical and biological sciences, engineering, agriculture, and commerce. For the eleventh and twelfth grades the mother tongue, the federal language, English, and social studies or general science form the common core, and the student may choose two or more subjects for special study out of a varied list of twenty-five.

This is a very liberally diversified plan of secondary education in a common school corresponding to the comprehensive school in England. The University of Rajputana, which is responsible for senior secondary education (age-groups 14–18), has drawn up independently an almost identical scheme for the ninth and tenth grades, and put it into practice from the year 1951. On the other hand, in Uttar Pradesh the recommendations of the Narendra Deo Committee have been followed and secondary education branches into four types of secondary schools: (1) literary, (2) scientific, (3) constructive, and (4) aesthetic. Thus efforts are being made in different states to reorganise secondary education.

In some states the eleventh and twelfth grades form the topmost stage in secondary education and are not attached to degree colleges, which prepare students for the first and subsequent degrees of universities. These states thus have the complete secondary school known as the intermediate college. But in the majority of the states the eleventh and twelfth grades are joined to degree colleges, and the schools are incomplete secondary schools teaching up to the tenth grade (matriculation). The Calcutta University Commission (1919), known as the Sadler Commission, after its chairman, Sir Michael Sadler, recommended emphatically that the eleventh and twelfth grades should be separated from degree colleges as they are the culmination of secondary education. The University Education Commission (1948–9) strongly supported the recommendations of the Sadler Commission.

There is a sharp difference of opinion on this question on the grounds of teaching standards and administrative efficiency, but most Indian educationists agree that the eleventh and twelfth grades form part of secondary education, and that the teaching imparted in them is not of a university standard. Therefore it seems reasonable that they should be the culmination of secondary education in complete secondary schools or intermediate colleges, rather than be appended as preparatory classes to degree colleges.

There are other problems of secondary education which also have to be tackled. Provision should be made for special attention to be paid to backward and to bright students. The corporate life of

the secondary school has also to be organised so as to afford opportunities for training in leadership and responsibility. On the academic side the emphasis has to be shifted from the acquisition of facts to the training in thinking. In the last five years some progress has been made in the reorganisation of school life. But there should be a radical reconstruction of our secondary schools so that they may lay the greatest stress on the training of character. The secondary school is the main training ground for democratic citizenship. Also, the foundation of a scientific, philosophical, literary, technological, or other kind of intellectual career is laid at the secondary school. Thirdly, the personnel for trade, industry, administration, and other white-collar vocations, including the teaching profession, has to be supplied by the secondary school. Thus secondary education is the hub of the educational system, and should be reorganised without any further delay.

Examinations

Before passing on to university education it is necessary to discuss briefly the question of examinations in schools. It is a well-known fact that examinations are the bane of Indian education. Education in schools and colleges is aimed at achieving success at public examinations, and both teachers and students think that education consists of instruction in the classrooms and study at home preparing for examinations. As a result the more important educational work, the development of the student's character and personality, is sadly neglected. From the academic point of view, too, the essential training in thought and judgment is neglected, and intellectual curiosity is not aroused. Indian educationists have long been perturbed over the evil effects of a rigid examination system, and numerous suggestions have been made from time to time for the modification of the examination system. It is the general opinion of progressive educationists in India that there should be only one external examination at the end of the secondary stage. Also, internal promotions in schools should depend more on assessment of class work than on results of school examinations. Thirdly, the purely verbal examination, testing memorisation of facts, should be replaced by attainment tests of a modern type. It is urgently necessary that the state governments should take early steps to introduce reforms in these three directions.

University Education

It has been widely felt that radical changes are necessary in university education in India. As there is usually no selection before admission, a large number of unsuitable students crowd into colleges and many capable ones are shut out because of financial difficulties. The percentage of failures is high, though the standard

of attainment required by university examinations is not very high. The quality of teaching is often poor. A very large proportion of students have no definite aim when they choose a university course. Consequently, there is a great waste of effort and the purpose of university education is not fulfilled.

In 1948, the government of India appointed a commission consisting of eminent Indian, American, and British educationists, under the chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan, to investigate the whole question of university education. The main recommendations of the commission submitted to the government of India in 1949 are:

(1) In future federative and unitary teaching universities be established as far as possible. The unitary type is suitable in cases where the number of students is below 2,500, and the federative type for larger numbers

(2) The standard of teaching be raised by the elimination of unsuitable students through selection purely on the basis of merit, by the appointment of competent well-paid teachers, by the introduction of the tutorial system, and the improvement of laboratories, workshops, and libraries

(3) The degree at all universities should comprise three years of study after the intermediate, and general education should form part of the degree course in order to offset the dangers of specialisation

(4) Greater facilities should be provided for research, especially in fundamental and applied science The Scientific Man-power Committee had estimated that whereas India would probably need over 15,000 higher scientific personnel (M Sc s and Ph D s) during the next five years, the out-turn from existing institutions would be below 5,000 More university teachers should be appointed to guide research; laboratories should be better equipped, and first-rate students should be granted scholarships and free places for the pursuit of research Also, greater facilities should be provided for study and research in border-line sciences like biochemistry, biophysics, geochemistry, etc

(5) Agricultural education be recognised as a major national issue. The study of agriculture in primary, secondary, and higher education be given higher priority in national economic planning. It should be in close touch with the agricultural life of the surrounding region.

(6) Facilities for engineering and technological education be expanded and greater provision be made for higher training.

(7) Facilities should be provided for training in new professions like business administration, industrial relations, and public administration.

(8) As soon as practicable, English should be replaced by the regional language, with option to use the federal language But international technical and scientific terminology should be adopted

(9) Rural universities should be started for higher education in subjects related to real life such as agriculture, rural economics, rural sociology, and for research in these and allied subjects. These universities should be a culmination of basic and post-basic (secondary) education, and be in close contact with rural community life and its problems. New agricultural colleges should be affiliated to these rural universities.

(10) A thorough study of scientific methods of educational testing should be undertaken by the Ministry of Education. New tests should be devised partly or wholly to replace examinations In the meantime, examinations should be modified by being given in parts and credit being given to the work done during the course of studies.

Other recommendations of the commission deal with religious education, with the reform of professional studies in law, medicine, and commerce, and with the problems of administration and finance.

Recently there has been a pronounced tendency towards canvassing for membership of university bodies. Also, the size of the Senate and the Academic Council has often been unwieldy. The University Education Commission has, therefore, recommended a reduction in the size of these two bodies. It has also proposed that the procedure of election be replaced by rotation as far as practicable, and that the Vice-Chancellor should be a whole-time worker and should be nominated for six years by the Chancellor. He should not be eligible for re-election.

The implementation of these recommendations would undoubtedly lead to greater stability and efficiency in university administration.

At the same time the commission has recommended that there should be no interference from states in the affairs of universities Most of the Indian universities receive grants from the states, and there is sometimes a tendency towards interference with their work The University Commission recommends that the University Grants Committee should be reconstituted as an All-India University Grants Commission, on the lines of the English University Grants Commission, and all grants, whether from the central government or from the state governments, should be made on the recommendations of this commission. This would eliminate interference from state governments. Also, it would ensure a uniform principle in the allocation of grants. At present different states adopt different policies, and the percentage of state grants to total expenditure varies from 86 per cent. in the case of Osmania University to 6 per cent. in the case of Utkal University (statistics are for 1948–9). Most universities have to depend very largely on income fees. Considering the negligible percentage of income from endowments it is highly desirable that university grants should be scaled up to a uniform level of about 70 per cent. of the total expenditure.

As at present the bulk of the income of universities is from fees they cannot afford to provide many free places. The University Commission recommended that 12,500 scholarships and 37,500 free places be provided to deserving students, and that universities be given special grants for this purpose. The commission also recommended additional block grants to universities for the expansion of

laboratories, libraries, and other educational facilities, especially in the field of advanced teaching and research in science and technology.

Finally, mention must be made of the recommendations of the commission regarding the discipline and corporate life at colleges and universities. A vast majority of university students belong to constituent colleges of affiliating universities, corporate life in which has been far from satisfactory. There is hardly any personal contact between teachers and students, and the latter, receiving little guidance in life and studies, have been greatly frustrated. Quite often their frustration has led them to demonstrations, strikes, and similar destructive activities. The University Commission made detailed recommendations about the residence, health, corporate life, and vocational guidance of students.

The *University Education Commission Report* deals with almost all important problems of higher education, and deserves the most thoughtful consideration from the governments and from all leading educationists. The Central Advisory Board of Education has accepted the report with minor modifications, and the government of India has decided to implement immediately *those recommendations which do not involve much expenditure.* No one who is concerned with the progress of higher education in India can be satisfied with this decision. The major recommendations, dealing with provision of greater facilities for higher studies and research, with grants to universities and colleges, and with the provision of scholarships to able students, would involve considerable expenditure. But without implementing them the standard of university teaching cannot appreciably be raised and India's need for scientific and sociological research cannot be satisfied. Therefore these recommendations should be implemented as early as possible so that facilities for university education in India may be comparable to those in British and American universities.

Technical Education

Since the transfer of power in 1947 the expansion of technical education has engaged the attention of the government of India. A separate division has been set up in the Ministry of Education to deal with the problems of technical education. Under the auspices of the All-India Council of Technical Education, which was set up as early as 1945 on the lines of Percy Committee recommendations in England, six All-India Boards of Technical Studies have been set up, one for each of the main subjects in technology. These boards frame regulations for the grant of certificates and diplomas in their respective subjects and prescribe conditions for the recognition of institutions teaching the subjects. Four regional committees have been set up to supervise technical education in different parts of the country. A co-ordinating com-

mittee acts as the executive of the council and co-ordinates the work of the boards of studies and the regional committees.

The Higher Technological Education Committee appointed in 1945 made the following recommendations in March 1946:

> (1) Four higher technical institutions should be set up, one in the east, one in the west, the third in the south, and the fourth in the north. The eastern institute be set up near Calcutta very soon, and the western near Bombay, concurrently or as soon as possible after the eastern.
>
> (2) The engineering nucleus of the northern institution should be set up without delay, to satisfy the need for the supply of engineers and specialists in hydraulics

These recommendations, supported by the All-India Council of Technical Education, have been accepted by the government of India. The proposed Eastern Higher Technological Institute has been established at Hugli, in West Bengal, on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and when fully developed it will provide for 2,000 undergraduate students and 1,000 post-graduate students and research workers. The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, which has been enlarged considerably by the opening of new research departments, is in a position to be developed into the southern institute. The Civil Engineering College at Roorki has already been converted into an engineering university and might later be developed into the Northern Higher Technological Institute.

The capital expenditure on the eastern institute is estimated at 30 million rupees, and the recurring annual expenditure at 6·8 million rupees.

In 1947, the government of India appointed a committee known as Scientific Manpower Committee to assess the country's requirements in scientific and technical manpower. The committee found that India's need during the next ten years is in the order of 54,000 engineers and 20,000 technologists. The present resources of the country can hardly turn out 50 per cent. of the personnel needed. The committee, therefore, recommended that the existing facilities for education and research in various branches of science and technology be expanded according to a five-year plan of development. Secondly, it recommended that a large number of post-graduate and research scholarships and free places be provided for able students. It also recommended that the salaries of the staff in institutions providing higher education in scientific and technological subjects be raised considerably.

An Overseas Scholarships Committee appointed to consider a scheme for granting overseas scholarships for higher technological and scientific studies recommended: (1) that students should be sent abroad only for those studies for which facilities were not

available in India, and (2) that existing institutions should be expanded and developed as far as possible. On the basis of the recommendations of these committees the government of India has made special grants to existing technological institutes and universities, notably the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, Delhi Polytechnic, and the Benares Hindu University. The states are also opening new technological institutions and expanding old ones. New departments are also being opened in various institutions.

The Council of Scientific Research started in 1942, was allotted 676,000 rupees in 1942–3. In 1950–51 the budget allotment to this council was 8·3 million rupees, and in 1951–2 it will be 10·8 million rupees.

Finally, mention must be made of the plan to establish eleven national laboratories, with facilities for industrial research hitherto not available in India. Seven out of the proposed eleven laboratories have already been established. The central government's commitments on these laboratories amount to 35 million rupees per annum.

Thus earnest efforts have been made to develop facilities for higher technical education in India. If it were not for financial difficulties much more would have been achieved. It is difficult to assess how much progress has been made for the development of facilities for practical training in technological subjects. Though there is a great need for high-grade engineers and technologists, trained technicians are also needed in great numbers. A large number of technical institutes for training technicians will have to be opened. Also, arrangements have to be made for pre-vocational technical education at the secondary stage for a large percentage of students who have aptitude for it. Though much has been achieved in the field of technical education, a great deal remains to be done.

This is a brief sketch of India's educational objectives and requirements and an attempt at the assessment of the attainments made so far. Considerable progress has been made in various fields of education, but the shortage of funds and qualified personnel has been the main obstacle in the way of achieving desired targets. But these difficulties have to be surmounted. Education should receive a high priority in national planning, as success not only in the establishment of a democratic welfare state and a people's culture but also in economic development and health improvement depends largely on a sound national system of education. That spirit of enthusiasm for educational reconstruction which is characteristic of a national revolution is sadly lacking in India to-day. What is wanted is a total plan for a total education. It is high time that both the government and the leaders of the people should realise the supreme importance of the right type of

education for the building-up of a great India, the free India of Tagore's dream:

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free,
Where the world has not been broken up into narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection,
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way in the dreary desert sand of dead habit,
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action,
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake

MADHURI SHAH.
K. L. BORDIA.

CHAPTER THREE

CEYLON

THE population of Ceylon, which was 6,667,000 in 1946 when the last census was taken and which is steadily increasing annually by approximately 200,000, consists mainly of the Sinhalese, the Tamils, and the Moors, who together constitute over 98 per cent. of it. The Sinhalese, who are by far the largest community, form one linguistic group, while the Tamils and the Moors, who speak in common a different language, Tamil, form another. Among the smaller minority communities, the Burghers and the Eurasians together come next in numerical importance, and they speak English. There are thus three different linguistic groups which break up on the basis of religion and form four different religious groups—Buddhists, Hindus, Christians, and Muslims. Over 90 per cent. of the Sinhalese are Buddhists, over 80 per cent. of the Tamils are Hindus, and the Moors are nearly all Muslims. The Europeans, also a very small minority group, the Burghers and the Eurasians, together with the converts to Christianity from among the Buddhists and the Hindus, constitute the relatively small Christian group comprising both Roman Catholics and Protestants. In spite of the differences of origin, religion, and language, the Sinhalese and the Tamils in particular have developed a cultural kinship as a result of continuous interaction and intercourse during many hundred years of co-existence in the island. The common features in their religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, and the common traditions they had inherited from India, have no doubt facilitated the process of similar cultural development. The common foreign influences to which all the inhabitants have been subjected alike for many centuries have also, more than any other factor, contributed to the striking similarities that may be seen in the different social patterns of the Island's otherwise heterogeneous population.

Prelude to the Reforms of 1945

The establishment of the Ceylon University College in 1921, followed by that of the University of Ceylon in 1942, conferred on the Island's educational system a completeness of form in the sense that a truncated pyramidal structure of primary and secondary education was completed by the superposition of an apex of university education. Even before that, early in the present

century, the educational standard of those individuals who were educated in English schools had begun to rise rapidly. Young men began to proceed to Western and Indian universities, especially those of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Madras, and Calcutta, and to acquire high academic and professional qualifications. Consequently a fast-increasing group of well-educated citizens with progressive ideas was gathering momentum and awakening the general consciousness of the people. The result was the emergence and growth of agitations and movements for political, educational, and social reforms. The formation in 1940 of a Special Committee on Education " to investigate the defects of the present educational system and to recommend measures of reform necessitated by the changed conditions " was the most noteworthy manifestation of this unmistakable national awakening in the realm of education. This Special Committee consisted of all the members of the Executive Committee of Education of the State Council which governed the country, the more prominent educationists in the island, and others. Its report, published in November 1943, was the first attempt to formulate a comprehensive scheme of education in conformity with modern theory and principles of education, paying regard to the social, cultural, linguistic, religious, and economic background of the people.

The system of education which it was thus proposed to reform, modelled as it had been by a foreign government on the lines of theories and practices already obsolete in its own country and applied to an altogether different social climate, cultural background, and economic structure, naturally had many defects and could not satisfy the needs and aspirations of an awakened people. First of all, the differentiation of schools, on the basis of the medium of instruction, into English and vernacular schools engendered in an already caste-conscious people a new kind of unwholesome social stratification cutting obliquely across the existing social hierarchy and rendering it still more complex. The social injustice perpetrated by this dual system of schools became aggravated by the fact that English schools charged fees and were, therefore, accessible only to the children of the wealthier parents. Even among such children, parental conservatism, ignorance, and prejudices deprived a not insignificant number of them, especially girls, of the benefits of English education. Because the English school exerted a selective influence, determined not by the child's innate educable capacities but by the material resources and biased predilections of the parents, there was not only a deplorable waste of talents for want of opportunities but also a continuous flow into the society of youths impregnated with a sense of values not in harmony with the station in life appropriate to their meagre intellectual capacities and low educational attainments. Thus there has been growing gradually a class of discontented and socially mal-

adjusted individuals, and with it a consequential warping influence on society.

There was also a third type of school, of an intermediate character in many respects, known as the bilingual school, which has been administratively defined as " a Sinhalese or Tamil school in which a second language is used in progressive stages as the medium of instruction ". This definition obviously contemplated all four possible bilingual combinations of the three languages, namely, Sinhalese-Tamil, Tamil-Sinhalese, Sinhalese-English, and Tamil-English, but there were in reality only the last two varieties. The reason is not far to seek. A knowledge of English provided the means of access to the better-paid, and hence more attractive, employments and enhanced social recognition; and there was also a lack of appreciation of the advantages of learning the other vernacular. These schools, too, charged fees, but at rates much lower than those of English schools, and attracted only children of a decidedly inferior economic status. This pious attempt to solve the vital problem of bilingualism did not produce the anticipated results owing to the lack of competent teachers and to the application of inappropriate techniques of teaching the second language. Consequently, the popularity of this type of school waned by degrees and almost reached the vanishing point by 1945.

Although the law compelling the attendance of children at a school up to the age of 14 years has been operative for some years, anything like its strict, universal enforcement has not been feasible on account of a variety of circumstances. The more important of them were: (i) non-provision of schools in many remote and sparsely populated areas, (ii) inadequacy of accommodation in the existing schools of some of the thickly populated areas, (iii) extreme poverty of a significant proportion of the parents necessitating the participation of even young children in the struggle for procuring the bare minimum of sustenance, (iv) parental apathy begotten of ignorance, (v) caste prejudices, (vi) limitations of the machinery set up for operating the law, and (vii) certain flaws in the law itself. The unfortunate consequence of all these drawbacks was that there were in 1945, in the age-group of 5–14 years, nearly as many children not in attendance at any school as there were in attendance. Most of these children had either been sent to school for some time and then withdrawn before they attained the age of 14 years, or had been kept away from school for a year or two, or even more, after reaching the lower age-limit of compulsory education.

The deficiency, qualitative as well as quantitative, of teachers and of books in the vernaculars was another dismal feature. The proportion of trained teachers was far too small, and the average number of pupils per teacher was too large in vernacular schools though less so in English schools. In other words, the system of recruitment and training of teachers was unequal to the demand

created by the opening of new schools, the steady increase in the school-going population, and the changing outlook and growing interest in education in the country.

