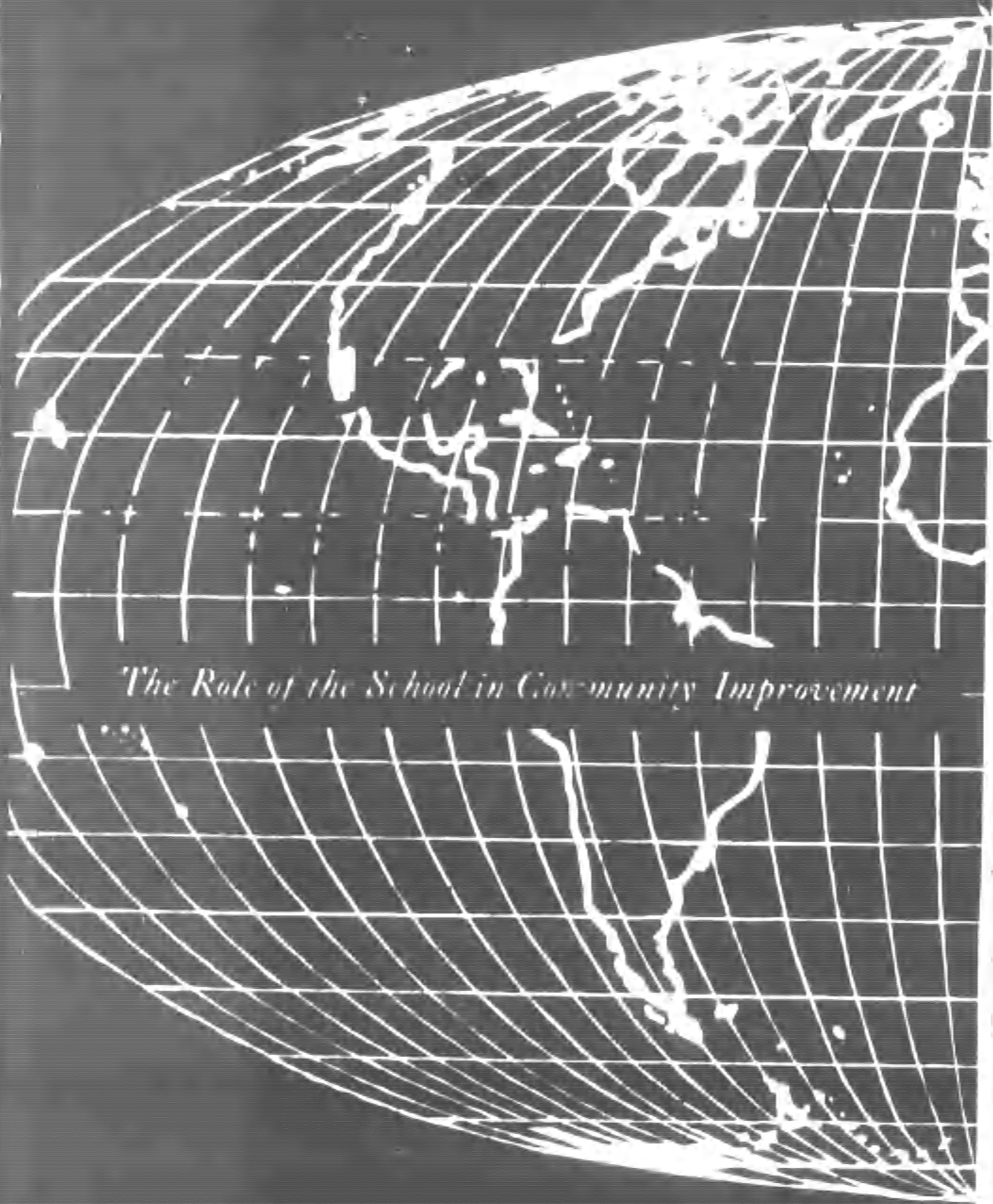
1957 *Yearbook on Education Around the World*



The Role of the School in Community Improvement

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EDUCATION FOR Better Living

Education

Around the World 1957

Bolivia

Puerto Rico

Philippines

United States of America

Germany

Iran

Jamaica

Gold Coast

Thailand

Mexico

British Cameroons

Ethiopia

Taiwan

Peru

India

Cambodia

Bulletin 1956, No. 9

EDUCATION FOR Better Living

The Role of the School in Community Improvement

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE | MARION B. FOLSOM, *Secretary*

Office of Education . . . . SAMUEL MILLER BROWNELL, *Commissioner*

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FOREWORD

THIS PUBLICATION is the first of a contemplated series of yearbooks devoted to the broad topic, "Education Around the World." The series will not attempt to give an overall account of educational programs in all countries. This task is already being performed by the International Yearbook of Education, published jointly by the International Bureau of Education in Geneva and UNESCO. Several other standard publications are also available in this field.

It will be our purpose to select each year a single theme or problem that is of timely interest to educators and laymen in this country and abroad and to discuss it in terms of specific developments or programs in selected countries. Inclusion of specific items will not imply endorsement by the Office of Education; nor will the omission of programs in any way imply a negative judgment.

It is hoped that this series will serve as a vehicle for the exchange of information and experience among the people of many countries and will thereby make some contribution toward the solution of universal educational problems.

Commissioner of Education.

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PREFACE

HUMANITY TODAY is fighting a common war against insecurity. After two disastrous World Wars men who may find it difficult to agree on anything else are generally agreed that we must work together to destroy the roots of war.

One of the causes of war is the unequal distribution of the good things of life. Most of mankind lives in poverty surrounded by the undeveloped wealth of nature. Half of mankind is chronically hungry, poorly clothed, and inadequately housed; yet there are some of us who have more than enough of everything.

The current juxtaposition of poverty and plenty is a potentially explosive factor which must be corrected. Many political revolutions in the past have been motivated by the belief that if the rich and well-fed were forced to disgorge their surplus there would be enough for all. Such revolutions have failed; they have ended by forcing all down to a common level of misery.

Why is it, then, that some people are blessed with plenty, while others starve? There are many different answers to this question; there is no easy way to eradicate poverty, just as there is no easy way to control evil. Man does not yet know himself well enough to know the reasons for many social ills.

It is clear, however, that there is a direct connection between the level of educational achievement in any given society, and the standard of living. Switzerland has few natural resources, yet the Swiss live very well indeed. The same is true of Scandinavia. The Japanese have a higher standard of living than their neighbors. Japan, Switzerland, and other countries where people live relatively well, in spite of limited supplies of fertile soil and minerals, all have high standards of literacy and of education at all levels. A well-educated people manages to make the most of what it has in the way of natural wealth, and sometimes turns potential poverty into actual well-being.

Other peoples surrounded by natural wealth live miserably restricted lives. I remember traveling through a valley in Central Asia where there were large veins of coal beside the road, yet the few, poor inhabitants were shivering in their huts, cooking their inadequate meals over fires of grass and brush gathered on the hillsides.

Did these people lack the native intelligence of the Swiss? We do not know this. Were they less able than the Americans? There is no proof of this. Why, then, should they live in poverty while a source of wealth lay at their doorsteps?

I doubt if any man in our generation can fully answer this question. Among the many obvious factors affecting economic, social, and cultural advancement are the ravages of past wars, and plagues, and bad governments. Man's cruelty to man has sometimes crippled a whole civilization. Then there are great differences in our time in the levels of cultural evolution achieved by the different segments of humanity. There are no easy answers to man's problems.

But I believe it is possible for a group of people anywhere to lift itself by its own bootstraps if it knows how. Knowledge is, quite literally, power. Education is the road man must follow toward a solution of his problems.

There are those who argue that education is an egg which can only be produced by a fairly mature cultural hen. They believe education is a result of, not the cause of, a rising standard of living.

The answer to these doubters may be seen almost anywhere in the world where those who were poor, hungry, and ignorant have had a chance to be educated. Literacy by itself is not a source of revolutionary social change. But literacy is essential to gaining the knowledge man must have to master his environment.

The body of knowledge available to man today contains answers to most of the problems facing the hungry half of humanity. When they are given access to this knowledge, and appropriate guidance in identifying the facts which are of particular value to them, they rapidly gain in self-sufficiency, in pride, and in living standards.

Education to be helpful to a hungry man must be the right kind of education. Too often colonial powers have given their colonies the same kind of education as was given by the schools at home. The learning of Greek does not of itself help to fill empty stomachs. There is no great reward for an African in learning how to identify European birds.

Education to be helpful to the hungry must be functional. It must be geared to meet specific needs.

Functional education is one of our most effective weapons in Man's fight against the insecurity which is founded on hunger, poverty, ignorance, and disease. This is very evident to one who visits the nuclear schools of the Andes. Here in a few years education has given a better present, and a new hope for the future, to the descendants of the Incas.

Another example of the power of education is the Community Schools of the Philippines. These schools have done much to change the lives of the peoples of hundreds of *barrios*. The traveler on the island highways soon learns to recognize the villages where there are community schools: They are cleaner and generally more prosperous than their neighbors; often they are distinguished by special industries and activities introduced through the schools. Some export hogs, and others export eggs or other products, and in all the people seem to have a special pride.

Too often education fails to meet human needs because it is more interested in perpetuating a tradition than in building a future. But increasingly education is being used to dispel ignorance and to provide access to useful knowledge.

The community is the principal battleground in man's struggle to create the foundations of stability. All over the world, wherever men seek to improve their physical condition, the tactical unit in the struggle against the enemies of stability is the *barrio*, or the hamlets of the Andes, or the villages of the jungle, or their equivalent social units. Among the nomads there are familial or clan units which travel and live together. Even in the most primitive existing societies, man lives in groups.

Thus the basic target in the struggle to help those less fortunate economically than ourselves is the community. Programs designed to help man, as an individual, are often called "community development programs."

This yearbook will describe what is being done in many parts of the world to use education as a creative weapon in the war against instability at the community level. One of the great adventures of our time is the assault through education on the citadels of poverty and disease and allied ills.

Sometimes community development schemes igno. education. Sometimes they are founded on specialized disciplines, such as agriculture. It will be interesting to see what success can be achieved by such enterprises.

In most successful activities of this nature, education is the foundation of community improvement. This is demonstrated by such enterprises as the Fundamental Education Programs of UNESCO and other organizations, by the tribal schools of the Kashgai nomads in Iran, and by the successes around the world of many similar educational activities.

Education is doing a remarkably effective job in defeating some of the most persistent and dangerous enemies of man. This yearbook is written by educators of many races and nations. It is a record of present successes in the use of education as an architect of the security of the future.

OLIVER J. CALDWELL,
Assistant Commissioner for International Education.

INTRODUCTION

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOLS

The basic theme of this yearbook, "The Role of the Schools in the Improvement of Community Life," is open to a variety of interpretations. Many factors determine what role the schools will play in a particular country or area, and consequently, what part they may have in community improvement programs. Among the factors are the history and traditions, the economic, political and social conditions, and the culture of the country. Of great importance is the prevailing viewpoint, both among educational leaders and the general population, on the scope and purpose of education. The answer to the question, "To what extent is the school responsible for the type and quality of community living?" will largely determine the extent to which the school will participate in community development programs.

In a number of countries, programs for the improvement of community living have been undertaken which ignore the role of the schools entirely. In certain village improvement programs in India, for example, concerted efforts have been made to improve agriculture and other economic factors, health and sanitation, housing, roads, and other physical facilities without involving the schools at all. The fact that the building of a village school or the reorientation and improvement of an existing school might make a major contribution toward the success of the village improvement program seems to have been overlooked. Such programs are beyond the scope of this yearbook since it is precisely the *role of the schools* in the improvement of community living that it will describe. What is this role? What is the responsibility of the school? How is the school's responsibility related to that of other agencies? What are its limitations?

The traditional and obvious answer to these questions, which has prevailed through centuries of educational development, could be stated as follows: The function of the school is to "educate" the pupils attending it; that is, to provide them with the tools of learning—reading, writing, and arithmetic; to hand down the national culture from generation to generation; to discover the most gifted pupils and to help them develop those gifts to their own good and to that of the community and the nation; to develop skills with which

to attain economic sufficiency and to contribute to the general well being of the nation. If this task is performed well, the pupils, after completing their education and reaching adulthood, will enter positions of responsibility in many agencies and professions, through which they will be able to solve the problems of their community, their state, or their nation. Thus, through a cycle of time, the schools improve community living by providing more and better trained people to fulfill the requirements of the area it serves.

The traditional concept of the school places emphasis on the selection of subjects to fulfill academic objectives. Does the community need a sewer system? That is the responsibility of the municipal government. Are sanitary conditions poor? The public health department must solve the problem. Is reforestation desirable for the welfare of the community? A forestry department is needed. The teachers in the schools are already overburdened with their subjects, and surely the pupils need all their time to reach the fixed and time-honored educational goal for the year. How can they and why should they concern themselves with problems outside the school? Are these not the responsibilities of other agencies?

Responsible educators would undoubtedly agree that the development of the basic skills and abilities, the fostering of intellectual leadership, and the training of young people for suitable vocations or professions are fundamental aims of education. The development and improvement of the educational program in the school is a primary task of all educators. That such development will ultimately lead to improvements in community living is not disputed. In recent years, however, more and more educators and other community leaders have reached the conclusion that these aims are not enough; that the indirect improvement from generation to generation, as described above, is both inadequate and unrealistic; that the school must play a dynamic, leadership role in the improvement of community living *now*. This viewpoint is best expressed and exemplified in the "community school" movement, which, in many variations, has had a profound effect on educational thought and development, both here and abroad. To present examples of these developments in many countries is a major purpose of this yearbook.

There are several reasons for this trend in education. A basic one is this: The school *cannot* divorce itself from the immediate problems of its surrounding community. The school is only one instrument in the educational development of youth. The community itself is often of equal, and sometimes of greater, importance. The child spends only part of his time in school. During a large part of his time, the influence of the school is crowded into the background and other

forces—the social, economic, and moral conditions of his immediate community, the health and sanitation factors, the housing, the amusements, and others, move into the center of his attention. Is it not, then, a legitimate and necessary function of the school and of education as a whole to direct its efforts toward the immediate improvement of community living, for the sake of the children who must participate in it? Is not community improvement equally important to every resident of the community? Does not the need for improvement, for education in the broadest sense, continue throughout life?

Acceptance of the principles implied in these questions places the school in an entirely new position in the community. It now directs its attention to the needs of *all* the citizens of the community and not only to the teaching of the children. These broader needs are not limited to learning in the formal sense of the academic disciplines. They embrace all the forces and conditions that affect the lives of the people. Education, then, becomes a constant interaction between school and community, a cooperative program that utilizes the skills, the abilities, and the efforts of the entire citizenry toward the solution of common problems, thereby improving community living.

An additional major reason for the school's participation in community improvement is this: The skills, intellectual development, and sense of cultural heritage acquired through the traditional school "learning" program do not in themselves equip the graduate to participate or take leadership in the improvement of the community of which he is a part. The truth of this statement is borne out by the fact that many college and university graduates remain unemployed in countries that are urgently in need of trained personnel to help solve their economic, social, and technical problems. Participation in community development requires of the individual, not only the possession of basic skills and knowledge, but also the acceptance of personal responsibility toward the community, skill in human relations, the ability to work cooperatively with other persons, and many additional qualities. The participation of the school in community improvement opens entirely new areas of meaningful learning experiences for the pupils. By actual *doing*, they learn the skills and acquire the knowledge that will specifically equip them in adult life to make their contribution toward the solution of common problems and the improvement of community living.

Does not the school, in accepting these responsibilities, usurp the established functions of other agencies? Not at all. It accepts, rather, its share in a cooperative program that, if it is to be most effective, utilizes the combined resources and skills of all community

agencies as well as those of all the individual members of the community. Because of its central position in the community, however the school often is the logical and natural agency to assume or mobilize leadership in initiating a community improvement program, in giving it continuity, and in providing skills and services that may be difficult to obtain elsewhere. This is a challenge to the schools of virtually every community. If they accept the challenge, they will not only fulfill their obligations to the community in the broadest sense, but will enrich the school program with highly fruitful learning experiences for the young people who must eventually assume the responsibilities of leadership in the life of the community.

I. Some Programs in Action

Community Schools
Adult Education
Meeting the Needs for Community Education
Citizenship and Group Action

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Aymara Women Scrutinize Compa Consejo, A Popular Reader Produced by El SCIDE From Local Legends

The Bolivian Nucleos

By Thomas A. Hart

Chief, Education Division
USOM/Bolivia

THERE'S LOTS of geography in Bolivia. Geography has been and still is a prime factor in determining the course of events in Bolivia. The towering cordillera of the Andes has decreed that the different regions should be walled off from each other, and though planes now wing their way across these barriers, the cities of Bolivia each seem to belong to a different world. The cordillera has also served to maintain the population in disparate culture groups and, therefore, to some extent can be blamed (providing one has the heart to blame such awesome mountains) for the high illiteracy rate in the country. The rate is estimated at 70 percent for the general population and upward of 85 percent for the Indians. The principal cities of Bolivia are La Paz (pop. 300,000), Cochabamba (80,000), Oruro (70,000), Santa Cruz (40,000), Sucre (25,000), Potosí (25,000), and Tarija (20,000). The country's population of 3,161,000 is, obviously, predominantly rural, and more than 60 percent of the people are Indian.

At the top of the Andes, the Bolivian high plain, [illegible]lled the Altiplano, stretches in austere splendor between th[illegible]t Western Cordillera of the Andes and the Eastern Cordillera, [illegible]nguished by some of the noblest snow-clad mountains ever seen by the eyes of man. This almost treeless plain undulates over an area of some 50,000 square miles at 12,000 to 13,000 and 14,000 feet above sea level.

It is up here that the first rural school *nucleo* of the Andean region was formed, near the sacred Lake Titicaca, in a place called "Huari-Saiti," or "home of the vicuñas" in the Aymara language. The nucleo is presided over by the hoary and handsome Illampú, which reaches to 21,276 feet above sea level, the highest mountain in Bolivia and among the highest in the world.

The *Altiplano* is Aymara territory. The Aymaras are descendants of the Khollas, who created, nobody knows how many generations ago, the Tiahuanacan civilization, the mystery and power of which are tantalizingly revealed to us in the bits that remain. The ideograms on the lintel of the famous Door of the Sun and on the beautifully shaped ceramics taken from tombs of old rulers of the *Altiplano* have something to say as to what these gifted Americans believed if we but had the key to decipher them.

The Aymaras were submerged by two ruthless conquests, that of the

Incas in perhaps the 13th century (dates about the early Incas are very uncertain) and that of the Spaniards in the 16th century. Both these groups of conquerors shared the belief that an elite minority should govern the mass of people, and their sociology coming down to our own times is a cause of the split personality of modern Bolivia. The Aymara and Quechua Indians and other lesser groups of the indigenous population remain an illiterate majority and without significance in the economic life of the country.

Oscar Cerruto, a Bolivian poet, says, "There are, of course, two altiplanos. The first one, the visible one, is just sand and stony land under a closed sky—the only living things being the straw and the silence blown over by chilled winds from the mountain tops. The second one is the vital current of life which flows under the rough skin of the altiplano man, a man as impenetrable and solid as the stones of the fields, yet thirsty for knowledge and eager for life."

Aymaras who dreamed of education for their children were likely to be punished for their presumption by those above them, but in the early 1930's Pedro Mamani, Elizardo Péres, Abelino Sinani, and Eufrasio Ibáñez won the right of book learning for the Indians, securing permission from the Minister of Education to found a school. The cornerstone was laid on August 2, 1931, in the "home of the vicuñas" which we now spell W-a-r-i-s-a-t-a.

Two years later, the school became the center of the first *nucleo escolar campesino* in Bolivia. The *nucleo*, organized by the government as the administrative unit of the rural school system, is founded on the old Inca *marca*. The *marca* was a semipolitical and economic unit consisting of a number of small communities ruled over by a member of the Inca royal family. In the *nucleo escolar campesino*, the director of the central school has authority over the 20 to 30 smaller sectional schools. We retain the term *nucleo escolar campesino*, because put into English it turns into nuclear schools, which sound like something out of a physicist's laboratory. We also continue to use the Spanish word *campesino*, for the English language has no word with its specific character, signifying the rural folk but not the big landowners. In much of Bolivia, the *campesino* means even more specifically the Indians, for they *are* the rural people.

Schools for the Indians increased during the 1930's as *nucleos* were organized on the Altiplano and in the high valleys on the other side of the cordillera of the white peaks, or cordillera Real, as it is called in Bolivia. Despite the disastrous Chaco War, which proved such a moral shock to the country, these gains were made. The schools, however, had very little to make them educational centers, and the poor teachers with no more than an elementary rural schooling them-

elves were on their own and isolated from anything in the way of professional stimulus. A teacher who has gone through only three or four grades is not uncommon in some of the most remote and inadequate of the rural schools.

Though Bolivia was inclined to reject the outside world following the Chaco War, her intellectuals were drawn into the stream of thought concerned with the plight of the Indians that was giving rise to conferences of anthropologists, sociologists, educators, and other interested people during the 1940's. One notable conference was held in Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire and a tourists' capital today.

Bolivia was also caught up by the desire for a broader and more diversified economy, a desire that neighboring Latin American countries were realizing by promotion of industries, modernization of agriculture, and the advances in transportation and communications which are the sinews of modern economies. Latin America developed originally as a raw material area, and Bolivia is still an extreme example of a raw material economy, for about 90 percent of her foreign exchange is derived from the sale of metals, particularly tin, to the outside world. Her purchasing power for rice, wheat, meat, and other basic foodstuffs depends on the sale of tin. Bolivia is in the position of a family which depends for its living on a hardware store. When business is low, they cannot eat the pots and pans.

This country's attempts to follow the example of her neighbors and broaden her productive activities have pointed up the fact that the schools are inadequate to give the training needed in a diversified economy. The rural schools in this predominantly pastoral country were doing little to change the population into citizens and producers.

The *campesinos* are accustomed to produce what they need to eat, with a little over for barter. They spin the wool for their clothes and make the crude articles that do for household furniture. They are what economists call "economic zeros." The very appearance of their communities shows how little they mean to the economy of Bolivia. The Indian women in their bright skirts and *mantas* will be sitting on the ground around the plaza with fruit from the valleys, or some eggs, or a small pile of the throat-scorching *ají* laid out in front of them on a handsome but dirty piece of homespun wool. In those narrow wandering streets of drab adobe houses, you see no signs of industrial activity, such as characterize places the same size in the United States—no service stations, no broom factory or paper mill, or other signs of the production of wealth. In many of these communities, the language is Aymara or Quechua. Only a few can speak Spanish, the official language of the country. Those who have

had a few grades of schooling and have learned to read and write little Spanish are easily reclaimed by their environment.

The early *nucleos* could not do very much to lead their people to a higher level of living, for lack of trained teachers, of school materials, and the stimulus of supervision by real educators. These country schools rocked along on the traditional rote instruction, with the teacher talking and the students copying down the words, for later memorization.

In 1944, the Bolivian Government accepted the offer of the United States to engage in a joint education program, and an agency was set up with American educators in charge to carry out their intention. Two conferences were held on the Altiplano, one at Warisata and a second at Santiago de Huata, to which rural teachers of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru were invited, and together with the United States technicians drew up a didactic guide for the Andean rural schools. According to these teachers, this was the first such guide in South America for rural schools. As a result of this meeting of minds, the idea of the Bolivian *nucleo escolar campesino* spread to neighboring countries and later was taken up by faraway Guatemala.

The agency through which the United States and Bolivia work is known as the *Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educación* (SCIDE). Its first area of work was rural education, and its Division of Rural Education is still the biggest part of the whole. The SCIDE is responsible for work in this field to the Bolivian Ministry of Rural Affairs. The agency is directed by Dr. Thomas A. Hart, with a staff of 11 other American technicians and 104 Bolivians. The Rural Education Division includes the Technical Director, Ray Rignall, who came to the Altiplano from the modern school system of Virginia, and under him are specialists in elementary education, agriculture, rural industrial arts, social service, and language arts.

For a number of years the rural education program of the SCIDE was centered in the training of teachers at the Warisata Rural Normal School, the same area where the first *nucleo* was started. (A second rural normal school at Canasmoro was taken on early in 1955.) The task of the SCIDE at Warisata Normal School has been gradually to revise the curriculum to make it a functional and well-correlated course of study, with rote learning de-emphasized and learning by experience emphasized. Teaching by units of work has been introduced, and this method has vitalized the elementary school attached to the normal school. The practice teaching of the normal school students has been changed from casual visiting to an orderly progress through observation of classroom work, to participation by helping the teacher, and, finally, to real teaching responsibility under super-

ision. The courses in agriculture, arts and crafts, home life, and hygiene have been enriched by training of the faculty and by the help of American technicians. The normal school has been directed into varied activities with the *campesinos*, to prepare the students for the part they are expected to play in the improvement of rural communities.

The American technicians work with their Bolivian counterparts, training them to one day take over their work. In the meantime, selected Bolivian teachers are given United States study grants for specialization that they cannot get in Bolivia. In 1951, the University of Maryland, cooperating with the United States Government, offered a special course for rural teachers from the Andean region in elementary education as related to community improvement, and 10 Bolivian teachers were sent to take it. In 1954, 15 were sent to the University of Minnesota. Others have been sent individually, such as the agriculture teachers, and the rural teacher so handy with a camera who developed into a specialist in audiovisual aids.

A Member of SCIDE's Traveling Supervisory Team at Nucleo of Llica

Srta. Adriana Baspineiro is an example of how Bolivians are groomed for the positions of responsibility in this program. She was the home life teacher in the group sent to study at the University of Maryland in 1951–52, and on her return she joined the faculty of the Warisata Normal School, where she conducted the homelife course under supervision of the American technician in that field. Miss Baspineiro was most effective in revising this part of the curriculum and integrating it with the other subject matter, and her unassuming leadership made her a natural counterpart for the American. In September 1954, the SCIDE gave her 3 months' leave of absence and sent her to Lima, Peru, for a special course in home arts for which she had been give a study grant by the Organization of American States, which sponsored the course. On her return to Bolivia, she took over the work of the American homelife technician, who left for assignment to another country.

Rural teachers command considerable respect by virtue of their ability to read and write and have, therefore, a natural influence in the community, an influence which amounts to an elixir if they but know how to use it. Consequently, SCIDE has put great emphasis in its normal school program on community work. In order to give the student teachers specific training in working with groups, the SCIDE in 1952 called upon its Washington parent for assignment of a social service technician, who arrived at the beginning of the school year in February 1953. She came in "cold," as we say, to make her way with the Aymaras, a people whose history has taught them to eye the outsider with reserve and suspicion.

The director of the normal school, at that time, the same Eufrasio Ibáñez who had led the final struggle for schools for Indians back in the early 1930's, called a meeting of the Amautas and introduced the new technician to them. The contrast was almost amusing between this graduate in social service from the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., and those Indian bearers of an ancient and honored name in the history of the Altiplano. The Amautas were the historians and intellectuals in the Inca kingdom, and today they are the elected leaders in the Indian communities. They sat there looking picturesquely impassive, wearing their fine ponchos of alpaca wool, and some the traditional *chullu*, a bright knitted cap with earflaps, both highly functional articles of clothing for this Altiplano of cold nights and windy days. A dark chiseled Aymara face within a *chullu* of "shocking pink" is a perfect subject for a color film camera.

Nothing happened in a hurry, but over a period of time as such conferences became customary between the Amautas and the director and faculty of the normal school, plus the social service technician,

the Indians warmed up to the point of discussing the needs and problems of their community.

The social service worker, meanwhile, found the faculty and students of the normal school averse to the idea of making home calls. They cited the traditional suspicion on the part of the Indian toward outsiders and said they would only be rebuffed and would lose face. The American for some months, in fact, on visiting homes would see the woman of the house with whom she really wanted to talk peering at her from behind a pile of wood, while the man talked with her. For a long time, she feared that she was not getting anywhere at all. It took a year of slow cautious work before she felt that they were beginning to accept the idea that the normal school could assist them in their personal lives.

Donald Duck helped to break resistance. The community nights with "movies" in the patio of the school brought the neighbors in. The Indian men lent a hand in bringing out chairs to provide seats for some of the audience, which sometimes swelled to 1,500 persons.

The use of milk from CARE for supplementary feeding of the youngsters in the elementary demonstration school attached to the normal school was turned into an opportunity to win the women. They were invited to come to help prepare the milk, and they did so, bringing their invitations with them. They learned at this semi-social affair something of the hygiene of cookery, learned to wash their hands and put on a clean apron before preparing food, and learned also that boiling is a purification for water which would otherwise carry disease.

This milk program was used by the social service technician as a demonstration to faculty and students alike of the art of cultivating women and of making them aware of certain needs that can be met by the school. It was hoped that through their association with the homelife teacher they would desire to learn to sew and cook, and perhaps later would get interested in reading and writing. Señorita Clotilde Rojas, the homelife teacher, gained the interest and admiration of these women, and one of them came with three friends to ask for classes in cooking and sewing. Thus the *Amas de Casa* (housewives) club came into existence, which soon had a membership of over 50. The members are mostly girls, who would be called teen-agers in the United States, though in their bright full woolen skirts, the *manta* wrapped around their shoulders, and the same derby hat that their mothers wear, they look like mature women. Some of them visited the arts and crafts section one day and begged for instruction on the looms, and the head of that department, José Valencia, made room for them. Finally, they decided that they must learn to

Home Visits by Students and Teachers of Warisata Rural Normal School

read and write. So it all came to pass through the powdered milk, as planned by the social service technician. She points out that the group could have been formed without the milk program, but that she wanted to demonstrate to the faculty and students the principle in community organization that the surest way to success is to lead the people first to realize their needs.

Toward the end of her second year with the normal school, our social service technician and her Bolivian counterpart, Victor Montoya, staged a home improvement contest and the vim with which the *campesinos* put windows in their homes, built corrals for animals, and cleaned up their premises showed that even the impassive Aymaras love a contest. The prize-giving was a big occasion, and the prizes were made glamorous by their cellophane wrappings.

Today the Warisata *campesinos* welcome the home visits with considerable understanding. Teams from the normal school consisting of teachers and students of agriculture, hygiene, sociology, homelife, arts and crafts, and other subjects work regularly in the 11 zones that

make up this scattered community of some 3,000 Aymara Indians. Their activities bring about improvements in the community and also afford the practice that the student teachers need. Just recently in the course of 45 days of a special health and sanitation campaign, 24 rustic latrines were built by *campesinos*. During this period, more than 670 children and young people were vaccinated against smallpox, and about 2,300 *campesinos* were dusted with DDT to rid them of the body lice through which they acquire typhus. The hygiene teams backed up these activities with education on the prevention and control of disease.

A very successful community project was born in the agriculture department of the normal school as the result of there being an extra tractor, after the SCIDE had secured a new one for the school. A class in tractor operation was offered the *campesinos*, and 19 men took it, about half of whom were owners of small tracts of land. When the time came for them to go into the study of motors and their theory, these students were baffled, for they could not make the jump from their intellectual environment to the world of internal combustion. The agriculture teacher then borrowed a motor in sections from an industrial school, also under the direction of SCIDE, and with that the explanations became clear. The graduates were available for hire and the old tractor also, the *campesinos* paying the operator and the expense of running the tractor. But the real payoff for this course was that 5 of the graduates accepted jobs in Bolivia's eastern lowlands, a vast and sparsely settled area. The land in this eastern area, if cleared of jungle, could solve Bolivia's problem of having to import quantities of staple foodstuffs, and it has been the concern of many sociologists and economists as to how to coax the Altiplano farmer to go down to lusher pastures. Given the training and the chance to run a tractor, 5 of them went.

The tractor course proved so successful that it has had to be repeated, at the request of the Ministry of Rural Affairs. The locale for the second course was the *nucleo escolar campesino* of Ucureña, located in the high Cochabamba valley within the Eastern Cordillera. This *nucleo* is under the technical supervision of the SCIDE, whose work here and in other *nucleos* is complementary to its teacher-training program in the Warisata and Canasmoro rural normal schools.

In 1954, the SCIDE had technical supervision over 150 rural elementary schools under authority of the Ministry of Rural Affairs, though at the end of the year it lost 59 in accordance with its policy of completing a demonstration in one set of schools and then moving along. Two *nucleos* with the 59 schools "graduated" and in their place SCIDE took on the Canasmoro rural normal school and the

Mineros school in the eastern lowlands, around which it has to organize a new *nucleo*. The various *nucleos* with which the SCIDE has worked have had their distinct characteristics. The Warisata nucleo (not to be confused with the normal school of the same name) is a strictly agricultural region. The Kalaque nucleo along the shores of Lake Titicaca is peopled by descendants of warriors and fishermen, and its economy has a mixture of fishing and commerce added to agriculture. Llica is in barren salty land at the southern end of the Altiplano. Ucureña and San Lucas are in high valleys of the Eastern Cordillera, and so is the Canasmoro rural normal school.

The central school of a *nucleo escolar campesino*, if it has a full curriculum, includes teachers in homelife education, agriculture, arts and crafts, and hygiene. Many of the central schools, however, are far from complete and adequate to assume directorship over the sectional schools.

SCIDE, in assuming technical supervision of a *nucleo*, has to introduce the methods of functional education, often to teachers of the most limited background, who do not even have a blackboard or map with which to work. To meet this situation, teachers' workshops were introduced into Bolivia. Nobody knew what a workshop was when that first one opened in the Warisata *nucleo* 7 years ago, and the American technicians had to train their Bolivian counterparts as they went along in how to conduct this brief concentrated course in theory and practice for the rural teachers. Workshops have since been held at regular intervals at the central school of each *nucleo*, and teachers of the sectional schools are brought in for 2 or 3 weeks' training.

It all sounds very simple in the telling, but these rural teachers receive a lot more than they have ever had before in methods of instruction and in those special courses, such as hygiene and homelife, which are necessary to a good community school. When these teachers return to their lonely posts, they know the technicians will come to stay there a while and help them. To provide the teachers under its supervision with the necessary continuing help, the SCIDE keeps some of its technicians at work in the *nucleos* as a mobile team of supervisors. They have set an example of real supervision as contrasted with the rather authoritarian inspection which has heretofore passed for supervision in the Bolivian schools. The Ministry of Rural Affairs has wanted to put similar teams to work in other *nucleos*, but for lack of trained personnel has not been able to organize them. Membership of SCIDE's team changes as one is promoted and another is given a grant for study abroad. All those now on the team have been to the United States for training. This technical supervision introduced by the SCIDE into the rural schools in its orbit is a living

example of the means by which the local economies can be improved in this geographically difficult and predominantly rural country.

The *nucleo* of Llica, which returned to the technical supervision of the Ministry of Rural Affairs at the end of 1954, will always be a favorite alumnus of the SCIDE. This *nucleo* is located in one of the most arid and cheerless corners of Bolivia, but the human resources are of the best. The Aymara and Quechua Indians who call this dreary region home absolutely reverence education and welcome the technicians with minds eager to soak up all that they can offer. Llica is one of those places where the stranger realizes how deep is the life of this Altiplano. SCIDE's jeep of technicians arriving on the Eve of All Saints Day found in the squat old whitewashed colonial church the table set forth for the dead, with the barley, potatoes, and quinua on which they fed in life and the coca leaves they were accustomed to chew. On a side altar the visitors could see the very blending of Indian habits and Christianity. A fine mounted crucifix stood there, for which someone had thoughtfully knit a small Altiplano scarf which hung around His neck and a tiny bag also, for coca leaves, which hung from an arm of the Cross.

The Altiplano becomes salty as you travel south, and to reach Llica you must cross what looks like a frozen Minnesota lake and is called the Gran Salar de Uyuni. The cactus is the only form of plant life that offers wood for school benches and other furniture, and its candelabra arms are the chief motif in the landscape. Coffee tastes salty down in these parts because it is made of brackish water. The ground grudgingly yields potatoes, barley, and *quinua* (a high altitude cereal), and that's about all. The haughty llama provides some meat.

The central school has the full six grades, and all the departments are lively exponents of good community work. The agriculture teacher, with the help of SCIDE's supervisors, has demonstrated the use of compost plots and proved that even if the variety of crops is limited, the quantity and quality of potatoes, barley, and *quinua* can be improved. A patch of irrigated land some 4 miles away is used by the students for growing vegetables. Seedlings of eucalyptus and pine and of some vegetables are raised at the central school for distribution to the sectional schools located where there is a little more rain. This is a large and scattered *nucleo* and some of the smaller schools are a long distance from the central.

The sanitary facilities of the school represent as big a jump over local habits as modern plumbing does over the privy, and students of the fifth grade took it upon themselves to provide the village with a "comfort station," a latrine, which these youngsters keep clean and disinfected.

Aymara Boatman in Inlet of Sacred Lake Titicaca

Arriving in Llica at a time when the supervisory team is working there, you will find these supervisors in the schoolroom, out back helping the students finish the henhouse, or you may have to chase them down at one of the sectional schools. One of the team's prize exhibits is a reservoir in the midst of steep dry fields which rise behind the school at Cahuana Chica, some 10 kilometers away from the central school. This reservoir is an achievement of the agriculture and hygiene supervisors formerly on the team. They had broached the idea of capturing a spring to the *campesinos* who arduously wring a living from these steep dry fields. The technicians said they would help if the *campesinos* would try, and in a week the reservoir was constructed and the water soon ran in.

The technicians of SCIDE will continue to visit this *nucleo* at intervals, even though it is no longer within the demonstration, for SCIDE and the Ministry of Rural Affairs agree that *nucleos* should not be cut loose entirely from the supervision which has helped them to become more modern and functional in their instruction. The latest news from the *campesinos* of this arid *nucleo* is that they would like to establish a high school. Up to now, rural Bolivia has had no public high school.

The demonstration in education must go forward, and the *nucleo* of Llica was exchanged for something far different. There could be no greater contrast than this austere land at 13,000 feet above sea level and the lush palm-waving environment of Mineros, where the SCIDE took over the village school in 1954, with the responsibility of organizing the first *nucleo* in the region.

The Oriente, as it is called, is all that vast eastern area of Bolivia which stretches to meet the jungles of Brazil and Peru. The Department of Santa Cruz, which slopes down from the eastern foothills of the Andes, is an agricultural region and has the possibilities for much greater production. People from Texas stationed here have been heard to admit that the Santa Cruz grapefruit is close to nectar. Much of the economic aid from the United States is being funneled into this region through programs in agriculture, health, and education, for right here the solution must be produced to Bolivia's present necessity of importing basic foodstuffs out of her limited foreign exchange. This harassed country's economic salvation, in the opinion of many, will be brought about in great measure as the Oriente produces enough to feed that big majority who cling to their mountain strongholds. On a big hacienda named *Perseverancia*, this sign appears in one of the shops: NECESITAMOS BRAZOS DE ACERO PARA UNIRNOS AL ALTIPLANO (WE NEED ARMS OF IRON TO UNITE US TO THE ALTIPLANO). When some visiting Americans commented on this sentiment to the owner, he said, "Our prosperity depends on feeding you Kholla up there."

The *nucleo escolar campesino* of the Altiplano and the high valleys has not caught on in this region, a fact which illustrates the lack of communication between these so different areas. The Indians of the Altiplano belong to an old cooperative tradition and are accustomed to group action, while people in the Santa Cruz region share the Spanish individualism from which they spring. The *campesinos* at Mineros, however, have fallen in heartily with the new type of school being introduced by the SCIDE.

Mineros is a real country village about 85 kilometers north of the city of Santa Cruz. In April 1954 the SCIDE took over a school of

Training in Mechanized Agriculture at Warisata Rural Normal School

some 150 youngsters divided among several little huts of wattled walls and thatched roof. More important than the nature of the construction was the lack of light to study by and the absence of equipment to make the studies something more than memorization. The SCIDE also acquired four outlying schools in even worse shape.

The first year's efforts went into the construction of a real school building in the village. SCIDE's architect designed one of separate units, a type of building that can easily be expanded. The school is built of tile made on the job and bricks purchased locally, and it can be reproduced with minor modifications in any geographic area of Bolivia.

The units are one-story rectangular buildings of three or four rooms, with a porch running the full length on one side and a tiled roof. The tiles are varicolored, with different color combinations for each unit, and the shutters for the screened windows are also painted in a variety of colors. Rural schools in Bolivia are uniformly dull-looking, and the *campesinos* came to admire this bright thing that had appeared in their midst. This is the central school of the newly organized Mineros *nucleo*, which now includes eight sectional schools. The SCIDE at the request of the director of the school district has also agreed to allow the central school to give technical supervision to 12 small schools maintained privately on some of the big farms.

The SCIDE loaned as acting director for this *nucleo* a former member of the supervisory team, Alberto Toranzos, who has a talent for community work. He was in the first group of rural teachers sent to the University of Maryland in 1951 and on his return became agriculture technician on SCIDE's supervisory team. He was one of the two supervisors who persuaded the *campesinos* of Cahuana Chica that they could create a reservoir in the midst of some of the thirstiest fields in Bolivia. In 1953, the Organization of American States invited this technician to take the course in rural sociology given under the auspices of the Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica. The SCIDE gave him leave, sent him there, and when he returned put him in charge of its community work. While acting director of the new Mineros *nucleo*, he has inspired the villagers to connect themselves with the outside world by running a telephone line to the nearest town, some 10 kilometers away. At a school meeting, the *campesinos* asked for help in getting a rice harvester for which they had raised the money. In this placid tropical region of great potentiality, a catalytic agent is needed, and the new bright-roofed school has jumped into that role.

Between September 5 and 25, 1955, the SCIDE held the first workshop in this area. Twenty-four rural teachers attended, of whom 4 were from the small private farm schools, and 2 were from Government

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schools outside the SCIDE *nucleo*. In contrast with the first workshop held by the SCIDE 7 years before, the Bolivian technicians ran it, with the Americans standing by as consultants. For some of the teachers, this workshop was their first experience of professional training. The level of education among those who teach in this region is low. Even though the local economy is agricultural, the variety is limited and teachers, like everyone else, stay on a high caloric diet of rice, bananas, and yucca. SCIDE's homelife technician often had to go as far as Santa Cruz to find the vegetables she needed for preparing balanced meals and for the instruction that went with them. During the workshop, each teacher grew a small box of vegetable seedlings which he took away with him.

Raising vegetables is not unmanly, but waiting on table is something else again. The 215-pound American rural industrial arts specialist and the American agriculture technician helped Miss Baspineiro out by taking their turns over the stove, in the messhall, and at the dishpan. It is SCIDE's policy in its teacher training, in normal schools, and in workshops, to include the men in all home life instruction, as some skill and knowledge in this field are highly necessary both to their own homelife and to their community work.

As the workshop went on, the *campesinos* asked for help in making vegetable beds, in spraying their fruit trees, in building latrines, and were generally eager to get all the help they could for improving their ways.

Closing exercises were held on a Saturday morning, with everyone in fresh dresses and shirts, and having the air of those who partake in something of significance. There were diplomas and medals, songs and dances, and brief speeches. Spokesmen for the teachers rose to say that they welcomed this opportunity for training from SCIDE's professionals, and one of the men of the village speaking for the rest said they hoped the workshop would be repeated at least once a year.

SCIDE's technician in charge of all rural schools, Don Toribio Claure, in summing up the work, said:

> * * * It is fitting to point out the necessity of living the things learned. The objectives we have set up are simple and elemental: To understand the child and treat him with affection, with intelligence, and with interest, and to bring about the participation in the school of all those responsible for the education of the young. In respect to the courses for the improvement of our economy, we should not forget the importance of cultivating those products we need for better nutrition, and the crafts which make our homes more comfortable and add to the family income. With respect to health education, we should keep well in mind the practical instruction we have received in developing habits of cleanliness and the prevention of sickness, the first aid, and the higher living standards in which we must set an example

> to the country. In homelife, we do not forget the ever-present example you have had in the tireless work of our colleague, Señorita Adriana Baspineiro. And another aspect of great significance has been the defense of our national resources, or of the patrimony we have inherited in the form of land, waters, woods, pasture, and wildlife. * * *

His were the kind of words to recall the old Chinese proverb that a journey of a thousand miles starts with the first step.

ERIC

Heads, Hearts, and Hands Help To Build

Community Education in Puerto Rico

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A PROGRAM OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION for the island of Puerto Rico was established on May 14, 1949, when Gov. Luis Muñóz Marín signed law No. 372 a few days after it had been unanimously approved by both houses of the insular legislature. The law created a new division within the Department of Education, under the direct supervision of the Secretary of Education. The preamble to the law reads as follows:

> The goal of community education is to impart basic teaching on the nature of man, his history, his life, his way of working and of self-governing in the world and in Puerto Rico. Such teaching, addressed to adult citizens meeting in groups in the barrios, settlements and urban districts will be imparted through moving pictures, radio, books, pamphlets and posters, phonographic records, lectures, and group discussion. The object is to provide the good hand of our popular culture with the tool of a basic education. In practice this will mean giving to the communities and to the Puerto Rican community in general the wish, the tendency, and the way of making use of their own aptitudes for the solution of many of their own problems of health education, cooperation, social life through the action of the community itself. The community should not be civically unemployed. The community can be constantly and usefully employed in its own service, in terms of pride and satisfaction of the members thereof. The communal activities of which our people are capable on a basis of guidance and training can produce returns for millions of dollars annually in the solution of problems and improvement of life. This is the fundamental purpose of this program of community education authorized by this act.

Not long ago during a conference of Puerto Rican Government officials, one of the speakers said that the natural resources of our island are not sufficient to support our growing population and that to find the answer to unemployment and poverty we are turning to the new resources of industry. He spoke of new housing, hydroelectric plants, factories, dams, irrigation projects, and technical training schools. And rightly so. These are the weapons with which to fight the by-products of unemployment at no matter what financial cost.

The sound expenditures of funds in such undertakings will bring great returns for the future. Millions must be spent each year to

guarantee the full profit of past investments. To stop or slow down would be to invite disaster. However, it will be clearly recognized by even the most ardent advocate of industry, that no matter how successful we are in this development, there is always present the enormous task of growth within our social-democratic structure. While physical and economic forces are at work to raise the outward expressions of a better way of life, while millions are spent to make this possible, other millions must be spent to insure the educational base upon which these improvements are built.

Each year, through the Department of Education, a large sum of money is invested in the coming generation, in the young people of our country, to prepare them for the new world of which they will be a part. These millions must build in the minds, the hearts, and the hands of our children the future they will inherit.

Funds to maintain the work of the Division of Community Education are used to bring educational opportunities to those communities in which its field staff is working. Its program is an attempt to help the neighbors of our rural and urban communities unleash their great potential for planning and working together. The call to labor brought to the people of Puerto Rico by the Division is not supported by any minimum wage law. It does not guarantee a program of economic social security. It makes no promise of overtime pay or workmen's compensation. In short it brings nothing "tangible" in its hands when it goes to visit a distant barrio to talk with the people. No bulldozer, no road-making machinery, no well-diggers, no wood, cement, paint, or nails. It makes no promises of any kind except that it will come back and come back again as long as the people are interested in meeting together to plan and to put into execution the means to make their community a better place in which to live.

