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Editors-in-Chief

TORSTEN HUSEN
University of Stockholm, Sweden

T. NEVILLE POSTLETHWAITE
University of Hamburg, FRG



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I

Iceland: System of Education

Iceland is an island in the North Atlantic south of the Arctic Circle. It covers 103,000 square kilometres (39,768 square miles), and 78,000 square kilometres (30,116 square miles) of its surface lie over 200 metres above sea level.

Originally, Iceland was almost entirely settled from Norway, with the first settler arriving in AD 874. Iceland was for a long time under the Danish Crown and gained final independence in 1944 after a long struggle. Settlement is entirely along the coastline and in valleys stretching into the interior. The capital, Reykjavik, is in the southwest corner of the country, and about one-half of the country's population live there or in the immediate surrounding area.

The population grew slowly and in 1801 the number of inhabitants is known to have been 47,200. Table 1 presents the population growth during the twentieth century as well as its urban-rural distribution. A considerable shift in population from rural areas to towns occurred during the first half of the century. Since then, however, this development has decreased and in the mid-1980s there are signs of a reverse movement.

Table 1
Increase in population and urban-rural distribution 1901-80

Years	Population (thousands)	Urban (in towns of more than 300 inhabitants) (%)	Rural (%)
1901	78.5	26.9	73.1
1920	94.7	45.7	54.3
1940	121.5	66.7	33.3
1960	175.7	82.3	17.7
1970	204.6	85.9	14.1
1975	219.0	87.5	12.5
1980	229.2	88.6	11.4

Immigration from other nations or races is and has been negligible, and Icelandic is the only language of the country. Consequently, there are neither language nor race difficulties.

The shift in population distribution from rural to urban areas was caused by changes in the traditional industries of the country as well as the increased part played by technology in agriculture and fishing. At the same time, other industries have been on the

increase, especially in the 1970s. As a result of these changes and the improvement in the standard of living, there has been a considerable increase in general services and commerce.

Table 2 presents the occupational distribution in Iceland in 1979. The main changes in occupational distribution during the years 1963-79 were the reduction in the number of those employed in agriculture and fishing and the increase in the number of those employed in banking and insurance as well as in public service.

Table 2
Occupational distribution of working force 1979

Major occupations	%
Agriculture	6.9
Fishing	5.2
Fishing industry	9.0
Manufacturing industry	17.9
Power stations, water systems	0.9
Construction	10.2
Commerce	13.7
Communications	7.5
Banking, insurance, etc.	5.4
Public service	23.3

Since 1944, all governments have been coalition governments and there has been no marked difference in government policy as far as education is concerned. With the construction of schools and the provision of the necessary facilities, educational opportunity has been successfully provided for everyone. There has also been an endeavour to counter the migration from rural to urban areas by providing educational facilities as widely as possible. Measures have been taken to make it possible for everyone to receive postcompulsory school education irrespective of economic status by providing those in need with favourable loans or grants.

In all schools, teachers' salaries are paid by the state and almost all schools are run either by the state alone or by the state and respective municipality together. Compulsory school pupils receive teaching materials free of charge, whereas those in other schools carry this expenditure themselves.

1. Aims of the Educational System

In Icelandic educational law, the fundamental rule is that everyone should have an equal right to education

and that in educational work complete equality should be observed between men and women among both teachers and pupils. By law, pupils must be given equal opportunities for education irrespective of their location.

Paragraph 2 of Law No. 63/1974 on compulsory schooling reads as follows:

The aim of the first-level school [i.e. 7-15 years of age] is, in cooperation with the home, to prepare the pupils for life and work in a continuously developing democratic society. The organization of the school as well as its work shall, therefore, be guided by tolerance, Christian values, and democratic cooperation. The school shall foster broad outlooks and develop the pupils' understanding of the human condition and environment, Icelandic society, history, and characteristics, and their sense of duty to society as individuals.

The first-level school shall endeavour to organize its work so as best to harmonize with the nature and needs of the pupils and develop their general abilities conducive to the maturity, health, and education of each one of them.

The first-level school shall give the pupils the opportunity to gain knowledge and develop skills, and train them in such methods of work as will lead them to make a constant effort to improve their education and reach further maturity. The school shall, therefore, lay the foundation to independent thinking and foster the spirit of cooperation.

Secondary schools in Iceland have various functions and a special law is in effect for each kind of school. The aims of these schools are chiefly to provide appropriate vocational training or further education while at the same time fostering the pupil's general mental and physical capacities as an individual and as a member of a democratic society.

The function of university education is to prepare the students for specialized work in society and scientific and research work.

2. Structure and Size of the Educational System

The first real educational law was passed in 1907, when compulsory education was laid down for the age group 10-14. Later, in 1946, a new educational law was passed according to which school was made compulsory for all 7- to 14-year-olds. In the first half of the twentieth century, children generally learnt at least reading, writing, and arithmetic at home. This made up for the limited schooling. The educational law of 1946, which was an important step to improving education in Iceland, was revised and a new law was passed in 1974. This law enacted nine years of compulsory schooling for 7- to 15-year-olds, but the provision of the extra year has not yet come into effect.

Municipalities may establish a preschool stage in the compulsory schools for 6-year-olds or 5- and 6-year-olds provided that the Ministry of Education approves the programme, locality, and equipment.

At present, around 95 percent of each year group of 6- to 14-year-olds attend preschool and compulsory school. The remaining 5 percent are multihandicapped pupils boarding in special institutions. A proportion of the 5-year-old age group attends school. The size of each year group is around 4,500.

At the secondary level, there are varied educational opportunities, which are divided into two main types; university-preparatory education in grammar schools and occupational training in vocational schools. Since the mid-1970s several comprehensive secondary schools have been established. In these schools, the two main lines mentioned above are being combined.