Judged by modern standards and principles of production of school books, the Sinhalese and Tamil textbooks in use were predominantly third-rate, and a few of them were even undesirable. Further, the lamentable paucity of suitable books, periodicals, magazines, and other materials for the school child's general reading in the two languages deprived him of the benefits of a vastly potent agency capable of being effectively employed in harnessing and directing his ever-widening curiosity and gradually unfolding creative imagination in the pursuit of worthwhile ends. A vicious circle has thus been created. The vernacular teacher, himself a product of generations of educational inbreeding in this kind of infertile soil, was, as a rule, fit only to perpetuate the conditions which moulded him. Even with regard to English, the need for books specially designed for teaching it as a second language under conditions peculiar to Ceylon remained unsatisfied, with the result that books meant for teaching English to English-speaking children under altogether different conditions had to be adopted.

Technical education, vocational guidance, education of handicapped children, and further education were some of the other weak spots in the educational system. With only one polytechnic, and that in the metropolis, Colombo, and hardly anything better than the traditional training of the workshop variety, which was confined, for by far the most part, to the limits imposed by the antiquated system of family inheritance based on caste and social tradition, Ceylon was yet an under-developed country technically and vocationally except in the field of the learned professions. Organised, purposive vocational guidance there was none, and vocational selection was determined by such undemocratic criteria as heredity, material resources, social position and influence, and, not infrequently, chance.

Whatever may be the handicap of a child, he had, with the solitary exception of an assisted school for the blind and the deaf, only one type of school to attend, the normal school for normal children. There he spent unprofitable hours, unprofitable to himself and to the others, until his disabilities, aggravated by neglect and exaggerated by the ever-widening gap between him and his normal colleagues, compelled him to withdraw.

No doubt, it is a somewhat sombre silhouette of Ceylon's education that is presented in the foregoing enumeration of the more prominent of the shortcomings, obstacles, and circumstances against the background of complexity of communities, religions, languages, cultures, and tastes. It is not that the picture is all dismal without any redeeming features, nor that the dismal side of it as portrayed herein is complete. There were other defects, minor ones though, but

there were also such happy, wholesome features as (i) the mutually tolerant existence of all four great religions of the world, whose adherents have, for the most part if not altogether, learnt to live together in amity and peace, (ii) the widespread appeal of the democratic way of life, a phenomenon which owes not a little to the wise granting of universal suffrage two decades ago, and (iii) the steady increase in literacy from just under 20 per cent. in 1881 to over 55 per cent. in 1945, with all its implications. However, that was where education stood in Ceylon on the threshold of the reforms of 1945, and it is in that setting that the proposals for reform have to be seen and understood and the subsequent developments and consequent progress assessed.

Reform Proposals of 1945

The educational reforms recommended by the Special Committee on Education (Ceylon) refreshingly reveals, for the first time, an attempt to plan an island-wide educational system, comprehensive in a large measure, on the basis of a definite philosophy of education in relation to political theory, which they thus enunciated:

> We have assumed that our task was to recommend an educational system suitable for a democracy, and that our main effort must be directed towards devising a system that will enable every citizen to play his full part in the life of the nation This appears to us to mean two things. First, it means that the individual must be helped to achieve the highest degree of physical, mental and moral development of which he is capable irrespective of his wealth or social status. Secondly, it means that the individual as a result of his education should be able to use his abilities for the good of the nation in the fullest possible measure and should be able to pass judgment on affairs of state and exercise intelligently the franchise the state has conferred on him In other words, democracy requires in the first place a minimum standard of education and, beyond that, equality of opportunity.

The aims of education thus derived were, in the committee's own words again, (i) mental development, (ii) culture, including character, and (iii) efficiency. The democratic ideal of 'equality of educational opportunity', the keynote of their recommendations, has rightly been interpreted by them to mean, not qualitative and quantitative equivalence of educational provision but 'equity of educational opportunity'. It is equally apparent that this progressive and enlightened outlook was generally welcome to the people. For the people's elected representatives in the State Council accepted in general their recommendations, and public opinion expressed through the Press and otherwise was in the main favourable.

We shall now proceed to consider the more important of the State Council's decisions *seriatim*.

(1) *Free Education*

There has been in existence all along free vernacular education and a dual system of government schools and assisted schools, the former established and conducted entirely by the state and the latter owned and managed, with substantial aid from the state, by denominational bodies or private individuals. The introduction of 'free education' from the kindergarten to the university brought the English schools, all of which, government and assisted, charged tuition fees, and a few other institutions like the university and the state technical school, into line with the vernacular schools in this respect. Thereby was removed a part of the only barrier that stood in most cases between the poor child and English education. When it is realised that there were in 1945 as many as four children receiving vernacular education for every child receiving English education, and that vernacular education was already free, the fact dawns that the introduction of 'free education' was in effect at that time only the abolition of tuition fees recovered by the relatively few English schools and other educational institutions. The financial implication of this was almost insignificant in relation to the total state expenditure on education. Further 'free education', in the limited sense of 'education without tuition fees', leaves the child poor beyond a degree still in the same plight. When this limitation of the abolition of tuition fees became obvious—and it did not take long for it to become obvious—an attempt was made to make good the deficiency by the adoption of a scheme of scholarships on a competitive basis, and award of free food, clothes, and books on the basis of ascertained need.

However, the psychological effect of these innovations on the people was immediate and profound. They were stirred up as never before and became suddenly education-minded and seized the opportunity. Children began to rush into English schools, old and new, government and assisted, and many of them became overcrowded and had perforce to shut their doors against further admissions; post-primary departments of vernacular schools dwindled fast and not a few of them disappeared altogether; agitations and appeals for new schools became a familiar occurrence; on the heels of 'free education' followed a vigorous state campaign to establish new schools, particularly English schools, where there were none; and co-operative voluntary effort and individual philanthropy, though not substantial as material contributions, yet significant and symptomatic of the awakened interest, supplemented state effort; the number of state English schools increased phenomenally from 15 in 1945 to 289 in 1950; and the percentage of children of the age-group 5–14 years receiving education, vernacular and English, rose from just under 50 per cent. in 1945 to a little over 63 per cent. in 1949.

The planting of English schools thus all over so rapidly, and the

resultant popularisation of English education on an unprecedented scale, were no doubt of the nature of an attempt to equalise educational opportunity to the extent of making superior education in the form of English education accessible to a larger proportion of the school-going population. A reconciliation of such a procedure with the concurrent national policy, as embodied in the terms of reference of the Select Committee on Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages in 1945, "to consider and report on the steps necessary to effect the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of the country", can be found only in the peculiar pragmatism of ambitious politicians. Even otherwise, inadequacy of teachers, unsuitability of buildings, and paucity of equipment and other educational facilities, among other deficiencies, made it extremely difficult to give anything like effective operation to the scheme. The semblance of equality of educational opportunity thus created awaits, for the realisation of the substance, the provision of many essential requisites.

(2) *The Mother Tongue as Medium of Instruction*

Although national sentiment, more than anything else, provided the motive for the sudden exaltation of the mother tongue to the status of universal medium of instruction in the primary stage by the displacement of the medium of English in primary English schools and in the primary departments of English schools, it was indeed a laudable reform for two important reasons, one psychological and the other democratic. But the change was not effected, even with transitional arrangements, without a lowering of the standard of education. This was inevitable, because many of the English teachers were not sufficiently bilingual to be able to switch over to the medium of the mother tongue, and the less expensive vernacular teacher, admittedly inferior to the English teacher in many respects, was slowly but steadily taking the place of the English teacher for financial reasons. This unfortunate and for the time being unavoidable trend cannot be arrested until the quality of the vernacular teacher is adequately raised and the numerous and varied teaching aids and devices, such as books, magazines, and audio-visual aids, available in English, are made available in the vernaculars. Neither of these two reforms is easy of accomplishment as things are at present. An Educational Publications Board has been recently constituted; the teaching of English to vernacular teachers in training is receiving increased attention; the activities of the audio-visual section of the Department of Education are being expanded; school broadcasting is being popularised; conferences and vacation courses for teachers are being increasingly organised; and a radical improvement of teacher training colleges is under contemplation. Even with these

activities, progress is bound to be meagre and slow on account of the existing lamentable deficiency of qualified technical personnel for manning educational institutions and the general scarcity of leaders of educational thought and practice. There is, however, the felicitous compensation that the democratic concept of the *école unique*, the common school, has taken shape within the range of the primary stage, and that there is the pleasing prospect of extending it, sooner or later, to the age of 14, the upper limit of compulsory education at present.

(3) *Bifurcation at the Age of 14 Years*

The Special Committee recommended trifurcation at the age of 11, the end of the primary stage, into secondary, senior, and practical streams, corresponding to the grammar (academic), technical, and modern streams of the English educational system. The State Council modified this to bifurcation at the age of 14 into senior secondary and senior practical streams. Psychologists of eminence are divided in their views as to the manifestation of the 'practical factor' in the life of the individual Burt, for instance, holds the view that "special aptitudes are as a rule not sufficiently marked at such early ages (as 10–12 years) to warrant the use of tests of special aptitudes as a basis of classification". On the contrary, Peel is of the opinion that, "if a practical factor can be said to exist at the age of 13, it is equally evident at 11". This difference of opinion amongst experts on the measurability of the very criterion of selection for technical education at the age of 11, and their general agreement as regards its measurability at 14, is a strong argument in favour of the State Council's modification, although this was not one of the reasons then urged in support of it.

It has not been possible to do anything more noteworthy than to explore the practicability of giving effect to this scheme of selection and differentiation on the basis of general intelligence and special aptitudes. Unfortunately, the country is almost barren of educational research and research workers, and this exploration has gone but little beyond arm-chair theorising and airing of views and schemes of alien origin. Hope, however, lies in the direction of the university, where the Department of Education, inaugurated in 1949, commenced with a one-year post-Graduate Diploma course and will soon be providing a course for the Master's Degree. Further, the attention of those responsible for planning and administration has been directed to the utter unpreparedness of the country for this essentially democratic reform. They are aware of (i) the non-availability of standardised tests of general intelligence, special aptitudes and attainments applicable to Ceylon at any age or stage, (ii) the unfitness of the teaching profession in general for maintaining dependable and useful cumulative records, (iii) the

need for teachers of practical subjects without whom practical education would be impracticable, and (iv) the inadequacy of technical, agricultural, and trade schools. In the very nature of things, the rectification of deficiencies such as these will be a slow process unless their true significance is explicitly recognised and appropriate remedial measures are expeditiously adopted. The institution of a Research Council, for instance, is being contemplated, but the dearth of competent personnel and sterility of research leadership, except for what is available in the infant Department of Education at the university, cannot but beget scepticism as to the outcome of it, in the minds of those who know what educational research means to-day.

(4) *Religious Education*

The problem of religious education, aggravated by the existence of the four great religions of the world side by side, is linked up with the future of denominational schools. Christian missionary societies carried on active proselytisation from the time of their arrival till recent times. They had in this process the aid of their extensive resources of men and material and the direct as well as indirect support and backing of the rulers who professed the same religion. They were thus able to establish numerous schools and churches throughout the length and breadth of the island, and to build up a conspicuous influence on the life of the people in general and on their education in particular. Education was almost their monopoly until the Buddhists and the Hindus realised their responsibilities to their own children in this respect, organised themselves into recognised societies, and began to open new schools of their own early in the present century. Yet, assuming that practically all Christian children receiving education are in Christian schools, an assumption that cannot be far from reality, the proportion of non-Christian children to Christian children in Christian schools is as high as approximately three to one. That this is so is largely, if not almost entirely, due, in the case of the larger Christian English schools, to the high standard they were able to maintain and the prestige they had acquired by virtue of their superiority of staff, buildings, equipment, and other facilities. In the case of the other Christian schools, the main reason was either proximity of school to the home of the pupil or parental indifference. Once the Buddhists and the Hindus realised this, their zeal for their own religions roused them to action.

For some time there was a strong feeling among a section of the educated people that the system of denominational schools ought to be done away with and the state system of schools be expanded to become universal. But sober counsels prevailed, and we have to-day a combination of free assisted denominational and state schools, together with a sprinkling of fee-levying independent

schools. The ban placed on new denominational schools by reserving the right to open new schools exclusively to the state was qualified by the provision that, in order to be recognised or registered for grant and to receive assistance from public funds, a denominational school shall have at least thirty pupils of the same denomination. This provision, even as subsequently modified by conceding registration of new denominational schools but restricting payment of grant in respect of pupils of other religious denominations, did not materially improve the chances of new Christian schools being opened, but it did pave the way for Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims to add to their schools. In this manner, and by raising the standard of the existing state and non-Christian schools, it was anticipated that a time would come when every child would receive education either in a school of the religious denomination to which he belonged, or at least in a state school, where there would be no partiality to any religion. It would then mean that those Christian schools which are fed by a preponderatingly large majority of non-Christian children, and of which there are not a few, will cease to exist, and the others will gradually dwindle in size in varying degrees to the ultimate limit of catering only for the children of their own persuasion.

These measures, actuated by the religious sentiment ingrained alike in the adherents of all four religions, cannot but result, sooner or later, in the complete segregation of children attending denominational schools into four distinct groups throughout their school career. Already there is another kind of segregation in the primary stage on the basis of the mother tongue. These two forms of segregation of children during their most impressionable and formative years, whatever may be the justification for them, cannot be conducive to the growth of a democratic nation.

The present policy with regard to religious education as such in schools, formulated in a State Council decision, is that, subject to certain provisos, "religious instruction (appropriate to the religion to which the parent of the child belongs) shall normally be provided in all assisted denominational schools and in state schools". Time alone can reveal whether Ceylon will enforce this decision at any time prior to that distant date when all denominational schools will be left with only pupils of their own denomination to cater for, or, like the United States of America, will leave the teaching of religion to the home and the church. Whatever the future may turn out to be in this respect, religious education in schools will remain a problem of no ordinary magnitude and complexity for a long time to come, and the democratic ideal will, for this one reason alone, be only a distant prospect. For it is doubtful if not improbable that the ethics and morals learnt within a religious group circumscribed by its characteristic tenets, beliefs, traditions, and practices will, when the time comes, automatically and spontaneously trans-

fer themselves to social situations in the larger composite social group and evoke in the individual those mental attitudes which are essential to the democratic way of life. So long, therefore, as the country is committed to a system of education through the medium of the mother tongue with denominational schools as an integral part of it, the avowed democratic ideal demands that every effort should be made to circumvent the adverse effects of linguistic and religious segregation by promoting wider and wider social contacts and inter-group co-operation among school children from as early an age as possible.

(5) *Adult Education*

Strangely, on a matter so vital to democracy, the Special Committee made only some general observations and no recommendations. Yet the need for concerted action in organising adult education has not been overlooked. Administrative action has been taken to organise a special section of the Department of Education for the purpose, to explore needs, trends, and possibilities, and to carry out, with the co-operation of other state departments and voluntary agencies, a co-ordinated programme. Activities of adult centres and classes, of which there are already 172 scattered all over the country with an enrolment of nearly 6,000, are being enriched by the use of audio-visual aids; nearly 600 schools and adult centres have been supplied with radio receivers; six mobile cinema units are being operated to penetrate into remote areas and give monthly about 125 shows; steps have been taken to train adult education workers; and a 'fundamental education' centre has been set up on an experimental basis in a remote area under a peasant colonisation scheme through the agency of Unesco. Priority has thus been given to the rural population, the economically backward, the illiterate, and the semi-illiterate. While the needs of this section of the population are admittedly urgent and it is fundamentally important that they should first be satisfied in the interests of democracy and social justice, the need for further education in urban and semi-urban areas and at higher economic and educational levels has also to be met. To judge from the enthusiasm shown and advance made in such a short time, the future of the adult education movement is full of hopes as far as state effort alone can accomplish. Unless voluntary effort is forthcoming in increasingly greater measure than the little there is now to supplement state effort, the movement can develop but limited vigour and stereotyped efficiency.

(6) *Technical and Vocational Education*

The Special Committee accepted the progressive view that technical education, as distinguished from apprenticeship training, should be an integral component of the educational system, and discussed the subject at some length in its report. The fact that

the committee did devote its attention to this aspect of educational reform as well has had some effect. Needs and conditions are being investigated and plans for the establishment of polytechnics at important centres are maturing.

Although agriculture is predominantly the basis of the national economy, the state has resolutely embarked on a policy of industrial development compatible with available resources and economical production. Insufficiency of technical experts and machinery as well as lack of experience have no doubt been serious obstacles to progress. It is hoped that in a few years, with such foreign aid and guidance as may become available from international organisations, these obstacles will be overcome and many industries will flourish. This expanding industrial development demands for its maintenance and productivity a corresponding supply of industrial workers and technicians. Moreover, the country is largely dependent upon external sources even for its food in spite of its agricultural economy, and the potentialities for the development of many possible cottage industries are yet to be exploited to the extent of materially improving the deficient rural economy in particular. In the face of these trends and circumstances, and the present vigorous policy of Ceylonisation of employment in state departments and private business concerns, the demand is insistent for a well-planned scheme of technical and vocational education within the framework of the entire educational system to suit the level of general intelligence, special aptitudes, educational background, and opportunities for employment of the three distinctive streams of young people who will steadily and increasingly issue forth from the ordinary schools at the ages of 14, 16, and 18 in search of employment.

Further Reforms of 1950

Five eventful years after the introduction of the reforms of 1945, a White Paper entitled *Government Proposals for Educational Reform in Ceylon* was issued in July 1950. Before proceeding to discuss these further reforms, finally embodied in a Bill passed by the House of Representatives soon afterwards, it is appropriate to take stock of the gains and losses resulting from the earlier reforms. The following statistics reflect the quantitative aspect of the principal achievements and shortcomings:

(*a*) PUPILS AND TEACHERS

Year	*School-going Population*			*Teachers*			*No. of Pupils per Teacher*		
	English	*Vernacular*	*Total*	*Eng.*	*Vern.*	*Total*	*Eng.*	*Vern.*	*All*
1945	116,000	749,000	865,000	5,189	20,304	25,493	22	37	34
1950	260,000	1,096,000	1,356,000	9,990	28,414	38,404	26	39	35

(*b*) SCHOOLS: TEACHERS IN TRAINING

Year	*Schools*			*Teachers in Training (2-years' Course)*			*No of Candidates—S.S.C. Examination*		*State Expenditure on Education*	[1]	[2]
	Eng.	*Vern.*	*Total*	*Eng*	*Vern.*	*Total*	*Eng.*	*Vern.*	*Rupees*	%	%
1945	405	5,282	5,687	109	1,263	1,372	7,274	7,244	35,000,000	10	14
1950	647	5,662	6,309	340	2,265	2,605	25,686	17,842	106,000,000	17	19

[1] *State expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of the total revenue.*

[2] *State expenditure on education expressed as a percentage of the total expenditure on all services.*

The school-going population in English schools has more than doubled, and there is evidence to conclude that it had more than trebled by the beginning of 1951; the number of children attending vernacular schools has increased by 50 per cent.; English schools have increased by 242 and vernacular schools by 380; state expenditure on education has risen from 35 million rupees to 106 million rupees, and the budgetary provision for the financial year 1951–2 went up to the almost staggering figure of 140 million rupees; in relation to revenue and total state expenditure on all services, the proportion of expenditure on education has been increasing every year; the number of candidates for the English and Sinhalese Senior School Certificate Examinations has shot up by nearly 300 per cent.; and there has been an average annual increase of 1,000 English teachers and 1,600 vernacular teachers. The only disconcerting phenomenon is the increase from year to year in the average number of pupils per teacher, which clearly indicates that recruitment and training of teachers is inadequate to meet the rapidly increasing and unprecedented demand.