One night, some months ago, we went to visit a rural community in an eastern barrio of the island. Here the people have a serious problem when it rains, and it rains a great deal. Their river overflows, isolating one section of the community and inundating the other. The neighbors had talked about the condition for some time but nothing more. Their best talkers had said it was the Government's problem and that the Government must solve it. When they saw us walking through the community, they came from their homes to describe the lamentable condition under which they were compelled to live. That evening at a meeting of more than a hundred adults they said, "We are here a people in great need. We have our hands to help solve this problem but no more. You are from the Government. You have the means. How much cement, tubes, and other materials have you brought us?" We spoke clearly and said that we had brought no money, no materials and no equipment. Nothing, in

hort, except the means to help them harness all of their own resources, tangible and intangible, to deliver themselves from this impasse.

When they heard this, many deliberately rose and walked away from the meeting. They had heard all they wanted to hear. The "Government" had failed them again. Others remained to give expression to the thoughts of the group. They knew what they would do. They would form a committee and go to town to see the "right people" and demand from them all that they needed.

Only one positive thing happened that night and the people themselves did not fully understand it or recognize it as such. They agreed to meet every subsequent Tuesday night.

At that moment, they were a dependent people. Even the "hands" they offered, they gave in a spirit of bargaining. They were more satisfied to bemoan their povery than to dig deeply into their own resources. They were in fact poorer than they knew, for they lacked that dignity and faith in themselves and their neighbors which comes before all else.

On that first Tuesday night, this community, named Corazón, was not a community at all, but rather an assortment of families that chance and inheritance had brought together. Many Tuesday nights later, they were to discover the heart that then was beating weakly. It happened because of the work of one man, the field worker of the division, who each week helped to guide this group of neighbors out of a state of dependency into one of democratically oriented self-reliance. One fundamental element he had in his favor—a strong belief in himself, his work and in the people—a belief that today, many months later, they themselves share with him.

Puerto Rico is a heavily populated island. Nearly two and a half million people live on 3,423 square miles of land. Thus we live everywhere, on the tops of mountains and down in the deepest valleys. About half of us live in urban centers (the large cities and smaller towns number 76) and half of us live on the land. This second half totals about 250,000 families averaging between 5 and 6 persons to the family. We do not live in rural villages but rather in open country. However, our rural population can be identified in a thousand communities—perhaps more accurately designated as neighborhoods—in which groups of families, sometimes as few as 75 or as many as 300, think of themselves as having some common thread of unity. The efforts of the Division of Community Education are aimed at making this common thread stronger.

We believe that people by planning and working together can find the solution to many of their problems; that the best way to-do this is by first calling fully upon their own creative efforts and that the process of developing these creative efforts into an harmonious

Education for Intelligent Participation in Family Life

democratic pattern is basically more important for the community than the construction of anything of a material nature. The problem, as a problem, whether it be pure water, a better road, electricity, or a milk station, is less important than the dynamics of the community unleashed in the process of finding the solution of the problem. This is a somewhat different approach from that of many community education programs. The general practice throughout the world has been to identify the physical problem and to set about solving it: drain the marsh, plow the contour, build the latrine, bulldoze the blessing of western civilization straight through to the village center. The major objective of many service programs working with urban or rural communities has been "to get something done." Usually the service agency has already decided before it enters the community what that "something" will be.

It has done this preplanning for the community by employing professionals who know how to solve a particular problem. The

presence of the professional in the community usually means that someone has decided what the community needs and has sent or brought the professional to direct the work. The professional may go alone or with others in a team and the materials he uses will "tell" the people *why* the problem should be solved and *how* to solve it. The main purpose of this approach is to leave behind some material improvement considered by the agency as beneficial to the community as a whole.

There is nothing "wrong" with this method of working providing we know its limitations and do not claim for it more than it can produce. It is not a program of community education, no matter how insistent we may be that "we include the people in our planning." Once you begin with this problem-solving, this "package" kind of approach, the process of community growth, of necessity, must play a secondary role.

For the Division of Community Education the "process" comes first. It is more important than the material accomplishment, for it is the mind, the heart, and the spirit of the growing community. The "process" will build the community and if it is successful, the community will build the "things."

This then being our major concern from the start, we set out to find or make audiovisual materials which would serve this end. Just as a program whose main purpose is to bring better sanitation to the community engages in a search for films that highlight the advantages of pure water and flyproof latrines, so the division, with its accent on the ways and means by which men live and learn together, set about the task of depicting these concepts in its audiovisual materials.

From the beginning this objective has been shared by all staff members. Films, books, and posters serve the ends of the program; not the other way around. We have a production section of three units—editorial, graphics, and cinema—where books and films are written, illustrated, and produced. The staff engaged in this part of the endeavor are as rooted in the educational goals of the division as any field worker whose activities bring him in closer contact with the community.

Thus, our books and films have never taken the direction of the "how-to-do" subjects. We do not make films or write books on why a community should solve a particular problem with the steps to follow in the solution. The themes we develop are of a more fundamental nature. We are trying to bring deeper insights into the community: (1) A greater understanding of the cultural values a people possess or may possess, (2) broader general information, and (3) advantages to be gained when people work beside their neighbors in the solution of their problems.

These are three major categories into which our audiovisual material falls. We use the dramatic documentary approach. As often as possible the stories told in book or film are the true stories of the communities, with the people reliving their experiences as the actors. To date, we have produced or have currently in production, 16 film programs with 16 major films and 20 additional shorts; 16 books ranging from 40 to 96 pages, and 16 posters. We have also produced 10 other posters used on such occasions as Christmas festivals and book meetings. In addition we are now making a mural newspaper on the subject of film and book.

Always the theme of the book and the films go together as a single product. They are brought to the community within the same week. The field worker announces the film showing by posters distributed throughout the community. (We silk-screen posters in editions of 7,000). On the night of the showing he appears at the center in his jeep truck, is helped by the neighbors to set up his equipment. He plays reels of music through his projector while the community is gathering. Then for a time, usually half an hour or longer, the community entertains itself with songs, recitations, musical numbers over the microphone. The movies follow and last generally for an hour and a quarter.

The audience at these showings ranges in number from 250 to 1,000 and averages 500. A few nights later between 40 and 60 adults gather at a designated place central to the community and spend 2 to 3 hours together reading and discussing the book whose theme complements that of the major film. At the close of the meeting each volunteer carries a number of books to distribute in the homes of his neighbors.

All film stories and all material for our books are written within the Editorial Unit of our Production Section by three professionals. All films, with two exceptions, have been produced in our Cinema Unit. This includes all phases of production from script to the release print. Two of our major films have been shown at the Venice and Edinburgh Film Festivals: *Una Voz en la Montaña* in 1952, *El Puente* in 1954.

All illustrations for books and all art work for posters and films are produced in our Graphics Unit. This unit includes silk screen and multilith operators and five professional artists, one of whom is currently making our first animated cartoon.

The division has a field staff of 40 group organizers and 7 field supervisors. During the initial 3 months of training, the field worker is given instruction in the operation of the equipment he carries to the field. He is taught how to operate a projector and the function of all the various parts that go into making a film showing satisfactory from a technical point of view. However, the pitch and quality of his

voice over the microphone are less important than the words he says. The out-of-focus projection may have less lasting effect than a distortion in the way he meets any one of a dozen situations that may occur during the film showing. Indeed the mechanics of a good operation, important though they are, can be mastered in relatively few lessons. As can be well understood, the major emphasis in all training sessions is on matters of a more fundamental nature, for the field worker is an educator, not a projectionist.

Thus it is seen that all audiovisual materials made and used by the division are directly focused on a specific use within its program. A production plan of subjects to be developed is laid out a year in advance by a Program Committee made up of staff members from all units. Monthly meetings of this committee review all progress within the division, field work and research as well as materials under production, thus correlating all activities of the various sections and units.

THE FIELD AND TRAINING SECTION

Within the preamble to our law there is this statement—"No community shall be civically unemployed," and another—"The community can be constantly and usefully employed in its own service in terms of pride and satisfaction to the members thereof." In a genuine democracy the self-reliance of a community, finding its expression in civic employment, is a fair test of how deep and how genuine is that democracy. It is important, therefore, that such a program as ours be able to define the steps by which a rural community moves democratically from civic unemployment to civic employment. The question we must continually ask is, how do people advance from an attitude of apathy or passive acceptance of authoritarian leadership to one of democratic participation? What are the landmarks on the road that leads from dependency toward self-reliance?

Of the hundreds of rural communities that exist in Puerto Rico no two are alike in the attitude of the neighbors toward their problems. This would be true anywhere in the world. Some are indifferent; some disillusioned. Some are sure that no problem exists; and should they admit there is a problem, no way the people can solve it. Some have no faith in themselves or in their neighbors. Some believe that the community can become civically employed, but only under a leader who tells them how and what to do—a leader who exercises all his "authority." Some others, however, have found strength in the democratic concept that all members of the community have the right to participate in community discussion and action. Such neighbors are ready to identify their problems, find and develop their own leadership, and proceed toward solutions. Their numbers must be multiplied.

Shop Training for Boys Includes Drawing

The stimulation of growth from civic unemployment, from dependency to self-reliance within the communities of Puerto Rico, is, as established by our law, the very heart of the program of the division. The responsibility of the Field and Training Section is the selection, training, and supervision of the field workers assigned to this task.

One of the basic principles of our selection process was that anyone who wished to apply as a candidate for group organizer had the right to do so and had the right to be interviewed. This in part accounted for the large number who came to the first interview in each town. Out of this first large group, some 8 to 10 qualified men in each case were chosen. These candidates were then visited by a committee from the division. The interview was conducted in an atmosphere in which the candidate was most at ease: on a hillside near his home, under a tree on the grounds of his school, or beside a river in the barrio he had known since childhood. The interview was held without pressure of time. Many searching questions were asked of each

candidate in an attempt to learn his basic feelings with respect to people and their right and readiness to participate in community activities. As often as possible the candidate was observed in relationship to his neighbors and whenever there was a doubt in the mind of a member of the committee, the candidate was interviewed until that doubt was cleared. Thus, the 40 group organizers finally chosen were interviewed in this way three and sometimes four or more times before coming into training.

The committee also used this same process of selection in finding the seven supervisors. They too came to training on a 3 months' trial basis and spent those 3 months as members of the group later to be under their supervision in the field.

Thus from a large group of candidates, we finally found the men we needed. What kind of men were they—their vocation, former experience, and age? What educational or other preparation had they for this work?

Of the 40, 1 was a country peddler, 1 a fisherman, 1 the manager of a cooperative store. Two had been clergymen and 2 policemen. Seven of them were teachers, 7 others were small farmers. Seven were former municipal employees in such jobs as auditor, school director-treasurer, hospital administrator. Ten others were employed in the insular government in such agencies as Agriculture, Interior, and Health.

A small number ended their formal education below the 8th grade, a larger group below the 12th grade, and another small group spent some time at the university. One of the 40 has a college degree.

The youngest is 28; the oldest, 53. The average age is 38. All 40 were born and brought up in the country and with few exceptions all lived in the deep country. All are natives of the area they serve and have had connections since boyhood with many of the barrios in which they work. All are men, for although occasionally a woman offered her name as a candidate, she soon withdrew when she learned the full nature of the demands of the position.

All 40 were chosen in part because of the broad range of their participation in community activities and in part because of their belief in the basic principles of community-wide participation. In part also they were chosen because of their identification with the people and with the problems of the communities in which they lived. All have a deep respect for the individual regardless of his station. All like to be with people and to discuss in a friendly manner those subjects that seem to be of major concern to the community. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, each man was chosen because of his potential for growth. Possessing a free spirit, he has the capacity

to unlearn certain things that might retard the democratic development of a community and to learn a few other things that will enhance it. Through constant supervision and continuous in-service training seminars, the group organizer is able to examine old concepts and adopt new ones by evaluating his ideas and experiences with fellow group organizers and supervisors. Those who have the responsibility for aiding in his growth can thus judge his progress.

Having found the man to serve the rural area and the supervisor to work closely with him, having oriented him with a 3 months' period of training, we finally send him back to his home area.

His first 2 months in the field he spends studying the area of his work. He has a detailed map of his area and he knows more or less the many communities assigned to him. But never before has he had the opportunity and the need to drive over the roads, and visit intimately in the homes, and with the families of the barrios, to hear first-hand from the neighbors the various problems they face. During these first 2 months, he begins a course that will become his daily practice as long as he remains with the division. He walks long distances, uphill and down, stopping first at one home and then another, visiting with old and young, talking with individuals and groups, sometimes hearing serious talk, sometimes just chatting. He appears everywhere—at the home of the teacher, the large farm owner, the leader of the barrio, the church, the school. He visits with equal ease in the *batey* of the coffee worker, with the sugarcane cutter, or sitting on the edge of a fisherman's boat. His desire is to get to know as many people as possible and have them know him and his work. In his initial interviews, he has two specific objectives: the organization in each community of a volunteer study group with the additional task of distributing books on a house-to-house basis; and the selection of a site for the showing of films centrally located for the majority of the families in the community. These things he accomplishes during his first 2 months in the field, and he does it in the 8 communities he and his supervisor have selected following careful study and analysis.

Each group organizer is convinced of the importance of the work he is fortunate to be engaged in. He never resents the tremendous physical demands it makes upon him. It is a task that calls for great patience and understanding. He sacrifices much. His personal life may sometimes suffer as a consequence of his devotion. If he ever stops to question what he is doing in a barrio, 20 kilometers from his home at 10 o'clock at night in the pouring rain with an hour of treacherous, muddy driving before he can reach the hard-surfaced road,

then he is lost. Let us quote directly from the report of Barrio Cedro Arriba made by the fieldworker in Comerío.

> *Cedro Arriba—Sector San Antonio*
> 9/4/51
>
> Projection of the film *Los Peloteros*. The place for the screening of the film is the San Antonio schoolyard.
>
> I arrived early in the afternoon and visited in the various parts of San Antonio. And then on to the place of screening. While I was setting up the projection equipment, an unexpected shower fell, but in spite of the rain the people continued to come from all directions.
>
> After the music reel I announced to the audience that it was necessary to begin the screening so as to take advantage of the weather. Just before the end of the first part, a strong shower fell again. Four persons held the oilcloth over the projector. In spite of the rain the people continued to look at the film. Later, however, during the second part, there came a downpour with wind. Now there was great confusion. The screening had to be stopped. The people ran to protect themselves, while I, with the help of several neighbors under the rain, was able to gather in the equipment.
>
> What had been happiness for everyone, now suddenly turned into sadness. The bad country roads and the long walk home became the topic of conversation.
>
> Then they came to me and said: "What a good picture, Guille, and how unfortunate we did not see the ending."
>
> Then they said: "We don't know how you are going to leave the barrio tonight, but don't worry. We have oxen in case your jeep will not go out by itself."
>
> When I left, they called to me: "May you go with God, and be careful. The road is very bad." I changed to the power gear and moved along toward home very slowly and somewhat frightened.

If the fieldworker ever doubts the faith he has in the people he is working with or the basic principles of his role as an educator, he then turns to worrying—worrying about his small salary, his sick wife, his unattended farm, his own health, his driving, his unforeseeable future, or any one of several other persistent problems. And it is at just such times that the real test comes of whether he is truly a group organizer or not.

But the greatest test of strength comes as he begins to work more intensively with a community to help its members move forward from dependency to full self-reliance. There are many obstacles in his way: The indifference of many of the neighbors; the old patterns of allowing one man to make all the decisions; the lack of understanding by the people of how to come to a group decision; the urge to act without adequate planning; the "begging" attitude inherent in the old way of raising money; the jealousies that some people develop as they work with others; the unwillingness to include the "unwanted families"; the countryman's suspicion of city men; his wish to disregard the

women of the community; the difficult task of preventing a group discussion from turning into a verbal free-for-all in which pockets of argument and debate are carried on independent of each other; and the even more difficult task of controlling the speechmaker without hurting his feelings.

In the following passages, quoted directly without editing from the much more detailed report of Zacarías Rodríguez of Barranquitas, we see many of these problems in the dramatic focus of daily living. It is translated from the record of his work in Barrio Cuyón.

> 4/16/51 I entered this barrio for the first time in connection with my work as group organizer by the street where the post office of Aibonito is located. The first person I talked with was Eduardo Maldonado. This man offered to give all the cooperation he could.
>
> From here, I went on to the middle of the barrio. Leaving the bus there, I proposed to go into the interior guided by a countryman who offered to lead me along the rural roads, their way in and their way out. This man said to me: "I can tell you where the houses are located.

Looking Over New Material From Production Section

ERIC

Many you cannot see for they are in the valleys and are hidden by the little hills."

I went on into the barrio and after 2 kilometers arrived at the school. To get here one has to go by a rural road which is good at the beginning but afterwards very rough. The neighbors tell me that when the river overflows the teachers cannot cross the river to the school.

From here I went on to visit more homes. One neighbor told me he knew nothing—"I don't know if I even know how to speak well, but I understand clearly a matter of this kind and I think it depends on us whether or not it succeeds." Then we talked of health problems and he said, "No, a doctor has never come here. We are here like animals fenced in. We have grass and water. One never sees here an official who comes to find out how we are. The only ones who get something are those who live in the corner of the barrio because the officials pass by the road and help the ones who are near. * * *"

Afterwards I crossed the river and visited some other homes. Here, when I told them about the films, they said: "We do not see films because we are Christians." Then I told them what kind of films they were and they said, "We will consult our minister."

The place they have urged me to screen the film is on the grounds of the school, about 2 kilometers from the road, but they compel themselves to carry the equipment to the place and bring it back.

6/1/51 Today I visited the following sectors of this barrio: El Pueblito, Rincón, and Hoyo Frío. I could notice that all the persons to whom I talked were interested in the program. They spoke of a need for a medical center and a milk station for the children.

6/25/51 Today I visited the barrio in the Sectors Ratones and Ceiba, I went on visiting and trying to interest others. After walking for various hours talking in all the houses and to everybody I met on the way, I walked back to where I had left the jeep, in the company of six persons, all of them young men, unemployed. After talking to them about the program and specially about the importance of the books, we made a note of the books each one would help to distribute and in what sector.

7/5/51 On this date I visited Barrio Cuyón for the screening of the film "Desde las Nubes." About 225 persons were present and most of them were adults. At the end they thanked God and many voices were heard saying: "Come again."

7/14/51 I visited Cuyón on this day with the purpose of talking again with the neighbors. From the first time I went to this barrio, the people had told me about the problem of the milk station. They said they had waited too long for the government to solve this need. They had lost all hope. * * * On this day some parents of the community, such as Manolo Dávila, said: "Once you said that maybe we could, with our own efforts, help to solve this problem." It was the beginning. We talked for a long time. Then I said, "I am going to visit some more families and talk to them." "I'll go to the part of the barrio called Pueblito," said Don Manolo. "And I of Rincón," said Don Roque. "Well, then, I'll go to the middle of the barrio," I said.

8/25/51 On this date I again visited the barrio. I talked to some of the neighbors I had interviewed the last time. Don Manolo says, "We

are waiting for your decision. I am poor, but I think I can do something, * * *" Don Juan Dávila, "I am poor, but I have my arms ready to be employed in the welfare of my barrio * * *." Don Roque Colón, "I was waiting to talk about the little affair. I can get many things, also give the place." * * * To all I said, "We will have to meet to talk all together."

8/29/51 On this day I again went to Cuyón to talk to the people and to interest a greater number of them.

9/12/51 I visited the barrio to fasten poster. I talked to more neighbors.

9/15/51 On this date I screened "Vecinos" and "Una Gota de Agua" in Barrio Cuyón. Not fewer than 400 persons were present. The films were commented on favorably, but I could not see any reaction during the scene in which the countrymen were planning the solution of their problems. They only laughed when they saw the picture. During the scene relating to the milk station, there was a great silence but without commentaries.

10/2/51 On the 2d of October I went back to the barrio to see and talk with the people about where and when we could meet. We agreed to meet in a certain garage on the 14th of October. Everybody agreed to invite someone else.

10/14/51 The 14th of October a group of parents of Barrio Cuyón and I met for the first time to talk and discuss together the problem of the milk station. First we tried to find out if all of them were affected by the problem. They were. Then I read the Rules of the Department of Education for the establishment of a milk station.

Each time I read a paragraph, we discussed it. When I read the part that tells about the contribution a community should make to receive the benefit of the law, the first one who said he agreed and was ready to do his part was Don Manolo Dávila. He addressed his neighbors and said it was fair they do their share inasmuch as their own children were the ones to receive the benefit. All the persons agreed unaminously.

One father said that he had no money but had arms and disposition. Three of the neighbors present in this meeting were carpenters and seemed very much interested. They said we could cover the floor with cement. Next, we discussed the place. To this Don Roque Colón said, "That is what I'm going to give." But because the barrio is divided by a river, some of the parents said that if it were built on one side the other families might be cut off. There was need of more discussion here and so we agreed to meet again on the 21st of October.

10/19/51 On the 19th of October I visited the barrio to talk with the families before the meeting of the 21st.

10/21/51 On the 21st of October we met again to discuss the milk station. Some neighbors who live near the school thought that the place that would benefit the whole barrio would be on the other side of the river because even though many would have to make some sacrifice, a greater number of children would thus receive the benefit. We decided to meet again on the 28th to come to an agreement when most of those

affected would be present. Each one said he would personally invite a neighbor.

1?/28/51 We again met in the place agreed upon by the persons interested. They realized their promise to each bring another person and there were not fewer than 35 neighbors present.

They said the land where they wanted the milk station to be built was owned by Don Modesto Avilés. At that moment Don Modesto arrived at the meeting and they themselves told him why they were assembled and the resolutions made. When he was told they wanted the milk station on part of his land, he said that not only would he give the piece of his land but also any other cooperation he could.

After arriving at this point, we decided to learn what the community was ready to give. After a time it grew somewhat late and many had work to do at their homes. We decided to meet again on the 11th of November at 1 p. m. at the site of the milk station. This meeting was carried on as though we were in a whole family. All were very happy. We left with the purpose of interesting others in our project.

11/11/51 The 11th of November we met in the place agreed upon in the former meeting but there were not as many as at the last meeting. There were two reasons: One was the death of a child and its funeral at 2:30 p. m., and the other was a matter of religion. That day most of the neighbors had gone on a peregrination to six towns.

In spite of this, however, 14 persons carried on the meeting. We discussed the cost of the work and what the barrio was ready to do. Among other things, the neighbors agreed to pay a visit to the mayor and the superintendent of schools to inform them of their plans.

11/12/51 I visited the mayor and he agreed to see a commission from the barrio on November 17.

11/14/51 On this day the film "Los Peloteros" was screened in Cuyón. At 6 o'clock in the afternoon before beginning the screening of the film, I talked with many parents interested in the milk station and told them of the appointment with the mayor. About 400 persons attended the screening of the film. They had music and also a program of their own.

During the projection some neighbors could be heard commenting in this manner: "That meeting at the beginning of the film looks like the ones we hold." At the end of the projection a man, a carpenter by occupation, asked me for the microphone and spoke to his neighbors in this way: "If those boys in the film succeeded, we can succeed also."

11/17/51 On this day a commission of Barrio Cuyón visited the city hall to talk with the mayor, but he was away on urgent official business and the commission could not see him. Right there we agreed to plan another visit.

12/12/51 I visited some neighbors of Barrio Cuyón in the evening.

12/28/51 On the 28th of December a commission from the barrio visited the mayor. He said, "I want to congratulate the commission for the interest the people have taken in solving this problem, which will lead to the welfare of the barrio." He said he would help the barrio by giving some wood for the building. We returned to the barrio and planned a meeting during the Three Kings' Day.

On the same day, 28th of December, I talked with the supervisor of school lunchrooms, and agreed to help her to make a census of the children who would be covered by the ages prescribed by the regulations.

1/5/52 The 5th of January 1952, I visited Barrio Cuyón to make further plans for the meeting. All agreed on the second Sunday of January at 1 p. m. in the local school.

1/8/52 On the 8th of January 1952, I visited the barrio to talk with the neighbors. The teachers agreed to let the community use one of the rooms of the school for the meeting. We also agreed to screen again the film "Los Peloteros" for those people who did not have the opportunity to see it at the regular showing.

1/13/52 The neighbors met with the purpose of first hearing from the commission named by them for the interview with the mayor; second, to appoint a treasurer; and, third, to plan the collection of funds. The barrio is in a very poor economic condition, but they unanimously said they would give everything they could to see their dream come true. At the end of the meeting we set the 27th of January 1952, that is, 15 days later, to meet again. Everybody present said they would bring another one for the next time. The number of adults present in this meeting of the 13th was 43.

1/22/52 On the 22d of January a commission from the barrio visited the office of the superintendent of schools.

1/27/52 At this meeting the neighbors learned of the contribution of wood and cement promised from the mayor and superintendent. They estimated that in addition they would need 30 bags of cement, 6 rolls of roof paper, several hundred nails, 8 gallons of paint, and a number of steel rods. A neighbor said, "I think we should name a commission to ask for help all over the barrio because we well know this is for the welfare of us all." Everybody agreed and a commission was appointed. It was also agreed to ask the children to work in activities like selling of candy made by the mothers of the barrio.

2/16/52 On the 16th of February I went to the barrio. This commission could not go out to collect funds due to sickness problems of the persons who composed it. A new date, March 1, was set for carrying out this activity.

3/1/52 On March 1, the visits to collect the funds and talk with the neighbors could not be carried out because the persons composing the commission were still sick. All agreed it would be postponed till the 15th of March.

3/9/52 The 9th of March I visited Barrio Cuyón to fasten posters and meet the committee for the distribution of the book, "Science versus Superstition."

3/11/52 On the 11th of March I again visited the barrio with the supervisor of lunchrooms, this time to help the neighbors make the census of the children so that the community could justify the need of a milk station.

3/13/52 The film "Pueblito de Santiago" was screened in Cuyón on the 13th of March, with an attendance of approximately 350 persons. There

was much interest among those present. The program began with music, and later we talked about the books. There was evidence that the book had been read. I spoke on the microphone of the project of the milk station in case there was someone present who did not know about it.

3/15/52 On the 15th of March I visited Cuyón with the purpose of meeting the commission that would visit the barrio for its contribution. We visited 29 houses, about one-tenth of the barrio. All persons who contributed did so consciously and felt that what they gave was very little. They offered themselves and their animals for the work. (There follows a list of 28 names of contributions ranging from 5¢ to $2. and totaling $20.30.)

That day we set the date to continue the activity on the 29th of March. We also agreed on a community meeting for April 20 at which time the community would raffle off a donated pig.

3/29/52 On the 29th of March members of the committee visited 36 families of the sectors Ceiba and Pueblito. (Follows a list of 36 names of families contributing from 15¢ to $2 and totaling $13. Thirteen of the families were able to pledge only a certain number of days of work.)

4/20/52 On the 20th of April the neighbors met for the purpose of informing the barrio, of hearing the report of the treasurer, and to start collecting the promised materials. After a long planning meeting they said they wanted to see "Pueblito de Santiago" again. Following the movie we raffled off the pig, the winner being Don Pedro Rivera. All were very happy for his luck. The group organizer closed the day by reminding the community that we would have to meet many more times to reach conclusions, since the ideas of everybody are necessary for a matter which concerns everybody.

4/30/52 On this day a committee waited all day for the promised wood but it did not come.

5/10/52 On the 10th of May I visited the barrio and took advantage of the opportunity to interest several neighbors of the northern part of the barrio who were not happy about the selection of the site. Several neighbors informed me that part of the wood had arrived and that they had put it away.

5/27/52 On the 27th of May I visited the superintendent of schools concerning the cement which his office had offered. I also visited the office of the local supervisor of the milk stations. She told me the admission blanks had been returned to her because she had only written one last name of each child when she should have written both. Also the parents should have signed the papers.

6/5/52 On the 5th of June I visited the barrio to talk with the neighbors about the next meeting. I spoke to many families in different sectors of the barrio and they made themselves responsible for inviting the rest of the barrio for the 15th of June at 1 p. m., at the site of the milk station. On my way out to the road I heard Don Manolo Dávila talking to a group of more than 10 persons about the work of the Division of Community Education, giving them as an example the story of the bridge printed in the Almanac for 1952.

6/15/52 At the meeting on the 15th of June we discussed the need to present our plans to the Planning Board in San Juan.

Thus for more than a year the people of Cuyón talked and worked together, individually and in groups, seeking a solution to a problem common to all. It was on the 14th of July 1951, 3 months after the group organizer had first visited the barrio that he recorded in his diarylike record, "It was the beginning." On that day Don Manolo Dávila had said, "Once you told us that maybe we could with our own efforts help to solve this problem." Through many disappointments but with even greater accomplishments, through sickness and poverty, often delayed by rain and mud, the community, 15 months later, finally reached the place where it built its own milk station. Today they are building a road, but more important, through devoted and patient adherence to the principles of democratic participation, the people of Cuyón are coming closer together in their search for a better life.

But here is a place where we must not be confused. Material acquisitions are not the major ingredients of this better life. Poverty of the spirit and the intellect can be found as much in the community of fine buildings and abundant services as in the poor man's countryside. Buildings and services are only landmarks of a people's growth. Their value to the community can be measured only when one knows and understands the nature of their origin, how they came to be, and what motivation keeps their function alive today.

The value of the work of a man like Zacarías Rodrígues can only be understood by one who carries with him a faith in the people in all matters affecting their lives and the lives of their neighbors regardless of their economic or social status. Lacking this same faith, a reader of Zacarías' report will find much to criticize. He will be irritated at the length of time it took to settle on a site, and undoubtedly he will tally up the cost to the government in salaries, gasoline, wear and tear on the jeep traveling to a distant sector of the barrio to talk with a group of neighbors who were unhappy about the site selected. He will be scornful of the time it took to raise the nickels and dimes in house to house visits and he will be disdainful of a raffled pig. In short he will know a "cheaper" way to get a milk station built and in much less time.

This is the critic who does not believe in the people, in their dignity and worth, in their potential, once unleashed, to accomplish great tasks. This is the man, no matter where he is found, who distrusts the fact that people can and should enter into their own planning in matters that affect them. This is the man who believes that the "professional" always knows more and should assume the leadership

in telling the people what they should do. In his heart he is not a true democrat no matter what his lips profess. He is himself a poorly oriented member of his own community.

Fortunately, in the Barrios Cuyón throughout the island of Puerto Rico there are not many such men, and those that there are either grow as the community grows or are cast aside as untrustworthy expressions of a more cynical, authoritarian past.

An examination of the role of the fieldworker makes it clear that no group organizer thinks of himself as a "leader" in any community in which he works. In no way does he accept this function or title. He is alert to see that the people do not look to him to solve a problem, to make contacts for them, to plead special privileges with influential people.

Though an accomplished technician in his own field of educational orientation, no group organizer considers himself a professional in the specialized areas of health, sanitation, agriculture, labor, or other related subjects. He knows personally many in these professions through his period of training and through contacts he has made in his area. He does not try to duplicate these services. Instead he orients the community to seek out the professional and to ask for his technical assistance.

The group organizer does not assume that until he arrived on the scene no community action existed in the island. He is aware of the history of the "juntas," and during training he has visited a number of centers where community activity is already underway. There is no problem of his competing with "already established programs" or "existing committees," for it is not in his thinking or in his way of working to "establish committees" or "organize" people. Any action taken will be action taken by the community itself.

In this close relationship with people a group organizer can best be described as a catalytic agent. When he visits a community, he takes the time, whether he is distributing books, putting up posters, or showing a film, to listen to all the talk and discussion of the people around him. His manner is easy and permissive. He never pushes people into a reaction; he never himself states in a declarative way what he believes should be done; he does not try through words to mould opinion or to have the people come to a decision he himself may consider sound. He is not in a hurry. He wants the people to meet together when they desire it and to discuss all matters that they themselves deem most important. All of this takes time.

Sometimes it has taken a community many months to reach a place where they meet for the first time and a year or more as in the case of Cuyón, to plan the construction of something.

Why should it take so long a time to plan something a community can build in a few weeks? The answer is that more than a bridge or a schoolhouse is being built. A whole community of people is under construction or reconstruction from old patterns of thought and ways of doing things into practices that guarantee better results and more satisfaction through greater participation. It is the struggle of a community to become civically employed.

It takes that long because only by laying such a foundation of basic understanding can a community be sure that its members will continue to work together after the bridge is built, after the road is repaired, after the well is dug. Through this process of growth it finds continued faith in itself, confidence in its truly elected leadership, and pride and satisfaction in its own service.

In a barrio where today the community has solved its first problem and has moved on to another, we watched the people turn from being a pressure group, demanding that the mayor and superintendent bring them a milk station, to a place where they applauded a neighbor who stated in a community meeting that this was a matter "that we ourselves must solve." This reorientation took place over more than a year of community self-analysis.

We have seen a barrio leader, who never before permitted his responsibilities to be shared with any other person, sitting in an office of the Planning Board with seven other committee members appointed by the community (among them, women) sharing equally in the presentation of their problem.

We were present at a meeting when the members of a community refused graciously but firmly the offer of a sum of money from a well-to-do person outside their barrio because, they said, they wished to have the opportunity to raise the money in nickels and dimes from their own pockets.

We have watched an influential neighbor try to block a roadbuilding project when he found the community did not intend to have it pass his store. And then we watched the community win him over to its way of thinking.

These are a few of the many signs of growth we see taking place within our rural communities. As the months go by these signs increase, for our field staff is now working intensively in nearly 300 communities throughout the island.

Using every such good resource to help him in his task, the field-worker moves from community to community believing in himself, the people, and in the principles to which he is devoted. After many months of living closely with these principles, he reaches the day when the community is ready to inaugurate the completion of a project. The people must know that this is their day—a day of

commencement, not of ending. The speechmaking must be theirs; the laughter and praise theirs. For who can better dedicate a new road or a new school than those who with their heads, hearts, and hands helped to build it!

And if this dedication is of the people, they will understand that this is not an end but a beginning; that the completion of the first task is a start on the foundation on which all community betterment will rest. They will then know what Walt Whitman, the poet, meant when he wrote:

> Have the past struggles succeeded? What has succeeded? Yourself? Your nation? Nature? Now understand me well—it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.

The Small Community Center Is Used for Various Demonstrations

Community School in the Philippines

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COMMUNITY SCHOOLS IN A PHILIPPINE TOWN

SANTA BARBARA, a town of 650 families, is located in Iloilo, a province in Central Philippines. When the smoke of battle cleared in 1945, the town was badly battered, physically and spiritually. Along with other rehabilitation plans, it was proposed that the elementary school, with a population of 2,000, and the newly established high school carry learning over to the homes. Might not sanitation, beautification, and raising food crops at home and in the community be generally practicable, as in the schools? This was easier said than done. Up to 1948, the supervisory injunction, meritorious though it was, did not seem to work. War had unsettled the social order, but human behavior remained the same. What was there to be done, educationally?

Education, at least, showed a measure of sensitivity to the magnified problems of society. The educational system, so rigid in its hierarchical practice for nearly half a century, recognized postwar problems as urgent, and stood ready for change in attitude, if the change had validity.

The desire that education be an instrument of social progress was great, but directives to achieve this purpose appeared self-defeating. Now, Santa Barbara had a high-school principal with a leader's vision. Perhaps he and his 32 teachers, given support and stimulation, could find answers to questions that had baffled school administrators. In 1948, Santa Barbara became the center of an educational experiment.

These were some of the problems needing answers: (1) Would it be feasible for the teacher, in addition to his classroom duties, to lead in the education of the adult? (2) What approaches were necessary to bring school and home together? (3) What would happen if the cultural separation of the school from the community, so patent in colonial experience, were erased? As the experiment progressed, these additional problems presented themselves: (4) What competencies were needed by the teacher in order that he might carry on with a greatly expanded function? (5) What were the pitfalls in

community organization? (6) What was the role of lay-leadership training for continuous community effort? (7) How should the school and other Government agencies be coordinated for mutual assistance to the community?

Limited to Santa Barbara and one other community, a village, the action research undertaken was characterized by decentralization in educational experience.[1] Each community was an administrative unit. While higher school administrators assisted in problem-solving processes, each unit identified its own problems, planned to meet them, and developed the skills and resources at its command. Other communities in Iloilo, learning later from Santa Barbara, worked on the same decentralized pattern, without organization on the municipal or provincial level. The latter organizational type soon appeared in the province of Bataan in Northern Philippines, and offers a significant contrast in approach that will be discussed later.

The decentralized pattern left Santa Barbara free to evolve its own program. The high-school principal started it with round-table discussions among his teachers. In the large task of involving the adults, the little precedent they had in the civic-educational lectures and community assemblies, made use of several decades ago on a formalistic pattern, was hardly of any comfort. Even the teachers' success in another province in the late thirties to generalize a farmer's successful two-rice crop experiment, helped them but little. Many of them were skeptical. Only a few were believers, and two or three matched their principal in vision.

Meetings with parents in school began. These turned out to be simple self-surveys in which the home economics and vocational teachers took a prominent part. Many facts were brought out about the homes: The lack of food, of sanitary facilities, of the finer touches that made a home livable, and the bareness of surroundings. The backyards could grow more food, but they did not. Pigs could be penned, but they were not. The parents appreciated the teachers' concern for their welfare. Yes, they would help carry out the community program. Set patterns of living were nonetheless strong, and good intentions went to naught.

Perhaps home visits by teachers would give the initial push. The elementary school teachers across the street, skeptical in the beginning, would now have none of this kind of program. But a few months later a poor family had produced a livable home, suitably partitioned to provide privacy, and neatly hung with pictures. It had a sanitary toilet where before it had none. The yard showed some green plants. This was what the high-school principal was waiting for.

[1] Aguilar, José V. *Santa Barbara, Iloilo, the Pioneer Community School It Can Be Done.* Manila, Bureau of Public Schools, 1954.

His teachers arranged for an assembly on the spot, and in the presence of the crowd the mayor acknowledged the achievement with a gift of one sack of rice.

Execution of the community program looked brighter then. At the same time, it uncovered serious problems. Consultations among high-school teachers seemed to point to the need for better organization of their forces. They thought of "zoning" the town, which they did. Their increasing contacts with homes revealed that their school was an island isolated from the community, culturally and socially. They began to discover the cultural gap that their own education had interposed between them and their people.

This discovery mellowed down their sense of educational superiority, enabling them to grasp the tremendous force of the people's way. To succeed in promoting active participation in community planning, they had to go through a process of reeducation in the culture of their people. It meant, too, the orientation of their school to that culture. They found out how inadequately English, the language of the school, expressed the people's inmost thoughts, and made amends by getting close to these thoughts through the native language. By this act, they raised their mother tongue to the category of a working language in the community.

This cultural reorientation later changed the concept of "zone" to *puro*, which was "inspired by the old Malayan practice of living close together in a *barangay* for mutual help and protection." [2] The *puro* (*purok* in the Filipino language, as originally used in Bataan) is a "service organization which serves its members and which the members serve because it serves their purposes." [3] It is a neighborhood group of workable size whose leader naturally arises in the process of organization. *Puro* in Iloilo, into which the "zone" idea passed, like that of Bataan, has become the core of community organization, a socially inspired unit without the political attributes of the old *barangay*.

As the Santa Barbara high-school teachers stimulated the development of a home here and a home there, they began throwing more and more of the management of the *puros* to the people themselves. The elementary school teachers across the street perked up at this unwonted community behavior, and soon joined in the effort. The first great lesson in cooperation was learned by the two schools. The municipal officials took more than passing notice of the goings-on; the justice of the peace, who first thought that the schools were undertaking "an impossible task," became a backer of the movement.

[2] [illegible], Jose S. *Calling: A Lesson on Self-Help via Community Schools of the Philippines.* A publication of the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1954. p. 105.

[3] Laya, J. C. *Little Democracies of Bataan.* Manila, Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951. P. 67.

The teachers now relaxed on home visits and depended more for stimulation on *puro* meetings. At first the teachers were key figures in these meetings; later on, the *puros* chose their own leaders. The teachers yielded operational functions to them, continuing to stimulate the leadership of each *puro* and the community coordinating council consisting of the *puro* leaders.

Even as this new experience for the laity was taking place, the teachers were growing in a new experience—the humanizing effect of contact with adults. They still belonged to an administrative hierarchy, but they could now look at it from the outside. They were ready to humanize classroom practice, to connect it with the parents' struggles, to stimulate the creative capabilities of youth.

The rounded development of the child, a concept formerly confined to school, now had the community for a setting, with its cultural cross currents, its resources, its ideals. In the elementary school, for instance, some classes used reading, writing, numbers, elementary science, and the art of expression in the study of chicken raising, bringing into the activity elements such as leadership and human relations. The children surveyed current practices in the community, interviewed persons with know-how, invited a representative of the Bureau of Animal Industry to demonstrate. The demonstration was attended by some parents. This project got some families interested in scientific poultry raising, in which they took a continuing concern. In the high school, biology and home economics got involved in nutrition and care of tuberculous patients, leading to appropriate service projects.

The young learners had other problems, other projects. Sometimes their problems were those of the *puros*. The two schools and the community had moved to become one, with the young learners in hopes, in their own day, of bettering an already improved community.

The lessons learned by Santa Barbara became known to other teachers in 1950.[4] They were to be learned by many other Philippine communities.

THE NEW EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT

Before the publication of the experience of Santa Barbara, some facts about the developing Philippine community school began to receive attention in educational circles. The UNESCO Consultative Educational Mission, seeing this new type of school early in 1949,

[4] Aguilar, José. V. Report on the Development of the Santa Barbara Community School. *Philippine Journal of Education*, V. 33:10, April 1950.

thought it was a promising experiment. It recommended the development of the community school.[8] Superintendents in convention in May 1949 mulled over the theme "Education for Community Living," and their newly born organization, the Philippine Association of School Superintendents (PASS), presented a 10-year program based on the community-school idea.

The climate was thus favorable to the official adoption of the community school. That came on September 19, 1950, with the issuance by the Director of Public Schools of a bulletin entitled "The Organization and Operation of the Community-Centered School."

For more than 3 years after that date the community school had an up-hill struggle, for it quickly assumed the proportions of a movement. The idea spread like wildfire, and there was not enough background of understandings and insights to insure healthy growth.

The hierarchical system so long ingrained in institutionalized education immediately operated also in the movement. Many school administrators decreed community improvement dealing almost wholly with physical aspects, in the spirit of campaign. Teachers and pupils followed the orders. Soon teachers complained of inability to teach their pupils on top of their work to help adults effect physical improvements in the community. Children, too, were out of school a good part of the time to contribute their mite to such improvements. Critics within the ranks of educators warned against this direction. These criticisms culminated in May 1953 in the advice of the Director of Public Schools to superintendents in convention, thus: "People still judge the success of the work of the school on the basis of the functional results on the child of instruction in the fundamentals. It would be desirable if such development in the child would result in a corresponding improvement of the community and community living."

The sudden wide interest in the community school, without an accompanying sense of the developmental process, took the line of least resistance: to accomplish the spectacular in as short a time as possible. It became the vogue to count the heads of chickens, the sanitary toilets constructed, the kilometers of roads laid out through cooperative labor called *bayani*, the number of adults who learned to read, the homes with vegetable yards. It soon developed that lifting the campaign pressure also meant the demise of projects. This impermanence, added to the increasingly heavy load of the teacher and the neglect of the child's education, struck back at school administrators who had permitted enthusiasm to hold sway.

[8] UNESCO Consultative Educational Mission to the Philippines, *Report of the Mission to the Philippines*. Paris, UNESCO, 1949. Pp. [illegible].

Consultants and Work Shop Members Use Community Resources in Developing Classroom Units

Fortunately, the few frontier community schools in the provinces of Bataan, Cagayan, Cebu, Iloilo, and Pampanga continued to evolve practices from which educational writers forged principles and concepts. For instance, native culture manifested in *bayani*, *barangay*, *patugsiling* (Golden Rule), *Kakugi* (industry),[6] and the like became an object of study and use as the base of interaction between child and adult. At the time, a growing interest in native culture was propelled by the Iloilo controlled experiment in the use of Hiligaynon, the native language of the region, as a medium of instruction in the lower grades. Both culture content and its medium of transmission linked child and adult interests; this liaison helped greatly in the development of lay leadership for puroks, which enabled the teacher gradually to shift operational responsibility to it.

At the time, therefore, that community improvement was receiving the brunt of criticism, lessons of interaction between the child and the

[6] Kaldama, Eugenio. *Alameda*. Manila, R. P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1948.

adult were being published in the educational journals. Early, the Philippine Normal College began to develop a teacher-education program that would give training in competencies adequate to the involvement of the adult in learning. Through inservice and preservice education, the idea that community improvements, to be permanent, must spring from changes in attitude, behavior, and outlook, whether of man or child, began to spread from frontier community schools to others. Gradually, the probability loomed, even to the severest critics, that physical improvements, undertaken as outcomes of the educative process in children's classes and in adults' *purok* meetings, could be integrated in the school program. This thought was helped along by the Seminar on Fundamental and Adult Education in Manila in 1951, by workshops for supervisors and teachers held during two summers in Baguio, and by superintendents' seminars held in Iloilo and Pangasinan where advanced community schools operated on concepts synthesized from practice. Then laymen joined teachers in regional *barrio* seminars, and later held their own on the community level. Lately, regional curriculum workshops, coming directly to the "stuff" of instruction, were made possible by the understanding on the part of an increasingly larger proportion of the 18,918 public schools of community education, a process involving physical improvement as its manifestation.

One very interesting question today is: Why did this educational movement begin with the school, not with the teacher-education institution? Perhaps the logic of events decreed it that way. The school was on the frontier where society was in ferment, the teacher-education institution in centers relatively removed from discontent. Whatever the reason, the teacher-education institution immediately rose to the occasion and recaptured leadership. It began clarifying goals, developing personnel, and evolving a program, for "he who would lead others must first lead himself." [7]

CURRENT PROBLEMS: THE DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

The danger that almost closed in on the community-school movement lay in the lack of appreciation of the developmental concept. Some of the objectionable features cited before have disappeared or are disappearing. Where this has happened, the reason may usually be traced to the changing character of the educational leadership in favor of the developmental view. This view, held for instance by the provincial leadership, permitted development in associates who, sooner or later, transmitted the spirit to lay people and school children.

[7] Naval, Macario and Martinez, Jesús I. Teacher Education for the Community School. *Education in Rural Areas for Better Living.* Manila, Bookman, Inc., 1950. P. 161.

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Impatience, it was evident, had no place in the educative process. Spade work was needed for a successful community organization, and that might take a year or two. This ground work might involve teachers' visits to homes, meetings with parents, inviting mothers to school to join their girls in practical work, holding a cooking class in some home at an appropriate time. Rapport between school and community was bound to follow, and on it a proposal to organize into *puroks* had good chances of acceptance. Acceptance of organization constituted the initial step to training in lay leadership, which, again, might take another year or two before the leadership set-up won recognition on the basis of competence.

This process of developing human resources has proved time and again to be rewarding. It was not generally understood at the inception of the movement. The following illustrates the haste so heartbreaking in community-school development: "One very human touch in this difficult problem of cooperation was provided by a delegate who boldy recited the failure of a teacher-lay organization, so well set up, to function in a community. Abandoned by lay workers, the teachers decided to work overtime to carry on the community project already mapped out. * * * The real problem, of course, was the premature setting up of an elaborate committee organization. It did not grow; it just appeared. Therefore, it disappeared as quickly as it appeared."[illegible]

Frontier community-school teachers developed their programs, including the organization of *puroks*, as a learning activity for themselves, for lay participants, and for school children. Their staffs worked on the assumption, which was almost always true, that they knew little of social dynamics, of the pitfalls of organizing people, of responses to new ideas peculiar to the community. They assumed, too, that they had to start from scratch on the art of group dynamics in the classrooms. They took a long view of their program under which they themselves undertook the difficult task of growing continuously with the growth of resources at hand.