Table 3 shows the proportion of students of each sex attending school at the ages of 15, 16, and 19. The 15-year-olds have completed their compulsory education and are in their final year of elementary education, which is required for secondary-school education. The 16-year-olds are for the most part in their first year of secondary school, but at this level the age variation is considerable and hence it is impossible to state in which year of study a student at a given age is. However, on average, a 19-year-old student will be in the fourth and final year of secondary school.

Table 3
Proportion of 15-, 16-, and 19-year-olds in school by sex, 1966-80

Year	15-year-olds		16-year-olds		19-year-olds	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1966	75.1	81.3	61.8	68.8	42.0	16.6
1968	80.5	84.7	67.6	72.4	27.3	21.2
1970	86.5	88.9	76.7	79.5	31.0	22.2
1972	85.6	89.9	74.4	79.7	30.9	25.8
1974	86.7	90.5	72.1	78.8	29.7	25.6
1976	89.1	91.5	72.3	80.1	35.8	32.3
1978	90.4	94.2	63.6	69.4	44.4	36.4
1980	92.0	95.1	60.9	69.4	50.1	43.1

As indicated in Table 3, a considerable number of pupils leave school after the comprehensive primary level. Some of these pupils return to school later, however. One reason for a higher number of females than males attending school in the 15- and 16-year age groups is that it is easier for males to enter employment as the demand for labour is rather high in the country.

Table 3 indicates that the school attendance of 16-year-olds dropped suddenly in 1978. The explanation is that until 1978 pupils could complete their compulsory comprehensive and lower-secondary-school education in 10 years instead of 9 and just about

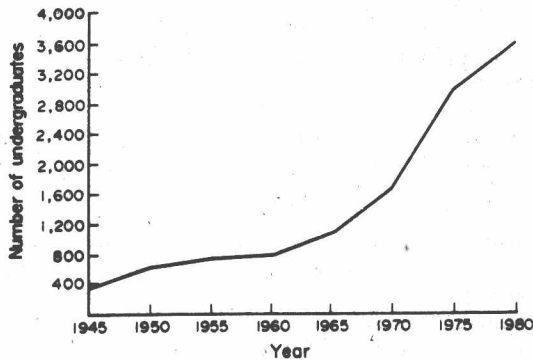


Figure 1.
Increase in university enrolment 1945-80

one-half of the pupils in each age group chose this alternative. After 1978, only those 16-year-old students receiving secondary education are included in the statistics.

Figure 1 presents the development in the number of students enrolled at university level from 1945 to 1980. In 1972, the education of comprehensive primary and lower-secondary-school teachers, that is, the teachers of preschool, compulsory school, and the noncompulsory 15-year age group, was upgraded from the secondary-school level to university level, which partly explains the increase in the number of undergraduates after 1970.

Table 4 presents the proportion of each year group from 14 to 26 attending educational institutions during the years 1976-77 and 1980-81. The table includes the two final years of the first-school level and the second and third levels, but students abroad and those receiving vocational training in apprenticeship schemes are excluded.

Table 4
Percentage of age groups in full-time education 1976-77 and 1980-81

Age	1976-77	1980-81
14	95.2	96.0
15	90.3	93.5
16	76.1	64.4
17	46.6	54.2
18	40.2	44.5
19	35.0	39.5
20	27.8	32.2
21	24.2	27.0
22	20.0	23.3
23	16.8	19.0
24	13.4	13.6
25	9.0	10.0
26	6.4	8.7

Many municipalities run adult educational courses offering various choices, especially in language, arts, and handicrafts. Those taking such courses do so mainly to increase their skill in a subject and do not aim at any major final examination. The adult-education courses are partly supported by the state, partly by the municipalities, and also by student fees.

Some secondary schools provide adults with afternoon or evening classes with the same curriculum as the regular day students. School hours are, however, considerably fewer than in the regular courses. The costs of these courses are equally divided between state, municipality, and student.

A correspondence school is also run in the country by a few associations. This school receives some state support as well as fees from students. There are also private schools for adults, especially language schools, where the pupils carry all the costs.

Quite frequently, public institutions and private firms organize courses for their staff as do various associations for their members. The aim of these courses is to improve the professional skills of the participants or to provide general courses in special fields.

Participation in adult education has been very considerable and there is obviously a great need for this service. However, no comprehensive legislation for adult education exists.

3. Administration

The Ministry of Education supervises and controls education in Iceland. A few special schools, however, come under other ministries; for example, agricultural schools come under the Ministry of Agriculture.

At the first-school level, the country is divided into eight educational districts. In each district, there is an educational council elected by the local association of municipalities and an educational supervisor appointed by the Ministry of Education. These supervise and control education at the first-school level in their respective districts.

Each educational district consists of school areas with school boards elected by the respective municipality. The school board supervises and controls first-level schools in its area and is responsible to the educational councils and supervisors.

Secondary schools come directly under the Ministry of Education. The Industrial Training Board appointed by the Ministry of Education partly supervises and controls the affairs of industrial schools. The training board also includes representatives of industrial societies and employers.

Universities are directly supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education. Their internal affairs are governed by university councils.

4. Finance

The first-level schools are run jointly by the state and the municipalities. All teachers and headteachers receive their salaries from the state. The state also pays part of the salaries of other staff. The municipalities pay the rest of such salaries, and the maintenance costs of school buildings. For second-level schools, the state pays all the salaries of teachers and headteachers and either all or, in jointly operated schools, part of the other costs. The third level is financed entirely by the state.

Full information about municipalities' costs is not available. In 1979, 70 percent of the operational costs of first-level schools were paid by the state and 30 percent by the municipalities.

In 1980, 12.74 percent of the state budget went to education. This represented 3.37 percent of the gross national product. The 12.74 percent of the state budget was split as follows: 6.18 percent to first-level schools, including preschool; 2.84 percent to secondary schools; and 1.33 percent to the university, 1.54 in loans and grants, and 0.85 to other schools. The proportion of the state budget devoted to education varied by only 1 percent from 1946 to 1980.