Qualitatively, the picture is different. The poor quality of the teaching profession as a whole has remained very much the same throughout. Even the few trained teachers added yearly to the profession have not been sufficiently imbued with the outlook and knowledge necessary to change the wonted methods of teaching and classroom organisation so as to reflect the influence of modern psychology and sociology on the educative process. The prospect of being able to maintain in schools dependable and useful cumulative records, so very helpful in the selection and differentiation of pupils, is just as distant as before. Equally distant is the prospect of evolving valid tests of general intelligence and special aptitudes.

The teaching of English as a second language has not materially changed. Old-fashioned methods, techniques, and unsuitable textbooks are yet in vogue. The consequence of this inappropriate approach to the teaching of English is the retardation of the child

by one year, and not infrequently more, when he proceeds to the post-primary English school, where he has first of all to acquire sufficient English speech, writing, and comprehension to be able to use English as the medium of his learning. The extent to which the education and mental health of such children must necessarily suffer in the course of their desperate struggle with English is better imagined than described, especially when the child's general intelligence and 'verbal factor' or linguistic ability are low.

The larger state English schools, known as central schools, enthusiastically built and equipped in good faith in rural areas at a cost exceeding a million rupees each, and provided with modern conveniences and comforts, better described as luxuries in most respects unknown in such places, are revealing a tendency to alienate their pupils from their own homes and environment, thus paving the way for their migration to towns and for the consequent disintegration of rural homes and social life. How best to arrest this tendency is a new problem that awaits solution.

The unavoidable segregation of children in urban areas with mixed populations on the basis of the mother tongue, which is obviously prejudicial to the development of real democracy, has received little or no attention, as is evident from the absence of any planned attempt to evolve compensatory measures. The striking disparity between the vernacular school and the English school has become reduced not because the standard of the former has improved but because that of the latter has suffered. The whole teaching profession is discontented with their low salary scales, and a large section of it, consisting of teachers of assisted schools and recent recruits to state schools, are further discontented with their pension scheme, which lacks provision for widows and orphans. The nervous tension among assisted school teachers, due to their concern for the security of tenure of their posts and to exploitation by unscrupulous managers of schools, has not been appreciably eased. Schools which had in good spirit joined the 'free education' scheme have found themselves hardly free to develop their schools owing to the resultant financial limitations.

The upshot of all these is that the *école unique* which was envisaged by the Special Committee in the shape of the uniform primary school under the new scheme, and of which the seed has certainly been sown, may lie long dormant in the unfertilised soil of an educational system, generally appropriate and acceptable in form but incomplete in one important respect. This incompleteness is to be found in the disregard of what ought to be the real base of any modern educational system. The discoveries of modern psychology, psychiatry, and medical science concerning the development of character and personality place the nursery years in the forefront of education, and yet nursery education has found no place, not even as an experiment.

On the other hand, the page of achievements in the balance-sheet is not blank, even qualitatively. The health of the school child has received increased attention, the cost of midday meals has risen from 5¼ million rupees in 1945 to 9½ million rupees in 1950, and some kind of meal or other is being supplied in schools to needy children amounting to about two-thirds of the total number of school-going children. Although statistics are not available, there are unmistakable indications of a quickening upward, vertical social mobility, which necessarily implies a corresponding reduction in the resistance of the caste system. More than any achievement expressible in statistical terms or discernible in the immediate results it produces, are the hopeful and inspiring symptoms of the widespread interest in education and its problems, and the inclination of the state to utilise national resources to the fullest in building up a system of education worthy of a democracy.

Such was, in brief, the general state of affairs when the White Paper proposals were given effect in April 1951 by an Act of Parliament. The main provisions of this Act will now be discussed.

The Board of Education, that existed hitherto, and the Advisory Council contemplated in the Act and constituted shortly afterwards, differ essentially in only one respect. The function of the former was to advise the Director of Education, whereas that of the latter is to advise the Minister of Education. Under the present constitution and set-up of state machinery, while the Director is the administrative head of the Department of Education and at the same time the Minister's technical adviser, the Minister is concerned with matters of policy. It is imperative, therefore, that the Minister should have the best available advice representing all points of view and interests within the field of his purview. The change is certainly as welcome as it is democratic in character; but the choice of the personnel of the Advisory Council is no ordinary problem. If the choice is not made with circumspection, there is the danger, as things are at present, that the advice tendered by it may turn out to be little more than a compromise of sectional interests regardless of democratic considerations.

The compulsory school-going age was 6–14 years prior to 1947, but the lower limit has, however, been 5 years for a long time in practice. The lower and upper limits were extended to 5 years and 16 years respectively by the Education Ordinance of the same year without due regard to the implications of raising the upper limit by two years. Nevertheless, no steps were taken to implement this hastily conceived measure. The Education Act of 1951 prudently rectified matters by reverting to the upper limit of 14 years for the present. However desirable it may be to guarantee an extended course of minimum compulsory education to every child, the time is not ripe yet to adopt such a reform, which, if introduced before a certain degree of consolidation of the other reforms has taken

place, will create new problems and also render the existing ones more complex and difficult of solution.

'Free education', which was universal, has been somewhat modified by the exclusion of pupils who are adjudged at the end of the junior stage to be unfit for academic studies and may yet elect to pursue such studies, on the ground that any tendency or attempt to thwart the application of the principle of selection and differentiation of pupils should be discouraged. This interference with the freedom of the parent to choose the type of school for his child to attend is undemocratic, because the choice has been restricted to assisted schools and the wealthy can exercise freedom in this respect whereas the poor cannot.

A few of the larger, well-established assisted denominational English schools, which decided not to join the 'free education' scheme, are now independent schools charging considerably higher rates of fees than before. Originally, the intention was to shut them out of the scheme for all time. It would have meant the perpetuation, on a reduced scale though, of the old order of inequality of educational opportunity weighted all in favour of the wealthier class. The decision, therefore, to keep the door open for these independent schools to enter the scheme at any time has brought within the range of possibility their ultimate disappearance as such, and to this extent it is a contribution to democracy.

Apart from these few major changes, an underlying noteworthy effort to allay the fears entertained by assisted English schools concerning their fate under the earlier reforms, especially that of 'free education', is discernible.

Conclusion

It will thus be seen that Ceylon has, during the short span of five years commencing from 1945, attempted to overhaul her educational system and introduced momentous changes and radical reforms. Her onward march has certainly begun along the road to the goal of democratic education. Some advance has been made and the potentialities are great, but greater still are the problems, shortcomings, and obstacles. That was yesterday, and to-morrow will be what to-day is made to yield.

K. S. ARULNANDHY.

SECTION VIII

THE BRITISH TROPICAL DEPENDENCIES

Introduction

THE year 1945 will probably prove one of the most notable in the whole history of British colonial education, for it saw not only the publication of three official reports on higher education in the colonies, thus completing the formulation of a policy which had been in the making since 1925, but it saw also the passing in the British Parliament of the second Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which made available increased sums of money for development, including the provision of better educational facilities.

Britain's post-war colonial policy has been characterised by two main aims: to raise the standard of living of the peoples of the dependencies, and to prepare them for democratic self-government within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Education has an important part to play in the fulfilment of both these aims. In the social sphere, the standard of living in the dependencies will be raised only by waging war on the disease, malnutrition, illiteracy, and social squalor which afflict so many of them at present. Better knowledge and preventive measures will help to do this, and the schools have their part to play in helping to provide them. Much cannot be done, however, without a substantial increase in national and per capita incomes, and this can be achieved only through economic advance, by improvements in agriculture and its allied callings, by some degree of industrialisation where this is possible, and by improved production on the part of labour. Economically, therefore, vocational and technical training, the value of incentives, and new attitudes of mind have obvious implications for the educational systems of the dependencies.

Education, too, is deeply involved politically. 'Education for self-government' presumes, above all, a sense of nationhood. In Malaya this may mean a fusing of Chinese, Malay, and Indian groups; in Africa it may imply a broadening of mental horizons beyond the limits of the tribal or social group; in the West Indies and the Caribbean generally it may mean education for federalism. Education for democracy, besides, must be a conscious process, for democracy, if it is to work, demands an ability on the part of citizens to comprehend the vital issues of the hour and to express an opinion on them through democratic processes and the power of

the vote. It is hard to see how this is possible without universal literacy, though in countries which cannot afford systems of education of the Western type this may have to be achieved initially by some form of basic education, with adult education schemes to follow it up.

The function of education in the British colonies is thus seen largely to be that of an instrument of social and economic change. The schools have to train their pupils for democratic living; they have to do what they can towards improving their health and well-being; they have to train them in sound habits of hygiene and disease prevention; they must make them aware of the grave agrarian questions of the hour and perhaps provide them with some of the knowledge and techniques to deal with them; they must produce craftsmen and technicians capable of exploiting the economic resources of their territories; they must produce teachers and preachers, doctors and lawyers, politicians and statesmen with a vision of service to their peoples and to humanity. They have to produce, above all, pupils capable of living full and satisfying lives in whatever walks of life they later may find themselves.

In the post-war period there have been several factors of major importance which have materially affected the development of education in these territories The most important of these has undoubtedly been the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1945, 1949, and 1950. Pre-war attitudes towards the development of the social services in the colonies still retained much of the thinking that characterised colonial policy of the nineteenth century. The social services were not considered as earning but as spending services, for which the colonies themselves had to be responsible; Imperial assistance, when available, was restricted to the earning services only. The first real departure from this tradition came with the passing of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, when, in the shadow of Dunkirk, £5 million was granted annually by the Imperial Exchequer for the development of social as well as of economic services in the British colonies. But the annual nature of the grant and the impossibility of spending in war-time robbed this measure of much of its value. In any case, it soon became evident that the sum of £5 million annually was quite insufficient to meet the needs of the case. So, in 1945, came the second Colonial Development and Welfare Act, raising the grant to £120 million, to be spent over a ten-year period, but at a rate not exceeding £17,500,000 per annum. The 1949 Act raised this figure to £20 million, while the 1950 Colonial Development and Welfare Act raised the total funds granted from £120 to £140 million. These funds are intended for social or spending services as well as for economic or earning services, and are intended to act as a stimulus to development. Their purpose has also been defined as "a priming of the pump", and they

represent an attempt to break the vicious circle wherein economic advance is restricted by poor social conditions, and poor social conditions cannot be improved without the expenditure of funds forthcoming only as a result of economic advance. For every £1 advanced from the Imperial Exchequer the colony receiving assistance is expected to provide approximately £2 from its own funds, raised by local taxation, loan, or other means. Up to date almost half of the total expenditure under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts has been on the social services, and of these education has accounted for by far the major part. In the Ten-Year Development Plans which all colonies were asked to draw up in connection with the spending of Colonial Development and Welfare funds, the ten-year plans for education occupy, without exception, an important place. Indeed, the new importance attached to educational development has been consistently reflected in official pronouncements both from Whitehall and from the colonies themselves. "The twin pillars on which any really sound foundation of political responsibility must be based," declared the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1945, "are educational advance and economic development."

The increased importance of the Colonial Office in stimulating and co-ordinating educational progress throughout the colonies has been another factor of great importance in the post-war period. The frequent visits to the territories of the educational advisers to the Secretary of State, and their discussions with educationists on the spot, have done much to accelerate the tempo of educational reform and to suggest and inspire new educational developments. The work of the Secretary of State's advisory committees, too, has proved a powerful influence on colonial education. The Advisory Committee on Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology, though created only in 1950, has already begun to establish definite lines of approach to the problems these new colleges are likely to face, whilst the much older Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies has probably exerted the strongest influence of all. This body, composed of experienced educationists who know the colonial territories at first hand, and of others who are familiar with educational trends in Britain and overseas, serves as an invaluable clearing-house and dissemination centre for educational news and experiment from all the dependencies. One important aspect of its activities is to help in the preparation of reports on special aspects of colonial education and, since 1944, it has produced reports on mass education, on education for citizenship, and one on the subject of grants-in-aid, which have proved of great value in laying down general lines of policy.

Other forces, too, bear powerfully on colonial educational reform. The forces of nationalism and independence, which, since the war, have become increasingly manifest in many of the colonial terri-

tories, attach an almost mystical importance to education, and provide a powerful incentive to the popular demand for greater educational facilities. In many territories these forces are closely connected with the placing of a greater emphasis on the place of the vernacular in education, and sometimes this is reflected, too, in a more liberal attitude towards the local culture. Of late years the problems of language and the relative importance of the vernacular, a *lingua franca*, and English have come increasingly to the forefront.

In the post-war period educational development in the United Kingdom itself has exerted a considerable influence on colonial educational thought and practice. In many ways it has helped to crystallise the latter considerably. Firstly, it has served to emphasise the view that each part of the formal education system should be, in the main, an entity complete in itself. This has principally affected the primary stage in many territories, especially since it is realised that for some years to come this is all the schooling the majority of pupils will receive. Secondly, and partly flowing from this, new tendencies have become evident, making the primary curriculum more child-centred and less subject-centred. In the Far Eastern and West African territories this has been particularly so, and has led to greater pupil participation in classroom work, more project and activity work, a greater stress on environmental studies, more group and individual work, closer community relationships, and more freedom on the part of the teacher to experiment with a curriculum which formerly was considerably rigid. These developments have, in many cases, been assisted by the greater availability of teaching aids such as radio, visual aids of all descriptions, and the issue in many territories of new, experimental syllabuses of work. Again, it is probable that the trend in some colonies towards the three-stage system of education (that is, the division of formal education into three parts—primary, intermediate or middle, and secondary) owes something to the English division of education into primary, secondary, and further education under the 1944 Act, though, of course, the three-stage system is well known on the Continent. Lastly, in educational administration, the more recent colonial policy of decentralisation, especially with regard to primary education, owes much to local government practice in Britain and the relationship which exists in this country between local education authorities and the Ministry of Education.

Since the war, increasing numbers of colonial students have come to the United Kingdom and Eire to pursue higher studies. At the beginning of 1951 these numbered altogether 4,733, and amongst them were some hundreds studying education. These people return to their territories with new ideas and extended horizons, and undoubtedly they exercise a considerable influence on educational developments in their own countries. Often they are placed, on

their return home, in positions of responsibility as inspectors or supervisors of schools, as headmasters and headmistresses, as training college staff or administrators, where they are in a position to make their experiences felt. The Colonial Department of the London University Institute of Education caters especially for such people and for missionaries and European officers going out to work in education in these countries. Recently, the Oxford University Department of Education has started similar courses. There is, therefore, a considerable exchange of educational ideas going on constantly between Britain and these oversea territories.

Many obstacles still remain, however, to hinder educational progress. Sometimes these are natural forces, such as the 1950 hurricane in Jamaica, which in a few hours wreaked more damage, it was said, than could have been caused by an invading army in a year, and resulting in damage to educational buildings to the extent of £100,000, thus nullifying the painful effort of years to provide more pupil places in the schools. In the West Indies and in Africa population growth is occurring at such a rate that increased educational provision is, in some places, not keeping pace with the even greater demand caused by increased rolls. Disease, poverty, and malnutrition still take their heavy toll of pupils, whilst for the educator the problems of finance and teacher training seem at times well-nigh insoluble. There are problems, too, of a more strictly pedagogical nature which call for psychological investigation into pupil abilities and aptitudes, the learning process, and a clear evaluation of many of the sociological factors which impinge directly on education. A start has been made, and the volume of such research is steadily growing.

Nevertheless, the record of progress in education in these dependencies in the post-war period has been one of solid and considerable achievement. There is little doubt that future historians will see this period as one of intense educational activity and experiment and as a period of undoubtedly great and lasting influence on the future development of these countries. These have, in the articles which follow, been divided for convenience into three regional groups—Africa, the Far East, and the West Indies—and cover, between them, some twenty of Britain's tropical dependencies.

P. C. C. EVANS.

CHAPTER ONE

BRITISH AFRICAN TROPICAL DEPENDENCIES

THE British African tropical dependencies fall into three main groups: the West African group comprising Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria; the East African group comprising Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar; and the Central African group comprising Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. British Somaliland in the north-east stands on its own, but though it is a small and impoverished territory it has made noteworthy strides in education in the post-war years. In assessing educational reform in these territories since 1945 it is possible to trace certain general principles which are common to all of them, but the means of implementing these may vary from area to area, according to the local circumstances. There is thus a variegated educational pattern with common elements running through it that make the evaluation of a general policy possible. An attempt will be made to deal with the principles themselves, but occasionally it will be necessary to deal with the territories in regional groups, for in some cases, as in that of higher education, common action on a regional basis is sometimes necessary.

Africa, no less than the other continents, has felt deeply the general world unrest since 1945. The world-wide struggle between rival ideologies, in which her peoples are in danger of being caught up, has left them perplexed and bewildered, and to this state of uncertainty has been added the restlessness of territories becoming conscious for the first time of their national destinies. One consequence of this has been a tremendous increased demand for educational facilities. Rightly or wrongly, African peoples have come to regard education as the golden key to progress, and one of the principal problems of colonial governments now is how to satisfy the insatiable demand for it. The immediate objective of government policy in meeting this great demand may be said to provide as much primary education as possible, within the limits of funds available and of teachers who can be trained, whilst at the same time maintaining proportionate facilities for the further education of those pupils most fitted for it. The implicit goal is free and universal primary education, but in many territories there seems little hope, on economic grounds, of that ideal ever being achieved; in others it may be years before it comes to fruition. Although

Northern Rhodesia is preparing to provide universal primary schooling, the territory to achieve it first will probably be the Gold Coast, where primary education became free, if not universal, from January 1st, 1952.

The affirmed objective of British colonial policy is the achievement in the dependencies, within the shortest possible time, of democratic self-government within the framework of the British Commonwealth. Such a development is unattainable in these territories without considerable social, political, and economic development first. Political advance with an illiterate population cannot but be unsound; economic development without capable technicians and a people aware of the economic needs and interrelationships of the modern world is impossible, whilst incentives to more effort and greater production, to fuller and happier living, cannot flourish until social development has done something to alleviate the squalor and disease which afflict so many of the African territories. Education in Africa to-day, then, is helping to bring about widespread change; it is assisting in a race against time to bring about in a short number of years changes that in Britain have taken a century and a half. That this is its task has long been understood in Africa, but it is only in the post-war years that it has been marked by any sense of overriding urgency, and the knowledge that now there may be a time-limit to work to which may expire in the foreseeable future. In this post-war period, therefore, we must conceive of education in the African dependencies as an instrument of change and a political project of the first magnitude.