The teachers, as a group, could offer a small degree of specialization in skills, and although none attempted to grow into a multidisciplinary person, each tried to appreciate the different fields of human activity. They learned to coordinate their efforts and to arrive at some insights into skills needed for organization. For instance, they would assist the community leadership to get help from other Government agencies on problems of health, rice production, the weaving industry, etc. They would get similar help from persons with special skills. They would

[illegible] Golden Jubilee of the Philippine Educational System. *Seminar on Fundamental and Adult Education.* Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1952. P. 176.

also bring these technical men to their schools to help in the teaching of specialized knowledge and skills or to sit down with them in conferences to help develop resource units from which classes might draw materials for learning activities. Frontier community-school teachers did not come accidently by these skills in organization; they learned them.

To promote understanding of the developmental concept is a long-range problem of the community school. In its experimental stages, the movement brought out some of the finest lessons ever to be learned in this connection. Insight into cultural unity that should subtend learning between the child and the adult came painfully, gradually, in the throes of a dualism which nearly wrecked the movement. If the child were to continue to draw his cultural bearings from outside his people's own, there could not be any hope for the adult in participatory learning. The child and the adult would continue poles apart, each moving in a different cultural world. This duality would be confirmed in the duality of school and community, making the teacher's task of developing both impossible.

This unitary idea has resulted from, and has given stimulus to, the use of the vernacular in the lower grades followed by English as the second language. Increasingly, the culture of the vernacular is becoming the base for common child-adult learning. It has facilitated interaction between them, bringing to comprehension, in homes and communities, learnings in the social, physical, and biological sciences acquired by children in English. These thoughts came to be synthesized from slow, evolving practice, and gave birth to the principle of the "little helper." [illegible]

The "little helper," whether he be an elementary-school child or a high-school youth, is himself subject to stimulation by the adult who, with far wider experience, learns the self-help way through organized community effort. Some of those in his group are endowed with special skills; sometimes these are utilized in off-campus learning activity in which children and parents participate. The province of Laguna has made extensive use of the off-campus technique in which the interaction between the child and the adult leads to, and derives inspiration from, community projects.

These developmental processes are coextensive with the effort to upgrade educational leadership. Bayambang in the province of Pangasinan, the center of Philippine-UNESCO cooperative venture, illustrates the realization of the need for the continuous development of leaders for the community school. This long-term need is also realized in the pattern of cooperation that is developing among the University of the Philippines, the Bureau of Public Schools, the

Ibid., pp. [illegible].

School and Health Unit Learn To Work Together

Philippine Normal College, PASS, Philippine Public School Teachers' Association (PPSTA), and the International Cooperation Administration. In this pattern the view is held that school administrators occupy a strategic position in the total educational effort and that through a cooperatively redesigned program they may better meet new problems arising from gains previously made.

CURRENT PROBLEMS: CENTRALIZATION VERSUS DECENTRALIZATION IN SCHOOL FUNCTIONS

The Philippine public-school system, following the structure of government, is highly centralized. It has a hierarchy that conforms to the line-and-staff system. Postwar social problems were of varying type and degree in different sections of the country. As these became acute, there arose a demand to permit administrators and supervisors

to "exercise greater freedom and authority." [10] The demand came at the time when educational leadership in the provinces began to test the possibilities of the school as a socially conceived agency of progress.

While the handling of the budget, school construction, personnel, and similar administrative matters have remained centralized, the top-level administration in Manila was quick to exercise permissiveness in program development. This new atmosphere had the immediate effect of encouraging local initiative which, in a number of provinces, led to experimentation, research, and application of lessons learned. It soon developed that leadership on the provincial level, so used to centralized direction, found it difficult in many instances to exercise local initiative. The recognition of this problem has caused, lately, a marked shift in top-level policy from permissiveness to stimulation. The stimulative effect of the early series of seminars on community-school concepts and practices, which finally broke the comfortable attitude of permissiveness, has been lately followed by regional workshops in curriculum development.

The permissiveness-to-stimulation policy has been motivated by the thought of decentralization in school functions. It is again a long-range program that is intimately meshed with the development of educational leadership.

The problem of decentralization, whether in structure or in function, is so intricately tangled in the skein of culture that it must be considered as an evolutionary process. There cannot be a sudden break, and there should not be. Current trends would seem to indicate, as shown by the growing advocacy for channeling all technical assistance to the community's *purok* organization, that the process of decentralization is definitely on the way, at least in the functional aspects of education.

This trend is illustrated by the outcome of the community school organization that Iloilo and Bataan started back in 1949. In the former, the operational unit of organization is the community; there are no higher-level committees operating the units. In the latter, a hierarchical organization of provincial, municipal, and barrio committees, with the superintendent of schools as the clearing official, operated the province-wide activity. The following statement attempts to interpret the difference in organization: "The Iloilo approach in the operation of a community school follows closely the pattern found in many community schools in the United States. However, the Bataan approach may help to discover the methods of

[10] Joint Congressional Committee on Education. *Improving the Philippine Educational System*, Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1951. P. 202.

management and operation that will best fit the idiosyncracies, maturity, capacity, and interests of the Filipino." [11]

Community organization, from 1951, began veering from the Bataan type to the decentralized scheme, chiefly because a tight hierarchy proved itself contradictory to an educational program aimed to develop self-help at the base of society. It became evident that leadership at top level was needed to provide, through stimulative devices, a favorable climate in which communities could operate. There was no substitute, however, for the planning, operation, and management of a local program by the community itself.

Against the background of greater cultural integration, leaning heavily on the Malayan base, a keen educator-analyst stated the situation as follows: "This writer views the Iloilo program and tryouts with optimism. The progress thus far attained can show how far local know-how can be trusted in developing a local system. There is ground to believe that the National Government, through its Congress, can cede some of its traditional functions to the provincial educational administration without abandonment of the principles of cultural integration and national unity." [12]

There is one thought that needs underscoring in education. The decentralized scheme, clearly a democratic aspect, is not the possession of any one country. Any country may achieve it, if its purpose is to dignify the individual, starting with the common man. The process involves reconstruction of the culture from within rather than the dogged continuance of traditional manifestations which current social and economic conditions have outgrown.

CURRENT PROBLEMS: COORDINATION

It is a credit to Philippine public education that, although jealous of its centralized administrative machinery, it encouraged the decentralized scheme in program development. Now, contributions on educational planning may come from the lower echelon, establishing a two-way traffic in a monolith where before there was only one. A corollary of this concept is the inevitably wider outreach of program development as shown by participation of lay people.

This three-way movement in educational function has brought a pressing problem: How may the various types and levels of schools be coordinated to produce the greatest impact possible on the people? Today this thought is receiving more and more attention.

[11] Bureau of Public Schools. *The Community School of the Philippines.* Manila, Bureau of Public Schools, 1952. P. 26.

[12] Martin, Dalmacio. Curriculum Implications of the Iloilo Program, *Evaluating the Iloilo Community School Program.* Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1954. P. 42.

There is a struggle going on between the philosophy that education is life and that it is preparation for life. The former is being demonstrated by the community school which, receiving support mostly from elementary education, is wooing secondary education from its time-honored prestige as preparation for college. True, the more practical aspects of education, such as home economics and occupational learning, have been incorporated in the public secondary curriculum since 1941, but this level, still influenced by college requirements, has not quite reconciled itself to the thought that life and education are identical. The college, too, persists in the belief that life is beyond its portals.

To the preparatory function of education may be ascribed the ladderlike inflexibility of its various levels and its partiality for the formal discipline. The community school is a significant break from the theory of preparation. It is posing the problem of readjustment in objectives of the three levels of education. Perhaps in coordination of certain functional aspects of these levels may be found some of the answers to the problem.

The radically changed objectives manifested in the community school are also giving rise to the problem of coordinating the various types of schools. How may the agricultural school work hand in hand with the general school to facilitate transmission of scientific farming to the countrysides? How may the trade school, with its know-how in tool making, assist the general school in improving industries' primitive tools? Should it not connect with the agricultural school to help in improving farming tools? How may the college of business and commerce coordinate with the general secondary school to speed up the acquisition by the Filipino of business skills? Coordination in this field may seem to be a dream, but the need for it is identifiable as a problem of great significance.

Coordination is today a problem of large proportion in community activity because of the entry into the field of various agencies, government and otherwise. Coordination was relatively easy within the province and within the municipality when, with the school, there were only the agencies of the Bureaus of Health, Agriculture, and Animal Industry to coordinate. Growing interest on the part of other organizations created problems of coordination which the President of the Philippines helped to resolve by creating the Community Development Planning Council, an interdepartmental body, on August 16, 1954. It is charged with the duty of promoting coordination, integration, and teamwork among the different branches, instrumentalities, and agencies of the Government.

Discussions among Council members appear to have established the validity of the *purok* organization, with its usual coordinating council, as the recipient of technical assistance from all agencies. The community coordinating council, it may be recalled, is an outgrowth of continuous education, and the school, being on the spot, is the only social agency at present that can give it day-to-day assistance. This action, therefore, of the Community Development Planning Council should ward off the danger of disintegration.

This on-the-spot coordination will certainly depend on the spirit animating the various agencies on the national and provincial levels. Experience has proved this to be as difficult a task as promoting the organization of *puroks*. It will require statesmanship, humility, and sincere devotion to the interests of the common man.

BACKGROUND OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMUNITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The rural areas where Malayan traditions have continued to this day form the background of the Philippine community school.[13] More than four centuries of colonial experience had focused educational endeavors toward imbibing foreign culture to the neglect of native values. The concomitants in social and economic privileges have flowed to the hands of a small number, for generally the masses do not have the means for long exposure in schools. Since the education that their means permitted them to acquire was slanted to foreign culture, it had little or no value to them socially or economically.

The masses live mostly in rural areas. Three-fourths of the population of the Philippines live in 17,403 *barrios* or villages. When it is considered that many of the towns are rural, it is safe to say that a larger fraction than three-fourths constitute the masses. Because of landlessness and the other shortages chargeable against inadequate education, this large population is subject to discontent and restlessness.

The social and economic future of these masses is keenly analyzed, thus: "In the Philippines, economic and political power has been concentrated traditionally in the hands of a relatively small minority. Most of the responsibility for existing conditions and much of the moral obligation for initiating amelioration programs to improve the welfare of the generally inarticulate majority rests largely with this group. Should this responsibility and obligation be met with indifference, neglect, or opposition, the possibilities are remote for achieving

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[13] Tupas, Isabelo and Bernardino, Vitaliano. *Philippine Rural Problems and the Community School.* Manila, 1955. Part 1 gives an excellent description of this background.

needed constructive social and economic changes through peaceful means." [14]

These are grim words. They suggest a picture of poverty and ignorance that education, striving with might and main to penetrate, did not fully appreciate. Many factors like roads, irrigation, artesian wells, and the like enter into the program of amelioration, but basically it is the function of institutionalized education to provide at least the foundation for man's control of his environment.

Since, by mid-century, popular education in the Philippines had existed some 50 years, the following data help point to reasons why it was not more successful. Of the 3,586,424 public-school children in March 1954, 74 percent were in the first four grades or primary level,

[14] Rivera, Generoso F. and McMillan, Robert T. *The Rural Philippines*. Manila, Mutual Security Agency, 1952.

Fence Building an Outcome of Group Decision

20 percent in the next two or intermediate level, and 6 percent in the next four or secondary level. Out of every 100 children who began in grade I only 80 had reached grade II; 69, grade III; 57, grade IV; 39, grade V; and 28, grade VI. Similar data for previous years are more or less comparable to those given here.

These two complementary sets of data indicate that the children of the masses are bunched in the primary grades. Along with the children of the well-to-do, only a small fraction succeed in pushing up beyond elementary schooling. Since English was the only medium of instruction during the first half of the century, one may ask what happened to the youth's command of the language, say 5 years after leaving school. "For those who had but 3 years of schooling, command of English has practically faded out. Relatively little linguistic ability is left. * * * Graduates of the 4-year primary school have moderate skill in the use of written English. They read about as well as second-grade Filipino children. They can receive dictation and spell about as well as third-grade Filipino children. Their ability to solve arithmetical problems expressed in English is greater than that of typical fourth-grade pupils now." [13]

If to the deficiency in command of English were added the cultural load so foreign to the countrysides, it would be fair to say that possibly 85 percent of the population have profited little from past education. This fact explains in large measure the apathy of the masses, their slow response to the advantages of irrigation systems, roads, and artesian wells, their difficulties with the tenancy law, the laws on credit facilities, and the nationalization of the retail trade. On the other hand, discontent, so easily a part of this picture, is easily inflamed by specious promises of land and plenty.

The poverty and ignorance of the toiling masses have motivated the community school. Believing in democracy, the leaders of the community school movement believe also that its processes should have even greater application among the masses than among those who are better able to fend for themselves. It has to its credit substantial evidence that it helps the masses to help themselves within the social structure of Philippine society.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

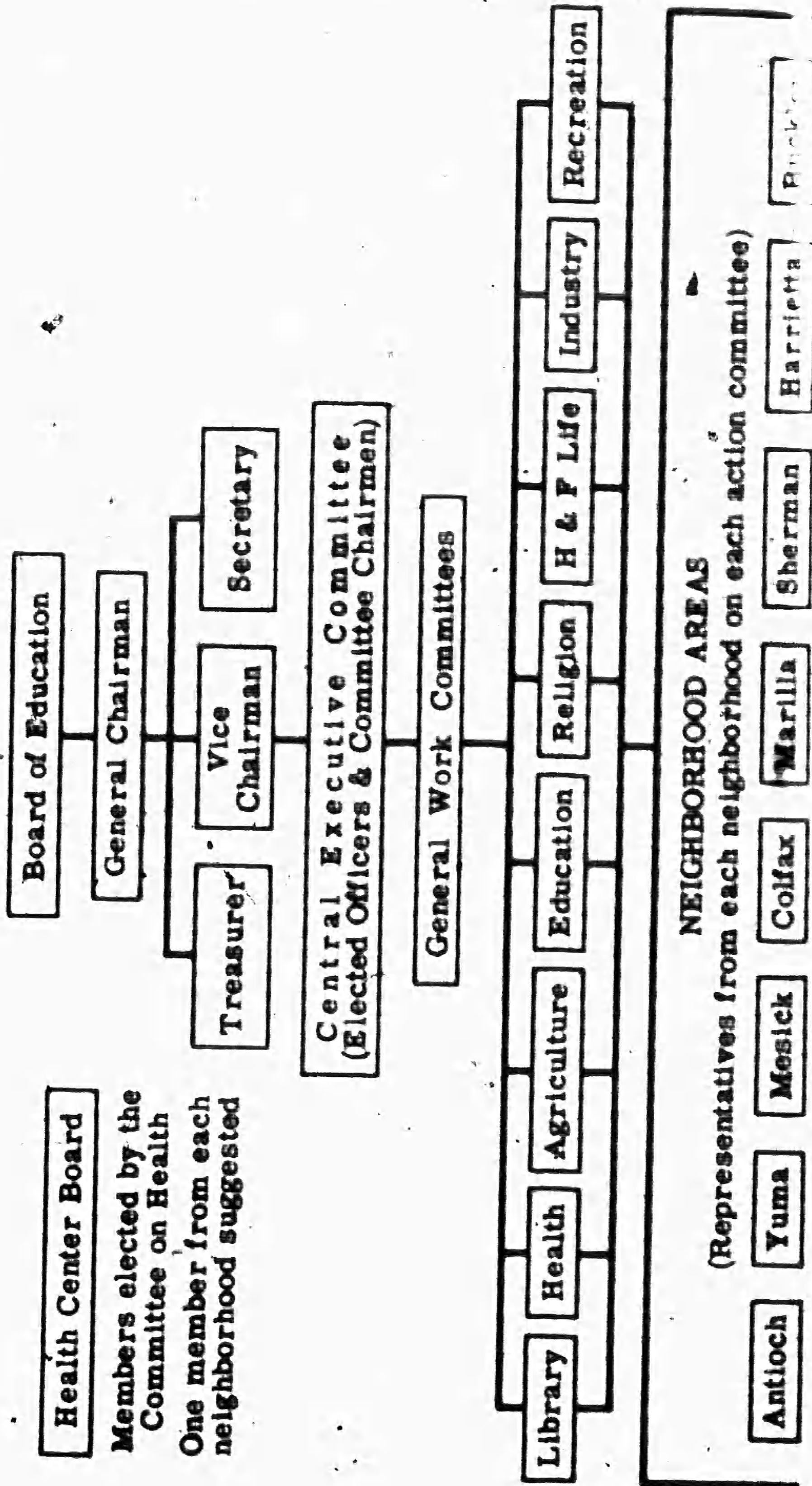
An overall hope of education is the cultural integration of the Filipino people, using their Malayan traditions as the base for development. This is stated in the full realization of increasing influences

[13] Board of Educational Survey. A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1925. Pp. 139-140.

tending to supply inspiration from abroad. Nevertheless, those responsible for these influences are coming to grips with social and economic problems in rural places, realize the effectiveness of the new approach, and have been happy to assist in the process.

The instrument of the new education, the community school itself, has passed through a period of refinement, surviving the long drawn-out critical evaluation from 1949 to 1953. Not until 1954 were its intrinsic values generally recognized and its practices conceded as workable. It is still necessary that its principles, concepts, and techniques be further refined in the farflung schools of the country.

The long-range view being taken of education in the Philippines appears to be a guarantee for the continued development of the community school. The problems lie chiefly in broadening and deepening educational leadership to render it competent to meet new tasks. The future school administrator will not be of today's type. He will exemplify in his personality, in addition to professional competence, an appreciation of his country's broad cultural, social, and economic interests, acquired through research and study on campus and in the field. Current efforts are shaping up to bring together the country's educational resources for this purpose.


MESICK (MICHIGAN) COMMUNITY SCHOOL SERVICE PROGRAM
Organizational Chart
Health Center Board
Members elected by the Committee on Health
One member from each neighborhood suggested
Board of Education
General Chairman
Treasurer
Vice Chairman
Secretary
Central Executive Committee
(Elected Officers & Committee Chairmen)
General Work Committees
Library
Health
Agriculture
Education
Religion
H & F Life
Industry
Recreation
NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS
(Representatives from each neighborhood on each action committee)
Antioch
Yuma
Mesick
Colfax
Marilla
Sherman
Harrietta

The Role of the Schools in the Development of Community Life

By W. E. Baker
Superintendent, Mesick Consolidated Schools
Mesick, Mich.

"AS THE SCHOOL GOES—so goes the community." At least this has been true in Mesick, Mich., where the "Community School" philosophy has been in practice since 1929.

The Mesick Consolidated School, or Mesick Community School, as some prefer to call it, serves the small village of Mesick with a population of 380 people and the surrounding area of about 2,000 residents. Mesick was originally a lumber town, like Sherman, Glengary, Yuma, and many other villages in the area. While these communities, with former populations of 1,000 to 2,500 have now dwindled to a single gas station or home, Mesick has remained quite constant. The farms, which are owned by former lumberjacks and pioneer families, are of extremely light sandy soil for the most part, with small localized areas of good soil. Much of the wooded area is now owned by Federal and State Forest Services which control thousands of acres in the school district.

Subsistence farming was the major occupation for many years, but in recent years more and more people have found work on the highway, the railroad, in the Forest Service, and in the factories of the adjacent cities of Cadillac and Traverse City, or they own a small business, gas station, boat livery, or tourist cabins.

The inhabitants of the community represent many nationalities with no single ethnic group predominating. The economic level is considered quite low on the average and the educational level of the adult population is estimated to be about eighth grade. In general, this might be considered a fairly normal community of citizens for the region.

Mesick, located in the Manistee River Valley in Wexford County, Mich., is surrounded by a great range of hills which were once covered with virgin hardwood, and open sandy plains which grew giant pines. But the lumbering days have long since passed, leaving the land barren and desolate after the first few seasons of cultivation robbed the soil of its life-giving organic matter.

The Mesick school was a typical, small-town, brick structure in which a strictly academic, college-preparatory high-school curriculum was presented. The small enrollment of 180 students in grades 1 through 12 had remained quite constant through the years due to the

failure of many rural students from the one-room schools which dotted the countryside to transfer to the high school after leaving the eighth grade.

This was the situation in 1929 when the writer came to the community as superintendent of the school and teacher of agriculture. Under his leadership, a new approach to the problems of education and of community service was initiated, which has been carried on to the present day.

The initial step in the new program was the consolidation of one complete township having five one-room schools into a single school unit. Others followed in successive years until the consolidated district now encompasses nearly 30 former districts, including more than 200 square miles of territory, serving a total area of 400 square miles located in 12 townships, and transporting 420 of the more than 500 resident and nonresident students with a fleet of 10 large buses.

The need for a rejuvenated school program was presented to the new Board of Education that was elected in the reorganization proceedings following the first consolidation in 1930. The fact that most of the original five members served from 12 to 15 years before retiring aided materially in helping the superintendent carry out the tenets of his philosophy. The fact, too, that the members of the faculty built up a long tenure record during these formative years made the job much easier for the administration.

When this program started, recreation in the areas was confined to a poolroom, lodge-sponsored card parties, and the usual outdoor sports of hunting and fishing.

In the early stages of the program, community improvement was started through the efforts of the agricultural department of the school. Utilizing his college training in forestry and landscape gardening, teacher Baker, with his boys, first landscaped the school grounds and started a "seed bed" for pine trees. The landscaping attracted attention and with the assistance of the Extension Service of Michigan State University, barren-looking homes throughout the village and the community were transformed in a few years to spots of beauty. The seed bed provided seedling pine trees, which the students planted on badly eroded hillsides and in eroded fields. This program was further expanded when the superintendent and the Board of Education decided to purchase nearly 1,500 acres of tax land for a school forest project. During subsequent years nearly 1 million trees were planted by school children in grades 4 through 12 as part of their training in community development. This was accomplished by taking out small groups for 1 or 2 hours each fall to share in the work and eventually to apply the interest they developed in their own homes.

These two major programs were enthusiastically received and their

Grade Pupils Transplant Pine Seedlings for Future Use in the School Forest

goal was accomplished. A community pride, which had long been lacking, was awakened, and homes throughout the community were improved and landscaped. Many farmers ordered trees through the school and the Forest Service and began to plant their own hillsides after they could see the results of the school effort. One farmer gave the school 60 acres of eroded land which was ruining other farms in the area with windblown sand, just to get it under control. Today the entire area is a fast-growing young forest from which Christmas trees valued at $5,000 were harvested last year.

In 1947 a concentrated effort for community improvement was organized through the W. K. Kellogg Foundation working with the State Department of Public Instruction and five selected communities in the State. This was to be known as the Community School Service Program. The purpose of this experimental program was to see what could be done to raise the level of all phases of community living through the cooperative efforts of the citizens, using all existing agencies and resources available in the State.

The program in Mesick was carried out through a complicated framework of organization which involved membership from every neighborhood in the area and from every interest group. Eight working committees were organized on the basis of data collected at a public mass meeting of more than 300 citizens. These committees included Agriculture, Health, Home and Family Living, Industry, Recreation, Religion, Education, and Library Service. Each committee was headed by a chairman and had members from the various neighborhoods in the 400-square-mile school service area. Each

chairman was, in turn, a member of the executive council which was headed by a general chairman elected by the citizens at an open meeting. Committee membership was open to any person who cared to attend the meetings.

The State Department of Public Instruction worked closely with community leaders and committee chairmen in providing every known resource needed to do a given job. Experts were brought in to train the leaders in group discussion techniques and public speaking. Specialists in agriculture, health, and recreation were called upon when the need arose. The teachers of all five schools were invited to attend a weekend conference at the State Conservation Department Training School at Higgins Lake to learn techniques in community work and to learn the purpose and scope of the program.

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation provided funds to send committee members on trips to study successful programs in their particular fields of interest. A group on recreation was sent to Chicago, another on libraries to Nova Scotia, one on agriculture to Tennessee, etc.

The concentrated effort, stimulated and supported by regular monthly meetings, resulted in some real and lasting accomplishments, a partial list of which follows:

Education:

Curriculum offerings were improved and expanded for noncollege students.

A print shop was purchased and used for school and community services. A full-time teacher was placed in charge of it.

Driver training was introduced.

A Government Day plan, which is now used through the State, was developed.

The entire community helped in the filming of an educational movie, "Tale of Two Towns," costing W. K. Kellogg Foundation, $50,000.

Health:

A survey was made of health needs.

A community health center was built.

A doctor was brought in for the Health Center.

Immunization clinics with free service for all children were made available.

Fluorine dental treatments were given.

The school hot lunch program was expanded.

The community cemetery was completely renovated and relandscaped.

Agriculture:

A Farmers Institute was organized.

A Soil Conservation District was developed.

An Artificial Breeders Association and a Dairy Herd Improvement Association were organized.

Community Cannery services were expanded.

The Northwest Michigan Gladiolus Association was organized.

Industry:

Money was raised cooperatively to start a small oil tank manufacturing company.

An airport site was purchased.

Recreation:

A summer recreation program with a paid leader was organized.

A community ski area was created.

An ice skating rink was built.

A community recreation area was planned.

Home and Family Living:

Panel discussions were held to explore family problems.

Literature on home and family living was distributed in the community.

Library:

A school-community library with a librarian in charge was planned and was financed through joint funds from the school, the village, and the townships.

The 5-year experiment ended in 1952 with very few areas of living untouched by its accomplishments. The framework of organization developed for the Community School Service Program has slowly been dropped, since leadership in a small community is limited and regular meetings became burdensome for the few who really carried the load.

Most of the committees still function, but in a manner different from the original plan. The Agriculture Committee has now become an advisory committee for the school Agriculture Department; the Health Committee governs the Health Center; and the Library Committee serves as the Library Board. Special committees of interested citizens are invited to consider educational problems as they arise and the committees disband when the issues have been settled. Last year a Report Card Committee of parents, teachers, students, and principals met throughout the year to determine the kind of a report to use. A Parent-Teacher Conference Committee has been active and now a committee has been formed to study the school lunch problem. The Chamber of Commerce has assumed the responsibilities of the Industry Committee, and the Lions Club is interested in recreation.

It is evident that the need for a closely knit organization for the promotion of community improvement exists in most communities and will continue to exist until the citizens have been trained in the proper methods of approaching and solving a problem. The fact that local organizations in Mesick are now carrying out functions which were once initiated and shouldered by special committees proves the success of the program.

The school continues to work closely with the community in every civic effort that is promoted. The fact that the superintendent,

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principals, teachers, and Board of Education members hold memberships in the many clubs, boards, and committees in the community helps materially in cementing the relationships of all groups and offers an ideal means of discovering the needs to be met. The Board of Education members, as well as the superintendent, lend a sympathetic ear to every request for help and assistance that citizens make as individuals or as representatives of groups and, when it is within their power, take action to provide what is needed.

Approximately a year ago, our local small-town merchants were complaining about the competition from large chain stores in surrounding cities and about their inability to meet this competition. The superintendent called a meeting of the businessmen and suggested calling in a merchandizing specialist through a College Extension Service. The specialist came and conducted a series of meetings, visited each store, and gave specific suggestions. One or two merchants immediately replaced their few, hanging, light bulbs with modern fluorescent fixtures, redecorated their stores, and displayed their merchandise in an attractive manner. Their success has led others to do likewise until all grocery stores are now of the self-service type, convenient, and well lighted. The other stores are also much more attractive. The Village Council initiated a training course for the local volunteer firemen. Adult classes in Agriculture, Homemaking, Shop, Canning, and other subjects are provided throughout the winter whenever a demand is made known through a survey or by a request. Training programs for adults are a vital part of the school program in Mesick and meet an ever-present need.

Recently, at the conclusion of the last Veterans Training Program under Public Law 346, which provided education and training at Government expense for veterans of World War II, a new Veterans Institute Program was developed for Korean veterans. Nine veterans are now enrolled in a training center established in another town 30 miles away, but supervised and administered through Mesick. The institute under Public Law 346 had started in 1946 with only 6 veterans as students and the superintendent as teacher, but was expanded into 7 training centers with 14 teachers, located in 4 different counties and serving a peak enrollment of 200 veterans. This need could have been met in each local community, but since it wasn't, it seemed reasonable to us to make our services available to all who applied. History is now about to repeat itself.

In order to indoctrinate the new teachers each year with the philosophy of the community school, a portion of the preschool conference is devoted to explaining the aims and objectives of the Mesick School Program. A statement of the philosophy of the superintendent is given to each teacher in printed form along with other printed state-

ments on the characteristics of a community school and the basic criteria of a community school as described by Paul Hanna, professor of education, Stanford University, and Robert Naslund, associate professor of education, University of Southern California.[1] With this background, new teachers in the system can plan some of their teaching, projects, and activities on a community-centered basis. No pressure is exerted from the administration, however, to include the community aspect of teaching in the school curriculum.

Alert teachers do not find it difficult to find projects of a community nature which fit in naturally with their daily lessons and conform to the school philosophy. All teachers realize that conservation is vital to the survival of people who hope to make Northern Michigan their home, and every possible effort is made to involve children in some phase of conservation work. Each fall students are encouraged to harvest pine cones for the Federal forest nursery nearby. They not only perform a valuable service but receive a cash income for their work. The chief accomplishment, however, is the fact that students come to realize that without the cones, there would be no seedling pine trees for planting in the spring.

Northern Michigan has been noted for ruffed grouse hunting until recent years when the grouse population has declined rapidly. Our students are encouraged to cooperate with the Conservation Department by bringing to the school wing and tail feathers of all grouse that are shot. The feathers are sent to Lansing for detailed study in order to find the answer to grouse population cycles. It is interesting to note that the first-grade children brought in the first feathers this year. Too few schools participate in programs of this type.

In order to encourage soil improvement programs, the students in our agriculture classes test soil samples free for farmers in the area in the hope of bringing about total community improvement.

Other projects which are supported by the program include the raising, release, and winter feeding of pheasants; erosion and land use or abuse demonstrations; proper woodland management for game; and, of course, the wise use of land. On several occasions elementary school teachers as well as the teacher of agriculture have taken their students out to plant trees on wind-eroded sand hills of owners who have made no effort to improve, but willingly give their consent to others who wish to undertake the work. A few years ago the county highway department sought school help in controlling a shifting sand pit which repeatedly covered the highway with drifts of sand. The agriculture students planted pine seedlings and covered the area with brush, thus ending the trouble.

Various departments in the school cooperate with existing groups,

[1] The Community School, 52d Yearbook, Part II, National Society for the Study of Education, ch. IV.

such as the Farm Bureau, Granges, clubs, and lodges, by providing free programs consisting of music, discussions, debates, or demonstrations, all of which bring the school and the community closer together.

Our school agriculture department and farmers in the entire area cooperate with the neighboring community of Buckley in sponsoring a Community Agricultural Exposition or Fair each fall. The exhibits and programs are prepared jointly by the two communities with each school serving as host every other year. Such intercommunity cooperation helps to facilitate cooperation on other programs, such as dairy improvement, artificial breeders association, and Soil Conservation District.

Only this past week, as this was being written, the superintendent called a meeting of local and county leaders to organize a "Rural Development Program" for the purpose of cooperating with the State and Federal Rural Development plan to help low-income farmers.

Plans are now underway for the Community School Halloween party for elementary school children. The school provides the program, including games, prizes, and a movie, while the merchants provide a treat at each store as the children parade through the streets in costume. During the past few years not a window has been soaped nor anything disturbed in the community by Halloween pranksters.

The school and the community also cooperate in sponsoring a Christmas program. The school provides the program and the Chamber of Commerce provides the Santa Claus and treats.

The Community Health Center works closely with the school in carrying out a good health program. The doctor conducts a "Well-Baby Clinic" for preschool youngsters prior to the opening of school each fall. He also gives free physical examinations to all students who participate in athletics and physical education.

During the past few weeks the school has been used for family reunions, a wedding, two receptions, a funeral, and many local, county, and regional meetings of rural groups, such as Farm Loan, Farm Bureau, and Soil Conservation Districts at no cost to these agencies.

Each year in February the entire community, including students, faculty, business people, farmers, and others, join in a volunteer effort to promote and conduct the Annual Southern Peninsula Championship Ski Jumping Meet at Briar Hill, the community-made ski area. It takes a united effort for a small community to accommodate a crowd of 5,000 people, and citizens are willing to serve on the many committees, which include advertising, tickets, housing, judges, parking, concessions, tows, public address, first aid, decorations, prizes, and others. The superintendent is manager and president of the Briar Hill Ski Club.

In order to promote skiing as a recreation for young people, the School Board, the Village Council, and several townships in the area each contributes $100 to the Ski Club to provide free ski tow privileges to all school children.

The ski area is sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce and was made possible by donations from its members and by the cooperative work contributed by the community.

The annual Northwest Michigan Gladiolus Festival and Show is another community venture. It is held in the school garage. The Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, the school, the Gladiolus Growers Association, and the townspeople all cooperate to make the show a success. This year the State Gladiolus Association held the State show at Mesick in conjunction with the local show.

We are now in the process of developing a school camp in cooperation with the officers and taxpayers of Antioch Township, a part of our school district. The Township owns the lake and the camp site and the school has furnished two Government-donated buildings. The school and the township have shared in the expense of erecting the building, drilling a well, etc. The camp, when completed, will provide facilities for community use as well as a complete camping program for school groups.

The Mesick School and community has enjoyed a succession of visitors from the United States, Canada, and many foreign nations during the past few years as interest in community improvement has spread throughout the world. Citizens in the community have freely opened their homes to these visitors from Germany, Israel, Africa, the Philippines, Thailand, China, and Canada in cooperation with the school's effort to acquaint the visitors with the story of our program. Many individuals and groups have spent only a day or two studying the program while others have spent several days. A group of 10 German educators devoted nearly 2 weeks to the study of every phase of Mesick School and community life in preparation for the organization of a large experimental unit in their native land, patterned after the community school in America. According to the members of this group, although they had visited dozens of beautiful community school buildings on their tour, they still had no conception of what a community school was until they reached Mesick. After they had visited the school cannery and print shop one of them remarked, "Now I know what is a community school."

The teachers are encouraged to believe that "the best" way to teach has not yet been discovered and are given a free hand to try out new ideas and theories. They are encouraged to take advantage of the great outdoor classroom and to take frequent excursions with

their students when their instruction can be made more meaningful and practical through a field trip.

The Board of Education has established a policy of giving teachers released time with expenses paid to attend educational conferences within their teaching field. On a few occasions several teachers have been released to visit outstanding programs in selected schools when some phase of instruction is under discussion among our teachers. Our program is not all "give"; we learn from others through our inservice training program.

The superintendent and the staff members do not profess to know all of the answers to educational problems; consequently, frequent use is made of consultants from the many departments of the State government as well as from universities and colleges. A team of educational research specialists from Michigan State University was invited last year to make a complete evaluation of the school plant, methods, and teaching techniques for the purpose of improving the school program. After several weeks of study its report was given to the school patrons at a public mass meeting. As a result of the evaluation, several texts were changed, new equipment was purchased, and alterations were made in the school plant. Specialists in reading, agriculture, conservation, guidance, and in many other fields are relied upon to help meet a need or to solve a problem of either school or community interest.

School camp experts from Michigan State University were requested to work with township and school officials in laying out the camp plan. A State forester was asked to mark the trees for woodlot thinning. Michigan State University was again invited to help lay out the new school-community recreation field, which includes a combination baseball-football field, archery range, rifle range, track, tennis courts, softball diamonds, and a picnic area. The entire community is now interested in providing lights for the new field. Lights will come, since farmers, merchants, students, and teachers have planned and built the field through cooperative effort, and when people SHARE—people CARE.

Throughout the year there are many opportunities for school and community cooperation, all of which seem natural and routine after so many years of united effort in community improvement. The people of Mesick are no different from the people in thousands of similar communities throughout the country who are willing to lift themselves by their own bootstraps if the school will lead the way.

"As the school goes—so goes the community."

Air View of the Schuldorf

The "Schuldorf Bergstrasse"

By Dr. Friedrich Ploetz

Director, "Schuldorf Bergstrasse"
Seeheim, Germany

[*Introduction.*—During the past several years, the Office of Education has cooperated with several individuals and groups in Germany who have been concerned with improvements in German education designed to bring the schools closer to the lives of the people. In 1953, eight educators and community leaders from Jugenheim, Hesse, visited the United States to study the community school movement. This undertaking was part of an ambitious plan to develop a consolidated school in Jugenheim, known as the "Schuldorf Bergstrasse," which would serve three communities and would provide within a single plant educational facilities at all levels from the kindergarten through adult education. The Office prepared an itinerary and provided consultative services for these distinguished guests.

Since the above project appeared to be related to the theme of the yearbook, the editorial committee requested Dr. Ploetz to submit a report on developments to date. The report presents interesting and

Electric Train Delights Kindergarten Children

important developments in German education. With some exceptions, however, it emphasizes improvements in the school itself rather than school participation in the solution of immediate community problems. The role of the school appears to be understood in the more traditional rather than in the "community school" sense. Strictly speaking, therefore, the report does not fall directly within the scope of the yearbook as envisaged by the committee.

To be sure, the solution of problems within the educational system, in a given situation may be as pressing as any other problems in the community. Furthermore, a deeply rooted educational tradition may make it extremely difficult for educators to concern themselves with community problems which their associates may deem to be the responsibility of other agencies. The Schuldorf Bergstrasse is still in its infancy. It is too early to predict to what extent its future development will be influenced by the "community school" ideas as defined by the yearbook. Nevertheless, the project shows a degree of cooperation between school and community which, in the future, may well lead to a more direct participation of the school in the improvement of community living. We believe, therefore, that the developments reported by Dr. Ploetz are pertinent contributions to this volume. This article is a free translation of excerpts from Dr. Ploetz' report, which was written in the German language.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

ON THE BERGSTRASSE (Mountain Road), an area in Hesse between the cities of Darmstadt and Heidelberg along the western slope of the Odenwald, the Schuldorf Bergstrasse (School Village on the Bergstrasse) was opened in May 1954. This Schuldorf is the first school of its type in the Republic of Western Germany. That is, it is a school to which *several* communities—in this case, Seeheim, Bickenbach, and Jugenheim—send their children.

The Schuldorf, located in a pine forest, is favorably situated. It can be reached easily on foot or by bicycle from the three villages. It is about 400 meters from the Jugenheim station of the Darmstadt streetcar line, the railroad station, and the bus station.

The Schuldorf includes a kindergarten, an elementary school with middle-school classes, a special education class, a vocational school with homemaking and agricultural departments, and a secondary school with a dormitory. Even non-architects who examine the school are struck by two factors that seem to be outstanding:

1. The use of the natural landscape, the sand hills, and pine forest in the school grounds, and
2. The flexible building plan which gives the impression of unity.

The 18 buildings cover an area of 12 acres. Some of them are one-story, the others, two-story buildings, constructed of unfinished stone, which, in its yellow, red, and brown coloring, harmonizes well with the green sod and the pines. Vestibules and halls are made of the same material. To the north of the buildings, the slopes of the Bergstrasse, rich in blossoms, spread out, dominated by the green peaks of the Melibokus.

The dormitory and the kindergarten are some distance from the school buildings. Thus, this part of the Schuldorf, which will serve as a home for many children for several years, is clearly separated from the buildings that serve instructional purposes.

In addition to the rectangular classrooms, hexagonal classrooms have been provided for the lower elementary school. Each of these rooms has its own outside entrance, its own clothes closet and space for outdoor classes. The east and south sides of each hexagon have glass walls, the rear walls have windows along the upper edge. The roof over the outdoor class areas (the V-roof extends over the whole building, including the hexagonal rooms) keeps out the noonday sun but permits the morning sun to shine into the classrooms. The open corridor, six meters wide, runs at a slight angle from west to east and connects all school types. It also connects the buildings which

contain the rooms that are used by all parts of the school. These include physics, chemistry, and biology rooms with their laboratories, the music room, the reading room and library, the homemaking kitchens, and the workshops. There is an auditorium which also serves as a gymnasium. It is intended to serve also as the center for adult education for the three communities. A depression on the school grounds has been converted into an ampitheater with stage.

In planning the Schuldorf, health factors were carefully considered. The school is separated from traffic noises and is surrounded by green lawns. The main axis of the buildings is placed so that beginning with the late forenoon hours, there is no direct sunshine on the children in any of the rooms. The four lower classes have their own building. The rigid benches have been replaced by chairs and tables suited to children of this age. Shower rooms have been installed in the basement of the gymnasium.

The construction of such a school was a great undertaking for the small communities and had to be planned with utmost care. Consequently, when the first exploratory discussions were held among representatives of the communities, the county, American offices, and German educators, many critical viewpoints were heard and considered. There was less concern about the financial difficulties, which presented primarily a technical and organizational problem, than about fundamental educational issues. It is understandable that at first a community will object to giving up its own school, for every school is,

Students of All School Types at Main Entrance

in a sense, a cultural center. Its closing represents a loss, especially to a small community. A whole series of school traditions and customs come to an end. Although this loss is painful, it can be overcome if something newer and better replaces it. A complete school program as presented by the Schuldorf is without a doubt superior to the small undifferentiated village school in spite of some advantages the latter may have had. Only by combining their three schools could the three communities build a school of this type. None of the communities alone could have provided equivalent facilities because of the limited financial means and limited enrollment. Furthermore in Schuldorf the physical and technical conditions for intensive cooperative work between the school and the parents could be developed and provisions for an adult education program could be made. * * *

Another factor in favor of the Schuldorf was educational in nature. The curriculum content of the schools has grown extraordinarily, especially in recent decades, so that it has become a burden to teacher and pupils alike. Various attempts to solve this problem have been made. One of them has been to emphasize the development of independent study abilities through group work and the activity method rather than to emphasize the learning of specific content. But how can this be done if the necessary materials for this type of instruction are lacking? The Schuldorf Bergstrasse provides these materials, which a single community could not afford.

In addition to the purely educational considerations, there were other conditions that favored the Schuldorf. In the three participating communities, as everywhere after the war, school conditions were very unsatisfactory. The influx of refugees from the East and the evacuation of large Western cities had greatly increased the population of the villages so that the existing school facilities were woefully inadequate. Bickenbach, Jugenheim, and Seeheim, the communities whose children now attend the Schuldorf, needed 10 new classrooms to accommodate the increased enrollment. To make matters worse, the homemaking and agricultural school had to use the rooms of the elementary school, making it necessary to reduce the daily schedule. The teachers of the vocational schools lacked space and equipment in the elementary school buildings. The shortage of space was made even more acute by the addition of advanced classes that were to extend through the 10th school year. The provision of a class for children who required special help was impossible under these conditions. Instruction in shifts and oversized classes were the immediate results of this lack of space. Naturally, these were not the only ones. The heavy burdens that were placed on teachers, parents, and pupils and the even greater problems to which they would lead, cannot be portrayed in a brief space.

It was obvious that all the participating communities were faced with the necessity of constructing additional schoolrooms or whole new buildings, for the existing ones did not meet the architectural and educational requirements that are placed on the schools today. This was the situation facing the three communities when the plan for a central school was placed before them. They were forced in any case to raise considerable sums of money for school construction. The final result was that with considerable financial participation by the State of Hesse, the communities and the county, as well as with a generous gift from the American High Commission, it was possible to lay the cornerstone in 1952.

Another consideration that influenced the location of the Schuldorf in this particular area was the need of the students in the Teachers College of Jugenheim to have a demonstration center where educational methods could be studied and practiced. * * *

One of the major tasks of the opening period was to develop a real community out of the various school types that had been placed side by side in the buildings. Placing the elementary and the secondary school together is new in Germany. The immediate task, therefore, was not easy and is by no means completed. It constantly requires new stimulation, personal efforts, and the overcoming of traditional ideas.

Sixty-seven conferences and many conversations among the school leaders were held in the first year of operation to discuss all important problems of the Schuldorf. In addition to the necessary subordination of the special interests of each school to a common organization, success has been achieved in the development of a coordinated educational program at least in certain areas. The most important condition for achieving this was met in that the teachers of all the school types—kindergarten, elementary, secondary, and vocational—brought to the school an inner readiness for their cooperative assignment. This readiness has developed into excellent personal relations and mutual respect among the entire teaching staff. * * *

That regulations and performances drawn up and carried out by the students of their own free will are more effective than those ordered by the teachers is a well-known principle. Consequently, from the first day of its existence, efforts have been made in the Schuldorf to encourage student participation and responsibility in the development of the school. In fact, students participated in the preliminary planning sessions. * * * In June 1954, the student council for the Schuldorf was formed. It has been active in many areas. For example, the regulation of pupil traffic in and around the Schuldorf is carried out completely by the council. The traffic committee, in cooperation with

traffic police, regulates traffic on the public roads approaching the school. The student council prepares regular public announcements on Schuldorf activities. It is working on problems of caring for soldier graves, aid to the unfortunate, and on a school savings plan. A special achievement of the council was the development of a school code. It was worked out cooperatively by pupils of all the school types.

Of even greater significance is the cooperative living of the pupils in the dormitory. We can readily see that in a group that lives together all the time, more opportunities for voluntary, cooperative activities arise than in the ordinary classroom.

In the first year of the school, it was possible to begin cooperative work between the school and representatives of various trades and scientific groups. The visits of these groups to the school have been mutually advantageous. Discussions and observations took place with representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Vocational Teachers Training College, the Labor Office, and the institutes for training agricultural teachers. The vocational groups are interested in the type of training that is being provided for future employees.

Secondary School Students

Kindergarteners at Play

The pupils, on the other hand, are able to get a better idea of the nature of certain vocations and can obtain information on the occupational outlook and on economic conditions. The Schuldorf as a whole gains from these discussions. A new reality is brought into the atmosphere of the school and the problems of the economy and of public life create new incentives. Regular conferences between the

graduating students of the Schuldorf and the Labor Office are conducted just as in other German schools.

The Teachers College holds a special place in relation to the Schuldorf. The practical training of students from the college in latest educational methods was considered in the plan of the Schuldorf and has lead to good results in the 1½ years that it has been in effect.

A conference of representatives of the Schuldorf and of adult education groups outlined the difficulties and the possibilities facing the Schuldorf in the field of adult education. * * * Since schooling and vocational training is intensive here, the desire for additional education is not very intense. On the other hand, the desire for relaxation and entertainment as a relief from the strenuous daily work is strong. For many residents of the three Schuldorf communities the daily work consists of (1) their job and (2) their work in their own field or orchard. In summer, this keeps them busy until 9 p. m. In addition, in Seeheim alone, there are 18 clubs (singing groups, secretaries' club, fruit-growing clubs, dog clubs, etc.) that address themselves to the cultural and practical interests of the citizens. It is not surprising, therefore, that three major productions in the Schuldorf (Menotti's operetta "The Medium" and two musical evenings) attracted relatively small crowds. It became clear to the producers of these activities that passive listening to such productions did not meet the actual needs of adult education. Adult education is concerned with the development of each individual. It was necessary, therefore, for the Schuldorf to find areas of work that would be of genuine interest to prospective participants. What could be better than to encourage the parents to develop their educational interests through cooperative effort? Activities were organized in the form of working groups. These have the dual purpose of giving the parents an insight into the work of the school through the study of the school program, and, secondly, of bringing about better understanding among the parents through common activities.

Since September 1955, five such working groups have been meeting once a week. They are (1) art in the school; (2) clay modeling; (3) what are our children making for Christmas? (4) what are our children reading? (5) construction of looms.