5. Personnel

Teachers at the first-school level receive their education at the Educational College of Iceland. This takes three years and one-third of the course is spent studying education and methodology, one-third is spent on general academic subjects taught at the first-school level, and one-third is for specialization in two elective subjects or a special field.

Teachers of academic subjects at the secondary-school level receive their education at the University of Iceland or universities abroad. This normally takes four years. Educational theory and methodology occupies one year, specialization in a main subject takes two years, and one year is spent on the study of a second subject. Practice teaching is also part of the training of both groups of teachers.

Teachers in special subjects at vocational and specialized schools at the secondary-school level receive their education in one of many different fields. They must, however, all have completed the required one-year study in education and methodology. For example, to be appointed a teacher in a vocational subject at a vocational school, the applicant must have passed an examination in technology or have completed some equivalent study or hold a qualified artisan's certificate in the subject. In addition, applicants must have worked as a technician or artisan for two years in their special field.

Headteachers are required to be qualified teachers for the respective school level and must also have at least two years' teaching experience. Educational

supervisors are selected from the ranks of qualified teachers. At the time of appointment, special attention is paid to their knowledge of methodology, administrative experience, and familiarity with school affairs.

About 17 percent of teachers at the first-school level are unqualified as defined by law. One reason is that a considerable number of those who complete their teacher training enter different occupations, causing a shortage of trained teachers. At the secondary level, there is some shortage of qualified teachers. This varies, however, with the subject.

Special courses in education and methodology have been organized for those teachers who are not fully qualified. Annual inservice courses are held for first-level teachers, with about 25 percent participation. Similar, but fewer, courses are held for secondary-school teachers.

6. Curriculum Development and Teaching Methodology

Until the mid-1960s, development in educational affairs was rather slow, and it was therefore urgent to start the reorganization of various features of educational work. In 1966, a special department was established at the Ministry of Education to undertake educational research and development work. The main stress was on the revision of teaching materials and teaching methods at the first-school level.

Teaching materials and curricula have been produced by groups of experienced teachers led by supervisors of respective subjects. The supervisors, who are in the service of the Ministry of Education, also assist and direct teachers in educational innovations and provide information concerning teaching materials and methods.

In this way, teaching materials have been produced for most subjects in first-level schools, and these have been published and distributed to schools by the National Centre for Educational Materials which, by law, must provide pupils at first-level schools with the required teaching materials. Curricula are published by the Ministry of Education.

As all these activities are organized by the ministry and the centre, all first-level schools follow the same curriculum and in the main use the same instructional materials. The curriculum is, however, meant only to be a guide, and individual schools enjoy considerable freedom in their work. The introduction of new teaching materials has been mainly in the hands of the supervisors.

At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, there was a great effort to increase flexibility in school work in order to meet the needs and interests of everyone. A common view is that in order to achieve this it will be necessary to change teacher training.

More variety in teaching materials will be needed, and a change in the organization of schools. This, in turn, will require a higher appropriation of funds for educational affairs.

At the secondary-school level, development has been much slower. Many teaching materials for this level come from abroad, produced either in English or in one of the Scandinavian languages. There are few teaching materials in Icelandic. The market is small with few pupils in each line of study and the publication of course books is unprofitable. An effort is being made to provide the first two years of secondary school with course books in Icelandic.

In the lower ranges of the school, emphasis is placed on the independent work of the pupils, group work, and team work. The teacher has the function of guiding and aiding the pupils. In the upper ranges of the secondary level, however, instruction is in the form of lectures and catechizing. Some change is, however, taking place with more emphasis put on the independent work of the students.

7. Examinations, Promotion, and Certification

Evaluation at the first-school level is the responsibility of the school and the educational authorities. At the end of the school year or course, the pupils receive grades based on their achievement of the aims of the study. There is also a written statement as to progress, diligence, and other aspects of learning emphasized by the school.

As a rule, pupils are supposed to move up one class a year. Exceptions to this are determined by the school governing body and the pupils' parents or guardians. By the end of the first-level school, the pupils have taken a common examination in Icelandic, Mathematics, Danish, and English. Upon completion of the first-school level, pupils receive a certificate stating this fact. They also receive a certificate with a written evaluation by the school of the pupil's achievement and with the pupil's result in the examination.

To be admitted to a secondary school, pupils must have achieved minimum marks in each subject in the final examination of the first-level school. Those pupils who have not attained these minimum requirements may take a special course offered in some secondary schools to improve on their previous marks. In order to be promoted from one class to another in secondary school, pupils must obtain a certain average mark in all their subjects of study. In schools using the subject-unit system, a minimum level in individual subjects is required.

To be admitted to the university, pupils must have a leaving certificate from one of certain schools in the secondary-school group, that is, "grammar schools" (*menntaskólar*) or multilinear schools, or some equivalent proof of efficiency.

8. Educational Research

The main institutions engaged in research in the field of education are: the University of Iceland, the Educational College of Iceland, and the Department of Educational Research and Development of the Ministry of Education.

Appointed teachers at the University of Iceland and the Educational College of Iceland are required to undertake research as part of their duties. No general plan for research work exists and each teacher-researcher is largely responsible for the sort of research work undertaken. Most research work undertaken by the educational department of the ministry has been in developing teaching materials and methodology for the first level of education.

9. Major Problems

During the 1970s, the main emphasis was on compulsory schooling—both its development and its organization. However, in spite of this work, there is still much left to be done; improved facilities and better educated personnel have to be provided particularly in the rural areas.

There is no curriculum for preschool education and the teaching materials at this level are limited. These two factors have led to many problems for schools and it is imperative that proper guidelines and the requisite materials be provided for their work.

The training of teachers, particularly at the secondary level, has to be improved.

In deciding on educational programmes, the real needs of the schools must be taken into account as must their position and role both in local societies and in Icelandic society as a whole.