(*a*) *Educational Policy*

The general administration of education in British Africa has tended to change in recent years in response to the changed attitude which Britain has developed towards her dependencies. Until the recent war, her relationship with these was still that of trusteeship. The administration of education, indeed, of all government services, tended to be highly centralised. The war brought an essential change in two respects. Firstly, the ideal of trusteeship gradually changed to one of partnership, wherein, although the partnership might be, in some cases, one of senior and junior members according to the state of development of the territory concerned, the idea of the participation and co-operation of both is implicit. Secondly, the ideal of democratic self-government has in recent years become much more crystallised, implying, if such a pattern is to follow that of Britain's own development, a devolution or decentralisation of authority to local government agencies. Though this process is still in its early stages, highly centralised administration can be said to be changing and the pattern of the future would appear to be a sharing of educational

responsibility between the central and local governments, which may finally resemble the sort of relationship that exists in Britain between the Ministry of Education and the local authorities.

Since 1940, therefore, as part of the development of local government, many African territories have set up local education committees. These have two main aims in view: to provide suitable training-grounds for democratic practice, and to throw upon local communities the planning and financial burden of primary education in their areas, in the hope that, by generating local initiative and responsibility, more funds will be made available for educational services than would otherwise be the case. There seems reason to believe, too, that such a development will do something to counteract the feeling in some areas that the social services are something which government should provide of itself, without reference, necessarily, to local initiative or participation, whether financial or otherwise. It is now realised, moreover, that increased educational facilities will ultimately result only with the co-operation of the communities concerned, and that popular education will never really be popular until the local community has some share and control in its own educational services. These local education committees are, however, only in an early stage of development as yet. In some colonies, too, they are more developed than in others, but though at the moment they present a considerable variation in pattern, all owe much to the English model, to which it is possible that they may ultimately approximate. As yet, however, there are certain well-marked differences from this model, in that the education committee members in England are also members of the larger authority, which employs and directs the activities of the permanent education officials, whilst in the African education committees members are not necessarily members of the larger authority, nor does that authority employ or control its permanent officials. The lead in the development of these local education committees in British Tropical Africa was given by the two territories where the principle of indirect rule has been most widely practised, namely Uganda and Nigeria. In the former, the Thomas Commission, set up in 1940 to investigate African education, recommended that the district education boards which had grown up since 1925 should be abolished in favour of local education authorities, whilst in Nigeria a few years later a spontaneous growth of local education committees was occurring, which seemed to experts there to contain the germs of local education authorities. To-day, the Uganda model serves as a general pattern for most of the African territories, with the notable exception of Nigeria, which has been divided into three regions, each region retaining a certain amount of political and administrative autonomy. Within these the policy of devolution is pursued, as elsewhere, and local government is strongly stimulated. The tendency is, however,

for the new local education committees to be the local governments themselves, with co-opted representatives of the voluntary agencies. Kenya proposes another variation, for though it, too, is attempting a policy of regionalisation, it rejects the idea of the local government also being the local education committee, fearing that were this so education would become the plaything of politics. It proposes, therefore, to continue its present system, namely, to have strong local government representation on the local education committee. Tanganyika is the latest territory to develop local government institutions, but Somaliland, despite the fact that its educational system can be said to have seriously started only since the war, has had such committees since 1947. In all territories where they exist, the functions of these committees at present are to advise on the local application of educational policy and the general planning of primary education in their areas, to consider schools for grants-in-aid, from either central or local funds, to decide on matters relating to school fees and school meals, and to make recommendations on the opening of new schools, where applications for these are made by local governments or by voluntary agencies.

Where general educational administration was concerned, one of the first objectives of post-war policy was to attempt to restore some degree of order and planned development to educational systems which during the war had become, in some cases, dangerously unbalanced and disorganised. This condition had been revealed in many territories by educational surveys carried out in the early post-war years with the object of providing data for planning programmes. One of the main causes for it, especially in Kenya and some of the West African colonies, was the spontaneous and uncontrolled opening of new schools during the war and post-war years. In many territories, owing to the considerable amount of money in circulation, drawn mostly from the armed forces, African communities were able to implement their great desire for more schools. Such a development, however, led everywhere to a considerable fall in educational standards, particularly in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, though Kenya suffered severely also. Post-war reform in this connection has been directed chiefly towards amalgamating uneconomic schools, to controlling the opening of new ones, and to making the best use possible of the funds and teachers available.

Another aspect of the popular demand for education affected the later primary stage of schooling. In the Gold Coast especially, though also in other territories to a lesser degree, a tendency became apparent during the war and early post-war years to add senior primary classes or departments to already existing infant-junior schools, and to regard the result as full-range primary schools. These new additions were not selective, whereas the policy

of colonial governments had necessarily been to treat this stage of the primary course as such on account of the lack of funds and teachers. Not only the Gold Coast, but all territories, had tended to regard this later primary stage as best catered for by a type of central school, drawing its pupils on a selective basis from a group of infant-junior schools in its neighbourhood. Even as late as 1949, the popular demand in the Gold Coast was so great that it was only with the greatest difficulty that native authorities and village communities there could be persuaded of the inevitability of planned control if a further dangerous fall in educational standards was to be avoided. Only in the last few years have colonial governments begun to feel that they have started to overcome the serious effects of the war years on their educational systems.

One of the greatest aids to educational planning and development in the African territories since 1945 has been the provision of Colonial Development and Welfare funds. Colonial governments were asked during the war years, in connection with the spending of these funds, to draw up ten-year development plans covering all aspects of future development within their territories. Ten-year plans for the development of education form an integral part of these, and most African territories by 1950 had formulated them and had had them approved by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Often the preparation of these schemes proved a difficult matter, for though they attempt to aim at definite targets, they cannot, of necessity, be regarded as rigid blue-prints, since changing circumstances almost invariably demand a considerable amount of periodic revision. Already, in many cases, the rising costs of labour and materials and the scarcity of trained staff have given an air of unreality to many of the proposals of the original plans. Sometimes, too, as in the case of Kenya, great difficulty was experienced in reconciling popular demands for extensive educational development with the funds available for it. Generally speaking, the aim of most plans is to spread primary education as widely as possible and to develop secondary and technical education to a point where sufficient leaders, teachers, artisans, and technicians can be produced to satisfy the increasing demand for their services. Thus Uganda aims at providing primary education for the whole of the 6- to 10-year-old group of children, over a period of twenty-five years; Kenya estimates that it will take ten years to provide primary education for half of its primary school-age population. The Gold Coast, on the other hand, proposes to proceed, as far as available funds will allow, with free, though not universal, primary education leading to primary school places for 400,000 pupils. Other territories specify numerical increases in pupil rolls, principally in the primary stage, whilst paying proportionate attention to the other stages also.

Although the working out of these development plans in educa-

tion may vary from colony to colony, it is now realised in all that the expansion of educational facilities must be regarded as in the nature of a capital investment, which will have important repercussions on development in other spheres. Nevertheless, every development plan, especially with regard to the utilisation of Colonial Development and Welfare funds, has been drawn up with the idea that at the end of the development period of ten years the colony shall not find itself burdened with recurrent expenditure too heavy for it to support from its own financial resources, but that rather the assistance of outside funds will have so generated development that it will be able to proceed on its own when those funds are withdrawn. For this reason the expenditure of such funds has usually been restricted to works of a capital nature, though the definition of 'capital' has wisely been left lax, even including, on occasions, such items as short-term increases in European staff.

No evaluation of educational policy in British Africa would be complete without some reference to the changing relationship in education between colonial governments and voluntary agencies. Since the earliest days, mission societies have played an important part in the development of education in Africa, and originally, in many territories, they carried the burden of education alone. Through the years, therefore, a close working relationship has grown up between them and colonial governments, and post-war planning has reiterated the desire of both to maintain this relationship and, indeed, to strengthen and expand it. This is in accordance with educational tradition in the United Kingdom, but there are other reasons, too, for its continuance in the tropical dependencies. No colonial government in British Africa is yet in a position to carry the burden of education alone, even if it so desired, for shortage of funds, resources, and trained personnel would make that impossible. A stronger reason is that put forward by several colonial governors in recent years, a reason to be found also in many of the development plans. It is the conviction that in the present world ideological crisis education in Africa must be given a consciously Christian bias, particularly in areas which were formerly animistic, or where no dominant religion existed before the British contact. It is a conviction that in an era when old values are being destroyed in Africa, it is vital that they shall be replaced with new ones; otherwise, the danger exists of a widespread materialism and cynicism. In areas, however, where a dominant religion already exists, as in the Moslem areas of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Somaliland, the northern territories of the Gold Coast, and the northern emirates of Nigeria, it is expected that education will reflect the influence of the religion, rather than that of Christianity.

Though the bonds between colonial governments and the volun-

tary agencies in education are, in some respects, being drawn closer together, other factors are tending to modify their relationship. The great expansion of educational facilities since 1945 has made it necessary for colonial governments to reaffirm the principle that the formulation and direction of educational policy, as well as the responsibility for seeing that it is implemented, must rest ultimately with them. Furthermore, in territories where education is for the most part in the hands of the voluntary agencies, as in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Uganda, the rights of parents who do not desire their children to attend schools run by denominational agencies have to be considered. Thus Uganda, for example, has found it necessary to state that its government reserves the right to set up, if the demand for it arises, state or local authority schools outside denominational control.

Even within the mission societies themselves, divided counsels have appeared concerning their function in relation to education. The old necessity for the inculcation of literacy as a means to studying and preaching the Gospel is no longer as relevant as it once was, and some have seriously begun to question whether education, with its modern demands, is part of the mission function, and, if it is, what proportion of its time and money it should take. Two schools of thought seem to be emerging: there are those, on the one hand, who see the newer evangelical approach as being concerned with the whole man in his environment, believing that no aspect of his existence is outside the purview of the church, whose aim must, therefore, be to help him to live a better existence in every way and to overcome those natural obstacles which militate against the good life. Such an attitude leads, perforce, to a deeper interest in the social services, and probably one of the best examples of it is that provided by the Niger Scheme in Nigeria, where, under a Canadian agricultural missionary, assisted by an experienced Irish farmer and by considerable financial assistance from the Nigerian government, an attempt is being made to provide an intensive and practical agricultural training for African youths in preparation for their settlement on the land. Where the voluntary agencies accept the implications of this approach, it is natural that they should expect, and receive, generous government support, for the religious and secular approaches to problems of health, nutrition, and economics here become closely identified.

Others, however, believe that this approach is a deviation from the true missionary ideal, which must always remain essentially that of proselytisation. Any such deviation, therefore, must be regarded as a dissipation of mission energies. Many of those who hold this view would prefer to see the missions relinquish to the state their ever-growing educational commitments and concentrate on the religious and pastoral side of their work. In view of the great current difficulties of the voluntary agencies in matters of finance and the

recruitment of personnel, this view has gained a certain amount of sympathy. Yet others would seem to prefer a middle course, relinquishing participation in primary, and later secondary, education, yet retaining an active interest in the field of teacher training, in the belief that here they control many of the future teachers and leaders of African communities.

During recent years, especially in those areas where local pride and initiative have been well developed, some degree of restiveness has become apparent in African communities against mission participation in education. This has been particularly noticeable in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and in Kenya. The tendency in such communities is to regard education as a service which it is the function of the state to provide, whether it does so through local or through central agencies. Often, interdenominational rivalry, leading to uneconomic provision and overlapping of schools, adds to this feeling, whilst in other areas an element of rebellion is discernible against what is considered to be strict mission discipline and a preference for admitting adherents first to denominational schools.

NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, 1949

	Post-secondary	*Secondary and Post-primary*	*Primary*
Gold Coast	10	70	2,653
Nigeria	—	205	8,723
Sierra Leone	1	15	265
Gambia . .	*	*	*
Kenya	—	136	2,697 †
Uganda	1	120	2,888
Tanganyika	*	*	*
Zanzibar	—	4	59
Somaliland	—	—	51
N Rhodesia .	—	19	1,615
Nyasaland	—	16	4,626

* *Statistics not available.* † *African education only.*

(*Source* 1949 *Annual Education Department Reports.*)

(*b*) *Educational Finance*

Decentralisation may result in making available more funds than formerly for education, but there can be little doubt that for many years to come educational finance will provide the greatest problems in African education. There is just not enough money available at the present time, in any of the African dependencies, to provide

adequate educational facilities as these are understood in Europe. The problem, then, becomes one of making the smallest amount go the longest way, and this can be assured only by the strictest supervision of educational expenditure and by ensuring that, as far as possible, there shall be no wasteful overlapping of educational services. It is towards these ends that educational planning on the financial side has been chiefly directed.

The most difficult problems in recent years have undoubtedly been connected with the grants-in-aid systems by which colonial governments assist the educational activities of private and voluntary agencies. Post-war conditions soon revealed the inadequacy of the grants-in-aid systems of almost all the territories under review, and in the years immediately following 1945 most colonies completely revised them. This became necessary chiefly because the educational burden borne by the voluntary agencies has increased enormously since the war in all areas, necessitating greatly increased grants from both the central and the local authorities. Another factor which has necessitated greater government financial assistance is the diminution of oversea funds to these agencies in the post-war era. These, once almost their sole support, have declined progressively in the last decade and must decline even further as the missions fulfil their implicit function of creating indigenous churches, which will be less and less dependent, as time goes on, on expatriate staff and funds. As the latter decrease, however, locally subscribed funds are on the increase, but these are often identified with local aspirations and conform less to a general mission pattern.

In order to keep pace with the rising cost of living, and to try to bring their wages into line with those of other black-coated workers, the salaries of government teachers in every dependency have been increased in recent years. The salaries of mission teachers, however, have often had to lag behind on account of shortage of mission funds. The unfortunate effects of this on staffing conditions in the voluntary agency schools have necessitated increased grants-in-aid to ensure parity of teaching and salary conditions, including, in a few territories, pension and benevolent fund rights, for all recognised teachers, wherever they teach, whether in voluntary agency, government, or local authority schools. The whole question of grants-in-aid in relation to education was made the subject of an exhaustive inquiry in Nigeria in 1947–8, and the *Phillipson Report,* which was the result, has considerably influenced thinking on this subject in other African territories also. The main lines along which reform in all colonies has been directed are: the payment of teachers on recognised salary scales, usually necessitating that voluntary agency teachers shall be paid on the same scales as local authority or government teachers; financial assistance for administrative and supervisory expenses; and grants-in-aid for schools or institutions

which form part of a recognised over-all pattern of educational development in any area. In addition, in some areas, the voluntary agencies can claim grants-in-aid for capital development of up to half the total capital expenditure. In some territories, too, notably the Gold Coast and Nigeria, there has been a vast increase in the number of schools on the aided list. It is interesting to note, however, that the Gold Coast government intends in future to suspend grants for any school run by a religious denominational agency, but will allow a local authority to request a voluntary agency to manage and conduct a school on its behalf, in buildings owned by the local authority, provided such a school will be treated as a local authority school. In general, it can be said that the extent of financial aid now received by the voluntary agencies is such that their primary schools have become independent of mission funds as far as recurrent expenditure is concerned, whilst their secondary schools are slowly passing under the control of boards of governors representative of all educational bodies in their vicinity, and have any annual financial deficit they may incur guaranteed by the government.

The greatest easing of the difficult financial situation in education will probably come from the development of the new local authorities. At the moment it has been considered that the great weakness lies in the small contributions which local authorities make towards educational services in their areas, compared with those made by the central government. As local initiative and responsibility develop, this disproportionate ratio may become more evenly adjusted, for though many communities are undoubtedly greatly impoverished, there are signs that more local funds would be forthcoming were an appropriate approach made. Many African parents, though ill able to do so, are nevertheless prepared to go to considerable sacrifice and to suffer privation in order to provide their children with what they consider to be suitable education. Partly, perhaps, in evidence of this, there has been an extraordinary growth since the beginning of the war, more especially in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, of private schools charging high fees, for which there seem to be no lack of pupils. In some territories, notably Kenya and Nyasaland, local authorities have started to levy an occasional educational cess, to provide funds for some special educational development, such a cess being in addition to the school fees normally charged in all types of school. Local communities, however, usually demand that the proceeds of such a cess be devoted to tangible and visible advances in education, such as the erection of a new school or the provision of school meals, rather than to 'invisible' things, like increases in teachers' salaries, leading to no obvious extension of educational services. For psychological reasons, therefore, care is usually taken that this course is followed in the expenditure of such funds.

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

	1945	1949
	£	£
Gold Coast	406,894	2,193,878
Nigeria	493,800	3,210,486 †
Sierra Leone	88,755	438,694
Gambia	4,224	*
Kenya	367,687	2,553,607
Uganda	213,628	847,499
Tanganyika	235,214	*
Zanzibar	*	150,401
Somaliland	9,260	35,390
Northern Rhodesia	167,150	547,385
Nyasaland	79,826	237,504 ‡

* *Not available from published sources*
† *Excluding technical education*
‡ *All races.*

(*Source Annual Education Reports*)

(*c*) *Educational Reorganisation*

The Primary Stage

Since the war a considerable amount of thought has been devoted to the problem of how education in the African territories can best be reorganised, not only to fit it more suitably for African needs and an African environment, but also to achieve these objects within the limitations of the staff and money available. Primary education accounts for by far the greatest part of educational expenditure in all the dependencies, and it is natural, therefore, that the main emphasis of reform should be directed to this stage. For most African children the primary course of schooling is the only one they will receive, and educationists are acutely aware that what they desire to achieve by the process of formal schooling must, in the main, be achieved during the primary school course. The two main problems they have to consider in this respect are: what are the aims of the primary school and what is the minimum period of schooling required to achieve them? In addition, the fact that the majority of the pupils will receive no more than the primary course has made it imperative that that stage shall be considered as one complete in itself and not merely as a preparation for later schooling, as it has been considered so often in the past.

Many African education departments now believe that, apart from providing, as far as it can, opportunities for developing the personality of the child, there are two main functions to be performed by the primary school. First, it must impart those basic

skills which are indispensable to adult life and which will lead to permanent literacy in at least the vernacular. Secondly, it must attempt to lay a sound foundation for good citizenship and to develop those qualities of character which will best fit their possessors for life in a changing and developing society. Though, to a certain extent, these aims have long been recognised, it is only in recent years that they can be said to have become crystallised and linked to definite periods of schooling. At the moment there is great diversity of nomenclature and duration of the various pre-secondary stages of schooling in the dependencies which, in some respects, is illustrative of the confusion of thought that prevailed in connection with the primary school. Thus in Uganda and Tanganyika the primary course lasts six years, in Nigeria eight, in Northern Rhodesia nine, and in the Gold Coast ten years. In the last few years, however, there has been a marked tendency in some territories to divide formal schooling into three, rather than two, main stages, namely, primary, intermediate or middle, and secondary education, each stage providing a four-years course. This is the system followed in some European countries and also in the Sudan and Somaliland, and there seems much to commend it for African conditions. The Gold Coast, in its more recent planning, accepts such a division but insists that the primary course shall last six, and not four, years, and that it shall aim at literacy in both the vernacular and in English. More recently, this is the solution also proposed for Malaya, and it would seem that there is a growing feeling that though four years are necessary for vernacular literacy, it will need six to ensure literacy in two languages, that is, to promote a degree of bilingualism. The attitude of Kenya, however, towards a six-years course is exemplified in the *Beecher Report*, which considers that a six-years primary course falls between two stools, unfitting a child for life in his own environment, yet being of insufficient length to fit him for further training or employment.