The results to date encourage us to continue in this direction. The goal of establishing better relations between the parents and their children's school seems to be attainable.

The Schuldorf is the most daring experiment among new school buildings in Hesse. The architectural layout, the combination of different types of schools into a single school community, and the willingness of the teachers to utilize new ideas leads us to hope that an outstanding educational institution is coming into being.

Smokeless Stoves for Village Homes Based on Plans Developed in India

The New Nationwide Program of Fundamental Education in Iran

By Luanna J. Bowles

Head, Fundamental Education Section
United States Operations Mission to Iran

THE WHY'S AND WHEREFORE'S

"Many have come and said they would help us, but left. When you came and began to put windows in a house to live in, then we knew you would stay to teach us."

Thus villagers in southern Iran confided their realistic hopes to the fundamental education leaders who were moving to their village. A year ago, at about the same time, in a village in western Iran, a group of old men were seen one evening walking toward the school, their dark path lighted by the kerosene lanterns they were carrying. Having no literacy classes in their own village 3 kilometers away, they walked each evening to this village to attend the fundamental education classes which had been started there.

In another province, a fundamental education group of illiterate men were sitting on the floor of a mud-walled room they called their "library," listening intently to the village teacher as he read aloud to them from the "Shahnameh," Ferdowsi's epic poem which tells the beloved ancient Persian story of Rostam and Sohrab. From the joy of listening to others, these men would soon move on to the deeper satisfaction of learning to read themselves.

Most of the members attending another literacy class in a village near Tehran were young women or girls. One older woman among them was introduced as the mother-in-law of a girl practicing writing and reading at the blackboard.

"Why do you like the class?" we asked her.

"Because I want to learn, and I want my daughters and daughters-in-law to know things," she answered.

During the past year, for the first time in Iran's long history, similar groups of people in every province have had opportunity to learn to read and write, and, as they became new literates, to gain information by reading simply written magazines and pamphlets on how to begin improving their health and how to do a better job of farming.

Throughout the thousands of years since the art of agriculture was

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first discovered, which scientists believe occurred just south of the Caspian Sea, Iran has been an agricultural country. Modern Iran's greatest resource is still her agricultural products. Eighty percent of her people live in mud-walled villages, and it is estimated that over 90 percent of them are illiterate. Perhaps 1 village in 15 now has a school. Usual features of village life are a scant water supply, except near the Caspian; primitive methods of farming handed down from father to son since Biblical times; an extremely low production level and often poor quality of wheat, rice, sugar beets, fruits, nuts, poultry, cattle, sheep, goats; slow weary communication on foot or by donkey over extremely difficult roads; prevalence in many areas of malaria, dysentery, and trachoma. It is estimated that 50 percent of the babies die before they are 2 years old from such communicable diseases as dysentery, smallpox, pneumonia, diphtheria, and tetanus.

Today, if this isolation and dull misery are broken through, one senses a stirring among these villagers and a new hope for improving their lot. American technicians who visit them are asked for two things: first, a school, or, if they already have one, a better school; second, a clean public bath.

THE BEGINNINGS

In September 1953, the Minister of Education had as one of his major concerns for the immediate future the establishment of an education program for illiterate village men, women, and youth, and requested that the USOM/Iran Education Division assist the Ministry in its development. The rural education program of the Ministry of Education now has two wings, both centered in the village school. One serves the children and usually covers the work of grades one through four. The other, the Fundamental Education Program, serves illiterate youth and adults who come voluntarily to classes taught by the village teachers in the late afternoon or evening. The men's groups meet in the school building. The women hesitate to come to a public place, so most of their classes are held in a home.

In October of 1954, 107 Ostan and Shahrestan teachers who had just completed their initial training course as fundamental education leaders began the new program in all the provinces or Ostans. Forty-six of these leaders were women. In the group were 18 married couples who went out to work as man-wife teams. These leaders were recruited by the offices of the Ostan chiefs of education from among the best teachers of the Ostan, and they returned by official Ministry appointment to work in their own localities. Twenty-two of them became Ostan leaders, with one man and one woman forming each team. They were made responsible for correlating the work throughout their Ostans. The remainder, who formed Shahrestan or

district teams of one man and one woman each, have trained the participating village teachers on the job to serve as the permanent fundamental education village leaders.

One Ostan leader writes in his report: "Village people may be prejudiced against the landlord or his representative, the headman, and other prominent men, but I find little or no prejudice against the school and the teachers. The teachers can work in the mosque, the tea house, the bazaar, in village festivities, and religious ceremonies. They can meet the villagers on their own level and find out how they feel about things."

The work was established in four Shahrestans of each Ostan. Forty-four out of Iran's total of 104 Shahrestans are now carrying on fundamental education work. During this first year, some 11,000 people have been enrolled in literacy classes, about one-fifth of whom have been women. In some classes, boys of 10 or 12 study beside village patriarchs. They do not attend school during the day because their families feel they must work in the fields or tend goats and sheep to eke out the meager living. Young girls often enroll with adult women because their parents are not willing for them to be under a man teacher in the school.

Although villages differ from place to place, this year the individual programs have consistently shown a general pattern of development, with greater difference in rate of speed than in character. In the village of Soghad, located in the Fars Ostan halfway between Isfahan and Shiraz, there has been a happy combination of favorable factors. The Ostan Chief of Education had just returned from America where he studied the role education has played in rural development. The American technician who cooperated with him had done graduate work in adult education. The Iranian who officially has been associated with the American technician springs from the Lur Tribe. He studied agriculture and education in England and Switzerland and when he returned to Iran organized his private fundamental education work in the village of Mamon with two Mullahs (priests) as leaders. Since this program began he has devoted his full time to it.

A CLOSER LOOK

The Shahrestan leaders, Mr. and Mrs. Ganji, immediately moved to Soghad. Mr. Ganji had begun his teaching career some years earlier in Soghad. This village is owned by several small landlords rather than by only one, and they have become interested in the work. Even with all these auspicious elements, the Ganjis entered the village cautiously. Through the principal of the boys' school they met some

Teachers and Trainees Discuss Modern Equipment for Keeping Bees

of the leading people. On Thursday afternoon they joined in the weekly religious ceremony.

There they met the Mullah, and the principal arranged for Mr. Ganji to call on him at his home. The program was discussed and the Mullah was convinced that it was not in opposition to Moslem teachings. He remembered the injunction of the Koran that "It is the duty of every Moslem woman and every Moslem man to learn," and the statement of the poet Saadi seven centuries ago, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave." Next, meetings were arranged with the several landlords and their goodwill secured. The principal explained the work to the *Kadkhodah* (village headman) and won his favor. They met the husbands at the cemetery religious services and in the tea house and explained the way the Ganjis and the village teachers hoped to help the village through classes where they could learn to read and write, and why the wives and daughters also needed to become literate.

At first the villagers did not welcome the idea of classes. They feared the leaders were not serious in wanting to help them, that they had some selfish motive in coming. The Ganjis went on fixing up a village house to live in and opened it to the public. Mrs. Ganji invited the women to come to classes in her home and began by reading the Koran to them. She visited the women in their own homes, helping them with whatever they had on hand when she came. In a short time, 207 men and 40 women were enrolled. The class work began with reading, writing, and simple arithmetic problems related to village activities. Soon the women wanted to learn more about cooking, sewing, and health.

Soghad grows wheat, barley, walnuts, grapes, apricots, plums, and peaches. The men wanted to learn how to produce better crops and to have better flocks of sheep. Mr. Ganji and the teachers invited the Shahrestan agricultural extension agent to visit the classes. He taught them improved methods of farming, better utilization of their irrigation water. A demonstration vegetable garden was made at the school. Now many families are growing potatoes, carrots, spinach, onions, garlic, tomatoes, and beans, and the women in their literacy classes have learned how to cook them. Point Four contributed better seeds for the gardens. The groups have studied poultry care and diseases and how to spray their fruit trees.

There is no health clinic near, but there is an Iranian doctor in the town of Abadeh, 15 kilometers away. A study was made of the prevalent local diseases and the usual home remedies used or superstitious practices relied upon. The report was taken to the Abadeh doctor who came out and discussed with the villagers the causes of their diseases and what sanitary measures they themselves could take to improve their health. Many homes now have sanitary toilets. The village teachers produced local reading materials, such as posters and flash cards, to use along with the learning materials from Shiraz and Tehran. All these were about village life.

One activity led to another as the groups discussed their needs. They decided they wanted a better road between Soghad and Abadeh. The class appointed a committee which secured the use of a truck from the Ostan Highway Department. They got permission from the village headman to do the work themselves of leveling the road and hauling gravel to surface it. They wanted mail service and applied for a local post office. While the official wheels are grinding slowly, one of their own members goes regularly to Abadeh to take outgoing letters and to bring mail in. They have applied for one telephone for the village and have offered to donate the poles. They have had no source of drinking water but the open roadside *jube* or canal. One

landlord has offered to have a shallow well dug, about 40 meters deep, as an experiment. If that is a successful source of drinking water, the villagers will assist in digging others.

Their little "library," which began in a rented room simply as a place where people could come to hear a literate man read, has become their pride and joy. Now the villagers have selected a site and are putting up their own building, which is to be the property of the village.

One prosperous villager has offered to sell a piece of land and give the money toward building a sanitary shower bath for the village. He also offered to donate part of his water share to the bath. The Community Development technician has visited the group and advised them on the best way to finance the bath.

Various social developments have also grown out of the literacy classes. Each little village path or kutchi has achieved the distinction

Ostan and Shahrestan Fundamental Education Trainees Visit Near East Foundation Garden Exhibit

of having its own name, usually the name of a family living on it. Traditionally, disputes have been taken to the local gendarme for autocratic and arbitrary settlement. The classes decided it would be better if they had their own peacemaker. The village appointed a "council" of elders. Now disagreements within the family and between families come before judges of their own choosing. The harmony of the village has been improved.

To celebrate the completion of their first year of work in the Fundamental Education Program, an entertainment was given by those who were illiterate but who have attended class regularly and are now able to read and write. They invited their neighbors in to hear them read from their primer and from simple articles, to recite poetry and do arithmetic problems. An evaluation has been made of present literacy skills of those who have attended classes. The teachers consider the achievements satisfactory.

Reports coming in from other places tell of a variety of ways in which villagers have helped themselves when a little guidance is given them. Some have opened girls' schools with women teachers so that fundamental education classes for women could be held. In others, a woman teacher has been added to the one school, thus encouraging girls to attend and promoting literacy work for women.

Since the classes improved the road, regular bus service has been established between Hamadan and the fundamental education village of Shevarin 6 kilometers away. Mr. Sedighi, the Shahrestan leader, has aroused the interest of the Government health and agriculture agencies in the fundamental education work. The Hamadan Iran-American Public Cooperative Organization helped the Shevarin villagers plan for 10 shallow wells and gave hand pumps for them. Both Mr. and Mrs. Sedighi are "old hands" in village work. For several years they have helped the villagers in a less organized but effective way in the Bahar area where they were teaching.

People in the village of Laal-Abad, 10 kilometers from Kermanshah, own about 800 beehives. They heard that the fundamental education teachers had learned how to make a better beehive than the traditional "keg" type. Men from Laal-Abad walked into Kermanshah to find out the better methods of making the hives, of keeping the bees, and of controlling bee pests. Mullahs, landlords, teachers, and influential villagers gather in the Sedighi home for a cup of tea and to discuss plans for the village and its program. In Ahwaz, Mr. Jahanshahi, the Ostan leader, has a weekly radio hour which gives him opportunity to explain the Fundamental Education Program and to keep the public informed on its progress.

PLANS AND PROBLEMS

The Chief of Education in Fars Ostan is now expanding the Fundamental Education Program into six additional Shahrestans, and continuing in the four where it has been developed this first year. The Soghad leaders are reaching out to two nearby villages. Two married couples have been trained for the work in these areas by assisting the leaders in Soghad for a time.

In some Ostans, the expansion this year will not be into new Shahrestans but into 3 or 4 villages located near the present centers. Good leadership by village teachers and supervision by Ostan and Shahrestan leaders is essential. Transportation is a problem. The social order approves of men riding bicycles. Not so with women; for them the practice will have to come gradually.

The Ministry of Education has decided that the Shahrestan leaders must live in a pilot village. Visiting technicians also need a place where they can stay when they come to the pilot villages. Students in the Ostan Agricultural Training Schools, Homemaking Schools, and Normals who are later to become village teachers should do their practice teaching in a village school and in fundamental education classes. To accommodate all these groups, village-type houses will be built this year in the fundamental education Shahrestan pilot villages. They will be the property of the Ministry of Education and will be assigned as quarters to teachers and students because of their contribution to rural improvement. It is estimated that about 200 can be put up in the Ostans and in the Tehran district. A basic home plan has been prepared in Tehran to serve only as a guide. Local engineers, responsible to the Ostan Chief of Education, will draw up plans adapted to local situations and resources. USOM/Iran technicians will assist as advisers.

Since the time of Reza Shah, the Ministry of Education has sponsored adult classes in literacy. These have been concentrated in Tehran and the provincial towns, with a few in near-urban villages. Classes in reading and writing have been taught by elementary school teachers in the evening. The Ministry has also carried on a literacy program for army draftees. These youths are mostly from rural areas. Steps are now being taken to broaden the teaching content of the classes in both programs so that reading and writing skills become tools for better living rather than ends in themselves. In time, these programs and the fundamental education work will undoubtedly become related parts in the larger countrywide educational movement.

The Ministry of Labor is now organizing an education program for illiterate workers. The Ministry of Education and fundamental education staffs are cooperating in the setting up of the work and

in the production of a first reader prepared especially for industrial workers.

LITERACY EDUCATION FOR THE GENDARMERIE

In June 1953 the project agreement for a Gendarmerie Literacy Training Program was signed by the Director of the United States Operations Mission to Iran, the Minister of Education, and the Minister of Interior. Work was begun by a special committee on production of a simple, practical, reading book for use in teaching illiterate gendarmes to read, write, and do basic arithmetic problems. In a short time, the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie organized a literacy section within its headquarters.

Four teachers were released from their regular work in the Ministry of Education, and in collaboration with gendarmerie officers formed four teams to be responsible for training the post commanders to teach the literacy classes.

Each team held 5-day commander training courses at the company headquarters. Upon completion of a commander course, the gendarmes stationed at the post began their literacy work, and the training team moved on to a new company. This was repeated until all companies in Iran were reached. In addition to the readers, classes were supplied with notebooks, pencils, a blackboard, and chalk. By

Examination Day for Gendarmerie Literacy Training Class

proclamation of His Majesty the Shah, all illiterate gendarmes were required to take the course unless specifically excused. The entire country has now been covered, with a total enrollment of 15,539 gendarmes in 1,682 classes. It has taken an average of 6 months for a class to complete the work, at a cost of only 235 rials, or $2.98 for enabling one gendarme to become literate. Upon completion of the class work, the achievement of each gendarme has been rated by a headquarters team. An average of 70 percent of the total number of gendarmes enrolled have become sufficiently literate to perform their official duties satisfactorily.

In the Azerbaijan area where many of the gendarmes are of Turkish origin, the commander-teachers have found it necessary to give special attention to helping the classes learn to speak as well as to read many Farsi words and sentences. The testing program has shown that even with this handicap the work in Azerbaijan has also produced satisfactory literacy results.

The significance of having literate gendarmes lies in the fact that these men are responsible for the security of rural Iran and are often the only representatives of the government within reach of the villages. They protect millions of rural homes and thousands of business places. They ensure safety to the travelers on highways.

Both the teaching method used and the gendarme reader have attracted the interest also of the civilians in many communities. In one gendarme post near Tabriz the Mullah who is in charge of the Maktab or mosque school asked if he might attend the gendarme class to learn the "new method of teaching Farsi." A civilian young man was found attending the teacher-training class in Banjan. It turned out that he is the son of one of the commanders and a student in a secondary school. The father wanted his son to learn the "new method of teaching reading" so that he could sometimes substitute as gendarme teacher. Many of the gendarmes have taught members of their families to read and write. One gendarme taught his wife the reading, writing, and arithmetic he had learned so that she could account for the money she spent for the home. The wife reported, "Before, I couldn't give him the correct amount of how much I had spent, and we had much arguing. But from the time I learned how to add and subtract I kept a daily record. Our arguments have ended and we are happy."

Another gendarme said, "After we learned to read and write, we tried to take care of our health and improve the sanitation of our homes. We have been neglecting this a long time. Now, we are protecting our families by learning from books and other materials."

New literate gendarmes have helped some villages establish their

first schools. They have learned gardening and have taught the villagers the nutritional value of vegetables and how to cook them.

In dedicating the Garmsar Gendarmerie Post last October, Clark S. Gregory, Director of United States Operations Mission to Iran stated, "Since the first groups of gendarmes learned to read and write through the Gendarmerie Literacy Program, more and more stories have come in of gendarmes helping to impart valuable information to illiterate villages. The several thousand gendarmes who have become literate have advertised to villages all over Iran that it is not difficult for an adult to learn to read in a comparatively short time. . . . The impact on the villagers has been tremendous."

PRODUCING THE LEARNING MATERIALS

THE WRITERS

The Iranian staff of the USOM/Iran Fundamental Education Section, assisted by the American technician, have taken responsibility for the production of all learning materials on the Ministry and Headquarters level for the Fundamental Education Program. Three of the group are Ministry of Education members who have been assigned to the USOM/Iran Fundamental Education Section. They are men of years of teaching and administrative experience. One has had considerable experience in writing science school materials and studied fundamental education for a year under a UNESCO grant in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Haiti. Another studied education in England, France, and Sweden 2½ years and spent 5 weeks in India studying their social education work. The third served as Chief of the Ministry Adult Education Department for a 5-year period.

To ensure a close cooperation between the Fundamental Education Section and the Publications Department of the Ministry, the Ministry appointed a staff member of the Department to work officially on the production of fundamental education learning materials. The man assigned had been a successful writer of learning materials before he spent a year at Columbia University in the United States under a Fulbright grant. There, he studied modern methods of teaching reading and the psychology of communication.

None of these writers receive special remuneration for their writing.

THE READERS

When the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie, the United States Gendarme Mission, and the Education and Training Division of USOM/Iran organized the Gendarmerie Literacy Training Program in 1953 there were no suitable learning materials for illiterates. Many people had devised "new methods" of teaching Farsi and had books

already written. None of them had been written for gendarmes, dealing with their rural environment and their duties.

It was decided that a new reader should be prepared by a special committee. An Iranian group of three composed of representatives of the United States Gendarme Mission, the Ministry of Education, and the Education and Training Division accepted the responsibility. In addition to the reading contents, a section was included in the book for learning the four basic arithmetic operations, which gendarmes need in performing their work. Three followup pamphlets were published for the new literates. The first was titled "Several Old Kings of Iran," which gives historical stories the gendarmes already know and provides interesting reading matter.

A second was titled, "Useful Things To Know," and a third "Know and Live Better." These last two contain information on rural problems of health and agriculture and something about the duties of gendarmes and their responsibilities in rural communities. A teaching guide was printed in the book.

The reader which has been used in all the fundamental education classes is entitled "We Learn To Read and Write." It follows much the same method of teaching Farsi as the Gendarme Reader but with considerable difference in content and illustrations. The three pamphlets published for new literate gendarmes were sent to the village library shelves to be used as soon as class members were ready for them. A pamphlet titled "Home Vegetable Gardens" has just come from the press. Five others for new literates are in process of production. They are on the following subjects: "The Home and Health," "Poultry and Live Stock," "General Village Health," "Trees—Forest and Orchard," and "We Work Together."

Although both the gendarme reader and the village reader, "We Learn To Read and Write," have been well received and the latter was given the highest readability rating of the materials studied by Dr. J. Maurice Hobfeld, Near East Foundation Consultant in Adult Education, the Ministry is interested in the production of a reader which utilizes modern principles of teaching reading. Tape recordings were made of free, village conversations to find out what villagers are interested in and the words they use in talking. A seminar study group met regularly throughout a 2-month period to arrive at an agreement on the best method of approach. The test has now been completed and is ready to be tried out with a group of illiterates before being printed.

From the first lesson, the material has meaning for the learner. Soon the words are broken down into syllables and the alphabet. A set of flashcards and a set of posters accompany the book to be used

by the teacher. The flashcards, which are already printed, are in such demand by elementary schools that the Ministry is planning to reprint them to be sold at a small price.

OTHER TEACHING MATERIALS

In all Ostans, considerable locally produced learning materials have been prepared, sometimes by the Ostan leaders and sometimes by the Shahrestan teams and village teachers. These include posters using magazine illustrations in black and white and in color, with hand lettering, handmade sets of flashcards, and mimeographed stories in Farsi on problems of health and agriculture. Health and agriculture technicians have cooperated in preparation of materials in their fields.

A mimeographed set of 10 4-page leaflets is planned in a "We Do It This Way" series. Each will take up just one problem, such as spraying pistachio trees for pests, and with simple illustrations and directions will help the farmer learn to read better and at the same time save his valuable nut crop.

To make learning possible, funds have been provided each village for elemental supplies. Most centers have needed blackboards and kerosene lanterns. Usually the village furnished the fuel. If a portable, hand-cranked, sewing machine could not be borrowed, one has been bought for the women, as well as a one-burner table kerosene stove and a few cooking pans. Sometimes the men's groups have been given a few farming tools, similar to those they have used, but improved.

In some villages, the teachers have taken a course in first aid under the health technician. When they have learned how to use it in their teaching, the Public Health Cooperative has given them a First-Aid Kit. Concrete slabs have been sold at half price to members of the classes who have learned how to make a sanitary toilet and do the work themselves.

Films produced in Iran by the Syracuse Film Unit throughout the 4 years are used in villages occasionally. The problem is transportation over bad roads and long distances.

Each issue of the bimonthly "Land and People" published by the Tehran-United States Information Service on Point Four activities, carries a two-page fundamental education spread prepared by the Section staff. The Health Education Branch of the Public Health Cooperative Organization requested the Section staff to assist in preparing for publication their bimonthly magazine, "Village Health." The health technicians prepare the articles and turn the materials over to the fundamental education staff for checking the readability of the Farsi for villagers. If necessary, rewriting is done before the

Village Teachers Learn To Draft Dress Patterns

issue goes back to the health technicians for publication. These two magazines provide a continuous supply of reading materials for village new literates on subjects that are vital to them.

TRAINING LEADERS AND TEACHERS

THE FIRST PRESERVICE TRAINING COURSE

The cornerstone upon which the success of the new Fundamental Education Program in Iran rested in the summer of 1954 was the selection and training of leaders at the local levels. Although plans for the Program had been discussed in conferences attended by Ministry of Education and USOM/Iran staffs throughout a period of months, it was decided to send out two teams of two men each to cover all the Ostans for local on-the-spot planning with Ostan Chiefs of Education and USOM/Iran Education technicians. The Ministry had already specified the desired qualifications for leaders and the types of villages which should be selected for beginning the work, but final choice of both leaders and villages was in the hands of the Ostans. The face-to-face discussions between headquarters and local staffs were most helpful in making good selections.

An 11-week leader training course opened in Tehran on August 17 and closed on October 21. Of 107 trainees representing all Ostans,

61 were men and 46 women. The majority had had 11 years of education and around 10 years' experience as teachers or administrators.

The basic needs of the group were:

1. A new and fuller understanding of the social and economic aspects of village life, and its importance in the development of Iran. In short, to see the village with new eyes.

2. An understanding of the problems of education, health, and agriculture in rural Iran and of how village teachers, as local leaders, could help village men and women find homespun, practical ways to do much to raise their own standards of living.

3. To develop methods and skills of teaching illiterate adults to read and and write Farsi as the functional basis for all other aspects of the program.

4. To learn the nature, scope, and location of available resources in both USOM/Iran and the Government which can be channeled to the villages to assist the people in solving aspects of their problems requiring technical skills and some material aid.

5. An understanding of the conference or discussion method as a technique necessary in adult fundamental education work, and skill in using the method effectively.

6. Dedication of their loyalties and abilities in the village work sufficient to surmount its ruggedness and difficulties.

With these needs in mind, the group study areas were divided as follows:

Area	Class-hours
Adult Education and Literacy Training	40
Rural Sociology and Rural Organizations	22
Production of Learning Materials	9
Agriculture and Related Subjects:	
Men	55
Women	36
Home Welfare—Women	20
Sanitation and Health	33
Techniques of Conference Method and Practice In Using It	8
Village Recreation	2

Instruction was largely in Farsi by Iranians. Leaders were drawn from USOM/Iran Divisions of Education, Agriculture, and Community Development; the Iran-American Public Health Cooperative Organization; the Ministries of Education and Agriculture; Karaj Agricultural College and the Hyderabad Research Station; the Iran-American Audiovisual Service; and the Near East Foundation.

Arrangements were made to use seven villages near Tehran as laboratories for the trainees. One small group of men and one of women were assigned to work in each village with a member of the staff. Twice a week for 5 weeks the groups worked with landlords, village headmen, Mullahs, and with village men and women who joined the groups. Trainees gained practical experience in teaching literacy, overcoming practical problems, and learning how to get skilled help from technicians when the job was beyond the realm of

commonsense. Most of all, they acquired courage to tackle village problems later on by themselves, and some ability to inspire the same confidence in the village teachers whom they were to train as permanent leaders.

BROADENING THE TRAINING PROGRAM

The training of the village teachers has been a day-by-day process. For the first year, each Shahrestan team has worked with the teachers and the classes in only one village. These leaders needed this period to continue their own growth and perfect their skills. Some have lived in the village. Others have commuted. It is planned that when the building of the homes has been completed, they will all live in the pilot villages to train the teachers and open up the work.

In June of 1955, the Ostan leaders gathered for a week's conference to review the work of the year and to plan Ostan conferences for village teachers later in the summer. This was the best type of training. It was a short workshop with excellent group participation and planning on the basis of group experience and with technicians' assistance as needed.

Between July 7 and September 15, 1955, training courses were held in all 11 Ostans, with a total enrollment of 408 village teachers. The programs varied, but generally followed much the same emphasis and scope as the original training course held the year before for Ostan and Shahrestan leaders.

Iran is developing a body of experienced and well-qualified fundamental education leaders on the Ministry level, the Ostan and Shahrestan level, and among the village teachers. But good as are these short summer training courses, another way is needed for the long rural development pull. The committee assigned to improve the curriculum of the Ostan Agricultural Training Schools has recommended that, in the future, all students be required to take 160 clock-hours of fundamental education work. With the provision for all students preparing to become village teachers to do their practice teaching in a fundamental education pilot village, in a few years there will be in Iran a continuous steady flow of new village teachers trained in literacy work with adults, and in the broader concepts of fundamental education.

Community Development Through Adult Education

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JEFFERSON'S words strike at the heart of the West Indian problem: "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the people but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

"Informing their discretion" has to take more than one form in the British West Indies, where a far-reaching social revolution has been in progress since the riots and bloodshed of 1938. In Jamaica, for instance, adult education aims at community development much more than at formal teaching. The chief purpose is to help people to discover within themselves a capacity for action and initiative.

This kind of education does not flow from books but from ideas. The book itself is but an instrument, often a noble one, for releasing the creative power imprisoned in men and women; a power the tremendous force of which is easily forgotten by an age which has seen the increasing dominance of the machine and the terror of the atom bomb.

The Jamaican problem is a serious one. It is a race against time. The situation is comparable with that in Puerto Rico, and this has been translated into terms of the United States by Dr. Jaime Benítez, Chancellor, University of Puerto Rico. He says that if one night, by some magic, all the vast industrial resources, all the deposits of coal and iron and oil, were to be taken away from the United States, and if at the same time all the people living in the rest of the world were to be taken to the United States, then the population pressure would compare with that of Puerto Rico—and for Puerto Rico one might write Jamaica!

While the population of the island is increasing steadily, the material resources by which it is sustained are increasing more slowly and in some places are diminishing. Soil erosion, crop diseases, and natural disasters may combine with a rising population to decrease both the

[1] The author gratefully acknowledges his debt in connection with this article to Hon. Norman Manley, founder of Jamaica Welfare, and at present Chief Minister of Jamaica.

Better Homes for Better Living Through Cooperative Effort at Lucky Hill

quantity and the quality of fertile land per head of population. Thus the developing self-respect and sense of loyalty to a community which might go hand in hand with national consciousness and independence have to fight constantly against the enervating and destructive results of ignorance, poverty, malnutrition, and disease.

It is sometimes argued that the key to the problem is to be found in increasing the wealth of the island. Once this has been done then it will be possible to afford the social services which Jamaica so badly needs and the social disasters which spring from poverty will in themselves be checked by a rising standard of living. All this is true so far as it goes, but there is no possibility of increasing the wealth of

the island without at the same time improving its human resources. To put the problem in its crudest terms, a constantly increasing supply of food is needed. But the use of machinery and the application of capital imply the teaching of new techniques and developing new attitudes of mind. Development of industry presupposes the development of technical education and a much higher rate of literacy than at present exists. But to extend education, whether in schools or among adults, is an expensive process and one difficult for poor countries to finance. Yet the benefits of schooling may themselves be stultified by parental apathy, ignorance, and neglect. Without a suitable family background for a child the work of the school is seriously hampered; and a suitable family background requires not only extended and improved education, but also improvements in housing. In short, various agencies of social improvement and economic development must work together. Education must be considered as one means of community development.

Social and economic development depend on two factors. The first is the existence of opportunity, the second is the ability of people to grasp it. The first is only partly within the ordinary man's control. A good deal of opportunity is created almost out of nothing by enterprising and vigorous action, but to a large extent the range of opportunity depends on things outside the control of those whose means are small and limited. Government itself assumes responsibility for the creation of a large part of the opportunities open to the people at large. Health, education, land supply, markets, credit, agricultural services, and many other things which can be roughly described as "provided services" largely depend on government provision. The economic factors are largely defined and set by external forces. They depend to a degree on government policy, but even more on the policies of external agencies. Within these limits is a large area in which people may make the best of things as they are if they know how to do so.

This depends on the existence in the people of certain spirit and will. Action is required but action comes from desire and hope and self-confidence. It must be dynamic. The creation of the dynamic is the first task. But it is easy to start, hard to keep on. Inertia can be overcome, but all energy tends to run down. How to maintain action is the hardest of all social problems. Part of the answer is to be found in organization and method, and partly in the constant regeneration of the energy of the start. That is the second task. Neither can be accomplished without a process which is educational in its essence; not the education of books, but education related to living problems and derived from the action taken to solve them.

Around these principles a program of adult education has been built up in Jamaica in recent years. Much of the work is based on group action, for there is no doubt that when men and women meet together for a common purpose, there is at once engendered a new spirit bigger and more vital that that of the individuals alone. Groups create in themselves energy to act. They help to create and to find leaders, they build confidence and inspire themselves with hope. Group action is the central factor in the work.

Within the group, practical education resulting in practical action can develop faster than anywhere else or by any other means. Men and women working in groups constantly regenerate the energy which first drew them together.

Group action and initiative of this kind is of fundamental importance in such a community as Jamaica, where crown colony government—that is, rule by the Colonial Office in London—prevailed for many years. This was often efficient government, but it had this basic weakness, that it taught people to look outside of themselves for help and leadership. It took away the habit and the power of self-direction. That period has passed. The British Government has handed over a great measure of political responsibility to Jamaica and political decisions rest in the hands of ministers elected by universal adult suffrage. Even before these political changes had begun to take place an organization known as Jamaica Welfare, nonpolitical in character, had begun to attack the problem of community development through adult education. Marier, in his study of this work which he prepared for UNESCO, points out that the growth of Jamaica Welfare (now the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission) was "an answer to the very serious needs felt by Jamaicans themselves." Furthermore it is interesting to note that its growth had been influenced by the very men whose leadership has been decisive in many aspects of Jamaica social and political life.

The dynamic comes from the national movement. National sentiment usually involves a feeling of status, of belonging together, and of belonging to a region. It is a unifying force, stimulating regard for one's own culture and country. It is a self-regarding aspect of national sentiment; the sense of belonging together, of belonging to a region, of pride in one's country and one's culture. These have been a natural and accepted part of English and American life for many centuries, but they are new in West Indian life.

The Jamaican peasant scratching at the soil with his hoe does not think in these terms, yet for him, as well as for the intellectual, love of

Handwoven Hats of Jippi-Jappa Straw Increase the Family Income

country has become a powerful motive. This explains that almost evangelical note in the work of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, and the composition of songs like

> We work so that Jamaica shall truly be great,
> An island where God has command. * * *
>
> An end shall be put to division and hate
> New unity sweep through the land. * * *

Alongside the patriotic motive runs that of self-betterment: The genuine desire to improve one's qualifications in order to serve one's country better and in order to be better off. Civil servants, trade union officers, teachers, leaders in cooperative societies, and many others find that their daily work gains in significance because it not only brings them their bread and butter, but is a contribution to their country.

This growth of national feeling gives new meaning to public affairs. All adults are now citizens, participating in the affairs of the country. In an emergent nation one of the most urgent tasks of adult education is to keep the dynamic force, the appeal of patriotism, the passionate creative interest in country and culture, and at the same time to show how independence leads to interdependence, nationhood to membership in the family of nations, pride in one's own to an understanding of the way in which differences may enrich rather than impoverish human society.

Jamaica's resources being so limited, the program was conceived in severely realistic terms. It began at the grass roots. One of the main fields of work for instance, is Home Economics, but this term is used in the very widest sense, to include home improvement and family living. The approach is illustrated by this report:

> The other day a welfare worker on a sugar estate introduced me to an old lady as one of his best group leaders. Full of pride, she showed me her garden with its food crops raised by her own hands. When, however, I asked if I might see her home, she changed utterly and consented only with humility.
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> The home was at first sight most unattractive: a single room where she lived with her daughter and grandchild. Two iron bedsteads almost filled it; the walls were dark and the available space crowded. Yet those two bedsteads represented decent sleeping for the three occupants; a good standard maintained in difficult conditions.
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> To improve housing as quickly as possible, there must be both a long-term plan to abolish bad structures and build new ones; and a short-term Home Improvement plan to help the thousands of people who will live for long years to come in homes which are overcrowded. These plans would help them to build themselves simple but good kitchens and bathrooms; screen their verandas; mend shutters and steps; safeguard decency by the use of screens and partitions and equip their homes with furniture which is space-saving as well as cheap and strong. The short-term plan can do as much for the standard of living as the long-term one, if it can only enable families to sit down to a meal where their children's talk and eating can be supervised. It prepares people to live in new homes when they get them.

Welfare Workers are trained in general principles and they also learn how to organize and share in the general task of Home Improvement. Thus, the director of one of the training courses states that:

We obtained permission from the Hurricane Housing Organization to furnish two of the one-room concrete houses provided for victims of the 1951 hurricane: one for a family of five, and one for a family of seven. Not that we regard one room, even when divided up by screens, as giving the right degree of privacy and space for families of this size, but we set out to show that although these houses were small and simply built, people could live in them decently and even with house-pride, especially if the men were homemakers as well as the women.

For 10 weeks the students gave 2 periods per week to the work. They furnished the two small houses with the essentials of living; built and equipped a kitchen with a smokeless fireplace; made a vegetable garden and a fine rabbit hutch.

There were 27 students of whom very few were familiar with the use o tools. Men and women together sawed, planed, chiseled and hammered, dug in the garden, tended the rabbits, and found it a satisfying experience. To many the physical effort proved invigorating and enjoyable. We emerged with the slogan: "A TOOL-BOX IN EVERY HOME."

The students visited 10 homes. Six of these had no more than 2 rooms, and 4 had only 1. In these 6 homes the people for the most part tried to live decently and cleanly, but:

None had proper privacy for sleeping, bathing, dressing, and separation of the sexes. Children had not enough beds and no place for indoor play or to keep their own things. There was almost complete lack of cupboards and other space, including food storage. In none could a family sit down together for a meal. None had any domestic water supply or water storage, or any place for bathing. Three had no kitchen, but only a thatched roof on poles sheltering a "fireplace" of three stones on the ground or on a raised platform. All kitchens were smoky, ill-equipped, and uncomfortable to work in. Several latrines were broken down, one was described as "improvised" and one home had no latrine.

The "Better Village Plan" is, in a sense, an enlargement of work of this kind. It has many features of the Village Improvement Program in parts of India and of the adult education work in parts of Canada and the United States. The aim is the balanced development of the village. Leaders of many different organizations at work, such as church groups, citizens' associations, or cricket clubs, are enlisted, and a village committee is formed. This committee considers their problems, whether economic or cultural, and decides on a plan of action. The ultimate aim is a program which will supply the need of the various sections and age groups.

The Better Village Plan aims at coordinating existing activities, and helping the village to study its needs and meet them. All other activities, such as the development of housecrafts, of village industries, and of cooperative enterprises are regarded as specialized elements of the Better Village Plan. Where the work is successful, the village, it is hoped, will gradually become a living community, capable of united and effective action.

Information on Farm Development Stimulates Reading in a Literacy Class

A dramatic example of this work is the way in which the village of Ragsville was transformed. Ragsville is not a fictitious name. It was in fact the name of a little slum in one of the loveliest parts of the Jamaican countryside—perched below a larger village that had been prosperous before disease wiped out the surrounding banana plantations. In Ragsville the housing was shocking, there was no sanitation, children were diseased and neglected, and worst of all, the people were hopeless and dispirited—beaten by poverty and disease. Things began to happen when one of the women of the village, illiterate and very poor, spoke with the welfare officer and decided to get her friends to join her in remaking the village. She gathered a little group around her and the first thing that they decided on was a change of name. Away with Ragsville; let Newstead flourish in its place. Within 12 months houses had been repaired by group effort, children were attending school regularly, and the beaten spirit of Ragsville had completely disappeared. It was not far from this district that another transformation took place—the making of a new Bonnett. This scattered village of some 30 cottages (most of one room) was wiped out by a hurricane which struck a part of the

island. The first task was to bring the villagers together, and to encourage them to provide their own leadership; 25 families agreed to join in an effort to make a new Bonnett. A plan was worked out by which the government gave 70 pounds, one-third of the cost of a new house, the Cooperative Societies Loan Bank lent 70 pounds on each house, and the owner of the house gave the other third in work and in materials with which to build.

First, there was a 6-month period of preparation. The group of 25 was organized into 4 subgroups, each electing its own leader. Members were called on to study cooperative methods and ways of building. The group collected timber and stone, burnt white lime, cleared and excavated the land, and built the houses under the direction of skilled masons and carpenters. Each group worked together for an average of 3 days a week on each other's houses. The work done by the owners was credited to them at 5 shillings a day and each working day a meal was prepared for the working group by the women. The building began on November 26 and the formal opening of the houses, 23 of them, took place on May 24, 1946. The last houses were completed by June 30. In all, the project took 149 working days, of which 31 were affected by rains.

The people of Bonnett had to meet many difficulties, their village was some miles away from the main road and could not be reached easily. They had to go out into the forest and woodlands to find timber, and then carry the heavy logs and planks back to the village. By working together as a team they overcame all their difficulties and built their houses in 9 months. It was no wonder that hundreds of people gathered from near and far to share in the celebrations when the New Bonnett was completed.

Adult education is also used to encourage community development through cooperative societies, with insistence on study and planning together for action. In the rolling upland country of central Jamaica, where people once depended on their banana cultivations, and where Panama disease and soil erosion destroyed the main props of a precarious economy, both financial resources and morale were strengthened by the development of Egg Cooperatives. Some project was needed to assist the small farmer in the rehabilitation of his lands and his income. Poultry farmers have been organized in small groups. First, there was the study of poultry rearing; secondly, saving cash for the purchase of chickens, feed, etc. Then actual production started, and, in spite of many setbacks, in food shortages and high feed prices, the region is now marketing hundreds of dozens of eggs per week.

It is difficult to communicate through words the sense of social movement and of community growth of which these examples are evidence. The methods of persuasion are slow and where traditions

and human personality are given the respect they deserve, the frui of endeavour take long to mature. The great advantage is tha growth proceeds in an atmosphere of liberty and freedom of choice and success is measured by acceptance and is never assured unless the objectives adapt themselves to the needs and potentialities of the people who are served. Community Development denies the Pro crustean shortcuts and must patiently and with humility await the judgment of time. Jamaica may however claim that the attempt at community development through adult education has passed safely through the critical days of an early beginning, has laid the foundation of methods and techniques, and implanted the seeds of ideas which promise a substantial contribution to our future development.

The Gold Coast Community Development Service

By P. du Sautoy

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THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SERVICE goes back to 1943 when the Gold Coast Government appointed a Social Development Officer to advise on the initiation of Community Development (known in the Gold Coast as "Mass Education," an expression which has found its way into the local languages) and general social development work in the rural areas. It was decided that the Social Development Officer should be attached to the then Department of Social Welfare and Housing (itself only formed 2 years before) which had had, through shortage of staff, to confine its efforts in social welfare to the urban areas. In 1948, it was decided to experiment in community adult education by means of a mobile team in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. The intention was to impart a training to educated persons in rural areas which would enable them to organize social service activities to raise the general standard of culture and living in those areas. The experimental mobile team consisted of 3 teachers, 1 nurse, 1 woman Assistant Welfare Officer, 2 ex-servicemen, 1 physical training instructor, 1 bandsman, a mobile cinema crew, and a clerk. All the officers concerned were drawn from different organizations, such as other Government Departments and the Christian Missions and attached to the Department of Social Welfare and Housing.

The team assembled at the School of Social Welfare, Accra, for preliminary training. The curriculum included discussion group work, with emphasis upon clear thinking rather than upon subject content; village drama—e. g. how to take a simple theme of social import and dramatize it without aid of a stage or other properties; and physical training as something enjoyable in the form of games which could be played with improvised equipment in any village. In first aid, the emphasis was placed upon positive health measures allied to simple remedial treatment for the normal minor accidents in rural areas. Music was included since it was intended to interest the existing social groups, which in many cases are based upon village choirs and mutual benefit societies and which had as one form of activity simple com-

Health Campaign, Trans-Volta Territory

munity insurance for their members. The team also taught literacy in the local language. The technique of literacy used was that invented by Dr. Frank Laubach, who himself visited the Gold Coast in 1948 to demonstrate his methods. The point which was continuously emphasized in the training of the team was that, whilst each member had been selected for his or her technical knowledge, cooperative participation by all members in each and every activity was required. Every member took turns at instruction in each subject from physical recreation to literacy and first aid, so at the conclusion of the training period, although there were specialists in the team, every member could and did teach all the subjects listed in the curriculum.

After training, the team was sent into the field and held a series of courses for potential leaders of the village communities. The courses were intended to present voluntary social service work for the community as an exciting adventure which every educated man and woman could indulge in not only for the pleasure of achievement

but also for the good of the community at large. It was thought that if social service could be presented in this manner, the educated few in the rural areas would act as leaders in Community Development and would organize literacy, health work, village programs and village entertainment in their areas.

The first course took place at a small rural town called Peki Bengo. The school was lent for the occasion and about 80 Voluntary Leaders attended the course.

A typical day's program in the course was: physical training, 6:15–7 a. m.; community singing, 9 a. m. Demonstrations, discussions, and practice in first aid, literacy, discussion group technique, and village drama continued throughout the morning until 12:30 p. m. In the afternoon from 2–4:30, emphasis was placed upon the students' participating in adult teaching. Criticisms of their teaching techniques were interposed with formal lectures. The day finished with a game period lasting from 5–6 p. m.

Not only the educated few attended the course, but what appeared to be the entire female population of the village attended and demanded to be educated. Although the course was designed for the training of educated community leaders, it was impossible not to listen to the pleas of the illiterate women and everyone from the lorry driver's mate to the cinema van crew was pressed into service to teach literacy. Matters reached the point that the chief of the town had to ask for the morning physical training period to be varied in time since no one in the town was available to carry water to the houses. The greatest lesson learned from this first experiment was the impact of a Mobile Community Development Team upon a small rural community.

The success of this first course was repeated in three other villages in Togoland; and in 1949, a joint Anglo-French team was formed which ran four courses in areas of both British and French Togoland. It was gratifying to note that the Voluntary Leaders did, in fact, return to their villages and organize some form of welfare activity, usually literacy classes.

On the 19th of September 1949, the Gold Coast Government issued a memorandum on Community Development and Local Development Committees. The memorandum stated fully the Government's policy with regard to Community Development as follows:

> The acceleration of the economic and social development of the community in every part of the Gold Coast, by harnessing the community's own energies, is the settled policy of the Government.

In every district of the Gold Coast, a Local Development Committee composed of local notables was set up under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. Funds totaling about £1,000 a year

were made available to the committees, and the committees were able to give financial assistance toward village improvement projects in which the communities were prepared to help themselves. In the main, the funds were to be used for tools and materials, and the communities were to contribute their labor voluntarily. Technical advice and assistance were provided by the Mass Education Teams in areas where they were operating.

Emphasis was also placed at this time upon the importance of the education of women. Using the specially produced local film called "Amanu's Child" the Mass Education female staff concentrated on teaching women child care and nutrition, following the old proverb that if you educate a man, you educate an individual; whilst if you educate a woman, you educate a family.

In 1950, the Gold Coast Government decided that it would be necessary to form a permanent section of the Department of Social Welfare to deal with Community Development, since with the departure of the members of the original experimental teams back to their normal work, there was no one to carry on the work which had proved to be so popular and so successful.

Full-time staff were recruited under a Chief Social Development Officer and a permanent organization was set up. The permanent staff then spread into a wider area of Togoland, and preparations were made to extend the work to other parts of the country.

In 1951, the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development which had grown out of the old Department of Social Welfare and Housing produced a plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education which was unanimously approved by the new Legislative Assembly in August 1951. The plan called for an intensification of effort on Community Development over a period of 5 years. It called for the opening of new regions based on language groups to give effective coverage to the whole of the Gold Coast. The plan was based on the following principles:

1. A concentration of effort in time or in space: i. e., by an intensive campaign over a wide area for a short time, or a prolonged effort concerned with a small area.