In secondary schools, a new law revising the whole educational programme is being planned. This is probably the most important and comprehensive task that has to be carried out in the next two decades.

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H. Lárusson

Ideologies in Adult Education

Adult education has become, with great rapidity, a worldwide movement. Its advance and support has come as the result of economic, social, and religious forces, mobilized to achieve goals as widespread as to read a religious book, to advance political revolution, or to get a better job or social position. Ideologies abound. In Moslem or socialist countries there are orthodoxies which are expounded and expressed throughout most forms of adult education. In many developing countries, the main debate is about basic skills and knowledge that will lead to an improved economic position and some people claim that ideological enquiries are luxuries that can be engaged in later. However, for many adult educationists, Freire, Nyerere, and Gelpi for example, ideological considerations come first and affect all other decisions. Debate about these various positions is beginning to appear at national and international seminars.

Despite this ferment of ideas, many people view adult education typically as a technical process while for others in Moslem, socialist, or some Western countries, there is little debate because the answers are already accepted. Criticism is beginning to be heard about this refusal to engage, primarily in Western Europe and North America. While it is often charged that many adult educationists in these Western countries are oblivious to political realities, it is in these countries where the main debate about ideologies occurs, often about the notion of liberal education and more recently of recurrent education (see *Recurrent Education*).

1. Dispute in Western Countries

The classical conception of adult education in Europe and North America was of a network of institutions, developed over more than a century, transmitting the great tradition of Western culture to voluntary, interested adults from all walks of life. However, particularly since the Second World War, there has been recurrent questioning of this notion that, at its best, adult education consists of liberal education pursued for its own sake. Critics contend that this conception is ideological in the sense of being an inaccurate explanation of the nature of adult education, and one which serves only the interests of a particular social group, the middle class. This ideology has been continually challenged throughout the present century by those who believe that the education of adults should serve the different interests of the underprivileged.

These critics have argued, first, that the more traditional view ignores the origins of adult education within the Labor Movements of Europe and North America. Further, they argue, the development of adult education has always been politically motivated as a means towards amelioration of social and economic deprivation, even towards political revolution. To see adult education merely as a mode of continuing liberal education of individuals is to ignore the historical, radical imperative towards the creation of institutions for the education of adults. Hence, it is argued, the view that adult education is for the liberal education of individuals is not only deficient but reduces it to the status of a leisure activity and, therefore, a luxury which inevitably becomes an early casualty of economic recession in societies where economic instrumentalities define educational priorities.

Secondly, it is argued, the conventional liberal educational ideology with reference to adult education provides a rationale for takeover by the middle class of institutions created by or for the underprivileged. It has been a recurrent phenomenon within the history of adult education, that institutions intended for the education of workers have been exploited by high-school and college graduates for their own continuing education; a particular example of the sociological "law" that the middle class will appropriate for its own benefit any social institution intended to benefit the disadvantaged. Most adult classes, from university extension courses to those offered by local school boards, are now overwhelmingly attended by the already well-educated. Modern critics also argue that a major impetus towards this middle-class takeover of adult education has been its pursuit of control over other social classes. That is, when members of other social groups do occasionally attend adult classes, they experience not a radical questioning of the status quo, but a "high culture" curriculum embodying "high status

knowledge." Consequently, the argument goes, working-class participants in adult classes acquire a taste for "bourgeois" knowledge and, far from learning to question the existing state of the social universe, they develop and come to defend middle-class tastes and values. Advocacy of the traditional liberal curriculum becomes an attempt to draw "the radical teeth" from adult education by prescribing a safe, disinterested curriculum which neglects those studies which are essential to radical social criticism. Thus, if adult education is inescapably political education, the historical outcome of this liberal dilution has been to sustain the political hegemony by stressing responsible citizenship and the pursuit of individual improvement, rather than to develop class consciousness aimed at the overthrow of the status quo. However, there lies a paradox in this twofold criticism that adult education has become a middle-class preserve; the more that middle-class acquisitiveness leads it to appropriate adult educational institutions for its own "consumption," the less these are available as instruments for the social control of other classes.

To the extent that adult education has become a luxury commodity for middle-class consumption and a means for disarming working-class radicals, it has prompted discussion of how to "restore" it to the educationally underprivileged. Given the revisionist view that, even in its heyday, workers' adult education never appealed to more than a small elite of the working class, how might it be brought for the first time to those for whom it was originally intended? This discussion focuses on two related problems. First, how can adult education be made to appeal more widely to the educationally underprivileged through radical change of curriculum and teaching method? This is the question of relevance. Secondly, there is the problem of whether such relevance can only be secured when the underprivileged themselves control adult education, defining its objectives, perhaps themselves providing the teaching, administration, and finance. This is the question of control and of adult education—*independent of the state authority*.

The argument for independence is that, whatever the proper objectives of adult education, these can only be secured when institutions are freed from control by the socially and educationally privileged. The classic confrontations on this issue occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic, but it is a persistent issue. Recently, the kind of criticism which the "deschoolers" made of schools has been applied to adult education (Illich 1970). Adult education also needs to be "deschooled," according to its critics, especially in order to dissociate it in the perceptions of underprivileged adults from that institution where, as children, they experienced repeated failure, prompting the conclusion that education is irrelevant to their

needs. According to critics, independence is also required because "bourgeois" values and cultural norms dominate the adult curriculum such that the underprivileged become "permanent prisoners of someone else's conception of their happiness."