The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, in its comments on the first Nigerian Education Development Plan, had suggested as early as 1942 that it might be necessary to consider some shortened form of the primary course, in order to reach a much wider circle of pupils of school-going age. It was not until 1949, however, that the introduction of the three-stage system of schooling, involving the shortened primary course of four years, was seriously considered by the African territories. In that year the *Beecher Report* suggested its adoption in Kenya, whilst Tanganyika, in its 1951 revision of its ten-year plan, has also decided that it will follow suit. Other territories, principally Nigeria, are also considering its adoption, though Nigeria has had middle schools for many years, as have also some of the Central African territories. Nevertheless, the three-stage system, with a

basic four-years primary course, may become a recognised form of approach in many of the territories in the future, and the primary course will be regarded as a foundation upon which 'follow-up' or adult education schemes may be based. At the moment, however, it is still a matter for discussion in many territories. Often Africans themselves regard the newer system with disfavour, as being in the nature of a poor second-best to the traditional course, whilst some educationists, acutely aware of the limitations of finance and personnel under which they work, tend to believe that the objects of the primary course can, by the employment of different methods and techniques, be achieved in a period of three years or even less. The main virtue of the shortened course lies in the fact that many more children can be given some form of schooling and the goal of universal education thus brought appreciably nearer. Its main criticism is that, in its concentration upon literacy and the basic skills, it may partake more of the nature of schooling than of education.

One educational economy, originally proposed in Kenya in 1946, but later carried into effect in Tanganyika and Nigeria, and then reproposed for Kenya by the *Beecher Report*, has been the introduction of the system of double-sessions in the lower primary school. By this system, still practised in the Philippines and once practised in the United States and Canada also, half the school day is used for teaching one group of children and the other half for teaching a different group. Its purpose is to enable more children to be taught by the same number of teachers, thus reducing the teaching salary bill, and to utilise village school buildings to greater effect by having four classes taught in a two-roomed school. Normally, double-sessions are introduced into the first four standards when the roll does not greatly exceed one hundred, and into the first two standards only when the roll is greater than one hundred and twenty-five. The practice, however, has encountered considerable opposition and is unpopular among some African children, parents, and teachers. The latter, especially those in voluntary agency schools, resent the long, arduous day, the concentrated teaching, and the monotony of repetition, and prefer the older system of one teacher teaching two classes at the same time. In some areas of Tanganyika, where a child often has a two-hour walk to school, double-sessions are particularly unpopular, because many children have to start out very early for morning school, whilst those who attend the afternoon session arrive home correspondingly late, leading, in these areas, to the danger of molestation from wild animals.

One of the greatest problems of the African primary school, however, still seems to defy solution. That is the problem of wastage, or progressive loss of pupils as one proceeds from the lower standards of the primary school to the top. Space forbids

an analysis of why children thus leave school, but it suffices to say that under present conditions, and with present curricula and methods, it is generally recognised that any educational funds expended on a pupil who does not complete at least four years of primary schooling are almost completely wasted. Some idea of the great loss of educational funds can be gathered from the fact that, in 1949, for every hundred pupils to be found in the first standard of the primary schools of the East African group of territories, there were only twenty-six in the fourth standard and ten in the sixth. During the same year, in the Central African territories, for every hundred pupils in Standard I there were thirty-four in the fourth standard and thirteen in the sixth.

In Kenya, a roll of 250,000 in aided primary schools has produced a post-war annual average of thirty-seven pupils reaching School Certificate standard. In Northern Rhodesia in 1949, out of a total schools roll of 143,000 only 261 proceeded beyond the primary stage. In Tanganyika in 1948, 131,000 of the total assisted school roll of 141,000 were to be found in the first four standards, while in Nyasaland in the same year, 75 per cent. of all school children were in the sub-grades, that is, the first two standards of the primary school. In the face of such wastage, therefore, it is natural that in post-war years, much of the planning for greater educational facilities has been directed, not so much to enlarging the primary base as to ensuring that as many children as possible who start the primary course will complete at least four years at school. However, it is sometimes no easy task to convince popular opinion that this is a wiser course than the indiscriminate extension of the number of schools in an effort to reach the goal of universal education.

The Secondary Stage

The middle school course, in those territories which intend to adopt the three-stage division of schooling, appears to be conceived of in slightly varying terms. Thus Kenya presumes it will partake of a junior secondary nature, whilst the Gold Coast intends that it shall be, not an alternative, but a necessary stepping-stone to secondary education. Kenya intends to make its intermediate (or middle) schools extremely practical in nature, with a heavy concentration on English and elementary mathematics, and it would appear that the Gold Coast also, with its stress on the necessity for specialist teachers and practical rooms, in addition to class teachers, visualises a practical type of course. In both territories selection is to be at approximately 12+ years of age. The middle school course will, however, be an entity in itself and will not be a preparation, except incidentally, for the secondary course proper which follows it.

The secondary school has received great emphasis in develop-

ment planning in all territories, except in Somaliland, where secondary education does not start until 1952. The products of this stage of schooling are vital to the future development of the dependencies in Africa and particularly to educational development. From the secondary schools will come the future leaders of African society, the technicians and the skilled artisans to man developing industries and agriculture, whilst in addition, they will feed the universities with the future members of the professions, with potential graduate teachers, primary school teachers, and with the men and women who will staff the upper grades of the public service. Many territories, therefore, rightly emphasise that the secondary school is the key to the whole future of educational development. The primary base, they believe, is already large enough to provide for all the secondary education needed at present, if properly developed, and to produce the leaders of society necessary for the immediate future. The problem now is how to utilise that base to the best advantage and to build on it a sound secondary school edifice.

The administration of secondary education has tended in many dependencies to remain a central government responsibility. This is in sharp contrast to the policy of decentralisation which characterises official policy as regards primary education. It is necessary, however, to treat it thus in view of the fact that secondary schools are expensive institutions to maintain and, besides, drawing their pupils as they do from wide areas, it is necessary that they be strategically sited to serve a number of areas rather than one. Often, therefore, they fall outside the scope of a single local authority. In territories where secondary education is mainly in the hands of the voluntary agencies, as in Nigeria, Nyasaland, Uganda, and Northern Rhodesia, a further problem has arisen in view of the increased disbursement of government funds to these schools. Governments have expressed doubts concerning a situation in which public funds have to be expended on private school buildings, for example, without any increase in government ownership in return. The 1940 Thomas Commission on African Education in Uganda proposed a solution to this problem which is being more and more widely adopted. In that territory continued government aid became conditional in 1942 upon the control of the secondary school being vested in a board of governors, which would be representative of all bodies interested in education in its area. Thus the government, the local authority, the voluntary agencies themselves, and government departments other than education all have representation on the board, and the government guarantees to make good any financial deficit the school incurs. This solution, which goes a long way towards the 'indigenisation' of these schools, is now being widely applied, not only in Uganda, but also in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, while the *Beecher Report* advocates that it be applied also

in Kenya. It seems probable that this is a development which will be adopted generally in most African dependencies in the future.

It has been suggested already that African opinion is, generally speaking, more strongly in support of a greater diffusion of primary education than in the more intensive development of secondary and higher education, to which many development plans are committed. That does not mean, however, that interest in secondary education is not great. On the contrary, the demand in both the East and the West African territories is extremely heavy and, in the latter territories especially, local authorities are already evincing strong interest in secondary education and are beginning to seek some share in its control themselves. In all the dependencies, however, so few secondary schools exist, in comparison with the number of primary schools, that competition to enter them is intense. Partly as an attempt to fill the great need, and partly to exploit the situation, numerous private secondary schools have sprung up in recent years, especially in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Though some are undoubtedly very good, the majority are badly staffed and lacking in the facilities for providing even a mediocre education; but in spite of this, and the fact that they usually charge high fees, there seems to be no lack of pupils who desire to attend them.

The implementation of the 1944 Education Act in the United Kingdom has clearly influenced educationists in the African dependencies, though less, perhaps, in its provision of universal secondary education, for that will be impossible in all these territories for many years to come, than in its provision of different types of secondary education according to the abilities and aptitudes of the pupils. It is obvious, too, that the controversy which has long raged in England as to whether a tripartite or a comprehensive system of secondary education provides the better solution has not left them unmoved. Among the West African territories, Nigeria has planned for separate modern, grammar, and technical schools, the Gold Coast intends to build more urban day grammar schools and three new technical schools, while the grammar schools of Sierra Leone have long academic traditions that may make it difficult for them to accept modern and technical streams. In the East and Central African territories, though there is some talk of bilateralism and Nyasaland is planning to build a technical wing to its new government secondary school, Kenya and the remaining territories plan, for the most part, to retain their grammar schools and build separate technical ones. While secondary education remains selective and paid for by considerable fees, it may prove difficult, if not impossible, to resist popular demand for the traditional type of grammar education. It is in the realm of the intermediate or middle school, therefore, that reform in British education may take most effect, for there is a close analogy between this type of school and the English secondary modern school.

NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED, 1949

	Population of Territory [1]	*Post-secondary*	*Secondary*	*Primary*	*Total*
Gold Coast	4,111,680	269	7,501	205,447	213,217
Nigeria	25,000,000	—	23,358	933,333	956,691
Sierra Leone	1,880,000	196	2,396	31,369	33,961
Gambia	268,000	*	*	*	*
Kenya	5,251,120	—	10,834	300,020	310,854
Uganda	5,050,000	23	8,951	210,728	219,702
Tanganyika	7,408,000	*	*	*	*
Zanzibar	244,535 [2]	—	573	9,227	9,800
N Rhodesia	1,827,000	26	745	162,010	162,781
Nyasaland	2,340,000	—	307	227,997	228,304

[1] *Africans only* [2] *Africans and Arabs* * *Not available.*

(*Source Annual Education Department Reports*)

Technical Education

Democratic self-government within the British Commonwealth, which is the ultimate aim of British colonial policy, is manifestly impossible without some raising of the standard of living of the peoples of the dependencies. This cannot be effected without considerable economic expansion, involving on the one hand an appreciable development of the processes of agriculture, and on the other some degree of industrialisation, where this is possible. Since the war, much emphasis has been placed on the development of technical education in the African dependencies, for only thus can be provided the trained manpower, the artisans and technicians, to make economic development possible. Further emphasis in support of this view has been provided by the realisation, grown stronger in recent years, that education can itself help to provide the impetus and the initiative to prepare the ground for technical development and industrialisation. This is in contrast to the view formerly held, and still not altogether absent in some territories, that no expansion of the social services is possible without considerable economic development first.

Developments in technical education in these territories since the war can be considered in relation to three main aspects—the place of practical activities in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools, the function of specialist vocational training centres, and the development of higher technological education. Reform in all these aspects has been influenced considerably by the recommendations of the reports published recently of three commissions which have investigated technical and vocational education in East and in West Africa. These were the *Harlow-Thorp Report* for Nigeria, the *Weston-Harlow Report* for Sierra Leone and Gambia, and the *Weston-Ellis Report* on East Africa.

Before 1939, and to a lesser extent before 1945, technical education in the African dependencies consisted for the most part of vocational training given by various government departments for the purpose usually of replacing normal deficiencies among their own staffs. Thus the post office and telegraphs department, the railways, the veterinary, medical, agricultural, forestry, and other departments, all undertook such training. A certain amount of practical trade training was also given in trade centres by the education departments themselves. By the end of the war, however, it became obvious that greater provision for technical training would be necessary, first, to meet the widespread and growing deficiency of skilled artisans which was beginning to hold up development, and secondly, to provide for a regular flow of entrants from educational systems into expanding trade and industry. In this connection the 1944 Education Act in the United Kingdom had a considerable effect on colonial thinking on technical education. There was, moreover, a growing realisation that the processes of agriculture would need much greater attention and more skilled training than they had received in the past, for all the African dependencies are predominantly rural in character and there is nothing to suggest, at the moment, that agriculture and its processes will not remain at the centre of their economies for a long time to come. Technical education, therefore, must obviously consider agricultural education and training as one of its most important functions.

At the school level, both primary and secondary, post-war reform has been concentrated upon the introduction, or extension, of practical activities in the curriculum, not, as the technical education reports strongly emphasise, because there is any intention of introducing vocational education at the school stage, but because such courses are educationally and aesthetically necessary to a balanced education. Though education in British Africa, as the *Beecher Report* points out, was strongly technical in nature in its early days, its subsequent development became bookish and literary. Space forbids a discussion of the reasons for this but it suffices to say that, in the eyes of both African parents and their children, practical subjects in the curriculum have been viewed in the past with considerable disfavour as unnecessary frills, or activities learnt better at home, or as subjects which did nothing to lead to the coveted white-collar job when schooling was over. In the West African territories particularly, there is evidence that this view is increasingly changing, and indeed, in all territories, there is an increasing emphasis on the place of practical activities, such as handwork, in the curriculum. To encourage such a tendency it has been recommended that well-qualified supervisors of handwork should be appointed who have had experience of training college work, in order that practical

activities shall be influenced at both the school and the training college levels. Besides supervising the work in schools and colleges, it would also be part of the function of these supervisors to hold refresher courses from time to time in practical subjects. This newer outlook towards a more practical curriculum is being strongly implemented by Kenya, which intends to impart a strong practical bias to the first and second stages of schooling, whilst Northern Rhodesia places a strong emphasis on the place of practical agriculture at all levels of the curriculum. In all the territories, but especially the Gold Coast, great stress is laid on the place of agriculture and indigenous arts and crafts in school work.

At the secondary level, however, the development of technical education has been much slower, though education departments are fully alive to the value of such education in helping to break down the traditional grammar school outlook, which has so often in the past considered secondary grammar education to be the only type worth while. In some areas the tendency for future development in technical education at the secondary level is not clear. The *Weston-Ellis Report* on East Africa recommends that technical streams be incorporated in selected grammar schools, but Kenya, as already stated, has envisaged the setting-up of separate technical schools, whilst the Gold Coast also appears to prefer this solution.

At the trade training, or vocational education level, post-war development has consisted mainly of an expansion of the facilities offered at trade centres. These centres are to be found in most of the African dependencies but, in East Africa especially, they have been criticised as being generally of a poor standard and lacking in equipment and trained staff and, moreover, of being functional and uneducational in nature. They have, besides, been insufficiently linked in the past with commerce and industry and have not been able, therefore, to estimate the demands of the latter for trained personnel. The technical education commissions have emphasised that, in order to reorganise these institutions and further expand the facilities for vocational training, well-qualified technical officers should be appointed to the head office staffs of the territories to organise and supervise technical trade and further education. Tanganyika, Kenya, and Northern Rhodesia have already done so. In Nigeria, in order to do full justice to this branch of education, a special technical education branch has been formed in the education department.

Facilities for further technical education are provided in some territories by means of technical institutes such as that at Yaba, Nigeria, and the one proposed for Nairobi in Kenya. The latter institution is one planned to provide technical and commercial education for all races in the colony. The Gold Coast also intends establishing a technical institute at Kumasi. Another has been recommended for Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika also hopes to start

building one soon. Northern Rhodesia proposes to build a higher trades or industrial institute, which will fulfil much the same function.

Important developments have also taken place recently in the development of facilities for higher technological education. The minority report of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa had foreseen in 1945 that in addition to the establishment of a university college for West Africa, it would be necessary to set up what it termed 'territorial colleges', one of whose functions would be to provide advanced technical and vocational education. This proposal was never implemented, but much thought was later given to it. In 1947 the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies sent out a delegation to West Africa to examine the question on the spot, and this delegation submitted revised proposals for the establishment of 'Regional colleges', which were to be complete institutions in themselves and complementary to the university colleges. These proposals were accepted by the Inter-University Council. Two of these regional colleges were to be established in the first instance, one at Kumasi in the Gold Coast, incorporating the existing Achimota teacher training college, and the other in Nigeria. This latter institution was to be a tripartite organisation with branches in the east, west, and northern regions of that territory. The purpose of the regional colleges was to provide, first, a higher technical and commercial education suited to the needs of the territory; secondly, to provide teacher training courses; and thirdly, to train social-welfare and community-development workers. They would also participate in schemes of adult education and, pending further developments in secondary education, provide general education at a Higher School Certificate level. They were, in short, designed to become centres of cultural and technological development, with the special function of fostering the development of the arts and crafts.

As yet (1951), apart from that at Kumasi, these colleges are still not in existence, but in 1950 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in order to obtain expert advice on the expansion of higher education in the colonies, appointed a commission to advise him and the colonial government on the development of colonial "colleges of arts, science, and technology", as these institutions have now become known. It was to advise him, also, on the expenditure of Colonial Development and Welfare funds which were allocated to these colleges. The creation of the latter is now a matter of vital importance to the West African territories and there are grounds for believing that they will very soon come into existence. Already, in 1950, Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone has been reconstituted on these lines to serve that territory.

Technical education in relation to agriculture cannot, however, be said to have made much progress in the period under review,

and the general emphasis in all territories on agricultural education does not seem, generally speaking, to have had the desired result. There are two main reasons for this. In the first place, the diversity of climatic and soil conditions in the tropical dependencies of Africa makes it almost impossible to prescribe an agreed agricultural policy and practice, either in relation to the school curriculum or even more so at the training college level. In training colleges especially, since students are often drawn from areas with widely differing conditions demanding different methods, the problem is an acute one. If the present tendency to amalgamate smaller training centres into fewer, larger ones is continued, this particular problem will be further aggravated. Secondly, there is still a reluctance on the part of African youth, and parents, to become genuinely interested in agriculture as a career. Some territories, like Kenya, complain that pupils are still interested only in paid employment. In that territory, the three secondary technical schools providing agricultural education, at Wundanyi, Kapenguria, and Kikuyu, cannot get enough pupils with the requisite qualifications to enter their courses, though there is promise of more success in Nigeria, where a new attitude towards the land is slowly forming, fostered chiefly by the rural education branch of the education department.

The Training of Teachers

The scarcity of trained teachers in African education to-day presents an extremely acute problem, and education development plans, therefore, rightly lay great emphasis on measures designed to increase recruitment and to improve the quality of training. Upon the success or otherwise of these measures will depend the rate of educational expansion. Most territories have planned to increase the number of training centres with the help of Colonial Development and Welfare funds, treating the problem in some cases as one of capital expenditure, in the belief that once the leeway has been made up many of the smaller centres will become redundant and can be closed down. There is an analogy here to the Emergency Training Scheme which operated in the United Kingdom after the war. The number and cost of the teachers required will be great, for their salaries, based for the most part on incremental scales, are by far the largest element in any colonial education budget, and lead to progressively heavier annual recurrent costs with no increase in educational facilities. A large expansion of teacher training, therefore, must necessarily mean a heavy financial burden on any colony undertaking it, in terms not only of present training, but also of future increments and salaries. Sometimes, as recently in the case of Uganda, this burden may prove so heavy as to necessitate some curtailment of the teacher training programme.

Apart from the main emphasis in all territories on a rapid expansion of the existing facilities for training teachers, there has been some attempt to encourage the entry of better-qualified candidates into the centres, and to provide better courses of training. In the past the teaching profession has not been an attractive one, mainly for financial reasons, and most territories under review have found it necessary since the war to revise the scales under which their teachers have been paid in order to bring them more into line with the salaries of government employees in the public services and with those of other black-coated workers. Conditions of teacher employment, too, have been improved by better pension and benevolent fund rights. In the last year or so there has been evidence in most territories that this policy is beginning to bear fruit.