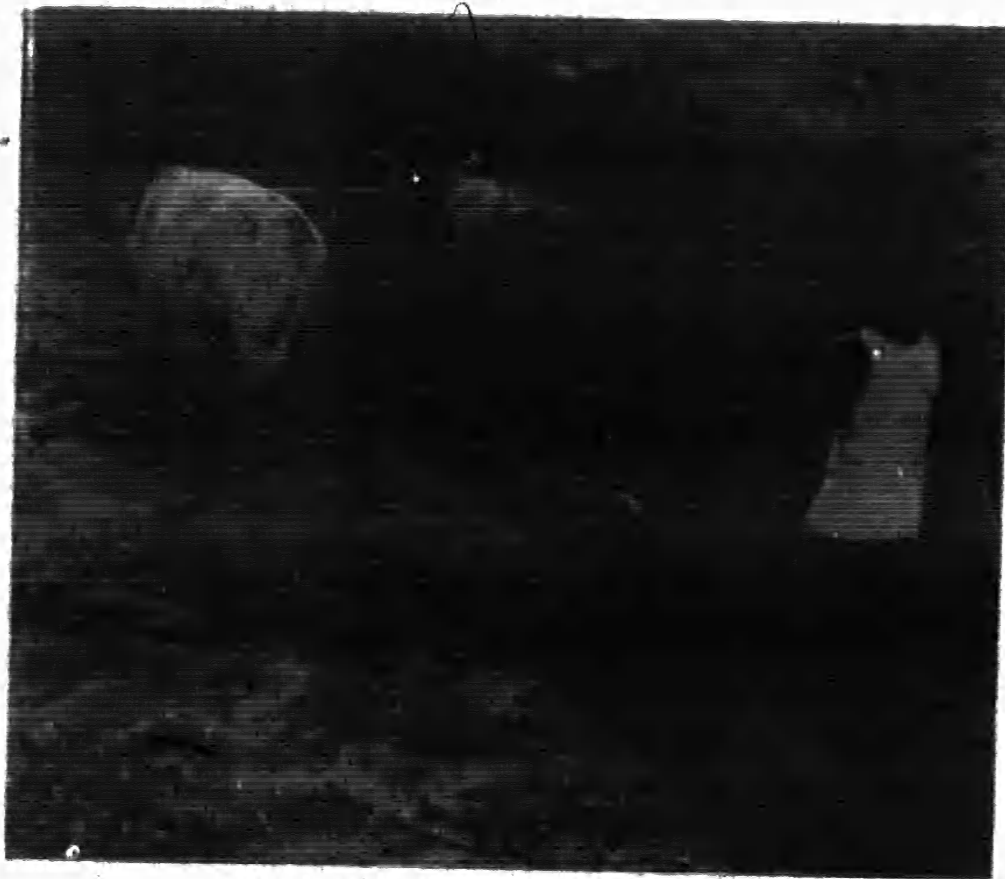
2. The stimulation of inspired leadership

3. The encouragement of voluntary effort and local self-help as an integral part of Community Development.

4. The encouragement of adults to learn and the training of Voluntary Leaders in the proper techniques of adult teaching.

5. The training of official staff in organizing and encouraging voluntary effort.

6. The emphasis on literacy in the vernacular language to be combined with other training for action at village level.



Agricultural Training Center at Nyankpala

7. The setting up of Rural Training Centers where courses in all subjects relating to village improvement could be continuously given for village community leaders and for the official staff in the region.

In his foreword to the plan, the Minister of Education and Social Welfare (Kojo Botsio, M. L. A.) said:

> The Government will do all in its power to secure success. But success with any plan for the betterment of a people's lives and especially with a plan for a Mass Education and Community Development depends upon a spirit of self-help in the members of every community and on a willingness to cooperate with those who seek to have them. I appeal to all who have been educated and who have the future of their country at heart, to assist this Ministry and the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development to bring to every community a vision of the better way of life which by its own efforts they can build for themselves. This can best be done by voluntary and sustained endeavour in the actual work of teaching in literacy classes and in helping in Mass Education and Community Development activities and projects.

The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development has been working in accordance with this plan since 1951, and is now reaching the end of the 5-year period.

The responsibility for the coordination of Community Development effort in the Gold Coast now rests with the Government Depart-

Child Welfare and Nutrition Class

ment of Social Welfare and Community Development which works under the policy direction of the Minister of Education, who is a member of the Gold Coast Cabinet. In 1955–56, that Department commanded an annually recurrent budget of £472,180. It had a staff of 955 and it was possible for it to extend its coverage to most of the rural areas of the Gold Coast. It is divided into two sections, the Welfare, and the Community Development Sections, each under an Assistant Director. The Department, in addition to carrying out extension campaigns in the rural areas for other Departments of the Government, such as Agriculture, Health, and Local Government, maintains a staff of technicians to help villagers in simple rural development construction projects. The Department, working through Voluntary Leaders, is teaching the illiterate to read and write, and teaching the elements of home economics and child care to village women. The Department also is running the country's juvenile delinquency and adult probation service, and similar services for those suffering from social maladjustment, such as the destitute and released prisoners. The formal educational system is under a separate Department, that of Education; extramural study, of an organized academic nature, is a matter for the U. C. G. C. The Department

of Social Welfare and Community Development concentrates on informal adult education for those who have had little or no schooling—at the "grass roots" level.

At the present time, Permanent Rural Training Centers which were envisaged in the Mass Education Plan, built by the Department itself, using local materials where possible, are in operation in four areas, namely: Ashanti, the Northern Territories, the Fante Region on the coast, and Transvolta Togoland. Temporary rural training centers in rented premises exist in three other areas. These Centers offer a variety of courses, which include, apart from staff training courses, courses for women in simple hygiene and child care, courses for councilors in local Government, courses for young people in improved rural building methods, and, indeed, courses for voluntary leaders in all aspects of village improvement. The Mass Education Plan states:

1. One of the methods of raising standards of village life that has been found most effective in other parts of the world is education in the Rural Center.

First, men and women living in villages, whether literate, newly literate, or illiterate, who can be leaders in their own communities need more concentrated training in all aspects of village improvement and community betterment; the aim would be to present a rounded picture of what village life could be and to emphasize one or more particular aspects. This kind of training can only be offered in a permanent residential center.

Second, there are certain tribal groups speaking vernacular languages of such limited scope that it is impossible to contemplate bringing literacy to them in their own vernacular for a very long period; nevertheless something could be done for the group, if two or three progressive families could be taken into the center for a period and then themselves carry back to their people what they have learned at the center.

Third, there is no meeting ground or organization for training all subordinate Government staff working in the field in the aims, ideas, and principles of community development; this is badly needed. The Sanitary Inspector, the 2d Division Agriculture Officer, the Midwife, the School Teacher, in fact the whole staff of the Local Authority must be made to feel that they are members of a team tackling the common problem of District development.

Fourth, the practical community development work sponsored or financed by Local Development Committees could be improved and extended if executive officers skilled in simple technical tasks and practiced in the mass education approach were available. It is hoped that the Kumasi College of Arts, Science, and Technology would train high-grade personnel of this kind, but this will take time, and even if such highly trained staff can be made available, there will be need for local retraining and reorientation. For this a Rural Center would be invaluable.

Fifth, the mass education methods now being planned provide an extensive cover, but the quality of the work done will depend on the kind of training

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that can be given to the staff working in the villages. With a large expansion of personnel of the order contemplated, some permanent training centers must be established with high quality staff. A Rural Center would serve the purpose of headquarters training base and center for experimentation.

Sixth, it should be possible to use the Rural Center for large-scale conferences of village leaders on village problems.

2. The Centers should be sited in rural areas that are easily accessible to large numbers of people. They should be planned in the style of a village and in all matters established at a level a little higher than is common in the area, but not so superior as to be beyond the people's capacity to appreciate or to copy. They should be living demonstrations of many possible improvements and many better methods. Whoever comes there should be inspired with the wish to improve their conditions and assured that it is possible to do so. They should feel at home and not out of place.

3. The buildings should all be simple, copiable, built of local materials, and inexpensive. In the North, the Center might, for instance, have its firewood plantation, a pure water supply not drawn from unobtainable mains, a mixed farm developed on a small scale using the best practices advocated by the Department of Agriculture, vegetable gardens, an effective social center or reading room, and some cooperative enterprise in home industries or crafts. In other areas, different activities would be emphasized and in Ashanti and Togoland, stress would be laid on home economics.

As regards general fieldwork, the community development work of the Department has been regionalized and the country is at present divided into six Mass Education Regions, each under a Community Development Officer, who is responsible for all field work connected with Community Development and extension services in the area. He has on his staff Mass Education Officers, who may be either specialists dealing with a particular aspect of the work or who may be in general charge of a district of the region. Mass Education Officers are the bottom grade of the Senior Section of the Department and are graduates appointed direct to the post or junior members of the staff promoted after obtaining a University diploma or certificate in Social Science under the Department training scheme. There are also subordinate staff of Senior Assistant Mass Education Officer and Assistant Mass Education Officer status as well as a number of village level workers, in charge of a group of villages, called Mass Education Assistants. A limited number of technical staff to supervise village construction projects is also attached to each Community Development Officer.

The field work of the Department is varied; each year there is a literacy campaign in each region, adapted to the times when the rural communities have most leisure. Nearly 4,000 literacy classes are held each year throughout the country and, at the end of the campaign supervised examinations are held, consisting of reading a paragraph in the vernacular language and explaining it to the examiner, followed

by simple dictation. The successful candidates are then awarded the Gold Coast Literacy Certificate. An average of 22,000 such certificates are awarded annually. These Certificates, as well as badges and special certificates to the Voluntary Teachers (persons of the educated classes in the rural community, such as storekeepers, teachers, and clerks) are usually awarded on special "Literacy Days." These are attended by local dignitaries and the music and dancing provide an interesting festival in the rural areas. The organization of literacy campaigns now follows a standard pattern. After the dates have been fixed, taking account of the raining and farming seasons, mobile cinema vans with mass education staff tour the area and, spending 2 days in each place, demonstrate the techniques and the advantages of literacy. Voluntary Teachers are then enrolled and shown the techniques of adult teaching and class organization at weekend courses. Members of the classes (15–20 in number) are then enrolled and the standard "Literacy Kit" consisting of a primer, two readers, an exercise book, pencil and "Mass Education" badge all enclosed in a stout envelope is sold at the economic price of 2/6. The period of teaching is 12 weeks, with an average of two classes a week.

In the Gold Coast, literacy has a tremendous appeal, and it is the obvious start for any approach to Community Development. Using the Laubach technique, it is possible for Voluntary Leaders who have had a weekend's instruction in the method to make an adult, who is willing to learn, literate in his own language, in a matter of 3 months. After literacy, it is found that the group wants to learn something else. They have found that something which previously appeared difficult can be done, and they are prepared to go further in other assistance to the community.

Followup work in literacy is a constant preoccupation of the field staff. A Vernacular Literature Bureau, run by an independent Statutory Board, with Government nominees and an annual Government subsidy of £10,000 is responsible for producing newspapers and similar followup literature for new literates. The newspapers (which appear fortnightly in various languages) now have a combined circulation of 100,000 a month. The Department also tries to ensure a supply of simple reading material in the vernaculars in its extension campaigns and by making use of simple educational material produced by advertisers the content of which has been agreed in advance. In some areas, simple arithmetic is taught in followup classes and a Second Literacy Certificate is awarded to those who have undergone an advanced course in reading and writing. Five thousand Second Certificates were awarded in Trans-Volta/Togoland in 1955.

Mixing Matter for Laterite Blocks

But literacy is only one aspect of the work of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. The Gold Coast Government has recognized the importance of extension work in the rural areas, and the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development acts as the extension agent for other Departments of Government working in the rural areas. The method of conducting these campaigns, which can be combined with the regular literacy and minor construction work, has now fallen into a standard pattern. At least 6 months' notice is required before a campaign can be mounted, and the Department requiring such a campaign must define its objective clearly and simply. The temptation to attempt to teach too much at once must be sternly resisted; only certain clear-cut aspects of the problem should be dealt with in one campaign. Visual aids, such as posters, film strips, and usually, specially made films are prepared for the campaign. The special department re-

questing the Campaign must also produce officers who will assist in the training of the community development field staff for the campaign. Training courses are run at Rural Training Centers to explain the objectives of the campaign, the method of operation, and the use of visual aids. Simple dramas, which can be acted in the villages, are also devised and rehearsed and material for village discussion groups assembled. It is only when all the staff have been fully trained and all the necessary materials, such as posters, pamphlets, and films, have been distributed that the campaign is started. Usually the start is by a mobile team which may go round with a cinema van to provide the initial stimulus for the campaign. The static field staff already working in the area, who have also been trained, are then expected to follow up the work of the "shock troops."

In 1954, a large-scale campaign was mounted for the Ministry of Local Government on the theme of "Pay your local taxes and develop your area." It resulted in an increase in tax payments in most of the areas where it took place. There was some fear when the campaign started that the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development might lose its popularity with the villagers in advocating such an unpopular theme as the payment of taxes, but the fear proved groundless. The confidence which the villagers had in the mass education staff even extended to accepting their advice to pay local taxes if they wished their local authority councils to flourish and to develop the area properly.

In 1955, a major campaign for the Gold Coast Department of Agriculture against cocoa diseases was mounted in the cocoa-growing areas. This was a joint exercise for the field staff of the two Departments and they underwent joint training. Every possible means of publicity, including the radio, franking of correspondence with "support the Cocoa Campaign" by the Post Office, and even a catchy dance tune, with an appeal to farmers to look after their cocoa, were used.

In the northern savannah country, the Department's extension work covered the provision of school buildings for the Department of Education by communal effort coupled with an appeal to parents to send their children to school, which was not being done in every part of that area. It also embraced teaching farmers the advantages of mixed farming and the use of manure and the proper growing of vegetables. In one area a rice extension scheme has been carried out, designed to produce at once, in a waterless area during the dry season, a year-round water supply, an all-weather road, and a cash crop. A catchment is made, using voluntary labor working with a borrowed bulldozer to provide water, the spoil being used to bank

up the road which forms one end of the dam. A spillway is made under the road and rice grown on the other side, irrigated by water from the catchment.

In another part of the country, a campaign on environmental health in the villages is in progress on behalf of the Gold Coast Ministry of Health.

The mass education staff points out the dangers of impure water and lack of latrines; the medical staff cure those suffering from disease; and the technical staff of the Department supervise the villagers in the construction of simple improved water supplies and latrines, using the voluntary labor of the villagers. This last is important. It is no use teaching the evils of impure water unless the villagers can be shown how, by means within their own control, they can improve their existing supply.

This applies to all rural development work. It is necessary to supply simple technical assistance to the villagers if they are to be able to help themselves in betterment schemes.

Accordingly in 1954, an expansion was made of the technical staff attached to the Department. There had always been a limited number of minor technicians attached to each Mass Education Region, but it was decided to establish four mobile mechanical units under a foreman, with other technicians, to provide technical assistance to village self-help projects. The pattern is that the village community provides the unskilled labor, the local council or other sources the funds for materials, and the Department the technical assistance. Simple equipment, such as blockmaking machines, concrete mixers, tractors, scrapers, and haulage vehicles are provided with each unit. The intention is to provide simple multipurpose equipment to act as an incentive to the efforts of the villagers.

In the urban areas, the approach to community development is, of necessity, from a different angle. In the newly urbanized areas, there is not the same social cement deriving from tribal custom and family sanctions; people come to the towns from different parts of the country and, in some cases, are not yet accustomed to living together as a new community. It is necessary, therefore, to work on those groups which do exist in the towns, the associations of market women, the tribal associations, the benevolent societies, the church groups, and so forth. Literacy work in the towns is a valuable aid since it provides the necessary cohesive force for groups to be formed, which, after literacy is finished, can continue in other work. There is much individual welfare work to be undertaken in the towns, which is not yet needed in the rural areas, where tribal and family tradition and customs look after the individual.

The system of work in the towns is that they are divided into Zones where the Department has an office staffed with "all-purpose" workers who may, at different times, be undertaking case enquiries as probation officers, advising in matrimonial cases, doing school welfare work, and organizing literacy classes or simple home economics classes for women. At the district office level where there is a Senior Welfare Officer in charge of the urban area, there may be specialists in, for example, work with the courts of women's work, but the workers in contact with the public are supposed to be capable of dealing with any special problem and of knowing thoroughly all that goes on in the area.

In the urban areas are to be found community and neighborhood centers. The latter are the urban equivalent of a village hall and provide a focal point for all group social activity in the neighborhood. Individual membership is not permitted, but people join in groups, each group contributing toward the upkeep of the center in proportion to its use. A full-time warden to stimulate and encourage activity based on the center is usually supplied initially by the Department from among its staff. The centers provide a base for day nurseries, Red Cross groups, vocational centers teaching domestic subjects to girls, youth clubs, and many similar activities.

All these multifarious activities of the Department (which include running institutions for delinquent youths, for vocational training, and for the destitute) demand a varied and well-trained staff.

Provision is made for continuous training at all levels. Before admission to the pensionable establishment, Assistant Mass Education Officers and Assistant Welfare Officers have to undergo a 9-month training course based either on Rural Training Centers or the School of Social Welfare in Accra. Six months of the course are spent on practical work and the remainder is theoretical, varying according to which section of the Department they are to join. Future officers of the welfare section learn the principles of casework and probation; the mass education trainees learn simple building techniques. Both sections require instruction in group work, mass literacy, and simple adult education techniques, including the proper use of visual aids. There are regular refresher courses in various aspects of the work and, of course, any special campaign is preceded by special training in the objectives and methods of the campaign.

Before promotion to the senior grades, to which university graduates have direct entry, the staff have to acquire a certificate in social studies, obtainable after a 2-year course at the University College of the Gold Coast. Even after they are in the senior service, they may be sent on short overseas courses and conferences or attend

ad hoc local courses, one of which usually takes place each year on a particular aspect of the Department work. The services of the Department are in constant demand and its staff are to be found throughout the country. They work closely with all local and central Government organizations which are directed toward social improvement.

To conclude this description of the work of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, I quote below a circular issued in November 1954, on the objectives of the mass education and community development section:

Objectives of the Mass Education and Community Development Section of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development

1. The basic objective is to improve the general standard of living of the people of the country by means that are immediately practicable and with an emphasis on voluntary effort.

2. The task of the Department is to educate the people in methods by which they themselves may easily improve their position, even if only to a limited extent, and to provide some measure of technical advice and assistance both in minor communal construction projects and in other items of the community development program. The success of the program depends on the degree of voluntary effort which can be stimulated by the trained staff of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development drawing on the technical advice and assistance of other Government Agencies concerned with particular aspects.

3. The fields in which this program may be carried out are many and diverse, but the following are the most important:

- (i) the eradication of illiteracy.
- (ii) the increase in agricultural output by every possible means.
- (iii) the prevention of unemployment in the rural areas and the checking of the drift to the towns.
- (iv) the improvement of village communications and amenities, including improved water supplies.
- (v) the fostering of public health, adult education, and useful recreation in the villages.
- (vi) the improvement of housing.
- (vii) the special education of women in the improvement of the home and care of the family.
- (viii) the promotion of indigenous handicrafts and small-scale industries.

4. Three types of work will continue throughout the year:

- (i) work among women.
- (ii) communal project work dedicated to the aims indicated above.
- (iii) literacy teaching and followup work. These can be combined to a greater or lesser degree with other special campaigns.

5. Special campaigns for other agencies of Government to which the Department is now committed are as follows:

- (i) Local Government Campaign (September–December 1954). (All Regions except Ashanti and Northern Territories.)
- (ii) Mixed farming and manure campaign in Northern Territories (December 1954–February 1955).

(iii) Self-help school building program in Northern Territories (Annually recurrent: starting January 1955).
(iv) Anti-Bilharzia pilot project in Eastern Region (end of 1954).
(v) Establishment of new Mass Education Region in connection with Volta River Project in Karachi area (April 1955 onwards).
(vi) Animal health and mixed farming in Tongu area of Trans-Volta Territories (1955).
(vii) General Health campaigns (details not yet worked out) in areas [illegible] cocoa campaign is not in action.
(viii) Cocoa Campaign in all regions except GA/Adanme and Northern Territories (from April 1955).
(ix) Popularisation of palm oil press in GA/Adanme area (as soon as presses arrive in 1954).
(x) English teaching to functional groups, such as police, prisons, labour forces, etc. (continuous).
(xi) Works Overseers Course in Trans-Volta/Togoland (October–December 1954).
(xii) Rural Housing extension work (details to be worked out when Department of Rural Housing has staff and equipment).

6. Further campaigns should be directed primarily to:
   (i) Improvement of interest in general agriculture based on Rural Training Center demonstrations.
   (ii) Improvement of public health.
   (iii) Stimulation of village industry.

It will be seen that this "generalist" department has a heavy task ahead, but, thanks to the enthusiasm and hard work of its field staff and the ready cooperation of all sections of the public, the Department has no doubt but that it will succeed.

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Fundamental Education at Ubon, Thailand

By Richard M. Tisinger

Deputy Director, Thailand UNESCO Fundamental Education Center

ABOUT 50 VILLAGERS, including headmen from several villages and the Abbot, had assembled at a site one-half kilometer from the village of Hua Reua, in northeast Thailand, to start reconstructing a diversion dam to lift water from a small stream up on the ricefields. It was not a new dam or a new idea. There had been several dams in that location before, but in time of floods they did not hold. The technical knowledge of the farmers in dam building was inadequate to cope with the situation, and their efforts failed.

Recently a fundamental education team from TUFEC (Thailand UNESCO Fundamental Education Centers) moved into this village to study and to put into practice principles learned at the center during the past year. Members of the team had been taught to study and observe the practices, interests, and needs of the villagers, out of which projects might be developed to help improve social and economic conditions of the village. The team soon found that shortage of water for their ricefields was one of the problems uppermost in the minds of the villagers. Pressed further the farmers showed that they had constructive ideas of their own on how the problem could be solved, but they lacked the technical skill to accomplish the job. Previous efforts to build dams resulted in only limited success. So their rice crop suffered from lack of water while the water in the stream flowed on unobstructed.

At this point the fundamental education team went into action. Help from the provincial irrigation office was sought and immediately obtained. An irrigation engineer sent to the village to investigate found that the site chosen by the villagers was a good one, and that a permanent dam could be built without a budget, or the expenditure of public funds. Technical help from the irrigation office and the stimulus and guidance from the fundamental education team were assured. Only labor from the villagers was needed to do the job. A simple engineering survey was made and within 3 days plans for the dam were prepared by the irrigation office. Work was started immediately since it was a slack season for farm operations.

Villagers in TUFEC's Laboratory-Area Attend Outdoor-Film Show

Since the villagers already knew what they wanted and needed in this instance, not much persuasion was required. Thus, by the simple process of bringing together the people of a community, and the technical skills already available through government channels, action leading to economic improvement was set in motion. This team has made a significant start. It has a firm contact with the village and community. With confidence in the team established in the community, it should be able to move on to other aspects of community development which might require greater persuasion in order to arouse the people to action.

This project is the community's own since it originated from its own ideas and felt needs. There is no question about the project being carried on after the team leaves. It is a sound and substantial type of project which rural people can understand. In northeast Thailand there are hundreds of such sites for dams, where country people by means of their own resources and energy, given the necessary stimulus and guidance can learn to develop similar projects to improve their rice culture.

In a way, this illustrates one role of fundamental education in a community. All of the resources for a constructive community

development project were there in latent form. The water, the labor, the local leadership, the necessary tools and equipment, and the felt need were all present and had been for some time. All that was needed in this instance was technical knowledge, guidance, and motivation aimed at unleashing the power for improvement which was dormant in the minds and bodies of the people of this underdeveloped community.

Why is this community underdeveloped? Probably because the people never had the educational background to help them think through and act together on a project for total community development. Nor would this community gain that type of special training through ordinary channels for generations to come. From this illustration we can turn to a description of fundamental education.

MEANING OF THE TERM FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

Fundamental education may be described as a kind of minimum and general education which aims *to help children and adults*, who have not had the advantages of enough formal education, (1) to *understand* the problem of their environment and their rights and duties as citizens, and (2) to *participate* more effectively in the economic and social progress of their community. It is fundamental in the sense that it gives the minimum knowledge and skills essential for attaining an adequate standard of living. It focuses attention and interest upon practical problems in the environment, and in this way seeks to develop both the individual and social life of a community. It is often the first stage of total community development. Through fundamental education a conscious effort is made to awaken the minds of people in an underdeveloped community to the realization of their potentialities and to assist them in gaining the elementary knowledge and skills necessary for advancement.[1]

The essential training role of TUFEC is not to provide student teams *to carry out* projects for community development, but rather to use the student teams to train villagers to use all available resources and to introduce the basic understanding and skills which they will require to carry out such projects. Several Ministries of the government are interested and active in different aspects of community development, but they tend to concentrate on getting things done rather than dealing with the more human aspects of educating the villagers to understand, accept, and participate in the changes. It

[1] Elvin, Lionel. What Fundamental Education Is. In The Yearbook of Education. London, Evan's Bros., 1954. P. 581.

TUFEC Students Act As Mediators and Co-Ordinators Between Villagers and Government Experts in Dam Project

is with this more human task of starting with the needs and interests of the villagers that TUFEC teams must concern themselves.

ORIGIN OF THE UBON PROJECT

The author of this chapter was commissioned by UNESCO in November 1952 to come to Thailand to advise the government in planning and establishing a national institution for the training of specialists in fundamental education.

The idea of the center grew out of the UNESCO program for a series of regional and national centers, to be located in various parts of the world, and designed to make a widespread attack upon low living standards in the underdeveloped countries of the world. The regional fundamental education center, covering a number of countries of similar character and language, was UNESCO's first approach to a solution of the problem of training leaders for this important

undertaking. After two such centers were established in Mexico and Egypt, inadequacy of funds, along with other administrative difficulties, caused curtailment of the regional scheme with corresponding increase in emphasis upon the national centers. Thailand had been interested in having a regional center for Southeast Asia, but when this did not materialize she solicited the cooperation of UNESCO to proceed with the development of a national center, the objectives of which were to:

(1) Study social and economic conditions in order to determine the needs and problems of the area and the country that can be solved by fundamental education.

(2) Train fundamental education specialists and field workers.

(3) Produce educational materials, such as books, posters, audio-visual and other instructional materials; to reduce illiteracy; and provide the essentials for self-education.[2]

SELECTION OF SITE

Thailand has a total population of approximately 20 million people. About 1½ million may be classed as urban, mostly residents of the city of Bangkok and a few smaller cities scattered throughout the Kingdom. The remaining population is widely scattered over the country in smaller villages and hamlets.

As a whole Thailand is not a hungry country, although it is classed as an underdeveloped country. It is one of the most favored nations of Southeast Asia. The dominant element in the economy is agriculture, and the predominant crop is rice. Of the four sections of Thailand (the central plains, southern, northern, and northeastern), the northeastern section is the poorest and most in need of the help which a fundamental education program can give.

Land for such a center was already available at Ubon in the form of a large tract which had been reserved about 13 years earlier for the purpose of building a university for Northeast Thailand. Funds had never been provided for the establishment of this university. When the proposal was made for the fundamental education project, the long-standing desire for an institution of higher learning in Ubon, and a wish upon the part of the Ministry of Education to do something constructive for this region in particular, resulted in a decision to locate the new center on proposed university land. TUFEC has become known as the new university.

This is significant to TUFEC for two reasons. First, the Ministry of Education decided that in building a new plant for TUFEC it would build substantially, so that, if and when the need for a fundamental education center ceases, the plant would serve as the beginning of the

[2] TUFEC. Provisional Program of Study. Bangkok, Ministry of Education.

future university which is greatly needed. Second, there are only four institutions of higher learning, outside of teachers colleges, in Thailand, all of which are located in Bangkok and are highly academic in nature. TUFEC therefore has the opportunity to set a new educational pattern with a rural bias, which may influence the type of program in the future university to be more nearly in keeping with the needs of the rural population of the country, in contrast to the traditional institutions in Bangkok.

*The Basic Agreement Between the Government of Thailand and UNESCO * * * Supplement No. 5 regarding TUFEC*

Prior to the establishment of TUFEC, UNESCO and the Government of Thailand had entered into a basic agreement for the purpose of furnishing technical assistance in several fields of activity. These included the Chachoengsao Education Pilot Project, and a teacher-training project in Bangkok. This basic agreement provided the framework within which UNESCO could provide technical assistance

Students of Agriculture, Village Industries, and Home Economics Cooperate in Remodeling and Improving Village Houses

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personnel, grants for study abroad, and cash grants for equipment and materials to be used by the experts for demonstration purposes in the various projects under the program. Under this basic agreement, Supplement No. 5, signed December 9, 1953, after several revisions, provided the arrangements under which the Ubon project was to operate.

TUFEC differed from the other UNESCO projects in Thailand not only in context and purpose, but in organization. It was set up by the Cabinet of Ministers as a cooperative project of several Ministries of the Government (Agriculture, Interior, Cooperatives, Industry, Health, Education), and also between several agencies of the United Nations (WHO, ILO, UNTAA, FAO, UNESCO)[3] with United States International Cooperation Administration assisting. The Ministry of Education and UNESCO act as joint sponsors for the government and the United Nations Agencies. Thus TUFEC is an inter-Ministerial and inter-Agency institution designed to train leaders in the many techniques of fundamental education.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE CENTER

The Ministry of Education has full responsibility for the operation of the center. The following committees were set up to serve various purposes in administering the program:

(1) TUFEC General Committee; Members from participating Ministries, UN Agencies and ICA. It is appointed by the Council of Ministers with the Minister of Education as Chairman. Its function is to formulate the general policies of the center.

(2) TUFEC Executive Committee; Appointed by the Ministry of Education, with the Under Secretary of State for Education as Chairman. The members, representing departments in the Ministry of Education, other Ministries concerned, and the participating UN Agencies. It is a smaller group of persons which serves as a "Board of Control" for the center.

(3) TUFEC Local Committee; Appointed by the Minister of Education, with the Governor of Ubon province as Chairman. The members are chosen from among Ubon provincial government officials, and the TUFEC staff. Its function is to facilitate local administrative procedures and to strengthen relations between TUFEC and the departments of the provincial government which are concerned with the activities of the center.

(4) TUFEC Operating Staff Committee; Appointed by the Ministry of Education with the Director of TUFEC as Chairman. All members of the TUFEC staff belong to this committee. Its function is to plan and carry on the program and work of the center, in accordance with the general policies established by the governing committees.

[3] WHO: World Health Organization; ILO: International Labor Organization; UNTAA: United Nations Technical Assistance Administration; FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization; UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization.

This array of committees is made necessary by the complicated inter-Ministerial and inter-Agency character of the center and its distance from Bangkok which is the center of all official operations.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE LABORATORY AREA

The concept upon which TUFEC was built presupposes planned changes in communities throughout the nation, leading to improvement in the standard of living. In order to plan effectively and to measure the growth and progress in a program of this kind, modern survey techniques are recognized as necessary.

TUFEC was fortunate in securing the services of a social scientist at an early date, through the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, who spent a year studying and surveying the villages in the laboratory area of the center. This study was a major contribution, not only in information concerning village life in the area, upon which much of the program of the center is built, but in providing a partial baseline against which changes can be measured in the future.[4]

Subsequently the research and library section of TUFEC has been conducting a research program which is designed to stimulate and develop survey procedures among the students as an approach to problems in community development.

RECRUITMENT OF STUDENTS

Early in the planning stage of the center, it was decided to recruit and train teams to work together rather than to have multipurpose workers. The course of study is 2 years. One team of 6 members was chosen from each of the 9 administrative regions of Thailand and 1 from Ubon Province. This made a total of 10 teams and an enrollment of 60 students for the first year, except that the tenth team was chosen from Bangkok instead of Ubon Province. No plans have been made for further increase in the total enrollment of 120 students. The teams were to consist of persons fairly well qualified in 6 different specialized fields, namely: agriculture, education, health, homemaking, social welfare, and village industries. The recruitment of these teams was to have been carried out on an inter-Ministerial basis, with the several interested Ministries furnishing qualified trainees for the center. If this had been carried out as anticipated, the problems involved would have been quite different from those actually faced.

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[4] Made, Charles. Village Communities in Northeast Thailand. New York, United Nations. TAA 1955 (Restricted).

Only a few of the students recruited had the specialized qualifications to meet the standards which had been set up. In most cases qualified students were simply not available in the country. This deficiency did not show up immediately. It required close contact with the student body for the staff to realize the situation. Instead of having been chosen by the various ministries, the students were actually selected by the Ministry of Education, principally from the teaching profession. The students thus had little preparation in the specialized fields. Consequently, drastic measures had to be taken to modify the entire program of the center in order to give a basic training in each of the specialized fields represented, along with the training in principles, the practices, and techniques of fundamental education.

While this emergency changed the basic program of TUFEC, it was by no means a hopeless situation since the general qualifications and caliber of the students were relatively high, in fact apparently somewhat higher than is the case in some other countries where national centers are in operation. The adaptation of the students to the program and the program to the needs and requirements of the situation have been very encouraging.

STAFF—RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

Probably the most complicated, and by far the most important part of the TUFEC program is the recruitment and training of staff. The success of any educational institution depends to a very large extent upon the staff that can be assembled to build a program and then make it function. Since fundamental education is such a new venture, and its scope is not easily defined, the importance of the staff becomes even more obvious. The problems of staff in TUFEC divide naturally along two lines, foreign and Thai.

FOREIGN STAFF

The whole plan of TUFEC is based upon the provision of technical assistance to Thailand, most of which is in the form of technical experts supplied by the agencies of the United Nations. These experts may be recruited from any of the member nations, and their recruitment and assignment to the project are subject to the administrative procedures of UNESCO in Paris, ILO and WHO in Geneva, UNTAA in New York, and FAO in Rome. The term of appointment is usually for 1 year, with privilege of extension for a year at a time. The assistance provided by ICA (the United States aid program) is not covered by the UNESCO contract, therefore the part-time employee provided under ICA does not follow quite the same pattern as do the United Nations agencies employees.

For 1955, TUFEC has been allotted 9 different experts for varying periods of time from the UN agencies, and 1 from ICA, from the following countries:

UNESCO	1 Fundamental Education—Deputy Director, full year, United States of America.
	1 Elementary and Adult Education, full year, Australia.
	1 Production of Educational Materials, full year, Holland.
	1 Research and Library, full year, United States of America.
	1 Adult Education, half year, Canada.
WHO	1 Nurse, full year, Finland.
ILO	1 Home Industries, arriving November 1955, England.
FAO	1 Home Economist, 3 months—May–July, 1955, Denmark.
ICA	1 Agriculturist, half-time, United States of America.

THAI STAFF

The recruitment and assignment of Thai staff members to the center has been difficult. There has been a great shortage of trained persons in the country, and for every person who has been trained, there are many positions available. For generations, the line of promotion has been toward Bangkok, the center of government, and away from the rural areas. Therefore, a project in Ubon for the development of rural leadership cuts across tradition and custom. Apparently very few trained young people think of this kind of service as important or as a field offering advancement. Unless drafted or arbitrarily assigned to the center by the Ministry of Education, the center draws little available talent. Most of the Thai members have been loaned to the center on a temporary basis. This is one of our most serious problems but one which can be overcome as the center becomes better established, gains greater prestige throughout the nation, and has time to train a new group of staff members from the graduates of the center itself and its junior staff. Steps have already been taken in this direction. Six senior students have been selected for UNESCO fellowships of 9 months' duration for study in Egypt, Turkey, and India. One student is to go to the Philippines to study homemaking under an ICA fellowship. Two junior staff members have been chosen for additional UNESCO fellowships abroad. This is a start, although it will take several years to accomplish the purpose through this channel alone. While a strong moral obligation will rest on these trainees to return to service in Ubon, the lure of Bangkok will remain powerful.

PROGRAM OF STUDENT TRAINING

The training program covers a period of 2 school years. During the first year, most of the student's time is spent in the center where

he receives instruction in the six specialized fields together with the basic elements of fundamental education.

In the day's program, the forenoon is devoted to such things as round-table discussions, lectures, study of English, and the general activities required of all students. The afternoon is reserved for practical work in the specialized fields. For example, the agricultural members of the teams work together in a group to learn the elementary principles of gardening, poultry raising, irrigation practices, field crop production, fish culture, etc. It should be remembered that as members of fundamental education teams, these students are being trained as a special type of educator, rather than as agricultural specialists. They are to help bridge the gap between the existing government agricultural services and the people who do not know that such services exist.

The training objective in agriculture, as in other sections, is twofold. The entire team should have at least a limited knowledge of and skill in modern agricultural practices so they can understand the overall problems of rural people and thus make their work among rural people more meaningful. The agricultural members of the teams should have enough additional knowledge and experience to identify agricultural problems and help bridge the gap mentioned above. Naturally the more expert they become in their fields the stronger their influence can become.

During the second year of training, village work becomes the focus of attention. The village itself is the laboratory in which the teams work and study under the supervision of the staff of the center. As presently organized, simple living facilities for the teams have been developed in 5 nearby villages in each of which two teams operate. Later we hope that this can be reduced to one team of six members in each village to make the training situation more similar to conditions under which the teams will work when they leave TUFEC. Such items as transport, shortage of supervisory personnel, lack of roads, and other administrative problems, prevent further spreading of the team activities in the first year of field operations.

At the present time the teams spend Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in the villages, with Friday and Monday at the center for discussion of problems encountered during the week and preparation and planning for the week ahead. This schedule will be followed through the present school year, except that towards the end of the year, the first-year students will take over the village work of the second-year students, while the latter return to the center for a brief period of summarization and concentrated evaluation before graduation.

Space does not permit adequate description of the work of the six

specialized sections named previously, each of which gives professional training to students in their specialized groups. Mention should be made, however, of the two service sections, (1) Production of Educational Materials, and (2) Research and Library. These two service sections use their facilities to serve the six specialized sections and also offer some training to all students in their respective fields.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF THE CENTER

A major problem of the center is the lack of a common language between the foreign staff and the Thai staff and students. All foreign experts have a command of English, although they come from a number of different countries, with different mother tongues. The Thai staff members vary greatly in their competency in English. The foreign staff members, being on 1-year contracts, are not inclined to learn the Thai language, which is a difficult language to learn. Even if attempted, a year of concentrated language study is hardly sufficient for an instructor to advance far enough to understand and be understood in more than a very simple conversation. Unless a rather high degree of skill is attained, it is difficult to use Thai for purposes of classroom instruction.

The students likewise vary greatly in their skill in the use of the English language. Most of them have had classes in English but have had very little opportunity to *use* it, either in oral or written form. Probably not more than 20 percent of the student body can understand more than 50 percent of an average conversation in English. Many of them are intensely interested in learning English, but few have shown a determination to master it so that it could be used completely as a language of instruction. This language barrier makes the job of communications a tedious and difficult routine. A good share of the problems of the center arise out of misunderstandings due to a lack of a common language.

An effort has been made from the beginning to overcome this handicap by giving the students daily instruction in English, but this alone is not sufficient. The solution to this problem may not be found until the center is fully staffed with qualified Thais who can converse with the students in their own language. But the reduction in emphasis on English instruction would leave a still wider gap in the closely related problem of acquiring professional information, and the stimulus of new ideas in the various aspects of fundamental education which are not now available in Thai.

FINANCES

Except for the salaries and traveling expenses of the foreign experts, the UNESCO and FAO fellowships mentioned previously, and a small

TUFEC's Library and Research Section Prepares Book-Boxes for Villages

sum for equipment provided annually by UNESCO, the center is financed by the Thai Government. All buildings, equipment (other than the UNESCO allotment), supplies, and operating expenses are provided by the Government, under the contract. During the first year when two foreign staff members had arrived, and building operations were heavy, the ratio between the governmental and international agencies expenditures was approximately 10 to 1. That year a total of $250,000 was provided by the Government. In the second year when construction was somewhat less, and the foreign staff increased, the ratio was about 4 to 1, with a Government budget of $175,000, while in the third year (1955) the ratio is about 3 to 1. It may drop a little in 1956, depending upon the number of foreign personnel on the project and the final figures for the Government budget which are not yet known.

PLANS FOR THE USE OF THE GRADUATES OF THE CENTER

The students have been recruited in teams from the several administrative regions of Thailand. They are being trained to operate in teams back in their respective regions, although with enough generalized training for individual members to work independently, to a limited extent, if necessary. When a team leaves the center, it will be placed under the direct supervision of the Regional Education Officer, who in turn will locate it in a province of his region, to organize and conduct a fundamental education program, somewhat along the lines used in the laboratory area of TUFEC.

This assignment to the Education Officer is for administrative reasons, but since the function of the teams is broader than the school program alone, the relationships and activities of the teams will bring them into close contact with all departments of the Government which deal with community development and improvement.

The nine Regional Education Officers were assembled at TUFEC recently for a week, with the Under Secretary of State for Education. Preliminary plans were made for the placement and supervision of the teams after graduation, and for the development of a national fundamental education program. This group is planning to return to TUFEC again during the year to become better acquainted with the work of the center, confer with the members of their respective teams, and finalize plans for the new program.

It is anticipated that the general supervision of the field activities of the teams will be worked out between TUFEC, the Regional Education Officers, and the graduates, to help initiate and carry out the nationwide program of fundamental education for which the center was established.

Puppets As An Aid to Learning

"Crefal" Trains Teachers for Community Leadership

By Horace G. Ogden

Centro Regional de Educación Fundamental para la América Latina
Pátzcuaro, Michoacan, México

AT ABOUT 4 o'clock on a bright, cold afternoon, a blue station wagon rolls to a stop on the street dividing the two villages of Opopeo and Casas Blancas, high up in the western Sierra Madre of Mexico. Eight young people, five men and three women, representing eight different American nations, climb out of the wagon and disperse, purposefully, to do their various jobs with the people of the two communities. Lúcia Lélia de Souza, a nurse from Brazil, heads for a room in the Casas Blancas school marked Centro de Salud (Health Center). Arturo Valdez, schoolteacher from Peru, goes to the Opopeo school for a talk with the local teacher who is also community librarian and instructor of adult literacy classes. Saravia Chamorro, from Uruguay, has a date to referee a basketball game. Rutilo Carvajal and Alfredo Guzmán, Mexican and Venezuelan, will spend the afternoon working on a demonstration potato plot with a group of local farmers. In the evening, the whole crew plus most of the villagers will come together for a film showing. Finally, about 11 they pile back into the station wagon and roll down the mountain.

Every weekday, 9 months of the year, this story is repeated, with variations, in these and 19 other communities surrounding the town of Pátzcuaro, in the Tarascan Indian country 200 miles west of Mexico City. In each case teams of 5 to 8 men and women in their twenties and thirties, each from a different American Republic, are helping the people of the Mexican villages to work toward a better life. In each case, too, the visitors are also learning from the villagers. Out of their work in these Mexican communities will come ideas and techniques that they will use when they get back home, in Bolivia or Colombia or Cuba or Guatemala or the United States.

These ambassadors in work clothes are students at CREFAL, the regional center for fundamental education for Latin America established 5 years ago by UNESCO and the Organization of American States; the name of CREFAL derives from its Spanish initials. Each

year, a new group of about 60 begins its course in April. Nineteen months later, in October, they graduate as specialists in fundamental education—experts in helping rural people to improve their living through better agricultural and economic practices, better health and sanitation, the acquisition of reading, writing, and other cultural and civic skills, improved homelife, and wiser use of leisure time.

The students come in national teams of 5; about 12 countries are represented in each class. The classes overlap—from April to October each year there are about 120 students at the Center, half of them beginning their work and half approaching graduation. Their national governments pay transportation, and continue their local salaries while they are away. UNESCO pays a monthly stipend for maintenance while they are in Mexico.

Most of the students are, or have been, rural teachers, although nurses, agronomists, doctors, and other trained specialists have also been numbered among the student body. CREFAL asks that they be between 25 and 40 years old, in good health, and with a minimum of 3 years of rural experience. Beyond that, and the expressed wish that they be persons with high leadership potential, the selection of candidates is left to the home country. CREFAL chooses 5 from a list of 15 submitted by the member government.

While they are at the Center, the students' training is divided into three major periods: 6 months devoted primarily to classroom and workshop work; 10 months of intensive work in the "laboratory communities"; and a final 3 months for preparing a thesis, interchanging experiences with fellow students and staff, and building plans for applying what they have learned to their home situation.

Shortly after his arrival, each student is asked to select an area of specialized emphasis from among the five fields into which fundamental education has been divided: Rural economy, health, homelife, recreation, and cultural and civic skills. He also chooses one of the five materials production shops: Films, filmstrips, posters and engraving, printing, rural theater. The individual preferences are adjusted as necessary, to give each country a "team" including as many as possible of the specialties and materials-production skills. Many of the countries are taking full advantage of the CREFAL plan by hiring their graduates to work in teams on their return.

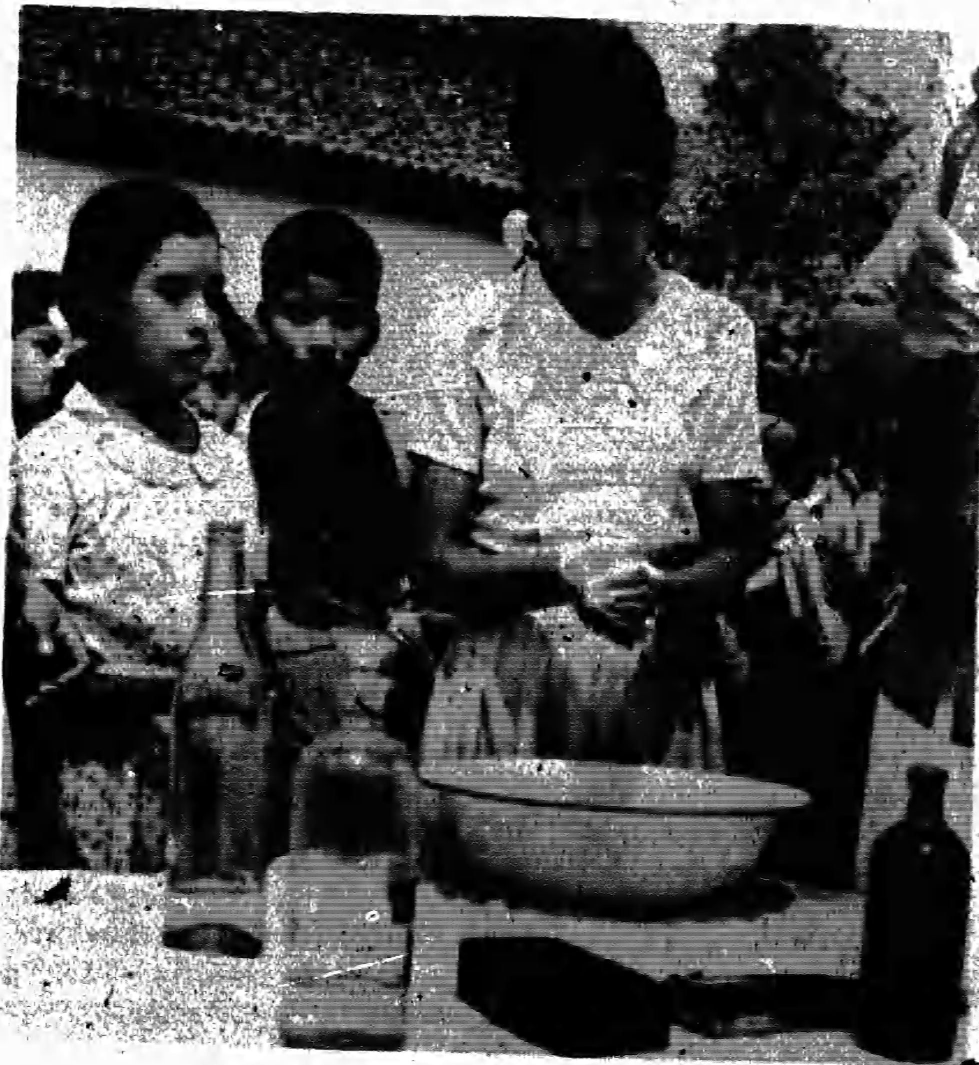
Regardless of their chosen specialty, all students take the basic course in fundamental education during the first 6 months of their stay in Pátzcuaro. Theoretical concepts from the various social sciences—anthropology, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, etc.—are interwoven with the personal experiences of students and staff to form a tapestry of fundamental education as it does and as it should

exist in Latin America. The nature and patterns of operation of Latin American communities; the relationships among the European and indigenous peoples who make up the human resources of the western hemisphere; how adults learn and how change takes place through learning; the roles of school and schoolmaster, church and priest, political officials: all these are discussed in relation to the central purpose of fundamental education—helping people to help themselves to a richer life.