However, there are several problems in the notation of independent adult education. The first is economic. With reference to the financing of adult education, insistence upon independence implies private provision. Indeed, in the past, adult education has often been provided by private institutions: political parties, cooperative societies, labor unions, societies for ad hoc political reform, churches, as well as by industrial enterprises. But, especially when adult education is advocated as radical political education, one difficulty has been that even when it is funded privately by associations of the underprivileged for the betterment of their own members, it has appealed to only a minority—a minority, even, amongst their own members—thus leaving untouched the mass of underprivileged citizens without institutional affiliation. Hence, from the point of view that everyone, *qua* citizen, requires adult education, private provision must remain grossly inadequate. Yet the view that public funding should be made available for the pursuit of radically new initiatives to make adult education relevant and widen its appeal, obviously places the advocates of independence on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, independence implies the rejection of state aid (as Jonothan Kozol 1975 has eloquently argued of schooling): public financing (even if this were not subject to retrenchment in times of economic recession) inevitably carries strings which are unacceptable to advocates of independence. On the other hand, those private institutions founded by the underprivileged which have traditionally provided adult education, lack the economic means to fund this on a scale which would make it universally available.

One way out of this predicament is to conclude that, as an instrument of social change, the provision of adult education need not reach all adults within a country. (Leaders in socialist or Moslem states would not relinquish ideas of universality.) Arguably, vast social gains over a century and a half have been achieved in Europe by the underprivileged through the leadership of what Gramsci called "organic intellectuals": those from the working class who have availed themselves of adult education in order to provide leadership for their fellow workers. Hoggart characterized these relatively few who, historically, have been students in adult classes as "a saving remnant" (Hoggart 1958). The implication is that although those who seek their own further education are few—an "earnest minority," in another of Hoggart's phrases—they also have a mission with reference to their fellows which succeeds out of all proportion to their numbers. Hence, the conception that the success of an educational enterprise is to be

measured by external criteria having to do with social and economic change does not require the counting of heads, such that adult education is judged a failure if it lacks widespread appeal. However, those who believe that adult education should appeal to more than "an earnest minority" cannot be satisfied with a criterion of success which leaves the majority untouched by any kind of continuing education as adults. For one thing, it can be argued that social change would be more comprehensive and radical if everyone were politically educated; even that the only satisfactory state of affairs would be one in which every individual's consciousness were so raised by education that none would accept exploitation and each would actively labor for his or her own and his or her neighbor's good. On this view, there would be no question of some few providing leadership and nurture for a majority. Moreover, as well as the macro social and economic problems to which associations of the underprivileged have to address themselves, there are the micro individual and domestic problems which loom large in personal life as well as the problems of local communities whose solutions seem to require local initiatives. This conviction has inspired an approach to adult education as, essentially, community education which focuses not upon the disinterested pursuit of knowledge from the traditional disciplines of the arts and natural sciences, but which concentrates, pragmatically and relevantly, upon the problems of local communities and the groups and individuals within them. Those favoring a community-organized approach have long been arguing that the education of these is ill-served by public and voluntary institutions which seek to impose an irrelevant "liberal" curriculum. From this point of view, the majority declines to participate in adult education, not because of apathy or hostility towards education, but because it deems existing provision to be indifferent to its dilemmas: asking for bread it is offered a stone.

Thus, a second major emphasis upon the need for independent adult education (for which economic independence is, indeed, a condition) relates to questions of curriculum and the organization of teaching. The curricular emphasis in institutions which have provided education for the underprivileged (for example, universities in England) either directly through university extension programs or through graduates working as tutors in independent agencies like the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) has been upon conventional academic subjects, especially from the arts and sciences (but often deliberately excluding the social sciences) and upon the disinterested pursuit of these. Radical critics who have stressed the need for independence from this "liberal" provision have campaigned either for a curriculum rooted in the social sciences, especially economics and sociology, or for one focused pragmatically upon insistent, immediate social problems.

As long as a century ago in England, when criticizing the Mechanics Institutes, one artisan complained at being made to study the behavior of "the winds" when more pressing problems claimed his attention than those of meteorologists. Some revisionist accounts of the Mechanics Institutes have faulted them for failing to provide a radical political education for the working class and (probably a consequence of this) for their takeover by the middle class in pursuit of its own further education. Earlier this century, the defectors from Ruskin College, Oxford, explained their action, in part, as resulting from its preoccupation with "disinterested" literary and historical studies, its neglect of sociology and, especially, of an alternative Marxist economic theory.

The response of the defenders of the "liberal" tradition of adult education against this radical, instrumentalist criticism amounts to the claim that social change is only possible through the agency of men and women who are educated in the traditional disinterested sense. If the "high culture" of the traditional curriculum has served to confer status, privilege, wealth, and power upon the ruling class, why should the underprivileged and exploited believe that they can replace the existing hegemony without such knowledge. Gramsci, the late Italian Marxist, mocked instrumentalist critics of his own advocacy of traditional humanistic schooling by asking them to explain how, if the education of the ruling class were dismissed as "bourgeois" (in the sense of decadent or effete), it had succeeded in keeping other classes in its hegemonic thrall. For Gramsci, the superiority of traditional "high culture" (though he did not use the term) over utilitarian alternatives lay precisely in its political utility. Traditional academic knowledge can be politically powerful precisely because it offers more logical, coherent, systematic, and complete accounts of the sociopolitical universe than does knowledge acquired piecemeal and pragmatically for the solution of immediate local problems. Gramsci believed that, for want of adequate cultural and educational provision, the Italian working class had been driven to improvise hurried, careless, emergency solutions to its problems; with proper education it would learn to approach its problems "in a disinterested manner without waiting for the stimulus of actual events." Hence his claim was that the educational problem was that of the underprivileged gaining access to exactly the kind of education which had so well served the socially privileged.

The conviction that a person learns to solve particular ad hoc problems by first turning his or her back on them in the disinterested pursuit of a liberal education which widens his or her horizons (and, hence, helps to deepen their perception of the nature of problems) led Gramsci to a positive evaluation of the tradition of liberal adult education which he

found elsewhere in Europe, especially in Germany and England and Wales. He believed these countries to be served by "some very powerful organizations of working class socialist culture." In England and Wales, the strength of adult education lay in its having put "into the service of [the] work of cultivation and spiritual liberation, a great part of the English intellectual and university world." This refers to the well-known English tradition of workers' adult education whose best-known practitioner was R. H. Tawney.