The pattern of teacher training in many of the African dependencies in pre-war years was, in many ways, an unsatisfactory one, for in the absence of a lead from governments, development tended, on the whole, to be haphazard and governed by expediency. Training was usually conducted to satisfy local requirements, and tribal jealousies, local patriotism, language difficulties, and denominational needs often led to the creation of a number of small, uneconomic training centres. Thus Tanganyika in 1947 had fifteen aided centres running a three-years course with an average total roll of sixty students, that is, an average of twenty students a year. Uganda in 1949 had an average of thirty-one students in its non-Roman Catholic denominational colleges, and thirty-nine in the others. The output in Kenya from fifteen centres running two-years courses amounted to eleven students each per annum. In 1948, in the Gold Coast, there was an average enrolment of sixty-two students in some six denominational two-years colleges. In Western Nigeria, in 1948, the average annual output of teachers was only twenty-two per centre, though in Eastern Nigeria the figure was thirty-five teachers. Recently, therefore, the feeling has been growing that in this aspect there is need for reform, in the interests both of educational efficiency and of making the best use of available funds.

In most territories teacher training is still, for the most part, in the hands of the voluntary agencies, and in territories like Uganda and Nyasaland, where the state itself lacks adequate facilities for training its own teachers, the missions supply a quota for government schools as well as providing for their own needs. But this training is done, as has been pointed out already, in small centres of the type described above. Many educationists in Africa still maintain that the smaller centre provides the better professional training, but recently there has been a hardening of feeling which favours the establishment of a larger, more composite, type of institution, which will be more efficient both on educational and on economic grounds. The smaller centre is thought to be particu-

larly uneconomical in its use of expatriate staff and resources, both of which are beginning to be very difficult to obtain. The larger centre, moreover, is capable of fulfilling other functions than merely that of training teachers. It is possible to concentrate in it expensive expatriate staff who will be capable of specialisation, which is so necessary to good training and the stimulation of student interests. This the smaller centre cannot hope normally to do. In the larger type of institution, also, staff and equipment can be provided for experimental and demonstration work and the institution can become the living centre of educational research, developing reform in curricula, textbooks, and educational practice in the area in which it is situated. In its outside contacts such an institution would be expected to play a large part in the supervision of the curricula and activities of the smaller training centres in its vicinity, and, because of its research and teaching aspects, it would keep close contact with the schools in its neighbourhood. One of its greatest advantages would lie in the co-ordination it would be possible to achieve between training and supervision and in the assistance it would be able to provide in what the Americans term 'in-service training', that is, further training after the teacher has started on his teaching career. Since the smaller centres to be supervised would be staffed entirely by African personnel, such an arrangement would accord well with one of the dominant aims of government policy, namely, the devolution of authority and the encouragement of African initiative in local affairs, with the gradual concentration of European and other expatriate staff in more central, strategic institutions. This might lead ultimately, when African experience and development are ready for it, to the gradual elimination of expatriate staff altogether, apart from those retained at the desire of the local government. At present, with the possible exception of Ibadan in Nigeria and Achimota in the Gold Coast, there are no large centres of this type operating in the African territories, but the *Beecher Report* advocates the establishment of one in Kenya, near Nairobi, to train different grades of teachers as well as technical instructor-teachers. This, when it is in full operation, is expected to have a roll of five hundred students. Nigeria also hopes to start such a centre in its western region and colony in 1952. It is possible that in the reform of teacher training in the African dependencies in the future this type of institution may play a great part.

One striking characteristic of the teaching profession in the African dependencies is the great range of teacher categories that exist. This is most marked in the East and Central African territories, where, for example, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia have no fewer than five and four different grades of teacher respectively. Though elsewhere there are normally at least three grades, the ultimate aim of all territories is to upgrade the lower categories until

all candidates for the teaching profession will enter for the upper grades only. At present, however, with the great staff and financial difficulties that all dependencies have to face, the lower grades of teachers, with their correspondingly low salary scales, are indispensable. Reform is directed, therefore, not towards abolishing these grades, but to improving their quality, either by requiring increased qualifications for entry to training courses, or by lengthening and improving those courses. Thus the Kenya T.3 course will become one of three, not two, years after 1955, whilst the T.4 course will become one of two years' duration instead of one as at present, and will require, in addition, a minimum entry qualification of eight years' schooling. Nyasaland hopes to abolish its vernacular grade of training as soon as possible; Tanganyika in 1949 added one year to its Grade II course, and Uganda at the same time lengthened its vernacular course by one year. The Gold Coast proposes in future to train its two types of teacher (Grades A and B) in the same course, making all candidates do the course for the 'B' certificate, and then after teaching, selecting the best to return for a further two-years course leading to the 'A' certificate. Ultimately, all candidates will do the 'A' course only.

In addition, however, to the various grades of qualified teachers, there exists also in all the African dependencies a large cadre of unqualified staff. The majority of these teach in the unassisted and 'bush' schools, but the scarcity of trained staff in most territories is such that an appreciable proportion of unqualified teachers also teach in aided schools. Most territories find that they have to practise this 'dilution' of trained with untrained staff if they expect to expand, or indeed to maintain, their existing educational facilities. Dilution in assisted schools varies considerably from territory to territory, rising to as much as 80 per cent unqualified staff in the eastern and western provinces of Nigeria in 1949, to 51 per cent. in Kenya, and 36 per cent. in Uganda during the same year. Both Kenya and Uganda hope, in their plans for the future, to abolish dilution in assisted schools completely, but all the other territories accept the fact that unqualified teachers will be necessary, even in assisted schools, for a very long time to come. They prefer to regard them, therefore, as a pool from which the most promising can be drawn for training as qualified teachers Much is done, besides, to raise the standard of efficiency of these, as of other teachers, by means of short or refresher courses.

Recent plans made by the Gold Coast to deal with the problem of the unqualified teacher are of particular interest. Here the problem has been frankly faced, as also the realisation that, in this richest of all the African dependencies, this type of teacher will for a long time to come play an important part in the educational system. In recognition of this fact, all that can be done to make him a successful practitioner is to be attempted. His salary is to

be raised and he is to be given extensive tuition, in readiness for the day when he may be chosen to enter a training centre. Head teachers of schools where there are unqualified teachers will, in future, be expected to supervise, guide, and instruct them and give them extra tuition for one period daily after school has dismissed. On Saturday mornings the district assistant education officers will call them together for further tuition by qualified and experienced teachers. Finally, they are to receive six weeks' intensive training in an emergency college, four of which are being specially established for this purpose. For tutoring them in the week, head teachers will be paid £3 a month, and in order that they and their first assistants may be left reasonably free to do this work properly, it has been decided that where there are four uncertificated teachers on a school staff, that staff shall consist of eight teachers altogether, including the head teacher himself, thus maintaining a balance between trained and untrained staff.

Another aspect of teacher training, particularly with reference to East and Central Africa, is the system of training Jeanes teachers. There are Jeanes centres in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and before the war there was also one in Kenya. Their aim is, among other functions, to train supervising teachers, who will go round their villages, mostly rural, staying in each to help and advise and improve local teaching Their wives are normally trained for social work at the same time, and the two are looked upon as a peripatetic team whose function it is to raise not only the standard of school work in a village, but also the general standard of family life there as well. The Kenya centre has not restarted since the war, and Tanganyika, in its latest revision of its development plan for education, has had to delete a proposal to establish such a school in that territory. Recently, the East and Central African territories have given much thought to the Jeanes system of training, for teachers produced from such centres in the past have ably proved their worth, and there is little doubt that the need for them to-day is greater, not less, than it was in the past.

The curricula of training colleges in many African colonies have recently come under searching review, more particularly in the West, perhaps, rather than in the East and Central African territories. It has long been recognised that in many cases the type of training given and teacher attitudes developed have left much to be desired. Training techniques and curricula have been borrowed too often from the United Kingdom, and these, translated to an African environment, have often become bookish and theoretical and unrelated to African needs and environment. Courses in training centres on child psychology are a good illustration of this. The charge has often been made that a system of teacher training designed for an industrial community like that of Britain, and developed in the light of British historical experience, has been

imposed on a pastoral and agricultural Africa, to its great detriment. Two aspects of the function of the teacher in Africa have served to lend some weight to this charge. The first is the prevailing attitude of the teacher towards agriculture, the basic element now and for a long time to come of all African economies in the tropics. The second reflects a growing feeling of the teacher's unique position in African society, a position more analogous to that of the teacher in the Far East, rather than to that which he occupies in Europe. His function in Africa is recognised to be a much broader one than that merely of classroom teaching. Often he is a friend of the village, its guide and counsellor, and sometimes he is the only educated man in the village. Service to his community and leadership in it, therefore, must be the criteria of his training, rather than pedagogic techniques, for through him education, like political and economic progress, must play its part in raising the standard of living of the people among whom he works. This conception of the teacher has affected training college curricula in two main directions. Pedagogically, it has led to a greater stress on the value of environmental studies and a unified curriculum, both as a means to knowing the community better, and as a vehicle towards broader fields of knowledge. Functionally, it has led to a greater stress on aspects of community health, sanitation, and hygiene, such as teaching for the prevention and eradication of diseases like malaria and hookworm, and also to greater emphasis on the importance of agriculture and rural pursuits in the life of a rural community. Research from the pedagogic side has been notable amongst Gold Coast training centres such as Winneba, Wesley College, Akropong, and Komenda, whilst the emphasis on agriculture has been more general throughout the dependencies, but particularly so in Nigeria and Northern Rhodesia. The *Beecher Report* in Kenya strongly emphasises the responsibility of the teacher towards his community and the place that agriculture must play in teacher training, whilst in Nigeria there has been a significant development in the establishment of special rural education centres at Umuahia, Ibadan, and Bauchi, whose purpose is to train teachers, who have already shown great ability, as rural education specialists.

In spite of all measures to alleviate the situation, however, the position in regard to the scarcity of trained staff will continue to be acute for a long time to come in Africa. Teachers are needed desperately, not only to replace normal wastage from the profession, but also to implement plans for educational expansion. The present position cannot even be described as a 'holding' one, for it is doubtful whether, in view of population increases and the creation of ever more schools and classes, it is even doing that in many territories. For many educationists the problem appears an insoluble one; others believe that the solution will be found, not along present conventional lines, but in a complete reorientation of

thinking on education in tropical Africa, and especially of the function of the teacher himself in relation to his community, a function that must be reconsidered not in European, but in African terms.

TEACHERS CLASSIFIED BY QUALIFICATIONS, 1949

	University Degree or Equivalent		*Completed Secondary School Course*		*Not Completed Secondary School Course*	
	Trained	*Untrained*	*Trained*	*Untrained*	*Trained*	*Untrained*
Gold Coast	194		158	248	3,034	6,099
Nigeria	302	141	456	483	7,695	29,574
Sierra Leone	31	11	98	67	261	510
Gambia .	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kenya	81	37	184	85	3,688	2,807
Uganda	78	51	296	152	5,315	1,831
Tanganyika	*	*	*	*	*	*
Zanzibar .	16	7	24	10	241	53
N Rhodesia	49	13	76	37	3,180	1,231
Nyasaland .	—	—	2,509			

* *Not yet available.* (*Source Annual Reports.*)

Higher Education

Very great progress has been made in both East and West Africa since 1945 in the development of higher education, for this is essential for the production of national leaders who will be able to implement and practise the democratic ideal and lead the social, economic, and political development of the African peoples. In 1945 post-war plans for the general development of higher education in the colonies were published in a series of reports, two of which particularly concerned Africa. These were the *Asquith Report,* which formulated the general principles of university development in the colonies, and the *Elliot Report,* which made specific recommendations for university education in West Africa. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 had made available the sum of four and a half million pounds for the development of colonial university education generally, but in 1945 these funds were increased to six million pounds, and they, with private and government donations, have provided the main sources of finance for university development throughout the colonies. In 1948 a university college was established at Achimota in the Gold Coast, and another at Ibadan in Nigeria, whilst in East Africa Makerere College, Uganda, reorganised as an inter-territorial higher college in 1938 to serve the territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, achieved university college status in 1950.

During the session 1950–51, the Gold Coast University College had 213 students on roll, that of Ibadan 327, and that of Makerere 237, whilst on their staffs are to be found Europeans, Africans, West Indians, New Zealanders, Australians, and Americans. The university colleges of the Gold Coast and Makerere have recently established institutes of education after the English model, and from these are expected to flow educational developments which will affect considerably educational theory and practice in the African territories.

Two bodies have been created to assist in the development of these new university colleges. They are the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and the Colonial University Grants Committee. The former, established in 1946, acts as a representative organ of all the home universities and the colonial universities, and its principal purpose is to make available to the latter the experience and assistance of the home universities. This may take the form of assistance in providing libraries, advice, and equipment, but the recruitment and selection of staff form its largest function. The Colonial University Grants Committee is concerned principally with the financial aspects of the development of the new universities.

All these new university colleges have entered into a special relationship with London University, whereby they follow courses for the granting of degrees of that university and associate their staffs with those of London in the framing of syllabuses and the conduct of examinations, in order that these may be modified, where necessary, to meet the special opportunities and needs of each area, while maintaining at the same time London University standards. This special relationship will continue until such time as these university colleges become full universities in their own right, after which they will grant their own degrees.

In addition to facilities for university education in the African territories themselves, increasing numbers of African students have sought, in recent years, higher education in institutions in the United Kingdom and Eire. They have been helped financially to do so in three ways: by scholarships awarded annually from the £1 million scholarship fund set aside for this purpose under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, from funds set aside by colonial governments, supplemented by grants from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, and by funds provided by the British Council and the Nuffield Foundation. It is noticeable that whereas before the war there was a tendency for students invariably to study law and medicine, the range of subjects now studied is very much greater. As the number of faculties at the new university colleges increase, the tendency will probably be for post-graduate students to come to Britain only for research and higher degree work, until such time as their own universities can supply these needs also.

COLONIAL STUDENTS STUDYING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRISH REPUBLIC AS AT JANUARY 1ST, 1951

Territory	*Assisted Scholars*	*Private Scholars*	*Total*
Kenya	90	237	327
Tanganyika	23	58	81
Uganda	29	49	78
Somaliland	1	2	3
Zanzibar	9	9	18
N. Rhodesia	14	21	35
Nyasaland	7	8	15
Gambia	11	16	27
Gold Coast	267	283	550
Nigeria	238	952	1,190
Sierra Leone	42	200	242
TOTAL	731	1,835	2,566

The Education of Girls

For social and economic reasons, the education of girls in Africa has not, in the past, kept pace with that of boys, and it has long been realised that there are many dangers inherent in such an unbalanced development. Many educationists believe, and this is increasingly borne out by anthropological research, that in African society it is the woman who holds the key to future progress rather than the man, and as long as she remains in a position educationally inferior to his there will be very little real progress. It has become, therefore, a matter of deep concern for all the African territories, especially since 1945, to attempt to make up some of the leeway and to encourage the attendance at school of as many girls as possible. A special woman assistant educational adviser was appointed to the Colonial Office in 1947, whilst in the territories themselves senior officers, sometimes of the rank of deputy directors of education, have been appointed to deal with the problem in regard to their own territories. In addition, in the post-war period, there has been a marked increase in the number of women specialists who have been recruited into the Colonial Education Service, either in teaching or administrative capacities.

In some respects it is in the provision of education for girls that some of the most hopeful tendencies in African education in recent years have become evident. In providing such education it is impossible to avoid considering questions of a fundamental nature, sometimes necessitating a considerable departure from the English tradition in education. In a comparatively stable culture such as that of Britain, where one of the functions of education is to perpetuate existing cultural standards, there may not be more need for a differentiation between the education of the sexes than a certain amount of home training and vocational training in the education of girls. But this is not so in Africa, where an educated

girl not only has to be able to fill the role of an intelligent and educated wife, or be capable of following an independent career, but has, in addition, the heavy responsibility of weaving the social and spiritual pattern of a new society. It is she, more than the man, who will re-create the spirit of family life and of human values in an Africa where old values are disintegrating and all is flux. It is she, too, who will achieve the real synthesis between the old world and the new, and in such measure as she is successful in this, so will the new society achieve happiness and stability. Education in Africa is now at a stage that was known not long ago in Britain. In the minds of many parents and children it provides the ladder by which to climb to a better job or a better social status, and where the education of a boy is concerned, it is possible to argue that in some ways this is not altogether a bad thing. Where a girl is concerned there is much more room for doubt, and it is in the efforts of educationists in Africa to reach more fundamental values that the basis for most reform has been laid.

Girls' education in British Africa can be said to have two main aims in view: on the one hand, to provide an education suited in content and method to the needs and desires of African girls, which, whilst leading to improved home living and better child care, will at the same time develop their capacities for richer, fuller lives in whatever sphere they may find themselves; on the other hand, to provide avenues for entry to the professions, or to trade and commerce, for those girls who may wish to carve out an independent career for themselves. Since the war there has been an appreciable increase in the number of girls attending school, but only when women teachers are available to teach them will this number increase to satisfactory proportions. There are still many hindrances to be overcome of a sociological nature, but there are signs that parents are now beginning to realise the value of educating their daughters as well as their sons. In all territories increased emphasis has been laid on this aspect of education in recent years, and, on the west coast particularly, much of this appears to be bearing fruit. There is no attempt, in the primary stage, to differentiate between the education of the sexes, but in the later primary and in the secondary stages attention is given to training for girls in domestic science, hygiene, and infant welfare. At the same time, facilities are now offered in some territories for training in commercial and professional subjects also. Northern Rhodesia has introduced a successful two-years course for midwives, and many other territories provide some facilities for general nursing training. One of the outstanding centres in this respect is that of the Government Nurses Training School at Korle Bu, in the Gold Coast, which was founded by Dr. Agnes Savage, an African lady doctor. Secondary schools for girls are, on the whole, painfully lacking, but most territories have made provision for some expansion in this

respect, in their development plans. Kenya hopes to create thirty girls' intermediate boarding schools, whilst there will also be two full secondary schools for girls. Tanganyika is attempting to provide a full secondary course for girls at two of its secondary schools, whilst in Uganda there are several progressive girls' schools in the charge of the voluntary agencies. In the Central African territories there is only one girls' secondary school, but in the West African territories the education of girls is more advanced than anywhere else in British Africa.

Conclusion

In a short survey of this nature it has been possible to indicate only some of the post-war reforms which refer to the recognised formal education system of schools and colleges. Outside this system, however, there are educative forces at work which no educationist can afford to ignore, or neglect to take into account in planning education for the future. The greatest problem of education, but a problem that must be considered outside the scope of the present article, is still the fact that only a relatively small proportion of the child population of school-going age receives any formal education at all. To cater for the remainder, and for the adult illiterate population, is principally the task of those concerned with community development, part of the function of which is to initiate and carry out literacy campaigns aimed at the spreading of vernacular literacy as widely as possible. The content and method of such education must necessarily differ considerably from that given in schools, but at the present stage of educational development in Africa it must be rated as of equal, if not of greater, importance than school education.