All the students also receive courses in social research and in principles and methods of literacy teaching, two areas of urgent need throughout Latin America. Some students come to the Center with considerable experience in these fields; for others, both are new and full of enormous problems. How, for example, do you conduct a research program in places where the prevailing pattern over the centuries has been to reveal as little as possible? Where do you start on a literacy campaign in an area where the national language of your country is seldom heard and never spoken by the natives? These courses are not designed to turn out professional researchers or directors of nationwide literacy programs. They *are* designed to awaken the students to the inportance of the work and the problems involved, and to give them an introduction to the tools and tactics of the trade.

Two hours a day during the introductory period are devoted to the specialties. Here, again, the emphasis is on practical, useful knowledge and skills rather than professional-level competence. The rural teacher from Costa Rica who specializes in health at CREFAL will not return to his country after 19 months as the equivalent of a physician, nurse, or sanitary engineer; to attempt such a transformation would be unthinkable. But he will return knowing how to give injections, how to apply first aid and teach it to others, how to build a simple latrine, how to help a community obtain a pure water supply and safe waste disposal, how to conduct a school health program, how to encourage sanitation in the home. These services, in communities where local health services are unheard of, are of no small value. And should he be assigned to one of the rare areas which have such services at the professional level, his presence as a person who sees a health program in relation to the many other aspects of community living will be equally valuable.

In the materials production shops during these first 6 months, the students learn first of all the nature of audio-visual aids, what they can and what they can't do. They learn techniques which will enable them to become one-man production crews for a specific type of material. In the film and filmstrip shops, the emphasis is on production of factually accurate and technically sound materials, not



Scrubbing Up Before Beginning To Vaccinate

for distribution around the world but for local use by the student himself. The student does everything himself, from script-writing through cameras and laboratory work to use and evaluation, under the direction of professional staff members. The equipment he uses is the cheapest that ingenuity can devise; expense in these areas is a tremendous obstacle in many Latin American nations. Students in the poster and engraving shop learn the basic principles of poster-craft, including quick and inexpensive reproduction methods. In the theater workshop they learn the many ways of applying the magic of drama to educational ends, through puppetry and live theater. Folk drama is an important part of nearly every indigenous culture in Latin America, and theater has proved to be one of the most effective weapons in an educator's arsenal.

FROM CLASSROOM TO COMMUNITY

While each new class is receiving this intensive theoretical-practical course of instruction, the previous class has been working in the communities. The new community teams, like the one we met in Opopeo and Casas Blancas, are chosen about halfway through the classroom phase. They are picked with great care. Each team must include at least one person from each of the five specialties. Each team must be international: an early experiment whereby, for example, the five Bolivian students worked as a unit in two communities, proved unsatisfactory. The individual problems of the communities and the abilities and personality traits of the students must be taken into account. Then, once the teams have been selected, the new students accompany the old students, now approaching graduation, to the communities twice a week. They get acquainted with the people, the programs underway, the problems still untackled, so that they will begin their period of intensive community work not as total strangers, but as people ready to start working.

At the beginning of November, the students enter the second and most important stage of their training. Afternoons and evenings are spent in the communities, and Saturdays and Sundays, too, if the students want to take part in weekend community life, as most of them do. Mornings are devoted to production of materials that they themselves need and will use in the course of their field work. On Fridays, the student teams interchange experiences and ideas, chart the next week's course with their supervising specialists, and take stock of progress.

During this period, the CREFAL program is a 20-ring circus. The student's day begins early and often ends long after midnight. The teaching staff—recruited from Mexico and, through UNESCO Technical Assistance and the various specialized agencies of United Nations, from all parts of the world—exchanges its classroom load for a program of community visits, consultations, demonstrations, a schedule which often seems to require being in four places at once.

And through all this activity, the concrete, measurable results are small. In fundamental education you measure progress, not in days and months, but in decades, especially in areas where change has been an enemy since the beginning of time. It has been said that the *sine qua non* of the fundamental educator is patience; without it, he will soon leave the field for one in which the rewards come quickly.

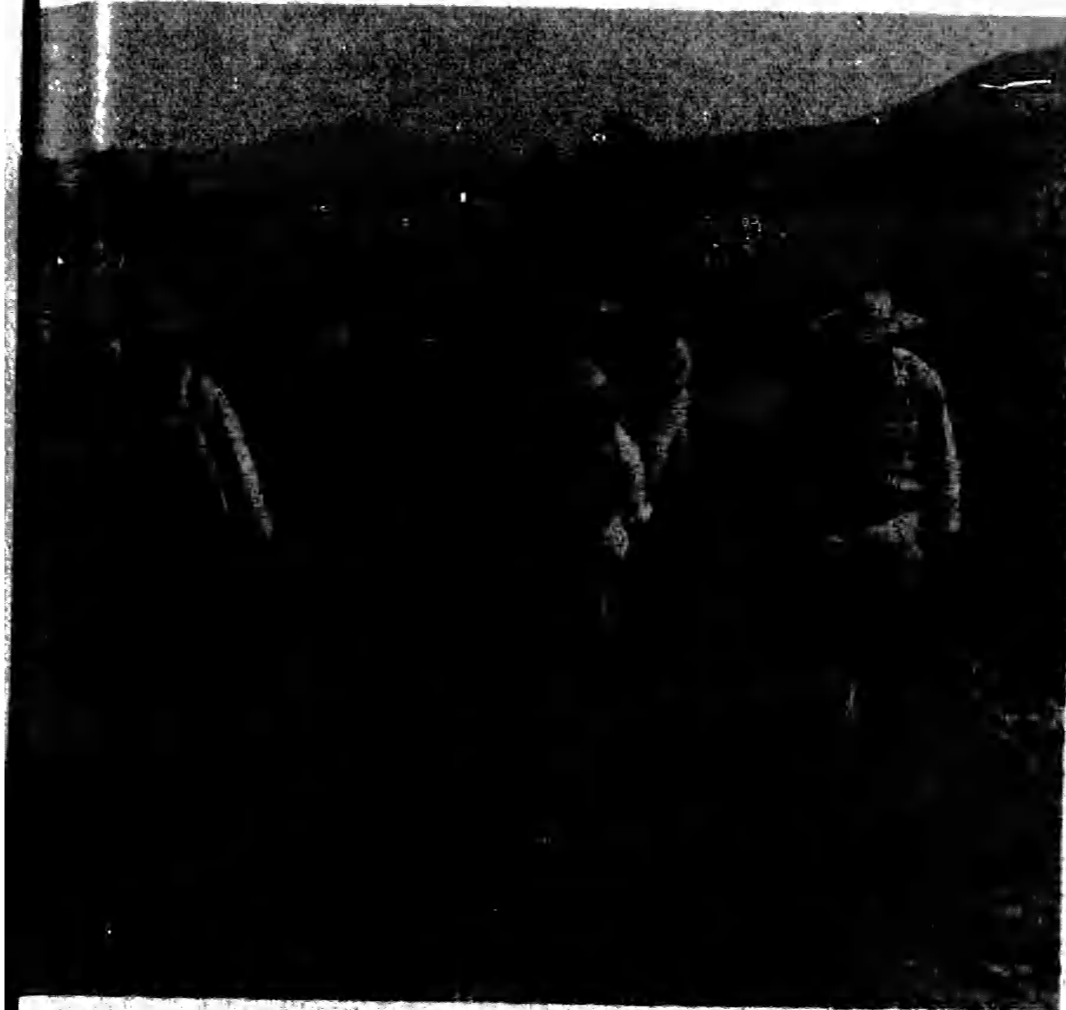
Visitors to CREFAL are often disappointed when they find no miraculous transformation in the CREFAL communities. They still are self-evidently poor. But the staff and the students look at the

communities with different eyes. Twelve persons gathered in a room learning to read and write may be unspectacular; but those 12 persons may represent two factions which have been warring in the community for longer than anyone can remember, brought together in a common cause for the first time. A building labeled "Social Center," used for organized activities and for evening get-togethers by neighbors in the village, may be the first recognition by the community that any social center other than the local cantinas—roughly equivalent in function to our oldtime saloons—is necessary or desirable. The fact that Juan Rodriguez's pigs were inoculated last year and none of them died, duly noted by Juan's neighbors, may open a brand-new door to financial security.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

CREFAL's students and staff are working hard to help the people of the Lake Patacuaro region. But they never forget that this is a secondary purpose. The real proof of their work is now beginning to show and will show in increasing measure through 10 and 20 and 30 years, in the work of the graduates, as far south as Chile and as far north as the United States which this year, for the first time, has sent a five-man delegation. If CREFAL had been established by UNESCO primarily to raise the living standards of the Tarascans, it would be the most expensive and wasteful such project on record. The heart of the CREFAL experiment is its training function: to send graduates throughout the Americas who will in their turn spread the fundamental education idea to others.

CREFAL has not yet celebrated its fifth birthday, and its first class of graduates has been working less than 4 years, but already evidence is coming in that they are doing the job UNESCO had in mind. In Peru, the first group of five CREFAL graduates is working as a traveling team of supervisors in one area of the country's vast, desolate plateau, working with the teachers of rural schools to introduce fundamental education practices in the communities. The present group of Peruvian students, who will graduate in October 1956, will be employed in the same way in another section of the same underdeveloped area. Other countries which are concentrating the abilities and skills of their graduates as teams in pilot projects, in accordance with the original CREFAL plan, include Guatemala, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, and Chile. Elsewhere, the graduates are taking posts as teacher trainers in national normal schools, thereby assuring that the philosophy and practice of fundamental education is transmitted to the rural teachers who will be working in the front line.



Young and Old Work Together To Complete a Job

In Nicaragua, one of the most ambitious fundamental education projects currently under way in the western hemisphere is almost completely staffed by the 10 Nicaraguans who have returned to their country from Pátzcuaro. The Ministry of Education, with the help of the Ministries of Agriculture and Health and the UNESCO Technical Assistance to Nicaragua, has established a huge Pilot Project in Fundamental Education in the Río Coco river basin, a tropical area on the country's Atlantic coast with vast and thus far completely untapped natural resources. Following preliminary work done by specialists from the ministries concerned, the ten CREFAL graduates first made a geographical, economic, and sociological study of various parts of Nicaragua. Their findings indicated that the Río Coco basin was the area of greatest need, the place where fundamental education would do the most good. The basin comprises about 3,000 square kilometers, with fewer than 10,000 scattered inhabitants belonging to various indigenous tribes. The prevailing languages

[illegible] 0—[illegible]——11

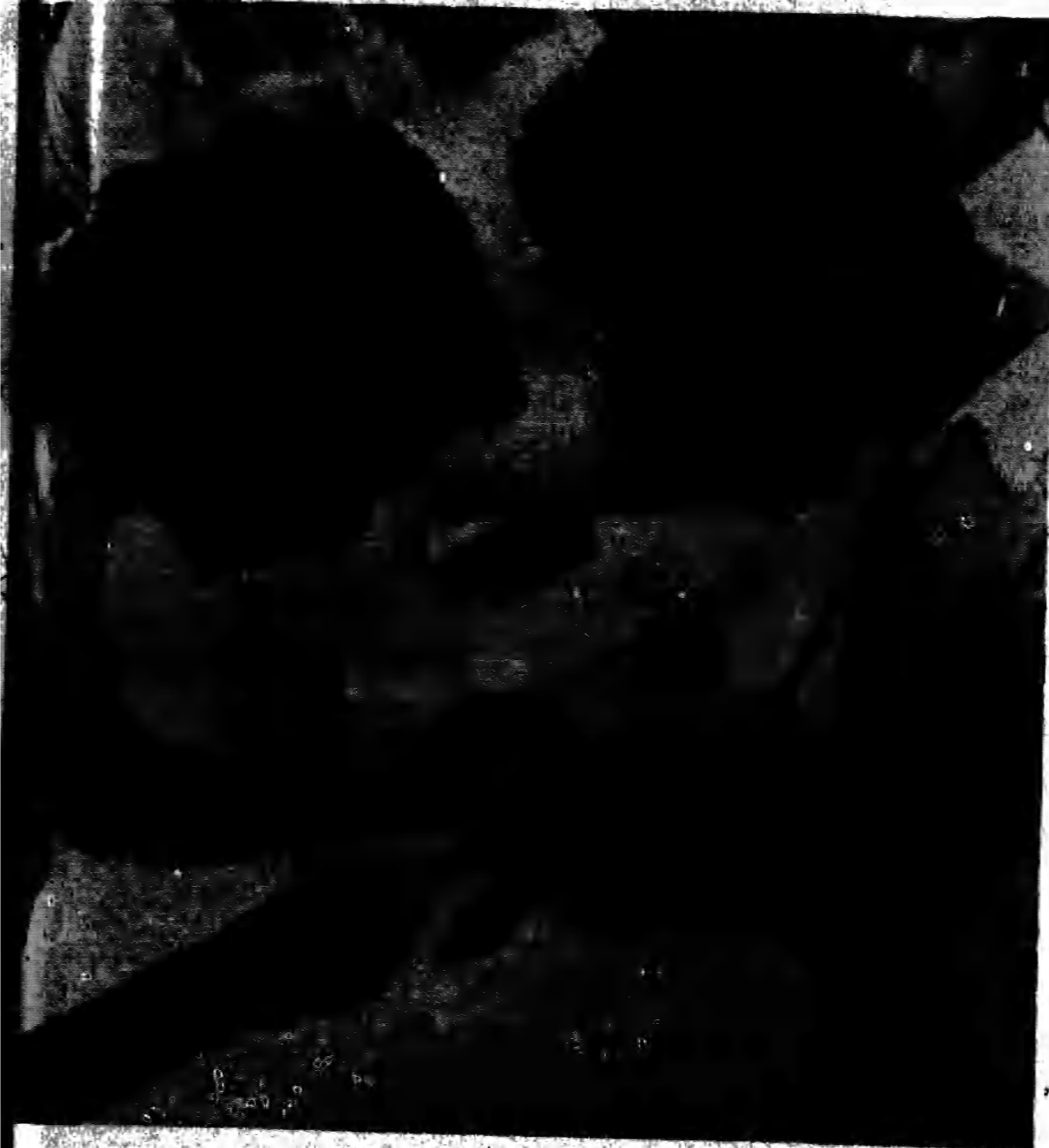
are Miskito, a native dialect, and a garbled form of English which is a holdover from the days when the area formed part of British Honduras; less than 20 percent of the people understand Spanish, Nicaragua's national language. Access to the area from the rest of the country is by plane only. Within the basin, the rivers are the only useable arteries of communication. Agriculture at the most primitive level is the only means of livelihood.

Headquarters for the Pilot Project are at Waspam, the only centrally located community of any size. The area has been subdivided into two Zones of Intensive Experimentation and two Zones of Influence. Work in the intensive zones is completely under the direction of CREFAL graduates, and a CREFAL man is project director. In the fringe zones of influence, two school supervisors and the teachers of the rural schools, all of whom are on the payroll of the Project, apply the results of experiments conducted in the intensive zones in their programs. The CREFAL graduates live in the tiny communities for 2 weeks, come in to Waspam for a 2-day rest, and return to the communities for another 2-week period; the value of living in the communities has already paid great dividends in increased confidence of the people and better identification by the specialists with the problems of the region. Every 3 months, the entire staff of the Project convenes in Waspam to take stock and restructure plans.

After only a very few months of full-scale operation, the Pilot Project is beginning to show impressive results. Adult literacy classes are underway in 13 communities using a Miskito-Spanish primer and illustrated Miskito alphabet developed by three CREFAL graduates. School libraries have been set up in all the communities, stocked with a complete set of the "Popular Library" pamphlets produced by the Organization of American States. A 14-team interscholastic baseball league is organized, and many communities now have basketball and volleyball squads. Inter-ministerial cooperation has made it possible to offer good rice seed for planting at a very low cost. An intensive socio-economic study of the region is in process.

ONE MAN: ONE COMMUNITY

From Pátzcuaro, you need to travel only about 100 miles west toward Guadalajara to find one of the most exciting success stories of a CREFAL graduate in action. There, in Etucuaro, 1 of 11 villages spread out across a wide, high valley, Simón Ramírez is demonstrating that one man in one rural school can show his community the way to the good life. Simón Ramírez is a graduate of CREFAL's first class, working on his own in a Tarascan village of about 1,200 people.



Students Vaccinate Animals

You can drive in to Etucuaro during the dry season. During the rainy half of the year, the last 4 miles are on horseback—Simón will send horses to meet you if he knows you're coming—and if the rivers are particularly high, the horse may have to do some swimming. Either way you feel you're pretty well out toward the end of nowhere when you reach Etucuaro.

But when you arrive, the surprises come thick and fast. The visitor familiar with Tarascan villages notices first that all the streets are paved and that they contain little or no wandering livestock, two rarities in this part of the world. The town square, with Simón's school on one side and the church opposite, is fairly typical though better kept than most.

Once inside the school, the sound of a battery of typewriters strikes you first—something you never hear in Mexican schools outside of the biggest cities. Tracking it down, you find about 20 Tarascan youngsters, not yet in their teens, transcribing their own shorthand at a very respectable rate of speed. Down the corridor, you drop in on a class in tailoring for boys, and another in hairdressing, for girls. All these are part of the school's program for children who want to go to a bigger town for employment; each learns a trade before he goes. For those who want more education than Etucuaro can provide, there is a good, sound "college preparatory" type of course. For the young people who plan to stay in Etucuaro, there is a third program of study—these in a country where a very conservative "three R's" curriculum has predominated for generations.

The school has a "Tarascan Theater" in its auditorium, where the children present puppet plays and live theater to their fellow students and the community. It also has an orchestra, conducted by Simón himself; he occasionally contributes a violin solo. Indeed, the school is the social center of the community. Its doors are open from 8 in the morning to 10 at night. Thanks to this open-door policy, and the activities which back it up, all the people of Etucuaro except for a few of the oldest residents can now read and write. All the women can sew and make their families' clothes; until a few years ago there was only one seamstress in town.

Behind the school, Simón proudly shows you his farm demonstration plot. On it, in immaculate pens and runs, are blooded Hampshire hogs and purebred white Leghorn chickens whose descendants are enriching many Etucuaro families. All of these, plus all the other chickens and hogs in Etucuaro, are inoculated. The school children bring their young chickens to the school and hold them while Simón or one of the people he has trained gives them the life-protecting shots. If the children wince when the needle enters, it's because they know what the needle feels like—all of them have been vaccinated and protected against typhoid.

Elsewhere on the school "farm" are fruit trees—quinces, peaches, apples, pears—belonging to the community and receiving scientific care. Lessons in pruning and grafting are part of the course. They also learn marketing techniques, including how to make a quince candy which is highly marketable all over Mexico and yields a profit of about 175 percent on every tree.

The agricultural program of the Etucuaro school has taken a new and important turn in the last 2 years. Concerned with the fact that many boys were leaving the community and aware that much good land around the village was unused, Simón made the rounds of the landowners with a novel proposition. He asked them to lease him

some of their land indefinitely and at no cost, for the ultimate good of the community. Several agreed, and he found himself with 7 hectares (about 17 acres) of usable land. This he divided up among 14 teenage boys, graduates of the school, with ability and no immediate future prospects. Each boy has received and planted fruit trees from the community stock. As soon as he is ready for them, he will also receive chickens and pigs. With this as a beginning, the future is up to the boy himself; if he does well, the fruit trees alone will provide him a steady income within a very few years, and Simón has great confidence that the boys he has chosen will represent 14 productive and valuable citizens of the village for years to come.

The willingness of the landowners to deed their land to Simón, absolutely free, "for the benefit of the community" is typical of the magic that has transformed Etucuaro. It is now a village of people who know, and pay much more than lip-service to the adage that what is good for the community is good for them. They know because they are seeing the results: Not a single case of typhoid in the community in 5 years, because the water is scientifically tested and because everyone in town has his typhoid shots; better meat and eggs because the people chipped in to buy good stock. The secret of success in Etucuaro is self-help—not a single one of the improvements is the result of money coming in from outside sources. This kind of community success story is the kind that continues as a success story. To Simón and his neighbors, the achievements to date are only the beginning.

Asked if the Etucuaro program was bringing about cooperation among the neighboring villages, Simón Ramírez smiled and shook his head. "Cooperation among villages is not easy here," he said. "But sometimes a little healthy competition is helpful, too." Then he told us that the town council of Pedregal, one of the nearby communities, on hearing that Etucuaro had purchased 5,000 fruit trees, had decided rather huffily that if Etucuaro could afford 5,000 *they* could buy 6,000. They did, and another community has taken a first step toward working together. Just recently, the citizens of another village have joined the men of Etucuaro in donating 1 day's labor per man per week to the construction of a road which will make the villages accessible from the highway even during the rainy season; whether they were motivated by cooperation or competition, Simón did not specify.

Plainly, the Etucuaro story is exceptional. It can scarcely be hoped that every CREFAL graduate, alone or as a member of a team, can match the miracle that Simón Ramírez is working in his village. For one thing, few of them have his educational background, which includes considerable advanced study in law and medicine, nor his tremendous singleness of purpose. But each carries away from Pátzcuaro the same

guiding philosophy—that rural people can build themselves a better life—and the same basic kit of tools for helping them do it.

Five years are too few to assess any program in fundamental education, especially one whose workings are spread across two continents. But few can doubt that the experiment begun 5 years ago by UNESCO and the Organization of American States will be of benefit to the millions of rural Americans who are the greatest economic and social problem of our hemisphere.

Seeing Is Believing:

Community Education in the British Cameroons

By Robert S. Drew

U. S. Department of the Interior
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Fulbright Teacher of Agriculture
Nigeria, 1953-55

THE TEACHER who goes to a foreign country under any one of the current cooperative programs in technical assistance does considerable soul-searching on the outward journey. One knows that the ultimate purpose of these arrangements is to foster and improve international understanding between the sending and the host countries. As one's ship moves serenely toward distant horizons, however, one asks oneself, over and over: "How am I really going to be able to help in this tremendous task, knowing so little of the culture, the agriculture, the educational background of the people with whom I shall be working?"

My post was the Rural Education Centre in Bamenda in the British Cameroons of West Africa. The trip from the African post of debarkation was not easy—a thousand miles in a British Ford over dirt roads and track. But as soon as I saw the school I knew what I wanted to try to do, and felt that the long trek had been worthwhile.

The institution had been planned and built by the Nigerian Government with money from the Colonial Development Fund, a fund derived from taxes paid in Britain by British taxpayers. The buildings were modern, of stone and concrete. A pipe-borne water system and an electric plant were about to be installed at the time of our arrival. The purpose of the Centre was twofold: (1) To give practical training in agriculture each year to about 60 teachers who would then go out to rural centers of their own, putting their knowledge into practice and using their schools as their main tool for reaching the people; (2) to run courses for agricultural agents, veterinary assistants, and demonstration farmers, who, like the teachers, would be paid for their services.

Our first task was to develop a 100-acre practical farm and establish a curriculum for the teachers. When these two things were done, our growing pains were over. Then we became impatient.

The teachers would work in their communities as soon as they were ready, but we wanted a quicker way of reaching the local farmers. An agricultural extension program seemed to be indicated, one which would involve the students while school was in session and would be carried on through the holidays.

After numerous conferences with the British Colonial administrative officers in our area, many of the local chiefs, and other Africans in important positions, we decided to do some agricultural extension work right in our own community. At first, the circumstances made us feel that it was going to be next to impossible to interest the local people, even faintly, in changing any of their age-old ideas. Our African colleagues gave us the clue. "Seeing is believing," they said, again and again. "When the farmers see that our maize (corn in America), our peanuts, and our cassava yield better than theirs they will begin to pay attention."

Our meetings with the three local chiefs were interesting. These natural rulers showed a genuine desire to improve the lot of their people. They saw that the harvests seemed to be growing poorer each year. They thought at first that our assistance would be financial, that we would help them to buy better tools and even a tractor, either by loans or outright grants of money. One could not really blame them for thinking that the Government was wealthy when they gazed at the building of our school. This must have looked to them as much like a Utopia rising up near their grass-thatched huts as the World's Fair must have looked to the occupants of a Flushing Meadow tenement outside of New York. They did not realize, of course, that the money to build this school had been earned the hard way in a country where many people would have given a good deal to be able to live in one of our buildings.

We reasoned with the chiefs, in pidgin English and through interpreters, hammering away at the fact that we would help them in every way we could, but that our help could not possibly be financial. We told them to tell their people to watch closely what we were doing, to notice that we were using only our bare hands and hoes, utilizing only natural, local materials.

My principal, a brilliant, well-educated farmer from Ireland, had laid all the groundwork for the development of 14 cattle and sheep paddocks, three kraals, pasture improvement, and a terracing project which would protect the buildings and open cropland.

We both had some sort of faith that time would bring these people around to wanting to know more about our methods. I tried to study their systems of farming. They planted in huge mounds of earth and burned all materials that might have been used for compost. I told myself, over and over, "There is a reason for everything

if one looks into it far enough." As the weeks went by and I had time to observe more closely the women on the hillsides, scratching away with their crude short-handled hoes, I began to see that the lack of proper hand tools was the biggest single problem. The existing hoe had apparently been in use for a century or more. Lack of fencing materials and the complicated, almost feudal land tenure system were potent factors in discouraging the control and housing of animals, not to mention the collection of their manure. Women did all of the subsistence farming.

At the close of our first school year, which had been designed to coincide with the crop year, our corn, Irish potatoes, and groundnuts gave yields far above any previously grown in the locality. The cassava, yams, and soybeans were a disappointment. We had completed our first mile of dry stone walls and had two solidly built sheds, one for sheep, one for cattle, and 14 large compost pits and heaps in the process of decaying. One day, I noticed several women walking sheepishly along the edge of our plots, peering curiously up and down the rows of corn, still smiling a bit at the strange system, but registering a look of wonderment. A few days later, an unusually heavy rain fell (it rained every day in the wet season) and the newly completed terraces around my quarters were covered by several inches of silt washed down from the native farms above the road in back of my house. The chief of Bambili, the closest of the three villages, paid a courtesy visit, and I took him to my compound and showed him what was happening. He said that he realized it, but what could he do?

My African colleagues and I decided it was time for our first move. We arranged with the students the following day to stage a soil erosion control demonstration in front of the villagers at such a time and in such a place as the chief might agree upon. I walked up to see him the following Sunday and after paying all respects to his court and councilors, got him to agree to a demonstration. He showed me the piece of land which had been left fallow that year, said we could work on it and promised to have all his people assembled the next day.

The students were given a quick résumé of their contour leveling work and seemed very interested in the demonstration project. We walked with our hoes, spades, digging forks, and striding rods (a homemade device constructed out of three pieces of bamboo in the shape of a triangle with a plumb bob suspended from the apex) and several hundred stakes to the appointed spot. The chief, his councilors, and several hundred men and women awaited us. One of the students who could speak the local dialect well did the interpreting, and we set out to explain what we were going to do. The students divided into several teams of four and we began putting in contour

lines—both with a "dumpy level" and with the striding rods. After we had completed 6 or 7 lines on the slope (the number of lines depended on the degree of slope), the students started to form "contour bonds" along each line using only the West Indian hoes. They carefully dug up and collected all organic material for future compost material and showed their spectators how to pile it in neat square heaps between four or six stakes. With the bonds completed, they then started to form ridges running absolutely parallel to the contour bonds. After completing several of these, they paused and told the chief that it was time for the villagers to start. We loaned all the hoes we had and told the chief the rest of the people would have to use their own. At first the women laughed and the men seemed doubtful that this amount of effort would help the farms sufficiently to warrant the added labor involved.

The students walked up and down the ridges and bonds helping this person or that to pull the earth both from the uphill and the downhill sides, encouraging them, relieving them from time to time. After an hour or so the chief sent for several calabashes of palm wine from inside the village and called a "break." I presented him with a cold bottle of British beer from my house and we sat down. The chief poured me out a horn full of fresh cool palm wine, and I began to feel for the first time, as though we were beginning to get somewhere.

The chief explained that he had organized his people according to village quarters, and that the appointed quarter heads were assuming the responsibility of seeing that their section of work had been done. There was considerable laughter coming from the various groups as they sat in the warm midday sun. One of my fellow African teachers explained that the wine had run out prematurely and many of the women had voiced their disapproval. It was they, I had noticed, who were present in the largest numbers and were doing the greater part of the work. The crude native hoes were definitely a great disadvantage, and I tried to persuade the chief that it would reap him greater dividends to purchase a hundred or two of the West Indian type hoes from the nearby "United Africa Company" than to buy a new car or truck for himself. I wrote down the names of several other tools that I felt would also be an excellent investment for the village—axes, spades, digging forks, and rakes. Many people owned machetes but not one person had an ax.

As the afternoon wore on, the job seemed to be progressing even better than we had anticipated. I found that walking up and down the rows, saying a few words of encouragement, taking a hoe myself now and then from one of the women and digging in for 30 minutes or so, helped considerably. Inevitably, when I did start to work, every head and eye turned, and here and there I could hear voices saying

in the inimitable African pidgin English, "Wundaful." It apparently was supposed that "white man" did little or no manual work. I was afraid that the educated African was no example to his own people in this respect.

By the end of the day a 4-acre tract of land on the hillside lay ready for planting, all on the contour with the bonds at intervals of every so many yards down the hill and many compost heaps rose in neat piles here and there at the edges of the freshly cultivated ground. Even cross checks (supposedly not needed if each ridge were completely on the contour) had been carefully formed between the rows of ridges. As we trudged back to the school, I remarked to one of our African tutors that it had been a good day's work. He agreed but pointed out that this was only the beginning of this demonstration. The process of supervising the planting and checking on the maintenance of the ridges and bonds would be an equally important part of the job if the demonstration was to be a success.

Time and patience were the main factors in determining the success of this demonstration. The Bambili people still seemed skeptical as to the worth of the project, especially since it had entailed considerably more labor than the old method of "mounds." The primary reason behind the contour ridging had not yet become clear to most of them. However, when the heavy rains came in April and May the "proof of the pudding" had started. The difference in crop yields the first year was noticeable, but it was not until the second year that the difference was sufficiently significant to convince our neighbors.

Until the second crops were harvested, the villagers were often heard to whisper and laugh at this scheme, which they regarded as "another white man's humbug." Until they saw the great difference the second year, they felt that some kind of strange "jou-jou" had been responsible for the superior crops at our school. After all, "If white man was able to make a round ball light up by means of a machine several yards away, why could he not work the same miracles on plants when he wanted them to grow bigger?" This seemed to be the reasoning behind their thinking until our friends found that they, too, by following a few simple rules, obtained the same results.

This venture laid the foundation for many more community activities in this and other surrounding areas in the months ahead. A few weeks after the completion of the project, a community dispensary built by the local native authority just half a mile from our land was finished and, in a typical manner, was left with no grading or landscaping, an open target for erosion by both wind and rain. We were pleased to find that the students, with their new awareness of erosion, made note of this and brought the matter up in

the next Soils Class. They suggested that, with the support of the District Officer and local chiefs, we get all the villagers who would be served by this new facility to do the terracing and landscaping. The District Officer, a European and the virtual head of all local native authorities, took up the offer quickly and within a week we had arranged the day and the time for the project. The people of three villages—Bambui, Bambili, and Bafreng—showed up this time, as well as all the school children of a nearby native authority primary school. Again the students explained the purpose of the job at hand and pointed to our own buildings with pride as an example of how the dispensary should look when finished.

The terrace levels were quickly marked out by two teams of students and the areas to be filled and those to be excavated were clearly marked out. Several students demonstrated on one corner of the first terrace how the earth should be moved and shaped, packed, and tapered on the bank side. This job was slightly more difficult than the first one we had undertaken but, with twice as many people, we managed to complete the three terraces by afternoon, having had the customary break for wine, complete with several impromptu dances by the men workers who, I noticed, had done more supervising than work during the morning.

Another day suitable to the groups was agreed upon, and 300 evergreen and eucalyptus trees were ordered for planting. Ten thousand cuttings of Kikuiu grass were collected for covering the terraces. The turnout was not quite as large as before, but fortunately not as many people were needed. The villagers were shown how to transplant the grass by means of a sharpened stake with which many holes were jabbed at an angle in the earth and cuttings tramped firmly into position. A few of the huskier-looking men were given the task of planting the tree seedlings, after a careful demonstration by several students who proudly dug the holes and carefully explained how delicately the trees should be handled. By the time that my tour in Africa was up, the dispensary had become quite beautiful, and the foundations had been duly protected.

The seed had been planted in the minds of the people, and soon requests from many villages, some of them quite a distance away, started pouring in. Communities wanted demonstrations, the loan of tools, Kikuiu grass cuttings, plans for the erection of dry stone walls and cattle sheds, purebred poultry, improved potato varieties, contour and terracing advice. We found that we no longer could handle all of these requests, partly because we did not have the facilities, partly because there was insufficient time in our schedule. The nearby Agricultural Department was urged to help satisfy these

needs through their young agricultural assistants who were engaged in group farming projects.

At the beginning of my second year, our domestic science (home economics) building was completed and a well-qualified African teacher engaged to start another phase of the Rural Education Program. This unit had been designed to serve the wives of our students, wives of nearby agricultural station employees, and the primary schoolgirls. However, we decided to expand it to include all of the nearby community. Our new teacher had complained that she had too few students. I was always amused when our students asked for longer study hours and our teachers for more students and more material to teach. This seemed a far cry from the attitudes of teachers and students in many of the overcrowded schools back home.

Women came from miles around on the days appointed for them and took instruction in hand sewing, fancy needlework, machine sewing, and cooking, not to mention child care and dietetics. As we watched the program develop, we noticed social processes going on at the same time which were a joy to watch. We suddenly realized that these women had almost no social outlets. In addition to the skills they were acquiring at our Domestic Science Centre, they enjoyed getting together with other women of their own and surrounding communities. It wasn't long before our teacher had her hands full, and we were looking around for another one.

A few alterations had to be made in the building. For example, the stove needed to be changed so that it would be more like the ones the women had in their own cooking sheds. Eventually, a fine baked-earth stove was designed by an Adult Education officer, and plans for its construction were sent around to all teachers like ours. A few of these new stoves were made by the women, but change takes place slowly. Even if only one or two such stoves found their way into the community, it was a step in the right direction. On several occasions, we persuaded the women to visit our farms and answered many of the questions they had about our superior-looking crops. We let them taste many of the vegetables we were growing for the first time in the area. The main idea was to try to get them to want to improve their own standards. Progress is never made unless there exists some degree of dissatisfaction with the status quo.

We learned much, in our first year, about the needs of the Cameroons people, both through our students and by careful observation. A routine follow-up visit was made to each graduated teacher. We found that the ones whom we visited were very quick to start carrying out many of their new practices, both on their school farms and on

local farms. I found, in several communities, meetings being held for adult education work with many of the adult farmers, men and women. But many superstitions and many age-old customs were not to be broken down overnight. We tried to encourage the teachers not to become downhearted in the face of opposition. Each one seemed to be doing his part in trying to organize social and recreational activities around these adult farmer classes. Democratic processes were to be carried out according to the methods thay had learned in their parliamentary procedure and citizenship classes during the year.

At the Rural Education Centre, we planned more recreational and social events, letting the students decide what would most interest the local people and most benefit the students and community, as far as education was concerned. Once we had installed our electrical plant (the second plant ever to operate in the whole province of Bamenda), we held slide lectures showing other parts of the world, machinery, and even pictures of our own improved hand tools in use. Hundreds of people came to each showing; word seemed to spread like wildfire each time we decided to have such a lecture. Debates were planned and carried out between our students and nearby agricultural staff, who had had a fairly high degree of education. The speeches would be translated into pidgin English, as well as into local dialects, by one or two students who were sufficiently familiar with them. These meetings were not at first as well attended as the picture shows.

Dances, using electrical phonographs, were the most popular recreational activity among the students and local people. These became so overcrowded that admission had to be charged, and we really had to have two or three strong-armed men to help keep order. The dances were always arranged to include all types of music, so that there could be African dances as well as the ordinary European round dancing. Invariably, when a Calypso was put on, all the dancers would seem to become hypnotized, reverting to a type of tribal or impressionistic dance. The rhythm, I was later told, was almost identical to that of many of their African ritualistic dances. It was fascinating to watch. We made a practice of getting some of the villagers to show us how to do their dances, while we, in turn, got many of them out on the floor and directed them in the Paul Jones and other cooperative or mixup European dances. The important thing, in all these activities, was to convince the native people that we were interested in them and that each individual had the right to participate in and be a part of all these activities. These parties seemed to do much to create a certain degree of community spirit.

After a while, we were able to broaden the scope of our undertakings and the students contoured the tillable land of quite a few indi-

vidual farmers. Many of those we worked with in this way were ex-servicemen who were found to be a great deal more progressive than the average layman. Many of them were starting banana and coffee plantations and called upon us to lay out the contour lines and advise them as to what to interplant, etc. We even branched out to a road-building demonstration when we actually started a piece of hard-surface (crushed shale) stone road leading back to the Bambili Village Centre. For this, tools were loaned and our truck was rented out. We were pleased to find that the chief eventually ordered dozens of West Indian hoes, spades, stone packers, axes, and other important tools from the United Africa Co. Other villages caught on and, with the feeling that someone was interested in helping them, started many community-built roads.

Our pipe-borne water (installed by Government engineers) was a constant source of wonderment. Many chiefs came to study the gravity feed system and eventually arranged with the Government to install at least one water point in the larger centers, financed partially out of local taxes and subsidized by Federal funds. Many of our laborers at the school had carried home to their compounds and villages the art of dry stone wall building and planting of Kikuiu and other protective grasses. British Colonial development officers were doing their part to design and construct more roads and bridges. The ball had really started to roll.

The United Africa Co. could not possibly supply the demands for tools, cement, and wire, and had to double the size of its store, assigning a European officer to deal with the tremendous volume of trade.

We arranged lectures, given by the students in the villages and at our school, on democratic meeting procedures and stressed the responsibilities as well as the rights of the individual in and to the community. Several adult clubs were formed. One had to be careful to preserve and keep in proper perspective the authority of the Fons (area heads, of which there were six in our province), as well as the chiefs and their councilors. They represented security and leadership and meant a great deal to the people. The standards of living were being raised without changing the traditional role of the chief. This was all-important. The new concepts of democratic living had to be integrated, to seep gradually into the age-old mores of the various tribes. The missionary had learned long before not to attack polygamy, for example, but to improve the standards of health, education, and welfare, expecting that polygamy would begin to fade and perhaps one day die a natural death. When the people realized the destructiveness of the goat, many of them finally voted confinement laws to cover sheep and goats in various seasons of the year, although one could not help but realize that the goat had been to the African,

for years and years, what the cow is and was to the Indian. Traditional values and attitudes are not easily broken down, nor should they necessarily be. New crops were introduced only when we had proven them on our own land, showing that they had done well in the environment for a minimum of two growing seasons.

Much of the Centre activity described above had never been planned originally as the job of the school, and, I must say, these undertakings did not always take place without friction and criticism, both from educational authorities and from other governmental departments, both European and African. Admittedly, at times, we really overstepped our boundaries and trespassed on the responsibilities and duties of other bodies, occasionally even giving advice we were not qualified to give. But somehow, when needs are made known and no one else has the time or the opportunity to meet them, one feels the necessity of "stepping in" and at least trying a few new ideas, even though there may be a considerable possibility of failure. The aforementioned projects as well as countless others, just in connection with agriculture alone, are typical of the needs of the peoples in those parts of the world where we were working. The people we knew in the Cameroons basically want change, but change cannot be forced upon them. Rather, it must result from a genuine desire on the part of the person or persons involved to want to change their lot. If the desire is seen to exist at all, it should be kindled only by tactful, subtle, and easygoing "do it yourself" approaches. Actions usually speak louder than words, and we found that the "seeing is believing" technique worked wonders in most cases. To grow better crops in one year, in places where the local people would notice them and realize that we had used nothing that was not locally obtainable, in producing such results, was a thousand times more effective than one hundred lectures (before planting) on how maize should be cultivated, etc.

On the basis of my experience and observation in the Cameroons, I am convinced that education is the principal avenue towards the attainment of a higher standard of living in this or any other primitive society. I can only hope that the teachers we trained are now exerting as profound an influence in the community centers and schools in which they are teaching as we seemed to have been able to do, on a small scale, in the communities surrounding our Rural Education Centre in Bamenda.

Tent Schools for Nomadic Tribes

EDITOR'S NOTE: The education of the children of migrating peoples has been, traditionally, "learning by living." As they tended grazing flocks or helped their mothers in the tents, these boys and girls have absorbed the lore of their tribes. Today, in several countries, it is becoming possible for such youngsters to receive a more systematic kind of training in schools adapted to the nomadic way of life. Following are two vivid descriptions of tent school programs developing in two quite different parts of the world. One of these programs is still in process of organization. The other is 3 years old and has already demonstrated its effectiveness.

Nomadic Education in Ethiopia

By A. I. Sheddad

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THERE ARE eight nomadic tribes in Ethiopia, according to my enquiries. Five of these are Muslim; one is Muslim and pagan; the other two are pagan. Each of these tribes speaks its own dialect, one has several. All of them live by camel and cattle breeding. Their routes of travel and their resting places are well known and well scattered throughout the country.

The people of these tribes have much in common with other nomads in Africa and certain parts of Arabia. They are fanatic and aloof, and have unique customs and environments. The high esteem in which they hold their chiefs and their devotion to each other are bonds among the members of the same clan. In the past, the residents of towns and cities have usually looked upon these migrants as "queer" and have been unfriendly to them. This has created an atmosphere of belligerence and distrust between the tribes and the townspeople. As a result, the nomads have clung to their wandering life, seeking only and always water and pasture for their animals.

Such a life makes impossible any fixed settlement. The people who follow it live in small, inadequate huts of thatch which hardly serve as shelters from bad weather and sun. Their health is poor because of their meager diet and because of the impurities in the stagnant water from marshes and swamps which they are compelled to use.

The inevitable need for markets has driven these nomads into contact with their fellow citizens, but these relations have seldom been

satisfactory. Occasional visits to towns and cities have tempted a good many tribesmen to leave the clan trade. The families thus abandoned have come to a pitiful state. The towns have suffered because the new residents are actually homeless and congregate in urban slums, where they have no real chance of becoming normal human beings.

These conditions are affecting the social and economic life of the entire country, which is in danger of losing not only human resources but animal wealth. For these reasons, the Government of Ethiopia is working with other agencies and with the communities to meet the situation. Among all the ways of approaching the problem which have been considered, education is seen to be the main refuge. But attempts to provide this education have encountered great and unforeseen difficulties. Among these are: the difficulty of finding and training the right teachers, the difficulty of knowing what to teach, and the difficulty of providing school buildings, materials, and equipment. These matters will be discussed now in turn from our present point of view.

THE TEACHER AND HIS TRAINING

Because of the attitudes of nomads toward non-nomadic persons, it is necessary to select teachers for the tribal schools from the clans. An emissary from the Government may approach one of the old nomadic sheiks, saying in effect, "Have you not a grandson or a nephew who could serve you by knowing better how to read and write and keep accounts? If you will send such a young man to us, we will pay his expenses for the required number of years in our teacher-training school."

Such a candidate should speak, read, and write Amharic which is the lingua franca of Ethiopia in a way which corresponds fairly well with third-grade standards for the regular schools. He must be physically fit and not over 25 years of age. He must be of the same religion as the rest of his clan. After he is accepted, he is admitted to a junior teachers college for a course of 3 complete, consecutive years which will include the following subjects:

1. *Languages.*—Since Amharic is the national language it will receive major emphasis. Assuming that candidates have third-grade proficiency in it when they enter, the intention is to bring them up to eighth-grade standard before they leave. They will be trained to deal properly with correspondence and reports. Themes are recommended for composition which stress the advantages of education and national unity among other things.

Arabic is taken in lieu of English because of its importance to the Muslim candidates, for whom religion is a part of the academic program. It is expected that they can learn enough in 3 years to be able to go through the

Thirtieth Part of the Koran. For the schools at Harrar or Jimma, the Education Officer may engage the part-time services of a sheik to teach Arabic and religion.

2. *Arithmetic.*—The present syllabus for the regular seventh and eighth grades will do, but I do not recommend that any time be spent on Algebra or Geometry.

3. *Religion.*—This is one of the most important subjects to be taught, because of the nomad's deep concern—even fanaticism—about religion. Candidates will be greatly impressed by the fact that they can study it in the school; one of their strongest reasons for coming may be to take advantage of this opportunity. Muslim teachers-in-training may study the Five Principles of Islam: the ways and conditions of Salat, Soam, Zakat, Hag; marriage and divorce; the distribution and inheritance of estates; the mosque service and the Salat held in Eids and for the blessing of the dead.

4. *History of Ethiopia.*—A general survey of the regular fifth-grade curriculum, also including the history of Mohammed and the advent, a short biography of the Caliphs and the famous Muslim leader, Bilal Bin Haritha, of Ethiopian birth and nationality.

5. *Geography.*—The latest syllabus drawn up by Dr. Schils for the junior grades is quite ample, but basic physical geography lessons are recommended.

6. *Hygiene.*—This should be practical. Students should be taught how to recognise and deal with such problems of sickness prevention as getting rid of lice, flies, and bugs, and handling contagious diseases. First-aid should also be taught.

7. *Basic teaching methods*, including how to keep school registers.

8. *Handicrafts.*—The preservation and tanning of hides may be included here.

9. *Physical education.*—Students should be taught how to conduct games.

10. *Free-hand drawing.*

A group of teachers familiar with this type of education in Ethiopia was asked how many periods they thought should be assigned to each of these subjects. They suggested a 35-hour week in which 7 periods would be given to Amharic; 5 to arithmetic; 4 each to Arabic and religion; 3 each to hygiene, history, and methods; 2 each to handcrafts and the preservation and tanning of hides. They advised that some of the preparation periods be utilized to give practical training and experience in the school clinic.

Certain extracurricular activities are important in a program like this. Muslim candidates should attend the sermons in the Mosque because these services will help them to learn the routine for the Mass and how to give religious speeches, and will otherwise benefit them in their religious studies. Saturday mornings may well be spent in the office of the Provincial Education Officer, learning and practicing the filing system, basic bookkeeping, and disposal of correspondence. During the vacation, Sene to Maskaram, students may be attached to the Veterinary Department of the Province, or to any school of

agriculture, to learn how to attend to sick animals, how to breed fowl, and how to do dairy work. To make them self-dependent, helpful to others, and disciplined, they may also be trained in Scouting.

THE SCHOOL

It is known that the nomads never settle in one place. Hence the school must be a traveling one. A tent will be more than adequate to house it. For the first 2 years or so, there may be no regular classes. The teacher will have to spend a long time talking to the tribal people about his mission. He has to make himself very useful to them to gain their trust. He will inevitably find himself following the children to their grazing spots to conduct classes for them under any tree in the vicinity. He will be using the sand for a blackboard. He will tempt them to learn Amharic—perhaps orally at first—using their animals and nearby objects as teaching aids.

During the evening, the teacher will gather about him as many of the children and grownups as he can. He will speak to them, in the clan's dialect, about religion, hygiene, or whatever he chooses. According to experience, the most effective way to win the majority to him is for him to adhere to the religious activities of the clan and be eloquent in his talks about these.

After this beginning period, the teacher's next step is to fix classes to suit the convenience of his pupils, who will be of all ages. The best times will probably be during the early hours of the day, between 7 and 9 in the morning, and in the evening, between 6 and 9. It is not likely that any nomad, old or young, will be available between these periods.