The success of the Danish Folk High Schools for Young Adults provides another example of the way in which practical consequences can follow from a curriculum providing a liberal education. Although the curriculum of these schools contained no technical or management training, it is generally assumed that their graduates revolutionized the techniques and organization of Danish agriculture (see *Folk High Schools*).

A further problem in much of the instrumentalist advocacy of adult education which focuses pragmatically upon education for social change is that it intimates little of what might constitute the good life if all our social dilemmas were solved; or, indeed, of what education might contribute to the quality of individual lives whilst society struggles towards the millenium. Tawney's mature conclusion was that adult education must contribute towards radical social change, but he did not renounce an earlier conviction that liberal education could also nourish the cultural life of the economically exploited. The first British Labour MP, Thomas Burt, reinforced this belief in the liberal cultural potential of adult education: "We say educate a man not simply because he has got political powers . . . but educate him because he is a man." A more recent conclusion that underprivileged adult learners look for something more from education than knowledge having simply instrumental political and social value was derived by Lovett from his experience in an adult educational enterprise related to community development in Liverpool. Convinced of the importance of bringing educational resources to bear on community problems, but open-minded about the experiment, Lovett discovered a demand for courses related to personal development or recreation. But it was also as a by-product of these individually oriented activities that "most local residents became actively involved in community affairs."

A modern resolution of the clash between "liberal" and "instrumental" ideologies with reference to adult education might be approached through the dialectic of a pedagogy which incorporates both approaches. Indeed, a modern practitioner of adult education within the university extension system (the Marxist historian E. P. Thompson) has pointed to the inevitable dialectic which is implicit in the "abrasion of different worlds of experience, in which ideas are

brought to the test of life," when the academic viewpoint of the adult teacher has to justify itself against the commonsense everyday experience of the working student. Incidentally, Thompson believes that one outcome of this abrasion (at least in his own discipline) has been the exploration of areas of social history long neglected in the university. And, arguably, the correlate of this fact that academic life is enriched by juxtaposition with commonsense experience is that adult students' everyday perceptions of social reality are probably similarly transformed.

The notion of teachers and underprivileged adult students bringing their different insights to bear upon problems facing local communities has led recently to advocacy of "participatory research." Similarly, it is crucial to Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" that adult education should be a dialogue, requiring a reciprocal relationship between teacher and learner. The educator, as well as the educatee, also requires to be educated. Only when every teacher becomes a student and every student a teacher can schooling avoid degenerating into tyranny.

2. Conclusion

This discussion of the ideologies of adult education has focused upon a century-long debate about the aims, methods, and clientele of institutionalized learning, a debate conducted largely in terms of social class. If the modern version of this debate is not always posed in conventional terms of class conflict, it is often concerned with the failure of adult education to engage the interests of groups of the underprivileged—disaffected (often unemployed) youth, racial minorities, ghetto and slum dwellers—those who have been characterized as living in the "culture of poverty." On the other hand, if there exists a modern ideological threat to the interests of such groups, it probably lies in the advocacy of recurrent education as a universal requirement in a period of dramatic technological and social change. For example, the notion that everyone needs recurrent vocational or professional retraining to avoid skill obsolescence is more applicable to those already trained in skilled and professional occupations than to the unskilled and semiskilled whose initial training and education was minimal. The conclusion that recurrent education is required by everyone in a modern society must not be allowed to obscure adult education's historic mission to bring the benefits of schooling to those who remain underprivileged despite the universalization of primary and secondary schooling in advanced industrial societies.

This concern about the possible consequences of one concept such as recurrent education upon other forms of adult education, or renewed support for and criticism of programs for literacy, are reminders that adult education will continue to be an activity suffused with political attributes and effects, and that

the candid debate of ideas and ideologies are at its very center.

See also: Recurrent Education

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H. Entwistle

Ideologies, Educational: Factors Affecting Curriculum

The connection between social and cultural factors and the content of knowledge transmitted by education to young people operates through specific cognitive structures known as ideologies. The planning of curricula was, in the past, principally guided by questions such as the one articulated by Herbert Spencer: "What knowledge is of most worth?" This outlook has been regarded as naive ever since the opinions of what ought to be taught were classified as ideologies. The new question which has been asked is "What causes people to believe that a certain selection of knowledge is the most worthwhile?"

1. Ideologies

Ideologies are cognitive structures containing the interdependent beliefs, views, principles, and myths prevailing in a given social group and reflecting the preferences and interests of that group in the political, social, moral, and religious spheres. These preferences are accepted by the members of the group as articles of faith and are supported by their strong emotional attitude towards them. Despite this, such people are generally convinced that they have reached their ideological beliefs through rational

assessment (Mannheim 1936, Plamenatz 1970, Berger and Luckman 1966).

2. Educational Ideologies

Ideologies of education (like all other ideologies) are devices of social control. The function of ideologies as control devices is twofold: (a) they mobilize the people's will to implement a certain socially required activity—in this case a particular way favored by society of caring for children, and (b) they determine who will learn and what and how much will be learnt—this too being according to the needs of society (Young 1971).

There are two lines of approach to assessing the effect of educational ideologies on the activities of education. First, there are those who regard the ideologies as forcing factors which interfere with the activities of educators; activities which were previous to their arrival, comprised of a relatively autonomous system, and were propelled by professional rules and principles of education itself. Secondly, there are those who view such ideologies as the deep structure of all types of thought concerning education which appear on the surface as a philosophy, a theory, or a tradition which has proven itself in action in the course of generations.

According to the first, the interference approach, educational ideologies derive from social or political ideologies prevalent in society. Democracy, liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and so on, which hold sway in a given society are liable to dictate to education (a) its structure, such as elitism or egalitarianism, coeducation or sexual segregation; (b) its methods, such as authoritarianism or permissiveness; (c) its goals, such as the transmission of culture, and preparation for life; and (d) its contents such as choice of books and courses on the national culture, science, and technology, and classical studies.