How far can educational reform in the African dependencies be said to have been successful since 1945? In terms of purely material expansion and the provision of increased educational facilities it would be true to say that in all the territories under review noteworthy progress has been made, though the degree of this progress naturally varies from area to area and is dependent upon the local circumstances. Some territories like Northern Rhodesia are already well ahead, for by 1950 that territory had already caught up with its Ten-Year Plan in the field of primary education. It had originally planned to provide for 120,000 pupil places in elementary schools (Standards I and II and sub-standards), but in actual fact had already filled 126,000 places by the end of the 1948–9 school year. At the same time 12,300 of the 17,000 places in middle schools had been filled and 3,730 of the 3,750 places planned for upper schools. Other territories, however, like Tanganyika, have sometimes found their development programmes upset by unforeseen circumstances. That territory published its Ten-Year Plan in 1946, but a census of the population in 1948

revealed that the anticipated African population of seven million in 1956 was actually less than that revealed by the Census as the true population in 1948. Thus all planning targets proved wide of the mark, and as far as education is concerned it has meant that in order to achieve the 1956 target of providing school places for 36 per cent. of the children of school-going age who would attend Standards I to IV, an additional 178,000 places will have to be found over the period 1948–56. This represents an increase of almost 100 per cent. over the original figure planned for and it would appear very unlikely that this target will be reached by the end of the development-plan period. In yet other territories it is difficult to estimate progress because of the complete revision in recent years of the plans originally put forward. Thus the 1949 *Beecher Report* in Kenya will completely recast educational development plans in that colony, whilst 1951 developments in the Gold Coast will do the same in that territory. Only in a country like Somaliland is it possible to-day to look forward and to estimate with any degree of accuracy what the educational position may be like after a certain number of years. Even Somaliland, however, is dependent in part upon the Sudan for the production of its teachers, and a change in the political status of that territory would seriously affect the development of education in Somaliland.

Of equal, if not of greater, significance than the material educational advance which has taken place is the spirit of reform which now appears to be permeating educational policy in the African territories. It is well to remember that these territories, for the most part, have been in contact with Britain for little more than half a century, a period which has seen two world wars and an economic depression which shattered the world and largely prevented development of any sort. It can be said that only in the last few years has education in tropical Africa really got under way and an educational policy, which has been in the process of formulation since 1925, been consistently implemented. It was difficult sometimes in pre-war years to discern such a policy and there was much to be said, perhaps, in those times for a way of procedure which was implicit rather than overt. But we have entered upon a period of widespread change, when a well-planned, consistent policy is now essential. It has become necessary to clarify our objectives and the clarification has come in great part from the realisation that Britain's mission in regard to her colonial dependencies is one which must be fulfilled within the measurable future. Whether she can fulfil that mission, and still retain the affection and goodwill of those territories within the broader confines of the British Commonwealth of Nations, remains yet to be seen, but one thing is certain—for a long time to come these countries will turn to her for help and guidance in matters which affect their educational welfare.

P. C. C. EVANS.

CHAPTER TWO

BRITISH DEPENDENCIES IN THE FAR EAST

"THREE and a half years of educational twilight"—such is the description of the conditions produced by the Japanese occupation of Malaya, given in one of the official reports; it is a description which would be equally applicable to the other British Dependencies in the Far East: Hong Kong, North Borneo, Singapore, and Sarawak. All these countries shared in the blessings of the Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and were left at the end of the war with school buildings damaged or in ruins, furniture, equipment, and books looted or destroyed, staffs depleted by death and disease. The Japanese attempt to enforce the teaching of the Japanese language and to ban English achieved remarkably little success, but the material losses and damage they inflicted were not easily made good. The task of rehabilitation was indeed formidable, but it was faced by the local governments with energy and enthusiasm: it is not surprising, in the general eagerness for a return to normal conditions after the frustrations and hardships of the war years, that one of the first post-war objectives was the restoration of the pre-war educational facilities. The progress in such restoration was remarkable, but it soon became apparent that restoration was not enough. The Japanese occupation, which had brought material loss and ruin in its train, had also helped to stimulate or evoke new feelings and attitudes among the peoples of the occupied territories, and education was one of the chief objects on which their newborn aspirations were focused.

Nationalist Sentiment and Education

It is commonplace to assert that the war accentuated nationalist feeling in many countries, and not least in those under the rule of an alien power. But it must be remembered that with the exception of Hong Kong none of the British dependencies in the Far East has a homogeneous population; each is to a greater or lesser extent a plural society made up of groups differing widely in race, religion, and general culture. What has emerged since the war is not so much nationalist sentiment as group sentiment: a greater awareness

of community feeling in each of the different races, together with an urge to stand politically on their own feet or to hold their own politically with the other races living in the same territory. This has meant that they have cast off the former apathy or acquiescence with which British paternalism was generally accepted before the war, and it has also created an insistent demand for more education and has challenged many of the assumptions on which British colonial education policy has been based. Thus the British administration has been faced not only with the problem of rapidly expanding the educational facilities in these colonies, but also with decisions of policy as to what form of education should be provided to meet post-war conditions, and in particular what languages are to be used in that education.

Limits of Pre-war Education

In none of the British colonies in the Far East was there pre-war provision of even primary schooling for all children. Many boys and far more girls had no chance of any education at all. The Chinese, it is true, have a high regard for education and have done much to provide it by private enterprise, but even with them much more still remained to be done. Among the Malays the indifference to education which prevailed in the early days of British administration had largely disappeared as the economic value of education became more evident—it was the passport to more remunerative employment—but except by the more enlightened of their leaders there was perhaps little recognition that education was a necessity for people called upon to hold their own politically and economically with the Chinese. This recognition has become since the war the mainspring and incentive driving them to demand greater educational facilities for themselves and to look with critical eyes on any suggestion of additional facilities for others. When the new University of Malaya was proposed, for example, some of the Malays objected to the proposal on the ground that it would benefit the other races more than themselves. Among more primitive communities, such as the Dyaks of Sarawak for instance, there was before the war practically no interest in education, and where schools did exist the general attitude of the people was that they expected to be compensated for sending their children to attend them. This lack of interest in education has now vanished, and to-day the demand for schools far outstrips the supply.

Post-war Expansion of Education

In all colonies the government has now shouldered the responsibility for universal free primary education, and while progress in

achieving this aim varies from one colony to another, there has been a great and even spectacular increase in school enrolments since the war. Difficulties of accommodation have led to the widespread use of two-session schools, but the greater bottleneck has been the supply of teachers. The training of teachers is a long and costly business, and the pre-war facilities have proved quite inadequate. North Borneo has no training institution of its own, but Sarawak has started one with a combined staff from government and missions. In Hong Kong, the university department for the training of teachers has only recently reopened since the war, and a new training college for primary school teachers begun. In the Federation of Malaya the system of part-time in-service training has been expanded, and the new university has started teacher training only in a small way. A new departure of great interest is the taking over by the Federation Government of a teachers' training college at Kirkby, near Liverpool, and the first batch of 150 student teachers has been sent there from Malaya to undergo a two-year course. In Singapore a new teachers' training college has been opened, and in addition an emergency training scheme is in operation.

The slow development since the war of facilities for training teachers has meant that the increased school enrolments have been made possible only by reliance on a larger proportion of untrained teachers, and heroic measures are called for if the goal of universal primary education is to be reached within a measurable time. Singapore has set an example of bold and imaginative planning to this end, and the expansion of educational facilities there is proceeding at a remarkable pace. Under the colony's ten-year plan, 150 primary schools apart from secondary and vocational schools were to be built, but an emergency plan to supplement and accelerate this programme is now under way, and will provide places for 90,000 more children of primary school age in five years. In 1950 18 schools were opened and another 18 were due for completion in 1951. Intensive training courses for teachers are in operation, and will provide a supply of teachers adequate in number. A standard type of building to accommodate 500 children has been designed, and nine new schools of this type have been provided every six months. Each school will work on a double-session basis with different staffs for each session. During the transition period, not all student teachers can be trained in full-time courses, and the minimum qualifications for entry have been somewhat lowered. But whether or not this will affect the academic standard it may well be that, measured by their social and political effects on the citizens of to-morrow, the new schools will amply justify themselves in fostering the capacity for self-government and the ideal of civic loyalty and responsibility, and in affording equal educational opportunity to the boys and girls of all races.

Colony	*Total School Enrolment*		*Primary School Enrolment*	*Estimated Child Population of Primary School Age*
	1940–41	*Post-war*	*Post-war*	
Hong Kong	118,000	149,737 (1950)	120,556 (1950)	at least 200,000
Federation of Malaya	263,304	621,635 (1950)	581,684 (1949)	940,000 (estimate for 1959)
Singapore	72,100	139,066 (1950)	119,984 (1950)	222,000
Sarawak	19,000	35,800 (1949)	32,414 (1948)	110,000
North Borneo	10,000	19,624 (1950)	17,705 (1949)	65,000

The above table shows in summary form the increases in enrolment of pupils since the war, and also how far facilities for primary education have still to be extended before it becomes available for the total child population of primary school age. The figures do not show the different position for boys and girls, but in all these colonies the number of girls at school falls far short of the number of boys. In the Federation of Malaya and Singapore there were approximately two boys attending school for every girl, and the ratio was not much lower for Hong Kong.

The Form and Content of Education

The great and rapid expansion of educational facilities in all these colonies has been accompanied by reconsideration of the type of education best suited to post-war conditions. In this attempt to evolve a new orientation of policy, political considerations have been much to the fore, and the strong social and political consciousness of the community groups in each colony has brought to a head the problem of language in education. On the one hand, the avowed policy of the British administration to foster local self-government in the colonies calls for a sense of nationhood which is not easy to achieve in a plural society; on the other hand, the rivalry of racial groups forming a plural society encourages a group loyalty rather than a national loyalty, and group loyalty is apt to hold emotionally strong sentiments about the preservation of the language of the group, although nationhood is not easily conceived without some common language acceptable to all the constituent groups. In Malaya, for instance, the political objective of self-government requires a system of education which will contribute to the nullifying of communal divisions and to the integration of all races in one corporate nation. This in turn calls for one common language, and the only language acceptable for this

purpose is English. A report of the Central Advisory Committee on Education in the Federation of Malaya, published in 1950, states:

> We must seek through education the social and political unity of the Federation, with the still wider aim of making possible an extension of cultural, social, and economic contacts with the other countries of Asia and the world

And again:

> Moreover, experience has shown that English education is acceptable to, even desired by, all races, for its possession is recognised as having commercial and professional advantages. It not only promotes a large measure of understanding, but proves more and more to be a means of economic advancement by extension of contact with the outside world.

These views, however, have been strongly criticised by the Malay community, whose attitude can be summed up in their own phrase "Hilang bahasa, hilang bangsa" ("loss of language means loss of race"). The committee's report, it is true, agrees that Malay, the other official language, will continue to be necessary both for the Malays, as their home tongue, and for other races as a second language for citizenship purposes; but this does not satisfy Malay opinion, which sees in the committee's recommendation for free and finally compulsory primary education in the medium of English the death-blow to the Malay language. On the other hand, the past policy of the administration in stressing education in Malay for the Malays has also come under criticism, and it is argued that much greater facilities for learning English should have been provided for them long ago. As it is, the Chinese preponderate in the English schools which, being situated in urban areas, are more accessible to the Chinese, who usually form the greater part of the urban population. British pre-war paternalism, in so far as it aimed at keeping the Malays on the land as a contented peasantry—"the backbone of the country"—did not give them much chance to equip themselves for holding their own in the economic sphere with the Chinese, and for playing an adequate part in all the occupations and industries which the present economy of Malaya affords. It has also to be admitted that the Malays on their part did not show much initiative or desire to stand on their own feet economically, but since the war some of their leaders at any rate have recognised that if they cannot do so, they will be hard put to it to retain their position of political privilege. Hence a demand for more English education as a necessary part of the equipment. The policy now in operation of teaching both English and Malay in all schools has only recently begun, and its results will be awaited with interest. Two recent reports, one on Chinese education and the other on Malay education, again

reflect the contrasting views of the Chinese and Malay communities.

In Singapore, the Malay community forms a much smaller part of the population, and here again the language problem has been much discussed. The new schools now being erected are regional, not racial, schools, and in most of them English will be the medium of instruction, although the vernacular language will be a compulsory subject. As in the Federation of Malaya, the aim is to create an integrated community from the polyglot peoples who make up its population. The administration can no longer, as it did by and large before the war, take little interest in Chinese and Indian vernacular education, for such schools have had an alien influence and often an alien political outlook. For political reasons, therefore, the need for literacy in English is overriding, but the teaching of the vernacular languages will continue, as subjects, not as media of instruction, in order to maintain the culture of the different races if they require it.

In Hong Kong the problem wears a somewhat different aspect. Chinese schools and Anglo-Chinese schools with English as the medium of instruction exist side by side, but before the war the administration's expenditure on Chinese schools was slight. Since the war the provision by government of more primary vernacular schools has been the policy followed; vernacular education in government primary schools had increased by some 4,000 pupils and 11 schools between 1941 and 1950, while the number of schools in which English is the medium of instruction remained the same. The demand, however, is for English, and it seems likely that policy will revert to the expansion of English education. However, the fact remains that in 1950 only about one-third of the children receiving primary education were enrolled in government schools and schools receiving financial help from the government; the rest were attending private schools, in the majority of which the quality of the instruction was much inferior.

Higher and University Education

In Hong Kong the university suffered badly during the war in loss of buildings and staff, but a considerable part of the building losses has been made good, and a modest scheme of development is afoot. Provision, for instance, is being made for post-graduate Chinese studies, especially for students from overseas who are at present unable to carry out researches in China itself. Another development is a school of architecture. In 1950 the university had 770 students, and it is expected to reach the thousand mark in another two or three years.

In Malaya a new university came into being in 1949. It incorporates the two pre-war colleges, the King Edward VII Medical College and Raffles College, and consists of the three Faculties of

Arts, Science, and Medicine. Both these colleges were considered to have reached a sufficiently high academic standard to justify the creation of a full university without going through the intermediate stage of becoming university colleges attached to some parent university overseas. The buildings for the new university are not yet in hand, owing to the state of emergency still existing in Malaya.

In neither the University of Malaya nor the University of Hong Kong were the facilities for training teachers speedily renewed after the war, and consequently the task was left to the Education Departments and has been practically confined to the training of non-graduate teachers.

In the field of technical education, development and expansion have been slow. It must be remembered that the progress of industrialisation in these colonies has not yet gone very far. Entrepôt trade and commerce are the mainstays of Singapore and Hong Kong. In Malaya, tin-mining is an important industry: but otherwise agriculture is still the main occupation of large numbers of the population. However, a new technical college building is under construction in Malaya, with a financial grant from the British government under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. In Hong Kong the reopening of the technical college was delayed by lack of equipment; the pre-war equipment had been looted or destroyed.

Mass Education

It is curious to find that the largest scheme of community betterment so far attempted was originally conceived as a means of attaining a military objective. This is the resettlement plan now being operated in the Federation of Malaya, the object of which is to bring under administrative control a large number, estimated at some 400,000, of Chinese squatters on whom the Communist guerrillas depend for their food supplies. These squatters, living mostly by cultivating land to which they have no legal title, are being transferred and resettled by the administration in village communities where they are allowed to acquire land for agricultural purposes. Houses are constructed and schools provided. Already about a quarter of the squatter population is enjoying the benefits of the resettlement scheme and it is proving very successful.

Adult education in the form of literacy classes, and classes in vocational and technical subjects, are in operation in some of the towns of the Federation of Malaya, in Singapore and in Hong Kong, but they are not yet organised on a very large scale. The Education Departments have been fully occupied with the programme of increasing the number of schools, for which the public demand is in general much more insistent. Nor have the universities of Hong Kong and Malaya yet embarked on extra-mural

departments for adult education work. Private agencies, including the newly organised trade unions, have made a start in this direction, and a Workers' Education Association is planned for Malaya.

In Hong Kong a successful scheme of community betterment has been put into operation for the benefit of the fishing population. This scheme has provided a marketing organisation and has already greatly improved the economic lot of the fishermen. In addition it has set up for their children schools which are assisted by the Hong Kong government, and instruction in writing and accounts is being given to some of the fishermen—and their wives.

In Sarawak a rural improvement school has been started under a grant from the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund of the British government. The object is to improve living conditions of the Iban-speaking population, whose educational welfare has hitherto been neglected. It is recognised that the provision of schools for the children is not of itself sufficient, but that the adults, both men and women, must be given the opportunity of acquiring literacy and some practical knowledge to improve their methods of agriculture, hygiene, and infant welfare. The school provides a two-years residential course for married couples and their children, and has land available for agriculture and farming.

Voluntary Agencies in Education

The great expansion of educational facilities since the war has been mainly carried out by government funds, either directly through the provision of government schools or by increased grants to private agencies. These include Christian missions and secular bodies of different types, both of whom in all the colonies under review make substantial contributions to the general educational provision.

The missions were in most places the pioneers of education, particularly in the field of English education, i e. education through the medium of the English language. Most of their schools are now grant-in-aid schools and are recognised by the colonial governments as forming an integral part of the education system. While these schools have shown greatly increased enrolments since the war, few if any additional schools of this type have been opened, and the result, therefore, is that of the children now attending school, government institutions are accommodating a larger proportion than they did before the war, particularly in the case of boys. In the Federation of Malaya, for example, over 50 per cent. of the boys attending English schools are now in government schools, while more than three-quarters of the girls are still in mission schools. In Singapore, the programme for universal primary education contemplates its provision almost entirely through government schools.

Besides the missions, there are various organisations providing schools by private enterprise, particularly Chinese schools. It is characteristic of the Chinese that wherever they may settle they soon start schools for their own children, and their initiative has led in the past to the government paying, on the whole, scant attention to the provision of Chinese vernacular schools, or even to making available anything more than very meagre grants-in-aid. Since the war, financial assistance from the government has been on a much more generous scale, and it has been realised that something has to be done to counter the political and social dangers arising from irresponsible private schools under alien influence and sometimes instruments of subversive propaganda.

Some idea of the part still played by private enterprise in education may be gathered from the following figures:

	Government		*Aided*		*Non-aided*	
	Schools	*Enrolment*	*Schools*	*Enrolment*	*Schools*	*Enrolment*
Federation of Malaya (1949)	1,430	264,000	1,761	244,000	1,392	107,000
Hong Kong (1950)	32	10,200	300	41,600	518	98,000
Singapore (1949)	66	19,000	95	52,000	369	53,000

C. G. SOLLIS.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BRITISH CARIBBEAN

Region and Community

DISTANCES in the Caribbean mean more when they are shown as distances in Europe or America. Thus, if the map of the Caribbean is placed upon the map of Europe, and "if Belize, the capital of British Honduras, is placed at London, then Jamaica is at Danzig on the Baltic, Trinidad at Odessa on the Black Sea, with the Windwards and Leewards stretching up north to the east of Moscow, and British Guiana is in Asia Minor, almost at Batum".[1] The three million people who live in the British Caribbean are divided from each other by great distances The sea separates them from each other and isolates them.

Other dividing forces have been at work in the region for more than three centuries. Differences of race, colour, language, religion, and government have hindered understanding and increased isolation. One community has been separated from another and each community has been divided by social differences and prejudices.

To-day, however, distances have been lessened and differences are being overcome. The sea no longer completely dominates the lives of the people of the British Caribbean. Aeroplanes and air waves have brought together these scattered territories at the very time when the communities themselves are being knit together by a growing nationalism, a wider acceptance of democratic principles, and an uneasy awareness of common economic needs.