The teacher's house will be a tent, like the others, but issued by the Ministry. He must take for granted the fact that he will be at the disposal of the chief at all times, ready to assist him with his routine work if he asks for it.

The furnishings of the school are simple. Ordinary grass mats are the main item, although desks and benches may be supplied when the students begin to write fairly well. It is important to have two or three benches to be used when the chief or the elders form a part of the group. The teacher will need a barracks table and chairs for his office.

For teaching equipment, slates for the beginners are the most necessary writing material. There should also be a small blackboard and an ample supply of chalk. When the students progress, Amharic books for beginners may be supplied, together with exercise books, pencils, and ink. Instructional pictures, or the sort of pictures made for governmental establishments may be used to decorate the tent.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

The lessons must be administered carefully but slowly to ensure good results. The students may reach the fourth grade standard in about 5 years; they should definitely do so in 6 years. It is essential that they be trained to breed fowl and take good care of their animals. It may be desirable for the teacher to try to create a spirit of competition in relation to this part of the program, offering prizes to the owners of the best animal or fowl. The prizes may be donated by the Ministry of Education on behalf of the cattle dealers, who send such contributions for further disposal. An Exhibition Day may be held under the presidency of the Tribal Chief. His Imperial Majesty's birthday is a suitable occasion for this event.

Sports and other gymnastics are a part of the school's activities. For this type of school, there is no vacation for the first 5 years. The work will continue every day except for Fridays or other religious holidays. His Imperial Majesty's accession and birthdays, and other national days shall be regarded as holidays.

GOVERNMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

It is advisable for the Provincial Governors to ask to meet with the chiefs of the nomads in order to speak with them about the establishment of these schools and persuade them to cooperate in every possible way. In the Manz and Yifat Districts, the Government employs a man or two from Adal who speaks, reads, and writes Amharic. Persons of such capacity from other tribes may be found in other Districts. If Governors will notify the Ministry of all such persons in their offices, these clansmen can be used to help select the candidates for teacher-training.

The candidates selected may be given financial help in the form of a monthly salary in addition to their entire board for the duration of the course. The salaries of the teachers must be fixed at a level which indicates the importance of the work, and is high enough to attract and hold qualified people. Salary increases may be granted in accordance with experience and the value of the work rendered. Local newspapers, magazines, and the *Negarit Gazette* should be sent regularly to teachers in service.

When the standard of the nomad schools reaches the level of the fourth grade in the regular schools, children of the right age who are at the top of their classes, perhaps those who rank first and second in every school, may be given the privilege of continuing their studies in any of the Addis Ababa schools. These boys and girls should be given free board and all other facilities, no matter what their parents'

financial situation may be. In this way, the advantages of higher education in Ethiopia will become increasingly accessible to the tribes.

Although the program described has been developed with the needs of the Muslim Nomads especially in mind, because they are in the majority, these same provisions for education are equally applicable to Pagan Tribes, except for the religious studies and activities. Only persons very familiar with the values, attitudes, and way of life of these non-Muslim peoples can help them to meet their own moral and ethical problems.

It would be splendid if the Government would also provide a few head of cattle, especially bulls, stallions, and rams to improve the stock and also the yield of wool. This will enable the teacher to show in practice the value of his training in animal husbandry and cattle rearing that will win the nomads over to his aims of providing education.

Education for the Nomadic Tribes of Iran

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TODAY IN IRAN, a nation with an estimated population of 18,000,000 inhabitants, there are approximately 1,500,000 nomads. The moving about of such large numbers of people within their country presents many problems to the Iranians. Because many languages are spoken in the tribes and because there is lack of communication and education among them, illiteracy with all of its pitfalls and superstitions has come to be the rule rather than the exception. The inability to communicate freely because of distance, lack of facilities, and language differences has produced in these tribal people a feeling of not belonging to their country, of not being a part of their Government. This feeling has been displayed, at times, in the looting of villages and cities, in open conflicts with army forces, and in the making of alliances with forces outside of Iran.

Fars is one of the 10 provinces of Iran, a southwestern state (Ostan). Army officers estimate that 200,000 (10 percent) of its 2 million people are nomadic. Its climate varies from the cold of snow-clad mountains 14,000 feet high to extremely hot temperatures at sea level. These extremes prohibit permanent, year-round living in the meager mud huts typical of Iranian villages. Hence, both topography and climate are conducive to the maintenance of the nomadic pattern of life in this region. Most of the nomads here belong to the Ghasghi Tribe.

The Ghasghi are Turkish-speaking and today there are about 130,000 of them. For centuries they have migrated from the same high mountain pastures in the north to the lowlands in the south. The only known interruption in these migrations came a few years ago, when King Riza Pahlavi ordered all tribes in Iran to settle down, build villages, and take up the pursuit of agriculture. For a while the nomads, including the Ghasghi, complied, but when King Riza Pahlavi was exiled during World War II they rose in arms again and regained their lands. A desire for revenge remained with some of the tribal leaders who, in turn, aligned themselves with the followers of Mossadeq in an attempt to overthrow the government.

It was during the Mossadeq regime that arrangements were made for United States technical assistance (Point IV) in Iran. It was also through this regime that a system of elementary education for the

Ghasghi was established cooperatively by the tribal authorities, the Iranian Ministry of Education, and the United States Operations Mission to Iran.

In the fall of 1951, Point IV set up a provincial office in Shiraz, the capital of Fars. Soon one of the tribal leaders came to the director of the education section of this office to get assistance for the tribe; their children needed schooling. All the officials concerned, both Iranian and American, were consulted. It was agreed that the first step toward the development of a joint program of tribal education should be a survey of tribal conditions. The author, at that time provincial director of education, was asked to make this survey. Mohamed Bahman Begui, son of one of the subchiefs, was sent by the tribal leaders to work with him. The selection of Mr. Bahman Begui as the author's counterpart was extremely fortunate. He is a graduate of the University of Tehran with a degree in law, has traveled in the United States, speaks and understands English, and likes to work with Americans. More than half of his life has been spent with the tribes, years in which he has become well acquainted with tribal chiefs and subchiefs. They, in turn, have come to know and respect him, not only because of his family, but also because of his own ability as a sportsman, his boldness during periods of conflict, his clear intellect, and his sense of humor.

We assumed, from the beginning, that if the average tribal child were to be educated the schools would have to move with the tribes, and the tribes themselves would have to bear a major part of the expense. The big questions were whether the structure and groupings of families were permanent enough to permit a teacher to work with the same boys and girls in the summer and winter areas, and whether the tribal people felt the need for education strongly enough to share the cost of the program. The survey was a first step toward finding the answers. We hoped, of course, that our work with the Ghasghi would be both an experiment and a demonstration which might lead to similar undertakings with other tribes.

SURVEY FINDINGS

The studies made with the tribes showed many things. Some of the findings most pertinent to an understanding of the education program are as follows:

1. *Tribal organization.*—The Ghasghi are a highly organized group, with four brothers serving as chiefs over the tribes. All four of these brothers were educated in European institutions of higher learning. One is reported to have obtained his degree in law from Oxford University, while another was an officer in the German Army during World War II. The family of the oldest brother lives in California.

Tribal Teachers Demonstrate Sanitary Procedure in Drying Foods for Storage

Under these four brothers are five major groups: The Amaleh, the Shesh Beluki, the Dareh Shuri, the Farsi Madan (which means "Can't speak the Persian language"), and the Kash Kuli. Each of these subdivisions had, at the time of the survey, a population of about 5,000 families, or 25,000 individuals. Each has a chief, and includes many subgroups, each with its own subchief. To a large extent, the family groupings in the winter area are the same as those found in the summer areas, although the proximity of families is not always the same in both regions.

2. *Migrations*.—These consist of two major moves each year, each involving travel over distances ranging from 150 to 300 miles. While the time of migration depends upon the weather and the availability of good pastures, the main migrations usually come during the periods of April 1 through May 15, and September 15 through November 1, each taking about 6 weeks. This means a split school year, since it would be impossible to hold school during the big shifts, when everyone is needed to accomplish the moving of flocks, herds, and family homes. Each family and each

subfamily owns a specific land area in both winter and summer regions and their grazing is usually confined to their own pastures. Within the summer area, the families move 3 to 4 times in the 3½ months they are there. In the winter area, they move an average of 7 times during the 5½-month period. It takes about 2 days for each move in either area—a distance of 18 to 20 miles.

3. *Fixed schools.*—Two permanent schools had been established by the Ministry of Education to serve the tribes during the winter. These schools were not being utilized because of lack of boarding facilities and the high cost to families when they were not in the vicinity. Furthermore, most parents wanted to have their children with them during the early years of life rather than away in boarding schools. It was not feasible to collect children for the fixed schools through a system of buses because of inadequate roads and the mountainous terrain.

4. *Tribal contributions.*—The preliminary investigation showed that 117 tribal chiefs would accept responsibility for contributing individually or collecting from families within their groups enough money or food to give the teacher of each movable school a salary equal to that paid by the Ministry of Education to a regular elementary school teacher. Seventy of these 117 subchiefs could each locate within his tribe a boy with enough education to become a teacher. These prospective teachers had completed from 5 to 9 grades each, a level of education in keeping with that required by the Ministry of Education for village schools. If tent schools were established, there would be, according to our surveys, an average of 15 children within commuting distance of each tent who would attend school.

Agricultural Instructor Points Out Features of Good Breeding Cattle

THE PROGRAM PROPOSED AND APPROVED

When the needs and the resources for education in the region had been sufficiently studied, a formal proposal for a tent school program was drawn up and submitted to the Minister of Education. This called for the following activities:

1. *A first cycle of education, grades 1 to 4.*—This would be carried out in 120 movable schools in representative areas. It should be pointed out here that, although they were called "movable," these schools would actually be relatively fixed, moving only every 30 days on the average while the tribes were in winter quarters and even less frequently during the summer. The "buildings" would, of necessity, be tents. The students, who are not used to chairs, would sit cross-legged on a carpet, each with a small box the size of an office desk basket in front of him. This box would be his desk and a storage place for his school supplies. Each pupil would be responsible for his own desk and equipment during migrations.

It was proposed that Point IV provide the tents, school desks, books, portable blackboards, and expendable school supplies during the initial phase of the demonstration. The curriculum taught would be the one established by the Ministry for the regular schools. However, the tribal teachers would be permitted to use the environment of the school, and the surrounding area, as a means of enriching the traditional courses of study. Since Turkish was the language of the tribes and Ministry regulations required that the children be taught in Farsi, it was recommended that great emphasis be placed on the speaking and reading of Farsi in the teaching of the Language Arts throughout the first six grades. The school year would be divided into two terms, May 15 through August 31, and October 15 through March 31. The two terms together would equal the 9-month year prescribed by the Ministry for all other schools.

2. *A second cycle of education, grades 5 through 9.*—Four years before the arrival of Point IV in Iran, the Ministry of Education had begun the construction of three tribal boarding schools in the Province of Fars. It was now proposed that these three facilities should be completed and used for the secondary phase of the new tribal program. They would accommodate grades 5 through 9 and the movable schools would be feeders for them. After finishing grade 9 the students would go to a regular school, or attend a special, 1-year teacher education course designed to prepare teachers for the tent schools.

3. *Teacher selection and training.*—The customs and the mores of the nomad and the city or village dweller in Iran are very different. If the tribal schools were to be a means of bridging the gap, they would have to reflect in some way the values and practices of both kinds of living. It was therefore recommended that teachers be recruited from both cultures. As many as possible were to come from within the tribes, the balance from the villages. Since the average tribal teacher would have only a sixth- or seventh-grade education, this plan would have some disadvantages to start with. On the other hand, most village teachers have little more schooling. The deficiencies of both groups, however, could be at least partially overcome through inservice teacher-training prior to the establishment of the schools and during ensuing vacation periods. It was ac-

cordingly recommended that such training programs be set up, and that they be financed by Point IV. The tribal chiefs would each find and pay the salary of the teacher for his particular school.

To ensure a continuing supply of teachers, it was proposed that a special 1-year course be given, for selected graduates from the tribal schools, to qualify them as teachers for the movable schools for the years to come. This course would be housed in the Shiraz tribal boarding school. The content would be professional education oriented to problems peculiar to the tent schools.

4. *Supervision.*—Four tribal men, twelfth-grade graduates, would be employed by the Ministry of Education and trained as supervisors. These men would receive special training from Point IV specialists, over and beyond the 6-week course given for regular teachers. Point IV would also furnish vehicles for their transportation to and from the tribal areas. Within these areas, travel would be by horseback, the horses to be supplied by the tribes. The supervision of tribal schools would be separate and apart from

Learning Sanitary Methods of Bread Making

that provided within the District for the regular schools. It was recommended that a special section for this particular phase of supervision be established in the Ministry of Education.

After considerable discussion, Iranian and Point IV officials approved this program and agreed that it would be implemented, in its entirety, in May 1953. The tribal chiefs were notified to start recruiting and were told to send their teacher-candidates to Shiraz to participate in a 7-week training project. This course began the middle of July and ran through the second week of September. Toward the end of this period, the Mossadeq regime fell and the Ghasghi became so involved politically that 40 of the trainees, mainly those from villages, refused to go and live in the tribes. Because of the disturbed condition of the country, the distribution of supplies and equipment was delayed to those Ghasghi subgroups which would not pledge their support to the new Government. In spite of these difficulties, 61 of the 117 schools originally planned had been established by January 1954, and by June 1954, 83 were operating successfully.

TEACHER EDUCATION—FIRST PHASE

To fully understand the education program carried out in the tribes, it is necessary to understand tribal life. Some of the activities included may seem absurd to an educator whose experience has been confined to the schools of the United States. There is nothing in this curriculum, however, which is not directly related to a local need.

In July 1953, 120 tribal men ranging in age from 16 to 48 years, and in education from grades 5 through 9 reported to Shiraz for the first phase of the tribal education program. During the course, an effort was made to screen out those individuals who did not display ability for or interest in teaching. In this screening, much more weight was given to a student's learning potential than to his previous training. Only four were eliminated.

This first part of the program included the following areas, subjects, and experiences:

1. *Language arts.*—Philosophy and objectives; Farsi, taught as a foreign language through the conversational approach; reading readiness activities; beginning reading; field trips; the development of experience charts; dramatic play; developmental word recognition; spelling activities; creative writing.

2. *Physical education.*—Student participation in small group games for the elementary school; student participation in large group games for the elementary school; student participation in classroom games; playground materials; the organization of physical education activities; the philosophy and objectives of physical education.

3. *School health.*—Communicable diseases in the school and their control; first-aid; school sanitation; the use of the health kit; tribal sanitation.

A Display of Seven Basic Foods Available Within Community

4. *Social studies.*—Philosophies and objectives of social studies in the elementary school; the unit method of teaching social studies; the separate subject-matter approach in the teaching of history and geography; the development of a unit of work; field trips; dramatic play; school gardens as related to elementary school science.

5. *Arithmetic.*—Arithmetic readiness; examples of concrete materials to be used before going into the abstract processes; methods of making drill meaningful; subject-matter units; development of materials; practice teaching.

6. *General education.*—Objectives of education; education as a means of reconstructing society; education as a means of developing the individual; physical growth factors related to the education program; mental growth factors related to the education program; general principles of educational psychology; the core of experience.

The students were divided into five groups. For the first 30 hours of the course, they were given the foundation material outlined above under "General education." They then received 27 hours of instruc-

tion in each of the fields of language arts, arithmetic, social studies, and physical education. During the evenings and on weekends, many films were shown. These dealt with matters of general interest and with specific subjects. Many of these people were seeing movies for the first time.

At the end of this first program, supplies and equipment were issued and 63 schools were set up. After these schools had operated for 7 months, inspectors of the Ministry of Education gave the regular examination to these tribal children. They found that great progress had been made in this short period, particularly by the older children who were attending school for the first time. All of the students passed at least the first-grade examination given regularly to urban and village children; a large group passed the second-grade examination; a few of the older children passed the third. These results indicate the great interest and high intelligence of the tribal people. Indeed, so much interest was expressed that the chiefs insisted that the schools be held 7 days a week, 8 hours a day, instead of following the normal school schedule.

TEACHER EDUCATION—SECOND PHASE

As this program progressed, those in charge became more and more conscious of the fact that tribal teachers needed additional training if they were really going to be able to help the tribes cope with their most serious and immediate problems. Among the most urgent of these problems were those relating to sanitation, cooking, laundering, food handling, the treatment of sick children, and the care of animals.

Plans were, therefore, made to bring all the teachers back again to Shiraz, during the 1954 fall migration, for another 7-week inservice training course. In the meantime, technical help was obtained from specialists on the Point IV staff in public health, home living, agriculture, and animal husbandry. These technicians studied tribal conditions at first hand in preparation for their work with the tribal teachers.

In August 1954, 95 teachers reported for this second course. The first 10 days were devoted to the discussion of problems in teaching which were an outgrowth of the experiences of the tent school teachers during the past year. It was exciting to hear these men describe some of the ingenious methods they had developed to meet their needs, and to listen to their evaluation of the equipment they had been using. For the next 3 weeks, the group was divided into 3 units, each of which had 36 hours of basic instruction in health, home economics, and agriculture. A tribal family with its tent, sheep, and other possessions was stationed in a large compound near the training center in an effort

to make the teacher-education program functional through the direct observation of problems in tribal living.

It is interesting to compare the content of this second course with that of the first. Now included were the following topics:

1. *Home economics.*—Tribal breadmaking, storage of ingredients, utensils, and finished bread; tribal care and storage of milk; tribal must, butter, and cheese-making, with care, storage, and use of utensils; the use of milk, butter, cheese, and must for better nutrition; the use and preparation of vegetables sometimes available to tribal people; the making of soap and its potential use by tribal people; bodily cleanliness with little water; the use of fat for food, as a remedy for sores, and in baby-care; the pregnant woman; the birth in the tribal tent; the care of the newborn infant to 1 year of age; simple herb medicines available to tribal people at low cost; insect control, insects in relation to food contamination and open sores; tribal clothing for all family members, its care and cleanliness; the making of clothes by hand.

2. *Health.*—Personal hygiene, care of the hair, nails, eyes, teeth, and body; environmental sanitation, its importance in selecting the locations for tents, animals, water, etc.; insect control; food and nutrition; safety practices around the tent; first-aid; communicable diseases, their recognition and control; insect-borne diseases.

3. *Agriculture.*—School vegetable gardening; diseases in animals; control of diseases in animals; range rehabilitation; improved breeding practices; increased milk production.

After this 3-week course, 14 days were devoted to methods of presenting basic information in health, home economics and agriculture to groups of school children and adults through the development of units of work in these 3 areas. Emphasis was given to the functional approach in the teaching of the fundamental school subjects.

Each group of teachers built up units of work around a central theme and constructed many experience charts. These experience charts were compiled into three big books: *Our Big Book of Agriculture*, *Our Big Book of Home Living*, and *Our Big Book of Health*. Each teacher was provided with materials and equipment which he could use in conducting similar demonstrations when he returned to his tribe. Each was impressed with the importance of developing units of work in health, home living, and agriculture which would be practical in his own school situation. All were given materials for making charts which could be combined into books like the Big Books mentioned above.

EVALUATION

This program of tribal education has now been in operation for 2 years. That is not a long enough time to show conclusively what such a program can do to bring about changes in the daily behavior of nomads. On the other hand, there is now reasonable evidence that such education can help the tribes to develop a sense of belonging to

their nation and to improve their standards of living. One measure of success may be the increase in enrollment in the movable schools. At the end of the first 6 months of the program, there was an average of 14 boys in each school. After 18 months, the average was 18 in 83 schools, 20 of which were relatively new. Another indication might be the fact that supervisors have seen—and eaten—vegetables from gardens maintained by pupils of the movable schools.

The Iranian Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education in Shiraz have taken a definite interest in the tribal programs. At present, the Ministry of Education is paying half of the salary of each tribal teacher, providing supervisors for the program, completing the tribal boarding schools, and making plans and provisions for teacher education which will ensure a continuing supply of trained teachers for the movable schools. From all indications, the tribal program as outlined in the early days of its inception will be carried to completion by the Government of Iran.

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The Second Unit Rural Schools of Puerto Rico

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WITHIN THE LAST 15 years the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico have been engaged in a vigorous mobilization to raise the standard of living, to introduce industrialization, and to diversify and increase agricultural production. They have also succeeded in finding a satisfactory pattern of political self-determination.[1]

The role played by education in the new era of Puerto Rican life is represented by the fact that the largest part of the Commonwealth budget is set aside for the operation of the educational system and for the expansion of its physical plant. Public-school enrollment of more than a half million students is served by about 12,000 teachers and has an annual budget of $49 million. According to enrollment figures, one out of every four persons is receiving formal education of some kind.

Education, together with industrial development, holds a top priority among all public needs. Accordingly, school planning efforts have recently been directed toward defined goals to be attained by 1957. The general goal with respect to school enrollment is to accommodate in school 91 percent of the children from 6 to 12 years of age, 75 percent of those 13 to 15 years old, and 41 percent of those from 16 to 18 years of age. At the present time about three-fourths of the school population (6 to 18) is already attending school.

The public-school system of Puerto Rico follows a 6–3–3 plan of organization, that is, an elementary school of 6 grades, an urban junior high school or rural second unit school of 3 grades, and a senior high school of 3 grades. Spanish is the medium of instruction in the public schools, and English is taught as a preferred subject from the first grade to the twelfth.

The Secretary of Education, the head of the educational system of the Commonwealth, is appointed directly by the Governor of Puerto Rico with the advice and consent of the Puerto Rican Senate. Since the Governor is elected by the people of Puerto Rico, the head of the

[1] For a reliable account of Puerto Rico's problems and efforts see: Puerto Rico, a Study in Democratic Development. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 285, January 1953.

educational system is responsible, through the Governor, directly to his own people.

With his staff in the Central Office, his field representatives, and the district superintendents of schools, the Secretary of Education administers and supervises the public-school system of the Commonwealth. He is also president of the Superior Council of the University of Puerto Rico, Executive Officer and Chairman of the Commonwealth Board for Vocational Education and a member of numerous other commissions and boards.

The Department of Education maintains and directs a number of educational programs among which are included the regular public-school services, school lunchrooms, public libraries, adult evening extension classes, a literacy program, free school of music, community education services, vocational rehabilitation, and informal educational media, such as a radio station, books, pamphlets, and newspapers.

One of the main concerns of the Department is the adaptation of all educational efforts to the environmental needs of children, youth, and adults in line with the Commonwealth program designed to stimulate higher cultural and material standards for all the people.

Among all educational efforts, the rural school population has always posed a very serious problem. In spite of the industrialization trend and the increasing city-ward migration, the rural population is still about 52 percent of the total population. Agriculture is thus the most important single source of income, although it has declined in its relative importance. In recent years the problem of strengthening rural schooling has attained further magnitude due not only to the fact that migration is bound to affect the level of urban living, but also because of the demands originated by the rapid social change, the urgency to provide a satisfactory education for a mobile population, as well as the need to develop and preserve in the rural areas the human potential essential to a more efficient and scientific agricultural undertaking.

The second unit rural school represents the most significant single achievement in the matter of evolving a school responsive to the problems and conditions of the rural area of Puerto Rico. It constitutes a major part of a broader movement designed to implement the policy, advocated by educational leaders in Puerto Rico, to the effect that first and foremost in any educational undertaking are the social problems, conditions, aspirations, and values of the society to be served. In this connection, the second unit rural school not only has been instrumental in helping educators on the island solve several phases of the rural school problem, but it also has suggested basic principles for the reorientation of the entire education system.

The first such schools were established in the year 1928–29 in barrios (neighborhoods) of the municipalities of Carolina, Arecibo, Aguadilla, Utuado, and Corozal. According to the original plan, the first unit rural schools were those comprising the first six elementary grades. The second unit schools were organized for those pupils of grades 7, 8, and 9 who had completed the courses prescribed for the first unit. They were established as centers designed to provide the general academic schooling together with vocational and prevocational training in accordance with the needs of their immediate communities. Their dominant purpose was the improvement of conditions in the rural sections; and to accomplish this objective, the schools sought increased productivity and better school-community relations.

The first objectives officially set forth to direct the work were: (*a*) To raise the standards of living of the rural communities; (*b*) to raise the productive capacity of the rural people; (*c*) to carry a program of social and health instruction based on the needs of the country people; and (*d*) to improve the life and living conditions of the people through vocational and educational guidance. As stated in one of the earliest reports,[1] "These schools, to fulfill their purpose, must be essentially vocational. Their object: A gradual but steady improvement, socially and economically, of the living conditions of the rural sections, affording an education which will enable their inhabitants to earn more money and be better citizens."

The regular academic program includes English, Spanish, Social Studies, General Mathematics, General Science, and an activity period. The vocational program includes courses in agriculture and industrial arts for boys and home economics and native handicrafts for girls. According to these offerings, a student graduating from a second unit can either start work or continue studying in the senior high school.

The typical second unit is housed in a number of buildings comprising regular classrooms, an industrial arts shop, home economics room, farm shop, and office space. In addition there are hog pens and quarters, rabbit hutches, and poultry houses.

Since the outset the second unit schools have been organized to become eventually centers of leadership, encouragement, and direction for the educational and social life of the rural barrios. Without neglect of the three R's the second unit rural schools have emphasized vital needs of the individual and the community. Their interest is not limited to literacy but extends to appropriate civic attitudes and

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[1] Francisco Vizcarrondo. The Second Unit Rural Schools of Puerto Rico. Department of Education, San Juan, 1930.

habits, vocational adjustments, and direct improvement of socio-economic conditions.

> A study published in 1945 pointed out the following outstanding contributions of the second unit schools:[3] (1) They constitute the first effective attempt to provide a worth-while education adapted to the peculiar conditions of the rural scene of Puerto Rico and they promise to be of far-reaching significance in reshaping the economic and social life of the rural people; (2) they have served as a proving ground for experimenting with a philosophy of education which has become the basis of the reorientation of the entire school system; (3) they have been a potent factor in increasing the holding power of the rural schools; (4) they have served as the centers for the development of small villages with certain material characteristics of progress unknown before, such as churches, rural medical centers, and in some instances, post offices; (5) they have been the gathering place where representatives of Government agencies—Departments of Health, Agriculture, Labor, Education, etc.—meet to give lectures, exhibit films, distribute information, and render public services to farmers, laborers, and housewives. Their recreational and educational community program includes assemblies, libraries, cinema; demonstration projects in agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, native handicrafts, playground activities, etc.; and (6) they are evidently serving as an instrument for the improvement of the economic life of the rural people. Their influence is reflected in better livestock, more extensive land utilization, better food preparation and nutritional habits, more sanitary homes, better purchasing and consumer practices, etc.

A general appraisal of their contribution at the present time indicates that the second unit rural schools are still a powerful social and educational force in the rural sections and they are moving steadily toward a closer and more functional relationship with their respective communities. There are 147 second units organized in 68 municipalities. Their enrollment is roughly 23,000 students.

These schools acquired a considerable impetus upon the extension to Puerto Rico of the Smith-Hughes vocational law passed by Congress on March 3, 1931. The Puerto Rico Legislative Assembly accepted the provisions and benefits of the Federal Act and created the Commonwealth Board for Vocational Education (originally known as the Insular Board for Vocational Education) which sets and regulates the policies for the administration of the vocational education program under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Education. Vocational education activities were started during the school year 1931–32 in the fields of agriculture, trades and industry, and home economics. At the end of the year 1933–34 there were 47 centers for instruction in vocational agriculture and at the present time there are 104 such centers among the 147 second unit schools.

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[3] Antonio Rodriguez, Jr. The Second Unit and the Rural School Problem of Puerto Rico. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Doctor of Education, in the School of Education, Indiana University, October 1942.

A major phase of the educational undertaking of the second-unit rural schools is entrusted to the vocational agricultural program, the dominant purpose of which is to prepare youth and adults for useful employment in agricultural occupations. The program functions on three levels: (1) All-day classes for young and adult farmers; (2) teacher-training activities designed to prepare new teachers of vocational agriculture and to increase the professional efficiency of those in service; and (3) action research aimed at developing better administrative, supervisory, and instructional procedures in agricultural education.

The objective of the classes is to help establish or advance persons in farming occupations through instruction and farm practice designed to meet the needs of the students and the rural communities served. All-day classes are offered for regular students of the second unit who wish to prepare for employment in farming. Special classes are offered for adults and young men who want to improve their efficiency.

The following paragraphs summarize the accomplishments during the year 1953-54 as reported by the Commonwealth Board for Vocational Education:

The work in agricultural education during the year stressed the development of leadership among students as well as among young and adult farmers. Emphasis was also given to the production of food crops through the supervised farming programs on the students' home farms as well as on the school farms.

In the matter of developing leadership, the Puerto Rico chapter of the Future Farmers of America was highly instrumental. Its 104 chapters, with a membership of 5,742 students, participated in local and State contests in which they had the opportunity of conducting discussions and addressing groups on topics such as the agricultural problems of Puerto Rico, soil conservation practices, and production goals. Training was also given in program planning, parliamentary procedures, duties of officers, and group organization.

During the year 1953-54 the home-supervised farming program comprised 6,399 vocational agriculture students and had the following yields in crops and animals: 400,000 bunches of bananas; 40,000 cwt. sweetpotatoes; 40,000 cwt. tanniers; 1,000 cwt. coffee; 15,000 tons of sugarcane; 50,000 cwt. yams; 3,500 cwt. tobacco; 120,000 poultry heads; 30,000 rabbits; and 12,000 swine.

The development of effective home projects was one of the main objectives for the year. Every student was able to carry out a project either on the school farm, on his home farm, or on some other farm. These accomplishments were made possible through the efforts of the teachers of agriculture and the effective administration of the FFA

Loan Fund. A total of 757 loans were granted amounting to $27,402.10.

The work done at the school farms set an all-time record in production and in services rendered to farmers and students. School farm production totaled $99,570.25 for 1 year.

A considerable amount of seeds were distributed free of charge to students and farmers as follows: Vegetables, 6,550,000 seedlings; plantains, 380,000 suckers; bananas, 610,000 suckers; and sweetpotatoes, 10 tons of runners.

Through the aid of the Department of Agriculture breeding services were given free of charge. The total number of services to livestock amounted to 5,303 during the year.

The supervisory staff centered their activities on the promotion of effective leadership, the professional inservice training of teachers, and a closer relationship to the community through information and interpretation of the program.

The teachers of agriculture were stimulated and directed to work together effectively on common educational problems within their districts, and in the task of enlisting the interest and participation of students, parents, and citizens.

In addition, a study of the students' supervised farming facilities was conducted at the beginning of the year. The data collected were used by the teachers in the preparation of their courses of study and made possible the redirection of the efforts of the program to help students in solving their farming problems.

During the year, 5 farm shops, 11 hog pens and quarters, 10 rabbit hutches, and 9 poultry houses were constructed with funds appropriated by the Puerto Rican Legislature.

One significant improvement introduced to the program has been training in the use of mechanized equipment. Prospective and already established farmers learn about the operation, care, and maintenance of farm tractors and other farm machinery and equipment. It is hoped that this program will help in fostering better production techniquesin place of the outmoded traditional methods now prevalent.

Young and adult farmer classes were conducted by the regular agriculture teachers and by special itinerant teachers. Emphasis was given to the individual farmer's problems and needs. The instructional units provided training in soil and water conservation, farm management and operation, improvement of livestock, farm financing, farm record keeping, and construction and repair of farm structures. The basic objective of these programs is a more efficient use of farm resources, thus assuring the economic stability of the farm family.

The adult groups organized so far include farmers who operate from 10 to 100 or more acres and whose farms are located at a con-

siderable distance from the regular vocational agriculture center, Due to the location of their farms these farmers had not previously been able to receive the necessary help from other agricultural agencies.

Instruction for adults was conducted in the regular vocational agriculture room, in other rural schools, or in convenient places on the trainees' own farms.

The courses of study were based on detailed surveys conducted by the instructor with the help of the farmers and other members of the community. Thus, the problems and jobs included in the courses were based on the fundamental needs of the individual farmers and on the common problems of the area served.

The organization of cooperatives among farmers is stimulated and directed. Already a number of such cooperatives are helping the farmers meet needs they cannot satisfy individually.

A study was conducted during the year to determine the number of students who had graduated from vocational agriculture since 1934 and were now established in farming or in related occupations. The result of the study revealed that 37 percent of the boys who had taken vocational agriculture since the start of the program were engaged in some phase of farming and 15 percent were working in occupations related to farming.

During the same period (1953–54) the homemaking program comprised 74 second unit schools and about 4,700 girls. Its influence reached family members of various ages and included classroom instruction and other activities related to the selection and purchase of goods and services for the home; maintenance of satisfactory personal and family relationships; selection, preparation, serving, conservation, and storage of food; selection, care, and reconstruction of clothing; care and guidance of children; selection and care of the house, its furnishings, and equipment; maintenance of health and home safety; consumer responsibility and relationships; home care of the sick and first aid; and selection and provision for education and recreational experiences for family members.

Other important services were provided by the school through the visiting teachers, the adult education courses, the guidance service, the audiovisual program, and the library.

Among the more recent efforts to improve the educational work of the second units mention must be made of a pilot project started several years ago with the purpose of increasing the level of participation of farmers, housewives, students, teachers, school supervisors and administrators, and representatives of other Government agencies in the solution of common problems. One major aim was to emphasize direct social action under school leadership. Another aim was to test

methods of encouraging and guiding the community to act as a whole with regard to their problems. All efforts are focused on developing the cooperation of the people and agencies through their recognition or awareness of the problems and the need for better organization in their solution. Thus the project is based on the assumption that there are potentialities in the people of a community that, if intelligently directed, will enrich their conditions of life.

Through the organization of coordinating councils and committees, a sizable proportion of the people involved have been trained in the cooperative identification of problems and larger community needs, the establishment of goals, determination of means to attain such goals, the allocation of functions and responsibilities, and the evaluation of results.

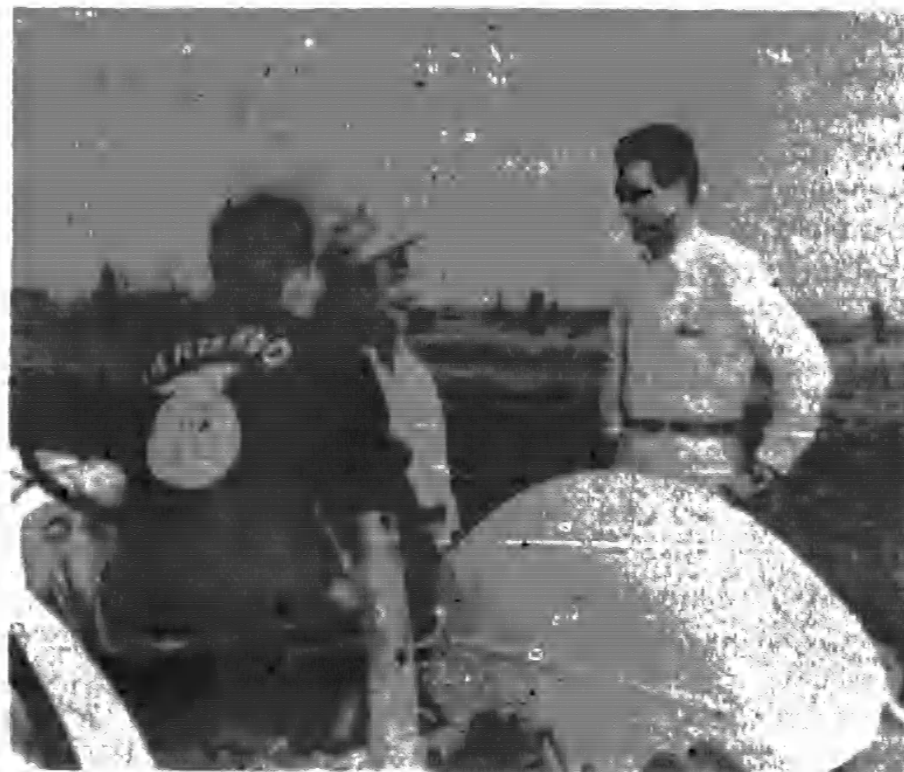
It was decided that the program of the second unit should cover two forms of educational activity, namely: (1) The mastery of fundamental knowledge, skills, understandings, and habits; and (2) direct social action for the improvement of community living.

Among the main concerns of the whole project were the ways and means of relating classroom instruction with direct social action. Accordingly, a considerable amount of thought and energy were devoted to the method by which the participation of parents was to be attained. At the same time efforts were directed to develop an awareness of community problems among all the students. It was decided that all activities should center around the following life areas:

1. Health improvement;
2. Mastery of problem-solving and communication skills;
3. Improvement of creative and esthetic expression;
4. Encouragement of economic efficiency;
5. Development of social effectiveness; and
6. Development of spiritual and ethical values.

As can be seen, these life areas comprised the main objectives toward which all efforts were directed. Specific purposes were set in relation to each one of the areas. For example, the improvement of health conditions was to be attained through emphasis on the following items: an adequate family diet, prevention of diseases, adequate housing facilities, proper clothing, attention to home and school surroundings, betterment of the water supply, use of public health services, accident prevention, personal hygiene, care of the sick, adequate interpersonal relations for fostering mental health, etc.

In each community a central coordinating council was organized. It was composed of the school principal, the teachers, representatives of the students, and representatives from the community and other Government agencies. A number of subcommittees were organized with specific responsibilities.



Agriculture Teacher Helps Father and Son in Using Mechanized Equipment

In one of the second units the students decided to find out whether uncinariasis was a prevalent disease in the community. After proper examination and after discussion and analysis of results, it was decided that the problem existed and demanded attention from the whole school and the community. In order to help understand the problem and organize action, films on the disease were exhibited to the parents and students; printed material was distributed; and a census of privies was conducted. With the help of this information and the awareness thus created, practical action was facilitated.

In another of the second units the Committee on Family Living awakened the interest of a group of mothers in the improvement of their home management. They held a number of meetings to discuss their needs and determine action. This resulted in a number of improvements of the homes represented. Some housewives learned how to make their own clothing; others were trained in food conservation and canning; and the majority learned economical ways of improving the appearance of their homes.

In another school the students decided to organize a committee to study ways of improving the recreational facilities of the community. The committee included students, parents, and teachers.

Among the first activities carried out was a study of the recreational preferences among all the people concerned. One of the results was

the organization of a community recreational center located at the school. They acquired a record player and folk dancing was soon started. Two of the teachers received training in dancing on Saturday at the University of Puerto Rico so as to be able to help others. Table tennis was also introduced and films were exhibited every week. In addition, basketball and volley ball playing were made possible through the cooperative efforts of students and a number of parents.

Although the effectiveness of this new approach has already been ascertained, its extension to a considerable number of second units has been limited by the lack of qualified and well-trained personnel. Furthermore, the turnover among teachers and principals and the increasing exodus of the rural population have added complicating elements.

In summary, we may say that the effectiveness of the rural second unit schools is measured by the noticeable improvement of the communities where they have been established. This progress has been both social and economic. The second units have opened new avenues for the uplift of the people in their neighborhoods. The small, unambitious one-room rural school, devoted exclusively to teaching literacy has been replaced by a community school that offers a substantial number of services and encourages and directs the *jíbaro* (peasant) to make use of available resources to improve his way of living. Thus, the work of the second unit offers regular academic schooling and at the same time provides ways to improve farming methods, homelife activities and relationships, recreational activities, and other important life areas.

Enrollment in the Public Schools of Puerto Rico, 1954–55

Educational level	Urban	Rural	Total
Senior high	39, 474		39, 474
Urban junior high school	64, 148		64, 148
Rural second unit		23, 377	23, 377
Elementary	174, 552	227, 675	402, 227
Total	278, 174	251, 052	529, 226

In general, these schools fulfill to a considérable extent the criteria [4] by which a community school is generally appraised: (*a*) They educate youth by and for participation in the full range of basic life activities; (*b*) they seek increasingly to democratize life in school and outside; (*c*) they function as community centers for youth and adult groups; (*d*) they actively cooperate with other social agencies and groups in improving community life; and (*e*) they use community resources in all aspects of their program.

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[4] Lloyd Allen Cook and Edward G. Olsen. School and Community. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, p. 1078

The Community School in a Great Metropolis

By Leonard Covello

Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School and James Otis Junior High School New York, N. Y.

Simon Beagle

School-Community Coordinator, James Otis Junior High School, 1947–53 New York, N. Y.

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL is located on the upper east end of Manhattan Island in New York City. It forms an integral part of the Harlem area (community) known as East Harlem. The school building is located in the heart of what was, until recently, the largest concentration of Italo-Americans in New York City (approximately 90,000). Adjoining the Italo-American community is a rapidly expanding Puerto Rican community known as Spanish Harlem, identifying this community as the largest grouping of Puerto Rican Americans in New York City (approximately 60,000). To the West of these communities is the great Negro metropolis of the western world with approximately 300,000 Negroes. Intermingled with these three predominant ethnic groups are small ethnic islands, the vestiges of older stocks, who lived in the East Harlem community even before the arrival of Italian immigrants at the beginning of the century and; more recently, of other immigrants from Europe and elsewhere. A recent census of our student body indicates more than 30 different racial and national origins. This fact has been characteristic of Franklin during the 22 years of its existence.

In recent years the Harlem community has experienced tremendous population shifts. A Jewish population of 178,000 in 1920 has practically vanished. The pioneer Italian community is rapidly disappearing as the second- and third-generation Italians seek homes in other parts of New York City or in the suburbs, or move to other parts of the United States. The low-rent housing development in East Harlem, which began in 1938, has intensified thb mobility of the population to the point where by 1958 approximately 54,795 people will

occupy these new homes. It is a community constantly on the move, substantially a migrant community. Like other Americans, these new people are constantly seeking avenues to improve their economic and social status. Once that is achieved, the urge to find better quarters results in an outward movement—rapid concentration followed by equally rapid dispersion.

The East Harlem Community has been and still is afflicted with many critical social problems characteristic of blighted or slum areas:

1. Totally inadequate housing: old-law tenements, shortage, congestion, unhealthy living conditions.

2. Lack of normal recreational outlets for children, young adults, and older people.

3. Low economic levels: "the last to be hired and the first to be fired"; in addition to job discrimination, seasonal work, and working mothers.

4. Bilingualism: Language problems characteristic of immigrant communities, requiring many difficult adjustments in the home and the school.

5. Second generation problems involving parent-child conflicts.

6. Juvenile delinquency caused basically by cultural differences and conflicts in the home with the consequent gradual elimination of family social controls.

7. A stigma of inferiority fastened upon this whole community by unwise and exaggerated publicity, affecting adversely the prestige of the community and engendering the feeling that social, economic, and racial equality are high-sounding words with little substance.

The impact of these adverse social factors and confusing social situations is heavy, particularly upon the young people. There is no doubt that the situation is extremely difficult, but it is far from hopeless. There are latent capacities, undiscovered, undeveloped, and unrecognized sources of strength in our community, which can and should be utilized. The gradual rehabilitation of communities like East Harlem can be realized when the school—the one American institution which cuts across political, religious, national, racial, and cultural lines—realizes its real and necessary function as a *social institution* and assumes its responsibility for *social education*. The American public school occupies a strategic position in the life of our community. We, who have lived and worked in it for many years could, with the necessary financial support and with increased and adequately trained teachers, grapple with some measure of success, with the many unsolved problems that press so heavily and so insistently upon all our people—particularly our children and our youth. Such magnificent educational (life) goals as "education for citizenship" and "education for social competence" have never been fully realized. These goals could gradually become realities once the necessary resources in personnel and materials are made available.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

Throughout the United States there is an increasing concern regarding the kind of education our children are receiving in our schools. We are concerned about their acquisition of the basic tools of learning—the fundamentals—reading, writing, and arithmetic. We are concerned about their knowledge and understanding of American history and the basic elements of our American culture, as well as their awareness of what is transpiring in other parts of the world. We are concerned about their moral and spiritual development. We are concerned about their civic education—about their ability to function as citizens in our American democracy.

There is not the least doubt that we should be deeply concerned about all these aspects of the education of our children.

Education, in its broadest scope, is a social enterprise which demands for its achievement a general mobilization of the energy, intelligence, idealism, and courage of the entire community. The school can play a major role in this enterprise. It can become and should become the center of the educational, civic, and social activities of the community. It is a unique social agency because it occupies a strategic position in the life of the community.

Education can and must become a social process through which our children will understand the problems and perils that face our American democracy and, concurrently, learn how to grapple with them intelligently, effectively, and without fear or cynicism.

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOL IN THE LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY

1. The School as Explorer of Community Social Background

Before the Benjamin Franklin High School was organized in the spring of 1934, a complete sociological survey had been made of the East Harlem community through the Boy's Club Study sponsored by New York University and conducted under the direction of Prof. F. M. Thrasher of that institution. We have tried, in the intervening years, to add significant data, adhering to the cardinal rule of the community-centered school: "*Know Thy Community.*" In these surveys the school received valuable aid from other local and city agencies. The type of inquiry undertaken may be understood from the following list of special studies:

(*a*) Racial and Nationality Origins of Benjamin Franklin High School Students.

(*b*) Housing Conditions in East Harlem.

(c) Land Values in East Harlem—to secure sites for new housing, our new school, and a city hospital on the East River Drive along the East River front

(d) Home Background of the Benjamin Franklin High School Student

(e) Delinquency Records

(f) Student Attitudes:
 (1) Reaction to marks
 (2) Teacher appraisals by students
 (3) Music preferences.

(g) Racial attitudes in the student body

(h) Population studies

(i) Economic Levels in the Community, Economic Conditions in the Families of Benjamin Franklin High School Students.

(j) Distribution of Benjamin Franklin High School Students in East Harlem and Other City Areas

(k) "Dropouts."

The "Dropouts" are the boys who have had to leave school for one reason or another. We decided to find out why they had dropped out of school. Contacts were made with the "Dropouts" through separate interviews with each boy and with his parents. To secure the information from the parents, a home visit was made. The questionnaires were then analyzed and the answers studied. Each boy was asked to write out a statement on what he had liked most about the school and what he had *disliked* most. We were, in other words, *studying ourselves* to see wherein we might have, in some way, failed our boys.

Valuable data were also secured in the following manner:

(a) Interviews with students.
(b) Interviews with parents.
(c) Interviews with community leaders.
(d) Interviews with the rank and file of the people in our community.
(e) Questionnaires of various kinds on racial attitudes, housing and health conditions, leisure-time activities, etc.

2. *The School as the Guardian of the Prestige of the Community*

An example of how the school intervened when a whole segment of our people was attacked in the press will suffice to illustrate this point:

Some years ago a pamphlet was published branding Puerto Rican children as mentally inferior to other children. An article in a national magazine made a scurrilous attack against the same people, implying their cultural and moral inferiority. "Welcome Paupers and Crime—Puerto Rico's Shocking Gift to the United States."

There naturally was great indignation in the Puerto Rican community and throughout the Spanish press of the city. Our Puerto Rican students, as well as members of the Puerto Rican community,

brought the matter to our attention. Was it the school's business to do something about it? Emphatically it was, for a situation which brought one of our cultural groups into ill repute touched upon the very foundation of our education for wholesome intercultural relationships, which is part and parcel of our program of encouraging our boys, especially our Puerto Rican boys, to grow into desirable American citizens. Therefore, not only as a gesture of friendship toward this particular group of our community, but also for the sake of the educational experience for our people, the school launched a campaign to counteract the attack brought against the Puerto Rican group and consequently against our Puerto Rican boys in the school. For our school it was a "must" because we knew that these people had limited resources for their defense and that they had a feeling of being abandoned and left to fight their battle in isolation. The school, therefore, helped them to organize mass meetings, devise methods of defense, and otherwise counteract these destructive attacks. In the school assemblies and in the classrooms, these unfortunate incidents were discussed and stress was laid upon the fact that such incidents are contrary to the traditions of America.