According to the second, the deep structure approach, it is not external ideological ideas which affect decisions in education—thought about education is ideology by its very nature, and it is this which determines which scientific findings, philosophical generalizations, techniques, and activities are accepted and endorsed therein and which are rejected and ruled out. All the conceptions of education, that is progressivism, essentialism, humanism, naturalism, and so on, are merely ideologies reflecting the needs and interests of various groups in society (Bourdieu 1975, Pratte 1977).

An attempt to classify the ideologies of education prevalent in contemporary societies demonstrates that they may be presented in three groups: (a) the ideologies of socialization, whose premise is that the socially accepted must serve as the norm of educational activity; (b) the ideologies of acculturation, whose premise is that there are certain cultural values, perennially valid, which must be

accepted as norms of education; and (c) the ideologies of individuation, whose premise is that the developmental needs of the child are the decisive starting point in the determination of the needs and the contents of education (Lamm 1976).

3. Ideologies of Education and Curriculum

Ideologies of education fulfill three functions in determining curriculum: (a) they lend legitimation to certain fields of knowledge (such as literature, sciences, religion, premilitary training, driving); (b) they rule out, in accordance with the same principles upon which the legitimation was based, other such fields of knowledge (in accordance with various ideologies, each of the aforementioned contents is liable to be prohibited from being taught); and (c) they participate in the choice of the specific content to be covered in each of the subject areas which attained legitimation (e.g., Which aspects of literature or history—only national, or general as well? Which aspects of the sciences—only findings, or methods and values implied in the sciences as well? The articles of religion alone, or training in the worship activities as well?). Since the ideologies reflect the preferences and the interests of different groups in society, today's pluralistic and differentiated societies contain at one and the same time differing ideologies and thus differing curricula. The dominant groups dictate to the schools, by means of their ideologies, curricula intended to justify the continuation of their rule, whereas the assertive groups attempt, through their ideologies, to question the validity of those curricula in their general effort to eliminate the rule of the dominant groups (Vaughan and Archer 1971).

Eggleston (1974) presented these two ideological models as different perspectives: the received and the reflexive perspectives on curriculum. The received perspective, characterizing the curricula of dominant groups, is based upon the premise that bodies of knowledge exist whose structures are independent of humans and their desires, and that it is desirable for youngsters growing up in society to internalize these structures of knowledge. Those whose point of reference is the reflexive perspective contend, to the contrary, that the esteem attained by the curricula accepted in society owes its origin to the fact that by means of them the ruling groups maintain their rule; these contents are learned not because they increase the chances for a better life for the new generation, but only because they ensure, by means of the control of knowledge, the continuance of the existing regime. It is the received perspective which defines chosen types of knowledge as disciplines, and in so doing gives them a privileged status in the schools, and gives to those who acquire a command of them a privileged status in society. The reflexive perspective, on the other hand, questions the social relevance of

the curricula (Is the curriculum relevant economically and employment-wise?) as well as questioning the curricula's compatibility to the psychological needs of the pupils, in accordance with their age and social and cultural groups. The received perspective strengthens the traditional foundations of the curricula, whereas the reflexive perspective supports their change and renewal. Together they determine that curriculum is an ideological selection (Apple 1979).

4. Theoretical Frameworks

What is implied by the consensus of the scholars in this field that curriculum is an ideological selection taught by the schools? The answer to this question depends upon the philosophical-epistemological outlook adopted by the scholar. A selection of approaches on this issue was presented in a collection of articles edited by M. F. D. Young (1971). Lawton (1975) analyzed these articles and classified them into five groups according to approach:

- (a) Curricula (together with other components of education) are intended to preserve the status quo in an unjust society through the social distribution of knowledge. This approach has its origin in the theory of Karl Marx, according to which education is a part of the "superstructure" whose function is to protect the "basis," that is, the capitalist regime and the privileges of the capitalist class. Knowledge is power and the existing educational system distributes knowledge in accordance with class considerations.
- (b) Knowledge itself, and not merely the means of its distribution [as in (a)], is a matter requiring examination, that is, what is considered as knowledge in a society and how knowledge is stratified or differentially valued. Why, for example, is the prestige of the dead languages Latin and Greek greater in certain societies than the prestige of living languages, or why is carpentry lower in prestige than pottery?
- (c) What causes the division of knowledge into subjects and fields? It is possible that there is no reason for this save an interest of those in control of education. Subject barriers are arbitrary and artificial. There is no certainty that the accepted division of knowledge into subjects and fields answers the needs of students.
- (d) All knowledge is socially constructed. It is not merely those in control who distribute knowledge according to their interests. Knowledge itself is a social product. In this approach the influence of phenomenology is strongly felt.
- (e) Rationality itself, not only knowledge, is merely a convention. This is a development of the idea

that all knowledge is socially constructed. The criteria by which it is determined what is truth and what is falsehood are also socially constructed, and thus their status is not absolute and eternal but is subject to change.

All of these approaches serve as theoretical frameworks for curriculum research as well as recommendations for planning of new curricula. On the overt level of curriculum, it is possible to distinguish between three types according to their relationship to the ideologies of education: (a) discipline-centered curriculum, influenced mainly by the ideologies of acculturation; (b) sociocentered curriculum, influenced mainly by the ideologies of socialization; and (c) child-centered curriculum influenced by ideologies of individuation (see *Student-centered Curriculum*). However, the distinction according to the overt level is not sufficient for the comprehension of the social function of curriculum. Many highly important social functions of curriculum are hidden functions. Research into hidden curriculum teaches how the school acts as a psychological agent of the existing society in fields of which both the teachers and the pupils are liable to be unaware and which are guided by unarticulated ideological objectives. Research into the hidden dimensions of curriculum explains how children learn in school among other things to accept assessment by others, to tolerate passivity, to compete, to please both teachers and fellow students, to live in a hierarchical society, and so on (Jackson 1968) (see *Hidden Curriculum*).