This strong tendency towards social integration is one of the most significant developments in the British Caribbean. As van Lier points out in his paper on *The Development and Nature of Society in the West Indies,* "the heritage of the old segmentary societies based on slavery, lack of solidarity, forms a serious obstacle to the upbuilding of the West Indian areas. Nevertheless, the beginnings of a national sentiment can be noticed everywhere. This sentiment may unify societies which have been released from their spiritual isolation by increasing contact with the outer world, and which no longer wish to remain backward compared with this world." [2]

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[1] Taylor, *University College's Role* (*Times* Survey of the British Colonies, July 1950)

[2] van Lier, *Development and Nature of Society in the West Indies* (Royal Institute for the Indies, Amsterdam, 1950).

These developments led West Indians to think more critically and with a fuller sense of responsibility about many aspects of West Indian life, and stimulated wider and more vigorous participation by West Indians in West Indian affairs. Thus, the years leading up to 1944 were marked by deeper concern about the condition of education in the region, its purpose, content, quality, and availability. Since the period was one of social change and since the war was itself a demonstration on a vast scale of the power of ideas, an increasingly large number of people in the British Caribbean began to see that education is a social force. For the first time West Indian leaders perceived that education is not merely training for something, but is about something; that it is closely related to social needs and to social relations which dominate the lives of men and women.

For the people of the British Caribbean this was, in general, a new and revolutionary conception. Hitherto most of the thinking about education had been done for West Indians, not by them. They themselves had been content to think of education as schooling, as a ritual performed within the narrow walls of the classroom rather than as a creative process, as formal and static rather than as vital and dynamic. Within each of the seven British Caribbean territories the system of education had grown up and, in the words of the West Indian Commission of 1938, " Similarity of history has almost alone produced such uniformity in organisation and practice as there is, until very recently there was little or no attempt to effect any form of continuous intercolonial co-operation in this or in other spheres." [3] This ' separateness ' in education was but a reflection of the ' separateness ' in government, and within each colony the segmentary nature of West Indian society was reflected in the educational system. The statement of the Director of Education for British Guiana applies with equal force to all the seven territories—namely, that " elementary education began and has continued to the present day as a thing complete in itself. There has been no relation to further education. Secondary education has also had little to do with the elementary schools, and technical education for boys has been almost completely absent ".[4] With the more general recognition of the power and purpose of education a community that was exercising more political responsibility and that was becoming more closely integrated began to think about educational reform.

Two factors gave reality to these discussions about reform. There was more money to spend, and more readiness to spend on social services. The sugar trade is a good measuring rod for West

[3] West India Royal Commission *Report,* Cmd 6607 (H M S.O., London, 1945)

[4] *Annual Report of the Director of Education, 1948–9,* C S O No. 35/4, Vol. VI (Georgetown, British Guiana)

Indian prosperity, and "despite the war, exports of sugar increased by one-tenth in volume and by two-fifths in value".[5] The *Report on Development and Welfare in the West Indies* for the years 1947–9 refers to the increase in the national income of Jamaica from £17·8 in 1938 to £52·7 in 1947, and points out that "an assessment in monetary terms of this nature clearly needs checking by price data before any conclusions can be formulated as to the growth of real income", but goes on to claim that "there is evidence of a substantial, though not a spectacular, improvement in material conditions during the period".[6] Concerning the period 1945–6, the report says that "government revenues had shown marked increases, making possible overdue expansion of social and administrative services notwithstanding the preoccupations of the time".[7] There was, therefore, more money within the West Indies, and this amount was substantially increased by the £8,233,036 made available through the Development and Welfare Organisation from April 1st, 1946, to March 31st, 1949.

As a result it became possible to spend more money on education. About 13 per cent. of the amount available through Development and Welfare was allocated for education. As for the West Indies themselves, in the last pre-war year, 1939, the annual estimates under this head (education) in the British Caribbean Colonies totalled £808,310; ten years later, in 1949, the equivalent figure was £2,590,032. The increase is partly the result of rising costs and partly the result of efforts to expand and develop educational services.

The figures for the different colonies further illustrate the point. The Report of the Education Department of British Honduras for the calendar year 1949 shows the following:

	Schools	*Pupils Enrolled*	*Expenditure*
1944	78	10,202	$127,591
1949	88	11,298	$247,300

The amount given as expenditure includes Development and Welfare grants, costs of administration and of teacher training, but not the cost of secondary or higher education. In one respect the figures are not typical, since the 1947 Report points out that 8·35 per cent. of the colony's total expenditure in 1937 was on education, whereas in 1947 it was 8·15 per cent. In general the percentage has risen. In Trinidad in 1947 the total expenditure on education was £517,505, or 6·35 per cent. of total expenditure, and

[5] *Sugar Trade of the Caribbean*, External Trade Bulletin No 1, p vii (Caribbean Commission. Published Washington, 1947).

[6] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1947–9*, Part II, Chap. 1. Barbados.

[7] *Development and Welfare in the West Indies, 1945–6*, Part II, Chap. 1. Colonial (No. 212, H M S.O., London, 1947).

in 1949 it had risen to £996,144, or 8·85 per cent. The figures for British Guiana and Jamaica also show how expenditure on education has increased.

	1947	*1948*	*1949*
British Guiana .	$1,532,438	$1,684,939	$2,049,040
Jamaica . .	£1,166,888	£1,345,765	£1,472,760

(compare the Jamaica figure of £879,980 for the financial year 1945–6).

Rising costs partially explain the general increase, but the figures also show that a strong effort has been made to improve and expand educational services.

Higher Education

The most important development has been the establishment of the University College of the West Indies on the lines recommended by the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies in 1944. Most of the preliminary work has now been done. The faculties of medicine, the natural sciences, and arts are engaged in teaching and research; a Research Institute of Social and Economic Studies is at work, a Royal Charter has been granted, and the first Chancellor has been installed. The British Caribbean territories now possess their own centre of higher learning.

It was Christopher Codrington, an Oxford scholar and Governor of the Leeward Islands, who, more than two and a half centuries ago, first had the vision of a university in the British Caribbean, and who left two of his plantations in Barbados and the greater part of the little island of Barbuda to maintain "a convenient number of Professors and Scholars . . . who shall be obliged to Study and Practice Physic and Chirurgery as well as Divinity". The vision faded from the minds of men in a region where there were groups but no community, plantations but no homeland. In contrast the colonies on the North American mainland were establishing a 'new England' and founding such centres of learning as Yale, Harvard, and that College of Philadelphia which was to become the University of Pennsylvania. Materialistic though West Indian society was, there was still some regard for learning, but it was sought in Britain and even on the American mainland, to which some twenty-five students went from the British Caribbean between 1650 and 1790.[8] The establishment of the University College of the West Indies symbolises the desire for closer union between the peoples of the British Caribbean and their conviction of a common destiny. It symbolises also a new relationship between the British

[8] *Vide* Cooper, "The West Indies, Bermuda and American Mainland Colleges", *Jamaica Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1949 (Kingston, Jamaica).

Caribbean and those lands abroad with which for so long there has been a traffic in goods, the products of man's labour· a new relationship with a traffic in ideas, the products of man's mind.

Since an educational system is not built up in layers, pyramid-wise, but is an organic and living whole, like the circulatory system in the body, the effects of the establishment of the University College of the West Indies are already becoming evident in other parts of the system. The courses of study have been modified, after consultation with the University of London, so as to relate them more closely with the region. The research work now being undertaken will increase knowledge concerning the region and the community. The emphasis which is placed on work of this sort has encouraged post-primary schools in their efforts to develop in their pupils an intelligent interest in their surroundings. This tendency will be further strengthened as graduates trained in these methods pass from the University College into the schools, and as the courses of study in training colleges and primary schools are revised and modified.

Post-primary and Primary Education

A recent description of the organisation and scope of education in British Guiana is typical.

> Public provision for education in British Guiana has centred mainly on the traditional form of elementary education so far as the great majority of the population is concerned Until very recently there was little demand for secondary education except in the two towns. . . . Technical education produced a Trades School for boys, which, however, was limited in practice to carpentry, and a much more complete Trades School for women and girls . . Each of the three sections has developed very largely without any particular reference to the other two, partly for historical and social reasons and partly because of the lack of a unifying authority There is nothing to fill the gap between 14 years (the elementary school-leaving age) and 16 years, the lowest age of entry to the Trades Schools, which in any case are limited to a very small proportion of the population. Similarly, no grammar school education is, or can be, provided for 99 per cent. of elementary school children.[1]

The diagnosis having been made more than once, there was general agreement about reforms that were necessary· the diversification of post-primary education and its integration with the primary system, better distribution of educational opportunity, a much closer and more vital relationship between the school and the community. The fact that there now exists this general agreement represents the main advance, for the period has been one mainly of discussion and preparation, rather than of action. Many

[1] *Annual Report of the Director of Education, 1948–9*, C.S.O. No. 35/4, Vol. VI (Georgetown, British Guiana).

of the existing academic secondary schools have been enlarged and improved and the course of studies made more flexible and liberal, but little has been done to provide other forms of post-primary education. "There is an increasing and justified demand for facilities for technical education, but little to report so far in the way of material results".[10] Small apprentice schemes have been started in some territories as at Diamond, a Guiana sugar estate which is pushing ahead with mechanisation, and in Trinidad the in-service training schemes of some of the oil companies provide a high standard of training for their apprentices. The new technical schools in Trinidad, British Guiana, and British Honduras show that a beginning has been made, and it is true to say that progress has been slow and limited because of lack of money to build, equip, and staff the schools and because of the difficulty of selecting suitable local candidates for technical training owing to the restricted opportunities for training in the basic skills. Underlying all this, however, is the fact that the driving force of public opinion has not yet been strongly felt in the field of technical and vocational education. The Comptroller's Educational Adviser rightly points out that the public still thinks of technical education as "necessarily vocational and that its aim should be to turn out embryo builders. . . . There would seem to be little appreciation, outside Departments of Agriculture and some sections of the sugar industry, of the needs of agriculture and agricultural engineering. This form of technical education not only provides rich material on which a suitable and lively course can be based, but also offers a remedy for the bad agricultural practices and the consequent low standards of living in so many West Indian islands."[11]

The British Caribbean is a region in which a great social revolution is taking place. Along with the drive for political responsibility there is now developing a drive for industrialisation and for scientific agriculture. "There is no choice to be made between industry and agriculture . . . agriculture cannot be put on to a basis where it will yield a reasonable standard of living unless new jobs are created off the land".[12] As the full implications of political responsibility become clear to more people the drive for economic development will gather momentum just as it has done in the island of Puerto Rico, which is United States territory, and which is of peculiar interest to the British territories because of the solutions that are being attempted there. Lavish assistance from the United States has made possible the rapid development of vocational education in Puerto Rico, but the dynamic has come from

[10] See the 1950 *Report by the Adviser on Education to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Lewis, *Industrial Development in the Caribbean*, pp 7, 21 (Caribbean Commission, 1950, Trinidad).

Puerto Rican leaders like Governor Muñoz Marin, who has vividly described the island's struggle to expand its basic productive effort as 'Operation Bootstrap'. The essential difference between the development of vocational education in Puerto Rico and in the British Caribbean is that the Puerto Rican people, through their leaders, recognise that vocational and technical education are an indispensable part of the island's development programme.

Comparatively little, therefore, has been done as yet to diversify post-primary education. Better progress has been made towards the unifying of the primary and post-primary systems. The Kandel *Report on Secondary Education in Jamaica* emphasised that the time had come "when the various facilities for education must be organised into a consistent whole and the interrelations between different types of education must be more clearly defined", and the Report went on to advocate "the substitution of a single authority for the present Board of Education, Schools Commission, and other bodies concerned with the administration of education under the government".[13] Towards the end of 1950 the government of Jamaica took the first step in implementing this by setting up a Central Education Authority "to promote the education of the people of Jamaica and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, to frame an educational policy designed to provide a varied and comprehensive educational service in Jamaica, to promote the co-ordination and organisation of the educational system."

Two other developments illustrate the present tendency toward unification and integration. In Trinidad, technical and commercial education have been in the hands of the Board of Industrial Training and of private enterprise, but "it has now been approved in principle that the technical functions of this Board shall be assumed and extended by the Education Department when the necessary technical staff is available and two technical schools have been built".[14] In Barbados an attempt is being made to provide common courses for all children aged 11+ to 13+ in senior departments and aided secondary schools, followed by specialist courses from 13+.

It may fairly be said that where the problems in primary and post-primary education have been concerned with the provision of buildings or with administration good progress has been made, but that where the content of education is concerned there has been some valuable experimental work but no general forward movement. The effort to improve buildings and to provide both new buildings and additional school places has been remarkable, all the more so because of the limitations imposed by rising costs and

[13] *Report of Committee on Secondary Education in Jamaica* (1943).
[14] *Annual Report, 1949* (Education Department, Trinidad A, 4/51).

difficulties in securing supplies. The most recent report on education in Antigua shows that from 1945 to 1949 "five new school buildings with infant, junior, and senior departments have been erected. The buildings are large and airy and have provision for handicraft and housecraft for senior pupils". In Jamaica between 1945 and 1950 a total of 11,855 new places have been provided, and the building programme shows that 85 new schools have been completed as well as 57 open-air classrooms and 233 canteens. In British Guiana, in four years, $259,000 have been spent in providing 9,000 new places in three completely new schools, 22 replacements, and 20 extensions. The story is the same throughout the region, and though there still remain many shabby and ramshackle school buildings it is a fact that local effort and the extension of the building and repair fund financed from Development and Welfare funds have transformed the general condition.

It is a slower and more difficult task to reform the curricula and to fashion courses of study that make creative use of the environment through practical activities and study. The task becomes all the more difficult in a region where there is little wealth and much poverty, where classes are often too large, where books are few, and where many teachers are untrained. The time has come for the careful study of the curriculum and for devising ways of securing good education while stretching limited resources to the utmost. It is to the solution of these problems that the Education Department of the University College should be able to contribute.

New methods and a new outlook begin in the training colleges for teachers, and it is an encouraging fact that attention is now being concentrated on these. A new training college has been opened at Erdiston in Barbados, and both here and in Jamaica new methods are being tried. In Jamaica, for instance, a year's preliminary training by correspondence is being given to those who are accepted for entrance to the training college. Later, students in training are required to spend some three or four weeks teaching in specially selected rural schools under supervision, and refresher courses are provided for trained teachers and for those on probation. In the Windwards and Leewards special training is given to groups of pupil teachers, and specially promising pupil teachers have been given two or three years' training in secondary schools by means of scholarships. Much still remains to be done. The past five years have seen increasing emphasis laid on the training of teachers, but there is no ground for self-satisfaction. "It would be idle to pretend", writes the Adviser on Education to the Comptroller, "that the well-intentioned efforts which have been made to remedy the outstanding deficiencies in this field of education have been attended with much success." [15]

[15] See the 1950 *Report by the Adviser on Education to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies.*

Adult Education

Here progress has been more rapid. The West India Royal Commission of 1938 reported that very little was being attempted in adult education and that the work being done was uncoordinated and without any deep effect. By 1944 the position had changed to such an extent that these words no longer held good. This was to be expected, since adult education is voluntary, and is therefore sensitive to social change, reflecting in its development the social and economic changes in a community.

This development has not proceeded at the same pace in all the British territories. It has been more rapid where there has long been a sense of community and a tradition of representative government, as in Barbados or in those territories where there has been pressure for greater political responsibility as in Trinidad and Jamaica. There has been comparatively little progress in the Windwards, Leewards, and British Honduras.

The strength of the influence exercised by the growth of national feeling may be seen in the work of Jamaica Welfare, which was founded in 1937 as a non-profit-making concern for the economic and social betterment of the Jamaican peasantry. The money was provided by the fruit companies, but the export of bananas gradually ceased during the war and this source of income dried up. Yet the work had so justified itself that in 1944 the Jamaica legislature approved a scheme for the reconstitution of the company, and for its financing from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. Five years later the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission was established by law to take over and expand the work. The programme includes the development of co-operatives and cottage industries and the planning and carrying through of projects for home and village improvement which are designed to stimulate self-help and which depend on voluntary leadership. The result of this work is the strengthening of community organisations which are controlled by the people and become a part of their communal life. They learn to plan and to manage their own affairs, to rely less on government and more on themselves. The underlying motive is love of country, and is expressed in one of the songs of the movement which declares " We're out to build a new Jamaica ". This new-found feeling of community and country has provided the dynamic for an effective programme of rural reconstruction.

The work of Jamaica Welfare has been of more than local value, since it has shown how people with limited resources, acting together under their own leadership, can discover within themselves ways of lifting their standards of thinking and living. It strengthened the confidence of West Indians in their ability to grapple with their own problems, gave them an inspiring example

of public service, and provided an opportunity for thinking not in terms of class but in terms of community.

Another new unifying force in the field of adult education is the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College of the West Indies. So important and urgent did the work of adult education seem to the Council of the University College that the first appointment to be made after that of the Principal was that of the Director of Extra-Mural Studies. No time was lost in appointing resident tutors in the seven colonies contributing to the scheme, and the department has now been at work for some three years. Distance presents a problem, for it is as though the University College of the South-West at Exeter were organising adult education in Newfoundland, but already throughout the region more than five thousand persons are attending extra-mural classes; booklets dealing with the region have been prepared and published, and assistance is being given to special groups, such as teachers and civil servants, through specially organised courses.

The third important forward step in adult education has been the development and expansion of central library services in the eastern and western Caribbean, and the improvement of local public libraries through the training of staff, the purchase of new books, and the development of new services. The British Council has frequently taken the initiative in this work. This development has taken place in a comparatively short time, and the public libraries in Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad have by their enterprise become effective centres of adult education.

One development has led to another, and the present tendency is to secure further development through fuller co-ordination. An indication of this is found in the recommendation accepted by a technical meeting on co-operatives in the Caribbean, held in January 1951 under the sponsorship of the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the Caribbean Commission. The meeting urged that the governments of the territories should be invited to consider ways of co-ordinating and expanding programmes and services covering all forms of popular education. At the territorial level this is already being done in Trinidad, where in 1950 the government appointed a committee " to prepare a five-year plan for the large-scale development of adult education in the Colony, bearing in mind the further capital and recurrent expenditure still necessary for primary and secondary education ", and to advise on the co-ordination of the work of the various agencies now at work. The committee's report reviews some of the basic principles of adult education, surveys the present position of adult education in the island, and makes proposals for securing more effective and comprehensive work through fuller co-ordination without very large increases in expenditure. Two of the vital recommendations are those which seek to preserve and stimulate voluntary effort and

to establish an adult education centre for the study and teaching of methods and for the preparation of study-material.

The Chief Obstacle

The programme of development has been rendered at one and the same time more difficult and more urgent by the rapid increase in the population. Behind all the various economic and social difficulties this rate of increase is found as a major cause or as an aggravating factor. The number of children of school age is increasing rapidly. In 1946 this group numbered 556,000, and by 1961 it will probably be 798,000. Thus territories which even now do not provide education for all children of school age will have to look after an additional 242,000. Trinidad, one of the wealthiest territories, faces an alarming situation, since by 1961 the 5–14 age-group will have increased by 87 per cent. from 122,600 to 228,000. As the Comptroller's Educational Adviser points out in his 1950 Report: "The gravity of the situation revealed by these disturbing figures need not be elaborated. They illustrate in a flash the core of every problem which confronts the West Indies at this time."

PHILIP M. SHERLOCK.

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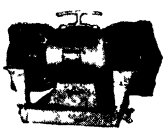

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