In summary, research into the effects of the ideologies of education upon curriculum, which is still in its early stages, is searching for a way of deepening understanding of the complex ties which exist between society and education by means of human knowledge and human emotions.

See also: Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Curriculum; Legal Factors Affecting Curriculum; Psychology, Educational: Factors Affecting Curriculum

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Z. Lamm

Ideology in Educational Planning

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, educational planning at the macro or national level took as its starting point a rather simple conception of the social functions of schools. At the same time, educational planners made political promises with far-reaching implications. Schools, it was thought, provide experiences which impart knowledge and skills to their students and instill in them attitudes and values. These students then have a revised and expanded set of personal qualities which enable them to achieve more within the role structure of modern or modernizing societies. As the competence and orientation of a society's members are expanded and modernized, it was believed, the society as a whole is modernized and expanded.

In the light of this widely held premise, educational planning seemed to be a powerful means not only to bring about social change, but also to modify the mode in which the development of a society proceeds. By means of educational planning, social development would no longer unfold blindly, like a natural process, but rather would become the result of rational understanding and choice.

Educational planning aims at overcoming the restrictions of traditional societies, but is also opposed to the tutelage and dependency in which individuals, and indeed entire peoples, have been cast by the colonial and imperialist destruction of their traditional way of life.

At first glance, this idea of a convergence of individual and social development is reminiscent of the social utopias of the early civil society. At the heart of bourgeois ideology lay the quest for normative standards which could guide both individual behavior and the development of society. This quest was not, however, ended by the prescription of sacred positive norms. After traditional authority had been invalidated, the individual was left as the only source of legitimacy for social norms. Since it was not legitimately possible to tell people what they should want, the major goal became enabling them to find out themselves and attain what they want. The free market and the rule of law and democracy were regarded as institutions which could achieve this goal by safe-

guarding individual autonomy against all illegitimate authority. It was assumed that the fate of individuals as well as of society could be determined by the rational self-interest of the individuals. As citizens participating in the process of democratic decision making and as commodity owners in the market, individuals exercised rational control over the conditions of their lives. Each individual should be able to develop his personality unhindered not only by the material, social, and cultural restrictions of traditional forms of domination, but also unhindered by any restriction which is not subject to democratic control. This ideology proposes that only institutionalized freedom guarantees that reasonable social norms can be publicly defined and realized. This proposition gives an account of the functioning of society as well as a critical yardstick for its evaluation. Measured against this standard, restrictions of individual autonomy are seen not only as a threat to the individual as a subject, but also as an inhibition of the reasonable functioning of the society as a whole.

1. Individuality and Bureaucratic Rationality

Although educational planning certainly strives to improve human development, a closer examination of its ideological implications reveals that it all too easily becomes an element of a progress which does not realize individuality as freedom, in accordance with the vision of Western social philosophy. Educational planning is in constant danger of becoming part of a merely socio-technical bureaucratic process which institutionalizes the individual as a consumer and as a powerless client or employee of large bureaucracies.

If the modernization process is described in Parsons' terms as the spread of the syndrome of the four norms: independence, achievement, universality, and specificity, it becomes evident that individuality is increasingly institutionalized in a form which is further and further removed from the bourgeois ideal of freedom—an ideal utopia which can be best represented by the figure of the free entrepreneur in an open democratic society. With the spread of this syndrome of norms, the restrictive bonds of traditional society lose their validity. However, this process does not bring forth the preconditions for individual autonomy. The result is, rather, the increasing bureaucratization of the conditions of life. In the course of this process independence is not established as autonomy, nor achievement as freedom to live according to personal inclinations and capacities. Instead of allowing individuals to dispose autonomously over their social relations, independence becomes isolation; and achievement means compliance with bureaucratic standards and passive adaptation. Under these conditions equality, too, changes its meaning. Equality

is not institutionalized as a social situation in which no-one has the power to ignore the inclinations and needs of others when fulfilling his own. Rather, equality takes the form of general powerlessness and uniformity. The specificity of social roles finally manifests itself as bureaucratic fragmentation of the social identity of the individual.

The rationalization process which destroys the traditional forms of the conduct of life is reduced to the rationalization of means whereas it opposes the rationalization of goal setting. Social progress tends to restrict the possibilities for a rational definition of goals which could guide individual behavior as well as social development beyond the scope of purely technical considerations. Educational planning, contrary to its own declared goals, frequently contributes to this process of formal bureaucratic rationality and therein lies its ideological character.

2. The Need for a Theory of Society

The conceptual tools of educational planning are closely related to the doctrines which legitimize political and economic power in modern societies. These doctrines are distinguished from the ideology of the early bourgeoisie by their limitation to a technocratic perspective. This evaluation does not, of course, apply to all approaches to educational planning. The spectrum of theoretical approaches used in educational planning is broadly heterogeneous and encompasses Freire's experiments in "education as practice of freedom," as well as educational planning founded upon Marxism-Leninism, or educational indoctrination programs, which, in goals and means, stand below the level of modern bureaucratic rationality.

Yet the theories most closely associated with educational planning, namely the theories of educational economics, prove to have technocratic implications. In the United States educational economics meant, above all, human capital theory (see *Human Capital and Education*); in Western Europe, and in the Federal Republic of Germany in particular, the manpower requirements approach (see *Manpower Requirements Approach*); in the Eastern European countries, Marxism-Leninism advanced the proposition that the technical-scientific revolution leads to an increase in occupational skill requirements, and hence increases the importance of educational planning for social progress (Armbruster 1971, Autorenkollektiv 1971, Becker 1964). These three approaches share the following assumptions:

- (a) The functioning of the economy is dependent upon schools providing the workforce with specific occupational skills and cultural values.
- (b) Social development and the development of individual capacities are compatible and interdependent.