Results of this Project

What was achieved? It was questionable whether attitudes toward Puerto Ricans were very widely affected. But the school had reason to view the undertaking as a success since it had become part of a vital educational process for the community. In the first place, the "standing by" of the school increased its prestige in the community and thus assured for the future a greater measure of confidence in school-community relationships. In the second place, the Puerto Rican group was given recognition and its social standing was to some extent improved, at least within the community of East Harlem and within the school walls. The result was undoubtedly beneficial, leading as it did to a more wholesome adjustment and, we may say, integration, of this particular cultural group. Moreover, the whole process of stimulating the community, the entire procedure of organizing a project, the participation in a common cause of students and adults—Puerto Ricans and other groups—was a noteworthy experience for our people. When the people were given the responsibility for managing their own affairs and an opportunity to show their capacity for initiative and leadership in carrying out a social enterprise, they went through a process which could lead to only one result—experience in democratic living.

3. The School as:

(*a*) *Coordinator of Community Activities;* (*b*) *a Social Center;* (*c*) *a Socializing Agency; and* (*d*) *Community Leader.*—In order to bring about

effective cooperation between the various social agencies and the Benjamin Franklin High School, a Community Advisory Council was created in 1935—1 year after the school was organized. Representation on this Council included teachers and qualified students from the school, parents, social agencies, religious groups, civic groups, educational institutions, foreign language press and foreign language societies, business and professional groups, prominent citizens of the community, and municipal departments of the city.

Basic committees were created and new committees were formed as the need arose. The Community Advisory Council of the Benjamin Franklin High School met once a month, starting with a general meeting in the auditorium of the school, followed by committee meetings, and ending with reports of committees and a general evaluation of the work of the Council. A printed circular, indicating the committees in existence, their particular function, and the specific problem needing community action, was sent out before each meeting.

Listed below are the committees and their functions:

1. *Adult Education Parents' Association Committee*

   This Committee functioned for the purpose of providing adequate educational facilities for adults in the community. It also assisted the parents of our boys in determining the educational and social needs of their sons.

2. *Alumni Committee*

   This group was interested in the boys who had left school. It provided recreational and educational programs for them, and advised them about their problems. It sought to maintain constant contact with them and drew them into the school-community program of the school.

3. *Citizenship-Naturalization Committee*

   This group contacted those people—parents and others who were not citizens—who wished to secure naturalization papers. It endeavored to help them to become interested in the nation of which they were a part. The committee also worked for the welfare of the foreign-born and aliens in our community, cooperating with other agencies in this field.

4. *Curriculum Reconstruction and Scholarship Committee*

   This committee studied the problems of curriculum reconstruction as they affected the boys of our school and of our community. It also determined the bases for recognizing scholarship and developed plans leading to improved scholarship.

5. *East Harlem News Committee*

   This committee was entrusted with the important job of publishing a monthly local community newspaper in English, Italian, and Spanish. Its purposes were to disseminate information in East Harlem; to organize and direct public opinion for community betterment and the activity to attain it; to focus attention at specific times on specific problems and

needs in the community; and to assist in conducting specific campaigns to work out solutions. The work of our community committees was given particular attention.

6. Film-Radio Committee

This committee discovered what films and radio programs were available in the educational field for use in the school. It concerned itself with the following:

(a) Discrimination and critical view of films.

(b) Interrelation of subjects through films.

(c) Discovery of films and radio programs available for use in the schools.

(d) Making students aware of current affairs, with particular reference to the United States.

7. Good Form Committee

The work of this committee was directed toward improving the appearance of the boys with regard to their clothing, cleanliness, neatness, and courtesy.

8. Health Committee

This committee was charged with the responsibility for making our boys and the community at large intelligently conscious of the problems that affect their physical welfare. The committee cooperated closely with the health agencies of the community in connection with campaigns for the eradication of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, cancer, and infant mortality.

9. Housing Committee

The members of this group tried to improve the housing conditions within the community. They worked for the establishment of slum clearance and housing projects which would benefit members of the community. The committee cooperated with the East River Houses, a low-rent housing unit for 1,200 families on East River Drive.

10. Juvenile Aid Committee

The purpose of this committee was to develop pupil participation, responsibility, and leaders able to cope with difficult problems. It tried to solve some of our vexing behavior problems through its interest in juvenile delinquency prevention.

11. Lunchroom Committee

This committee made recommendations concerning prices and foodstuffs in our lunchroom and on the general management of the business. It worked to make the lunchroom more attractive.

12. Racial Cooperation and Peace Education Committee

The members of this committee worked together to help create understanding and tolerance within our school and within our community. The committee sponsored the intercultural education program of the school.

13. Refugee-Foreign-Born Students Committee

The members of this committee helped refugees and foreign-born students to adjust themselves to their new environment.

14. Social Affairs Committee

This committee planned social functions for both the school and the community.

15. Social Welfare and Student Aid Committee

This committee helped boys and their families who were in need of aid, such as clothing, food, and other welfare exigencies. The performance of the duties of this committee required the cooperation of men and women who were sympathetic to the needs of the underprivileged.

16. Speakers' Committee

This committee provided speakers for meetings of clubs, foreign-language societies, young peoples' groups, and other civic, social, and religious organisations at whose meetings the work of our school and the needs of the community were discussed.

4. **The Role of the Principal:** *The pioneer in introducing the community approach.*—The key figure in the development of the community school is the principal. He carries a variety of responsibilities for the long-range enactment of the community program. He must define the meaning of the community school theme. In a discussion of the rôle of the community school issued in 1938 the principal of Benjamin Franklin High School, Dr. Leonard Covello, gave this definition of the function of the Community School:

> * * * the school must necessarily become the center of community life in its own neighborhood, a clearinghouse, if you will, for all neighborhood ideas, programs, and enthusiasms. It must aid in correlating these according to an effective plan through which the well-being of the community as a whole may be forwarded and insured. It must establish intimate contacts with the children, the adults, the homes, the welfare organizations, and even the business interests of the community. The range of such activities comprises the background of the educational processes within the school itself. The really successful school, therefore, cannot function as a detached organisation concerned only with the imparting of a certain amount of book knowledge to a fluctuating number of pupils during a specified number of hours daily through a limited period each year. * * * Rather the school must make a break with the formalism and pattern of the past, sacrificing nothing of the essential integrity of an intelligently planned educational program along intellectual lines, but amplifying its program to meet the larger demands of community and Nation.

The primary impetus for the original planning of a community program must come from the school principal. If a break with a traditional pattern is to be made, the principal is the person with the power and influence to make it; and if a faculty or community needs an education in the philosophy of the community school, the principal is the figure with the abilities and prestige to give it.

Some of the principal's leadership functions may be detailed as follows:

a. Role as organizer of school-community activity program. The Principal and his Executive Cabinet must develop an organ-

ization plan for the liberation of faculty and student energies for an effective community activity program. Arrangements must be made for the allotment of time for activity both during and after school hours and for the division of interests and efforts among various school and community agencies. An administrative arrangement must be devised to give the teacher-adviser of the community program sufficient time to develop the program. In a practical sense, this involves the teacher's removal from a full teaching program and the allotment of a block of time to this teacher in the day's program that will enable him to carry on the community work. In the experience of the schools engaged in a full community program, success has been achieved where the teacher-leader has been assigned to one period of teaching and a four-period community activity program.

b. Role as selector of key personnel

The principal will recognize the social and community interests expressed by the different faculty members and will be alert to select capable teachers to implement the community program. The teacher-leader of the program will turn constantly to the principal for guidance in overcoming problems and for support in meeting the financial and administrative demands of the program.

c. Role as community coordinator

Through a continuity of professional and personal contacts established over the years of service in the community, the principal is uniquely equipped to act as the community coordinator. In this capacity he is able to draw together into common effort the leaders of social agencies, governmental bodies, church organizations, and other groups who share a common interest in attacking major community problems. Furthermore, his continuity of leadership enables him to draw upon the resources of people in the community who are unaware of their own abilities and uncertain of the proper means of expression but who, through encouragement and direction, will rise to an acceptance of responsibility.

d. Role as historian of the community program

The principal possesses a system of recordkeeping and can direct his secretarial staff in the important mechanical task of keeping files and records of the materials gathered in surveys and studies so that a history of past efforts can be used to guide the activity of the present. Movements of the population, trends in housing, school population, and other community changes can be measured and evaluated through the examination of the fund of past and present materials organized by the office of the principal. Of even greater importance than the collection of significant data is the accumulated experience whereby the principal can apply the lessons of past successes and failures of project activity to the difficulties of the present.

5. *The School as a Stimulus to Community Action*

An extremely important basic and cardinal principle of the community school is to "learn by doing." It is, of course, important to understand social facts and to discuss and analyze community problems. Under the guidance of well-informed and skillful teachers, a high-school student can acquire much information and valuable insights into the many social problems that beset us. But this savors too much of the armchair approach. Real effective education, training in assuming the responsibilities of American citizenship, and the acquisition of social competence occur when the attempt is made to seek possible solutions to community problems through school-community action. The student becomes an active and willing participant in each enterprise. The high-school student craves recognition, enjoys responsibility, and, working with adults, can carry out assignments effectively. Through this process, he develops leadership qualities which will be of inestimable value when he takes his place as an adult in his community. These qualities do not emerge suddenly—full blown. They are a matter of gradual growth. Under present conditions the idealism and enthusiasm of youth, the urge to give of himself in worthy enterprises, is given little opportunity for expression, if not altogether stifled. We think and speak of youth as "high-school children"—a term that is hardly appropriate or descriptive to those of us who saw them in action during the First and Second World Wars and in Korea.

The school-community projects that were undertaken during the 22 years of the school's existence had fundamentally a double purpose. The first of these was to have the community face the problems which confronted it; to realize that through cooperation and continuing effort community living could be improved; to understand that the basic social unit of American democracy was the community; and that our East Harlem not only had to rely mainly upon its own resources to achieve a better life, but that it had many resources and strengths that we could call upon to achieve worthy social goals.

In the second place, that the social experience gained by our students in working on real problems with local and city agencies, with community leaders, with people of different racial and national origins and diverse languages and cultures was, to us as educators of youth, more important than the success of the social project undertaken.

The ideas for these projects came from various sources. The establishment of "street units"—utilizing vacant stores in the immediate vicinity of the school as a library center, as an alumni club, as a community sociological research center, as a Friends and Neighbors

Club—came about as the result of a discussion in the Parent-Teacher Association of our school.

The school became involved in the opening of a Library Lounge in the local public library at the request of the head librarian.

The need for the social orientation of our rapidly growing Puerto Rican community induced the principal of the school to call together representatives of the Puerto Rican press and other Puerto Rican leaders for a series of 18 conferences in his office. At each conference, the chief of a City or State department explained the functions of his department. The Spanish press and radio reported the results of these conferences, urging the Spanish communities to utilize the services of these departments.

For 6 years a *Latin American Festival* was held in the school auditorium to which the leading Spanish artists in radio, television, the theater, and night clubs offered their talents without charge. The proceeds of these festivals went to the establishment of a school-community fund to be used for needy Puerto Rican students. The idea came from a Spanish columnist who had participated in our conferences.

Spanish-speaking students were requested by the local Health Center to interpret at the center, particularly during the annual tuberculosis campaign.

The school-community newspaper *The East Harlem News* was sponsored originally by the editorial staff of the *Franklin Almanac*, our student newspaper.

These are but a few samples of projects which the school undertook because an individual, a group, or an organization in our community believed they represented needs which could be met by school-community effort. The school encouraged and welcomed all ideas and suggestions. We felt that this was part of our responsibility.

6. *Introduction to Two Projects*

An analysis of two community projects conducted by Benjamin Franklin High School are offered in the following section of the article. These projects are significant because they illustrate the application of the principle of the community-school program to concrete social problems that have arisen in the neighborhood. A theoretical discussion of the ways and means of conducting a community school program would fail to give the interested teacher the practical demonstrations necessary for the implementation of the program. The two projects detailed in the article present a step-by-step story of the realistic problems encountered in the development of a program and the methods utilized to carry the program to a successful and meaningful completion. The whole story of each

project cannot be told in full detail because of space limitations, but it is felt that sufficient material has been included to illustrate how the school acts upon the principles of community education.

The projects are: (1) The Sanitation Campaign, and (2) the Carmine Luongo Playlot in East Harlem.

Project No. 1: Sanitation Campaign

Early in September at the beginning of the new school year, there appeared in the New York City newspapers a story, illustrated by photographs, of dirty streets and lots in East Harlem. Following the release of these pictures, at a meeting of the Civic Club of the school, the members, after a long and serious discussion, decided to accept the challenge to their community and to try to do something about the sanitation situation in East Harlem. The majority feeling expressed at this meeting was that the press was again "picking on us." The boys decided to go through the streets in their immediate neighborhood to see if conditions were as bad as they had been described in the newspapers.

At the next meeting of the Civic Club the majority opinion became what had been the minority viewpoint—most members agreed with the newspapers. After each boy described what he had seen on his tour, and told of conditions on his own block, one member said, "The truth is the truth, and instead of complaining about the press, we should see if we can do something to clean up our neighborhood." This was the problem that the Civic Club set out to solve.

The boys first discussed the problem of responsibility for the poor sanitary conditions. The duties of the tenants, the landlords, the janitors, the storekeepers, the Department of Sanitation, and the children were explored. To obtain information from the Department of Sanitation and to get the benefit of schoolwide opinion, a forum was planned for the weekly school assembly. The Educational Director of the Department of Sanitation and the Secretary of the East Harlem District Health Committee were invited to act as forum consultants. The topic for discussion at this school assembly was, "How Can We Keep East Harlem Clean?" A lively discussion took place and the Civic Club used this forum as an opportunity to interest the entire student body in its project.

One of the results of the discussion was that 20 boys joined the Cafeteria Squad as a Sanitation Division to get student cooperation in keeping the cafeteria clean.

A few days later the Secretary of the East Harlem Health Committee invited the Civic Club to attend a special evening meeting of the East Harlem District Health Committee to discuss the Civic Club's project and to plan cooperative action. In preparation for the meeting, the Civic Club drew up a program of action which they

formally presented to the meeting of the adult group for discussion and adoption.

The program included:

1. A conference of all concerned in this campaign: students, parents, tenants, landlords, Police Department, Sanitation Department, Fire Department, Health Department, interested merchants.

2. The use of a sound truck to tour the neighborhood with live speakers and printed material; also a recording of a transcribed speech by the Mayor of New York City.

3. A trailer in the local movie houses.

4. A cleanup of one or two lots and the distribution of a specially written appeal to tenants living in the immediate area to keep the lot clean.

5. A leaflet issued by the Committee for distribution in the immediate neighborhood of the school.

6. An original play by the Civic Club to be presented to the school and to parent groups.

7. Special school assemblies and class discussions.

8. A parade through the neighborhood.

9. A mass meeting in the school auditorium with speeches, entertainment, movies, etc.

Shortly after this meeting the President of the Sanitation Subcommittee and the Executive Secretary met with the Executive Board of the Civic Club and the Principal of the school to plan the implementation of the program suggested by the Civic Club. Plans were specifically made for a fact-finding conference of tenants, janitors, landlords, storekeepers, parents, and students to get a complete picture as seen by all the groups intimately concerned with the problem of improving the sanitary conditions in East Harlem.

As the boys began to carry out their plans, the Educational Director of the Department of Sanitation provided materials and guidance. She supplied 5,000 leaflets and posters which the students distributed to the people of East Harlem. The president of the Civic Club kept her informed of the progress of the campaign.

All these activities had stirred up such interest that the *Daily News*, a leading New York City newspaper, agreed to award prizes to the winners of a cleanup contest in a six-block area. The Outdoor Cleanliness Association of the city and leading Sanitary Engineers from Columbia and New York Universities would be the judges. The boys again readily agreed to sponsor the cleanup contest. They met to discuss their ideas and plans and presented such plans at a meeting with representatives of the Department of Sanitation and a staff writer for the *Daily News*.

The school-community student groups held their planned schoolwide parade as a prelude to the contest which was to start in a few days.

In preparation for the parade, the Civic Club, together with the special leadership classes in Franklin and Otis Junior High School, the General Organization and the School Community Committees, carried out the following activities:

1. They contacted the East Harlem District Health Committee for cooperation. The Committee decided that it would devote its energies to a Fact-Finding Conference.

2. They contacted the Department of Sanitation and the Police Department. The Department of Sanitation promised a 50-piece band and pieces of new equipment. The Police Department promised protection and guidance along the line of march.

3. The Department of Sanitation printed 5,000 copies of a leaflet written by the Civic Club for distribution along the line of march.

4. The Civic Club distributed 5,000 special leaflets announcing the parade and its efforts to help the schools and the community to improve sanitation in East Harlem.

5. Announcements were made over the public address system to all classes each morning of the week of the parade.

6. Announcements were made in all school assemblies.

7. The Art Department and the Shop Department cooperated with the Civic Club and prepared 70 placards.

8. The Science and the Social Science Departments prepared a special lesson plan on "Sanitation in East Harlem," containing specific material on our neighborhood. This lesson was taught by all teachers to all classes the day of the parade. Each teacher emphasized the magnitude of the problem, the need for the clean-up campaign being conducted through the initiative of the Civic Club and the cooperation of the school, and the necessity for cooperation on a community-wide basis.

9. The Photographic Department of the school made plans to take a movie of the parade and to take interesting "stills" for use with school, parent, and community groups.

10. Leading civic, political, and educational leaders of the community were asked to act as marshals of the parade. The Deputy Mayor, the Commissioner of Sanitation, and the local State Senator, among others, marched at the head of the parade.

In preparation for and during the cleanup contest, the above-mentioned groups planned and carried through the following activities:

1. They chose adult and youth block-captains in the six-block area of the contest.

2. They distributed about 20,000 pieces of literature, some in Spanish, Italian, and English, to the inhabitants. This material was distributed with the aid of the students of the local public and parochial schools.

3. They placed 400 specially printed posters in the stores and hallways. These posters were printed free of charge by the owner of the Empire State Poster Co. He offered these posters as his contribution to the campaign.

4. Five meetings of the boys living in the six-block area for the project were held to plan, execute, and evaluate every step in the campaign.

5. A meeting of the parents in the area led to plans to urge an amendment of the City Sanitary Code and to petition the Department of Sanitation for daily, scheduled garbage pickups, including Sundays and holidays.

6. A Community-School Conference was held to plan all-inclusive cooperation and to involve the leaders of the community in the cleanup campaign, of which the contest was only one phase. At this conference, the following, among others, were present: The local Congressman, the local State Senator, representatives of the Department of Sanitation, representatives of the Health Department, the local citizens Sanitation Committee, religious leaders of four denominations, representatives of the community division of the Board of Education, principals of local public schools, Civic Club members.

This conference decided to support a campaign to amend the City Sanitary Code; to make a survey regarding the needs as seen by janitors, storekeepers, landlords, and tenants; and to request of the Department of Sanitation daily scheduled garbage pickups, including Sundays and holidays.

The Civic Club drew up a simple questionnaire, 3,000 of which were distributed. Again the local parochial and public schools helped.

The leader of the Civic Club made a transcription of an appeal to the people in the community and the New York City sound truck broadcast this appeal throughout the neighborhood. Similar appeals by the Mayor and the Sanitation Commissioner were broadcast on other days.

Trailers, made by the Department of Sanitation, were shown in local movies.

The Civic Club sent letters to each of the religious leaders in the community and urged them to talk to their parishioners on sanitation, suggesting as a theme, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." Many of the religious leaders did so, as reported by the students who attended the various churches.

Civic Club members participated in the Fact-Finding Conference and found that what was stated at this conference was in essential agreement with their own findings.

Another conference was called of community leaders and students to evaluate the contest and to plan further action. This conference voted to call another meeting to which representatives of the city departments most concerned with the problem of sanitation would be invited.

The school and community groups called another meeting of civic-community-school leaders to which the following departmental heads were invited: The Police Department, Fire Department, Health Department, Sanitation Department, and the Housing and Buildings Department. All sent official representatives. This conference organized a subcommittee to prepare amendments to the city sanitary

code and selected from its ranks a Continuation Committee to meet with the subcommittee and make such recommendations as it might see fit.

A meeting of the subcommittee was held and a report was made at the meeting of the Continuation Committee. It was decided to write to the Health Commissioner asking him to consider the need for the amendment to the city sanitary code. It was also voted to write to the Mayor asking him to support a campaign to get more funds for the Department of Sanitation so that it could give improved service to the people.

During the campaign, members of the Otis Civic Club appeared before school groups. They also participated in radio forums (WMCA, Du Mont Television, WNEW). They participated in discussions held in the Board of Education Civic Club Headquarters, and attended interviews with prominent people, arranged by central Civic Club Headquarters. They also, in order to get firsthand information, visited the city's disposal plant on Welfare Island. At its last meeting, before it began to plan its end-term party, the Otis Civic Club evaluated its campaign and voted to continue the project for at least another term. The play was finished and presented to the student assembly and the Parent-Teachers Association. All groups who participated were invited to the event. The various City Commissioners and the representatives of the *Daily News* were the invited guests. The Sanitation trailer and the movie of the parade were included on this program.

The problem of sanitation and particularly of garbage disposal in a congested and blighted area of a great metropolis has challenged the wisest of our city administrators. It is an unsolved problem; but an important step in the right direction was taken through this Sanitation Campaign. The Commissioner of the Department of Health effected a change in the City Sanitary Code making it mandatory upon landlords to provide a specified number of garbage cans per tenant for a specified period of time. The Sanitation Commissioner arranged for a definite time for the collection of garbage by the Sanitation trucks. This Sanitation campaign, by being featured and dramatized in the *Daily News*, attracted citywide attention to the problem.

Other major New York Dailies, such as the *New York Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times*, considered the project important enough to give it adequate space. The result was that other communities attempted to grapple with similar problems.

In our opinion, however, the most important result was the experience gained by our boys in the planning and execution of a community project which daily affected their lives and the lives of their families

and neighbors. They learned that changes in laws cannot be wrought overnight; that the heads of city departments are limited in action by the amount of money that is available; and that their principal and teachers, their parents and religious leaders, together with community agencies, are anxious to plan and work with them in and out of school; that all concerned are willing and ready to have them assume responsibility. Thus, they discovered that within proper and reasonable limitations, they have an important role to play as junior citizens; that they, too, have a job to do in making democracy work.

Project No. 2: Carmine Luongo Playlot in East Harlem

Another vexing problem that faces underprivileged communities like East Harlem is the lack of sufficient play areas for children of elementary school age. It is true that recreational opportunities are available in afternoon play centers in some of the schools and in several community houses, but these are not enough to take care of about 30,000 children in this age group. Moreover, the distances that children have to go to reach these centers and the hazard of crossing heavily congested city streets often prove to be a deterrent to the children as well as to the mothers. During the play period the mothers want the children on the block where they and their neighbors can exercise some measure of control. Often in our surveys we discovered many empty lots created by the demolition of unsanitary and unsafe tenement houses. The debris left during demolition and the accumulation of garbage intensify the ugliness and drabness of our congested city streets. The teen-ager and the young adult find a haven in the numerous candy stores that dot the East Harlem neighborhood. In a survey made some years ago in our community we spotted on an outline map of East Harlem, 504 of these "social centers" in 160 of our city blocks.

The boys in our Civic Club were keenly aware of this situation. They wanted to do something about it—not merely for themselves but particularly for their younger brothers and sisters. Within a stone's throw of the school was one nice lot. In the course of discussing the problem of recreational space, the idea emerged that the Club, as an experiment and a demonstration, should undertake the task of cleaning up the lot and making it available to the children in the immediate vicinity. Further discussion brought out the fact that the creation of a play area from a dirty, abandoned lot was not a simple matter. The owner had to be discovered and consulted regarding his willingness to have it used for this purpose. The resources available

to the students were insufficient for cleaning up and carting away the debris. The lot had to be properly paved. Equipment had to be procured and recreational leaders had to be found who would direct and control the play activities. It was agreed that the total job would require assistance from local interested citizens and community leaders, and City Departments—Sanitation, Police, and the Borough President's office.

The first meeting of the Playlot Committee, held in the Principal's office, brought an immediate and enthusiastic response from community leaders and civic and social organizations. The plan was fully discussed, the necessary steps were outlined, and the various committees were created to carry out the project. It was agreed that the students were to carry the major burden of the project. The adult members were to act mainly in an advisory capacity, to make the necessary contacts, and to pave the way. The owner of the lot was contacted and readily gave his consent. The Department of Sanitation, with whom the school had established friendly relations, agreed to move the garbage and debris which had accumulated there. The students worked enthusiastically with the sanitation men in removing the unsightly mess. The Deputy Commissioner of Public Works for Manhattan, an East Harlem leader, had the lot paved. The Sixth Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of the Juvenile Aid Bureau (J. A. B.) and the Police Athletic League (P. A. L.) entrusted the job of manning the playlot to a Franklin graduate who was in charge of personnel for the P. A. L. The P. A. L. assigned another Franklin graduate as director of the playlot. The Police Department donated an outdoor shower. The athletic and play equipment came as a donation from "We, the People" as a result of the appearance on their television program of the executive committee of the Civic Club, Mr. and Mrs. Luongo and their entire family of 16 children.

The Dedication ceremony was held in mid-July and attended by local and city notables, members of the local community, and the children who had already become familiar with the playlot. It was a notable community event.

Several days before the dedication of the playlot the following mimeographed invitation was distributed throughout the neighborhood:

Dear Friends and Neighbors:

Good News! A new play yard is opening in our neighborhood on Monday, July 18, at 2 p. m. We invite you to be with us at the opening.

The dirty, rubbish-filled lot at 411 East 115th Street has been cleaned up and paved. It has been equipped with showers and drains. It is now a safe place for children to play and cool off on hot summer days. All because we got together and cooperated like good friends and neighbors—the landlord,

the businessman, the plumber, the carpenter, the city departments, the schools, the churches

On Monday, July 18, at 2 p. m. we will celebrate. There will be songs, music, and folk dancing. Prominent speakers representing the city government and civic organizations will attend. Come and celebrate with us.

Cordially yours,

THE BOYS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL AND OTIS JR. HIGH SCHOOL CIVIC CLUB,
SIMON BEAGLE, *Teacher-Leader*,
LEONARD COVELLO, *Principal*

Cooperators

Carmine Luongo,
Nicholas Siviglia,
Board of Education, Borough President's Office,
Fire Department,
Health Department,
Housing and Buildings Dept.,
P. A. L.,
Sanitation Department,
Sachs Quality Stores,
WNYC,
Courtesy of Sachs Quality Stores

Results? An East Harlem Playlot Committee with local leaders, teachers, and students, was organized. The owner of another available lot was contacted and his consent for its use was obtained. The same procedures that had been used for the first lot were carried out, and another play area was made available to the children of East Harlem. In order to alert the community to what was going on and to get its cooperation in expanding the work of the Playlot Committee, a sound truck was loaned to the committee by Station WNYC. Students, teachers, and community leaders, spotted eight strategic street corners in the Italian and Spanish neighborhoods and brought the message to their East Harlem neighbors. We were well satisfied with the results for we had achieved what we felt should be one of the basic aims of education—improvement of community life, not merely through discussion but through a demonstration of school-community action. Other communities in other parts of the city initiated similar projects.

But this job cannot be done in this piecemeal fashion. It should be a matter of local and national policy to provide sufficient money to create many such play areas, particularly in our congested cities. The president of the General Organization of Franklin brought up the matter of increased budgets for recreational purposes at the budget hearing of the local Board of Education. But the local Board can only suggest and urge that necessary funds be provided for educational and recreational purposes. Final decisions are made by the Mayor, the Board of Estimate, and the City Council.

Recreational space, equipment, and personnel are city problems and the responsibility for their solution rests partially on these city agencies. The citizens, however, should assume the final responsibility, for that is basic to the democratic way of life.

We pay heavily for our apathy, indifference, and shortsightedness.

Community Play Yard Replaces Rubbish-Filled Lot

We pay heavily for erecting and maintaining jails and other custodial institutions. What is more tragic, we pay in the broken lives of thousands of our children, the great majority of whom have the potentialities of becoming good American citizens instead of delinquents, from whom the future criminals in our American Society are recruited. Land is valuable in our big cities, there is no doubt about that. But our values are grossly distorted when we deny and curtail our educational budgets to the detriment of our children.

II. Some Common Tasks

The Training of Leaders

Preparation of Materials

How Programs of Community Education Begin and Grow

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Teachers Learn To Use Audio-Visual Aid Equipment for Community Service

Community Schools of Taiwan—The Growth of an Idea

By

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TEH-HSING

It was celebration day, this 6th day of July 1954, in the little village of Teh-hsing. Men, women, and children were rushing to the area that served as the square of the village. A brightly burning bonfire illuminated the decorated doorways of the houses around the square. The village chief, standing before the fire, called his people to attention. He pointed to a big colored poster which told of the improvements in the village.

Cries went up as the people recalled their achievements. "We have electricity." "We have cleaner homes and streets." "We have drained the sewage." "We have a better village." The chief spoke, recounting the efforts and sacrifices on the part of the people. Finally, he turned to acknowledge the assistance from another source, the nearby middle school, a small group of whose faculty and students stood before him.

It had begun a few months before when this school, the Tung-shih Middle School located in nearby Put-se, had made a survey of the village and its needs. A meeting was called at the steps of the temple on the side of the square to discuss the results. The following facts were revealed:

There are 154 families in the village and the total population is 1,130; of these only 53 have graduated from elementary school and only 7 from the middle school. Surprisingly, for Taiwan has a high literacy rate, there are 606 illiterates. Most of the young people do not go to school because of low family income. Seventy percent of the villagers suffer from trachoma. The streets are so bad that when

it rains they become ditches, and in the dry season the dust is suffocating. At night, houses are dark for lack of electricity. Agricultural conditions are poor; only 10 percent of the land is irrigated; a good many did not know how to use chemical fertilizers.

There is no doubt that conditions in the village are unbearably bad. The village needs better education, higher literacy, better farming practices, improved sanitation, and electricity.

Several meetings were held with the hitherto dormant village council. Plans were proposed and discussed: "How can we improve the appearance of the community, the living conditions of the people? How can we increase production, secure electricity?" The result of the discussion was a schedule named "Operation Teh-hsing, 1954–55." Objectives were developed on a monthly basis. The school's program for the month of May, for example, read as follows:

> MAY: Open an adults' class in order to help the housewives beautify their homes.
>
> Give free trachoma treatment.
>
> Establish a social service center.
>
> Hold athletic games for villagers and school students.

The various projects were directed by a local council composed of the mayor of the township government, representatives of the villagers, school principals, representatives of the teachers, and students. The committee members were divided into several groups, each of which undertook to carry out a project. There was healthy competition among the project groups, which made every participant enjoy his task of helping improve village conditions. When expert assistance was needed, the committee availed itself of the advice and direction of government specialists and other resourceful persons.

Not all the problems of the village were solved in this year, of course. But with the school continuing a smaller measure of its assistance, the village is better able to see its own needs, and to solve its own problems. But why did the Tung-shih School do this? True, Teh-hsing is one of the villages served by the school—but such activities were unheard of before. The answer is that the Tung-shih School had acquired new insights into its responsibilities to the community. It had become one of the first of two experimental community schools in a new program in Taiwan.

Since the development is typical, in many respects, of the way the whole program has developed, let us follow the story of the Tung-shih School further.

BEGINNINGS

There may be argument as to just how the Community School movement in Taiwan, for movement it has become, actually started. In recent months it has become apparent to some that the idea is implicit in the earlier teachings of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and the later pronouncements on education made by President Chiang, himself. If this be so, it probably explains the readiness with which the idea was accepted when it was discussed in meetings of a Sino-American planning group, held in the Mutual Security Mission in late 1952 and early 1953. It was decided to try out the idea in a few places. A Chinese survey group composed of representatives of the Mission and of the Provincial Department of Education visited many localities on the island. It had previously been decided by the planning group that the experiment would begin in middle schools (high schools) because of their greater potentials for community service. Hence the survey team was hunting for schools with only two major qualifications: A competent and interested educational leadership; and location in a community which had demonstrated interest in and support for its school. This last requirement caused attention to be focused on county (*hsien*)-supported schools, rather than on the so-called "best" group of schools, supported by the provincial government, large, city-located, but generally devoid of an identifiable community which the school served.

Finally, the choice narrowed down to four—and then after a meeting of the planning group, to two: Tung-shih and Chu-tung.

Chu-tung, a small city near Hsin-chu, the sixth city of the island, is a tight-knit community of the Hakas (mainland Chinese from near Canton who came to Taiwan two to three hundred years ago, after the main wave of migration of Fukien Province Chinese). Its student body is derived about equally from urban and rural families. The principal of the school, later to become one of the first United States participants in this project, is himself a Haka, and a member of one of the two dominant families of the community. Principal Su is one of the wealthiest men in Chu-tung.

Tung-shih, on the other hand, is predominantly a farming area, although among the several localities which it serves (Teh-hsing is one) there is a fishing community of fair size. Besides farming and fishing, inhabitants work in the salt and sugar industries. A few are businessmen or professional people.

Discussions Gradually Gain Favor as Method of Classroom Teaching

In both communities, local interest in the school was strong. The Haka peoples characteristically have this interest; the Tung-shih parents demonstrated it even before the program began by building a fine, large auditorium for the school. Yes, the potentials for a good start were present. And these potentials must be present. For this is a new kind of program, which breaks with tradition at many points. It dare not fail in these first trial communities.

At the start, planning committees were formed in each community. At Tung-shih the membership consisted of the County Education Officer who served as chairman, the school principal, representatives of the faculty, and community leaders. The Chu-tung organization was similar. As other schools were added to the program in subsequent years, students were also included in these planning groups. The faculty went to work, also, to plan educational aspects of community improvements.

In these crucial early months, the schools should have been able to call upon outside assistance for protracted periods in getting the program established. But this was not and could not be forthcoming. The Chinese Ministry and Department of Education had no one versed in Community School ideas at that time, and the MSA Mission has never had a full-time United States technician working on the project. (However, at the date of this writing, late October 1955, the Mission is expecting a United States expert in this field to arrive in the next few weeks.) That the Community School idea has grown as it has attests to the virtues of the idea and the support that educational leaders, teachers, and community folk have given it. The growth also reflects the help rendered by the Chinese assistants who are co-authors of this article and two leading Philippine educators, Dr. José V. Aguilar and Isabelo Tupas, provided by the private-philanthropy Asia Foundation for a period of several months, the former in 1954, the latter currently here and assisting with this article

But to return to Tung-shih. As might have been expected, there was uncertainty and some confusion on how to proceed. Some persons expected to have the Ministry, or Department, hand down a new curriculum, all nicely worked out and labeled "Community School Syllabus." Under the circumstances there was a tendency to plan too ambitiously, to attempt too much. A report from the Tung-shih school, dated April 8, 1953, 5 months before the opening of school—carried reports from four groups: the main planning committee, teachers, villages served by the school, and the school's Parents Association. The planning group suggested the addition of a number of practical classes (or courses)—elementary teacher-training, agriculture, home economics, commercial subjects, aquatic production—and outlined additions to the faculty and new physical facilities that were needed. Ten special classrooms were seen as necessary, including two, quaintly designated in the school's English translation, as "Artistic Room" and "Laborious Factory."

The teachers' numerous proposals were grouped under five main heads: (1) General; (2) Expanding the Organization; (3) Improving Equipment; (4) Reforming Curriculum; and (5) Strengthening Social Service.

Some recommendations were overly ambitious; some, it must be admitted, reflected a human tendency to take advantage of what might, after all, be a good thing, i. e., United States aid. But other recommendations were sound, and indicative of a new conception of school-community relations (in the words of the school's English translation):

1. The curriculum for the pupils who want to go to work should be simplified and cut down from the lofty and far-reaching thought.

2. There should be a night school for the general public.

3. The school should improve the folk customs and carry on propaganda against superstition.

4. Drinking water of the village should be examined and improved.

During these early weeks of preplanning, Tung-shih teachers had visited nearby villages to learn new ideas. Thirty-four different suggestions, together with 8 statements on village problems, were reported, many repeating those appearing in the committee and teacher lists. They called for summer school, a branch school at the seacoast village, "sanitary troops" to give treatment for trachoma, and assistance in reducing lavish expenditures at weddings and funerals.

In contrast, the Parents' Association report presented a much more restricted list of ideas, 17 in all, with requests for commercial classes, increase in English teaching, better physical facilities. The parents, to judge from their list, are less concerned about the need for social service; and only one recommendation (help people become thrifty and less superstitious) was made. The report referred to canvassing pupils for their reactions but presented no report thereon.

Just before the close of the school year, both schools undertook surveys. Procedures were developed in classes, and students working with their parents at home obtained answers to items on a rather lengthy questionnaire. The collated results were reported in large charts which gave a picture of family size, community conditions, major problems, local resources, and suggestions for school services. These findings were presented to a large group of parents and other community folk in an evening meeting at the end of the school year. The findings gave direction to much of the work that was to begin in the fall.

THE TUNG-SHIH PROGRAM

In the 2 years of the program's operation many things have happened at Tung-shih. Some changes have been dramatic in their suddenness. Thus, the physical appearance of the school has been greatly improved—a change effected by local effort and student and faculty labor without the use of International Cooperation Administration funds. Regrettably, old teaching methods and academic course content have been slower to adjust to changing ideas. But let us look at some aspects of the program.

A. Community Service

1. Improvement of Community Sanitation

Municipal records show that the district of Tung-shih was once upon a time notorious for pestilence. The community school survey revealed many cases of trachoma, hair fleas, and other deplorable conditions.

In order to improve environmental sanitation, school students helped to treat trachoma and to eliminate hair fleas from the victims, helped to improve family kitchens, in a few instances installed new pumps for better drinking water, and induced families to dispose of garbage heaps in order to prevent the spread of communicable diseases.

2. Community Development

The story of the typical farming village Teh-hsing, which was used as a demonstration village for community development, has already been told in part. To this we may add that the school helped the villagers to help themselves in raising their living standards. The farmers were taught how to keep their houses clean and how to dig ditches for

Teachers and Students Survey Road and Help Farmers Dig Ditch for Sewage

draining sewage. They were assisted in the use of insecticides, shown how to make good compost to increase production at low cost, and how to organize cooperatives for marketing their produce and for other purposes. Electrification of the village was accomplished by getting a governmental grant with the assistance of the school.

Auxiliary business and homemaking courses for women have also been opened by the school in the village.

But not all is serious work. The school dramatics club and the band gave several performances in the village. In return, the village lion-dancing team performed at the school to express its gratitude for what had been done for the community.

B. 4-H Club

There are about 300 4-H Club members in the school, each of whom is given special training before undertaking 4-H activities. Technical assistance has been obtained from the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), and financial support from the local government.

In order to stimulate interest and cultivate the spirit of responsibility among the members, selected breeds of chickens, rabbits, pigeons, etc., are distributed. The members in turn are required to give the school one or two of the offspring for distribution to new members, but they are permitted to keep the rest as their profit. In this way poultry and livestock raising as an auxiliary business in the community is promoted. Students also carry on such projects as growing sweetpotatoes and other vegetables.

C. Practical Courses

Practical courses are quite neglected in most of the traditional middle schools on the island either because of too much stress on "promotionism," or lack of equipment, or a shortage of capable teachers. At Tung-shih the curriculum was reorganized to include more practical courses. Additional equipment was provided through United States aid and local contributions, and resource persons from the community helped the school in teaching these courses.

1. Agriculture

Because Tung-shih is a farming community, special attention has been paid to agricultural education. The 4-H work, already mentioned, is a part of this. Beautification of school grounds has also been made a part of this agricultural education, and more than 50 varieties of flowers and over 300 trees have been planted by students on the school property.

2. Industrial Arts

Woodworking, metalworking, bicycle repair, radio repair, and graphic arts are included in this category. The industrial arts class has produced many toolboxes, bookshelves, picture frames, letterboxes. Repairs have been made to school desks and chairs, as well as to students' bicycles and radios.

3. Commercial Subjects

With United States aid, the school was able to purchase the needed English and Chinese typewriters and calculators for the new courses in typing and bookkeeping. A store is operated by the students, which

gives them an opportunity to learn business practice by doing, and at the same time enables them to buy some of their daily necessities more cheaply and conveniently.

4. Home Economics

Dressmaking and cooking are considered to be indispensable accomplishments for a Chinese girl. The school has a well-equipped kitchen in which cooking is taught. Meals served at school parties are usually prepared by the girl students. With United States aid, sewing and knitting machines have been provided for a dressmaking room located in a small vocational building built with United States funds.

On February 4 this year, a big bazaar was held jointly with the local town government and the Farmers' Association. The school exhibited more than 2,500 dresses, hats, and other articles made by the students, and sales amounted to more than NT$4,000.

D. Academic Curriculum

It was recognized at the start that changes in traditional methods of teaching, and in course content, would take place more slowly. Many things stand in the way. For one thing, the parents, themselves, were apprehensive that the new program would reduce chances of the school's graduates entering college. Actually, at Tung-shih, they need not have worried too much. It had been some years since a single graduate had been able to pass the strict examinations which admit students to the island's colleges. At the end of the first year of the program, a few students overcame this hurdle. This, it must be admitted, is almost surely not attributable to the program, but it was appreciated nonetheless. Incidentally, a similar thing happened at Chu-tung.

Certain changes have already occurred. It was the students in a geography class, under the direction of a young native-born teacher, who made a survey of the Teh-hsing village. The results were used not only in the village, but as class instructional materials. The chemistry class helped the 4-H program by studying and preparing insecticides. There is some increase in the use of group discussions (in place of straight lecturing) and of audiovisual methods.

E. Financial Help From the Community

Most middle schools on the island, especially county middle schools, are badly in need of additional funds. Legally, the local community has no obligation to give financial support to the school. However, since the inception of community school education, local financial support has been forthcoming in increasing amounts. For example, during the last semester of 1954–55, the local Put-se town government contributed NT$50,000 for the construction of a house for 6 single teachers and 2 houses for teachers with a family. The Parents' Association donated about NT$40,000 for the construction of 3 iron gates, 12 bicycle sheds, 2 toilets, and the paving of the walks on the campus.

A public address system installed in the school was contributed by the local people. They also presented the school with microscopes for the agricultural classes. Appreciating the work of the school band, they contributed a number of musical instruments. In fact, taking the project as a whole, for every dollar of United States aid, the equivalent of about $3 of local support, not previously available, has been given.

OTHER SCHOOLS

The Tung-shih program may be considered typical of the programs in the 10 other community schools of the county. This does not mean that the community school is a stereotype. On the contrary, there is a variety of programs which have arisen from strictly local needs and problems, and in consonance with the nature and extent of community resources, the degree of community interest, and educational and lay leadership.

There are at present a total of 11 United States-assisted community pilot schools located in strategic areas where they may demonstrate and propagate the concept, program, organization, methods, and techniques of community school education. In pursuing this goal, these pilot schools have been located in communities differing as to rural or urban classification and with natural differences in population size, types of industries, local resources, and social structure.

Chu-tung, with many small industrial plants, emphasizes prevocational or industrial arts courses to meet the demands for semiskilled workers in the local factories and shops. Several graduates of 1954 and 1955 found immediate employment in the local cement factory, bus company, and glassmaking industry. The school also conducts night classes for local factory workers.

Among the schools added to the program in the fall of 1954, the Lu-kang School stands out prominently for its community service. It, like Tung-shih, "adopted" a nearby village for community improvement. Led by school teachers, the village committee, with the assistance of the village people, undertook to improve home sanitation. The local well was made sanitary and recreation in the form of folk dances, athletic games, and drama was provided by students. It was not long before the impact of the program changed the drab little village in which life was one of dreary drudgery to a cleaner, brighter, and more cheerful community.

In Lo-tung, there are several industries involving wire craft work. The community school council met with the teachers and decided to offer courses to provide training in this field. Now it has a busy school shop in which both students and parents are learning simple skills in wire craft.

At Fong-ling the school has become a community center for social, cultural, and recreational activities, open to out-of-school youth and adults alike.

It is Chi-san that rather unusually offers an elementary course in surveying. There is a local need for surveyors' helpers, because of the government's "land-to-the-tiller" program, and the school is trying to meet this need.

The rest of the community pilot schools are just beginning their work. Each is exploring its place in the community. Each differs from the others. There is tea-culture at Shih-kwan. In the aborigine school at Pei-yah, the culture of the honey bee has been introduced because of its income possibilities and to help improve the local diet. The Cho-lan Middle School is experimenting on a 4-year curriculum offering business, agriculture, and home economics. The courses are terminal, unlike the standard 3–3 middle school curriculum. Kaohsiung is a big bustling seaport with various industries. Consequently, the local community middle school will have a varied offering of practical courses.

Notwithstanding the variety of projects briefly described above, the total community school program finds unity under a general pattern consisting of (1) community service; (2) school as a community center; (3) prevocational courses or industrial arts; (4) curriculum improvement. All schools operate within this general framework but, as may be seen above, each school has specialties which reflect local demand.

There is another common denominator, i. e., school-community organization and relations. By the nature and purpose of the community school, the school and the community enter into partnership, each to serve the other. This partnership has evolved a local council, variously called a community school council, parents' council, or school committee. Obviously, the purpose of the council is to bring the school and the community close together, to make the school responsive to community needs and problems, and to make the community participate in planning community school projects or programs. It is equally obvious that in this scheme the people, as well as the teachers and the pupils, learn the processes of democracy as a way of life in their respective communities. Very often the question is asked: "How does the community school differ from the traditional school?" From the activities described above, it is possible to distinguish the community school from the traditional school which, in China, places extraordinary emphasis on book-learning. From the purpose, program, organization, methods and techniques of the community school, five criteria are recognized as characteristic of the community school:

(1) The curriculum of the community school is community-centered.

(2) The community school is vocation-centered.

(3) The community school serves as a community center.

(4) The community school renders community service.

(5) The community school accepts community counsel and receives a large measure of local support.

The foregoing criteria have a number of important corollaries, among which are: (1) The school is organized as a democratic community; (2) the school makes use of all available community resources; (3) the school educates both children and adults; (4) the community has an organization which enables it to participate effectively in planning programs for the school.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

The requirements of the community school demand that teachers acquire the following basic competencies:

1. The teacher should know the concept, purpose, and scope of community school education.
2. The teacher should understand the culture patterns of the community and the changing social structure.
3. The teacher should know school-community relations and their organization.
4. The teacher should know the areas of the community school program.
5. The teacher should know the need for a growing curriculum.
6. The teacher should know the newer teaching methods and how to use newer teaching aids.
7. The teacher should know the essential techniques and skills in community development.
8. The teacher should know how to teach adults as well as school children

In recognition of the above needs, a planning committee composed of representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Provincial Department of Education, and the Education Office of the ICA Mission, cooperated in conducting 3 summer sessions for teachers at the Taiwan Normal University in Taipei. Because the trainees had little or no background information on the community school, this first session consisted mainly of a series of orientation lectures. There was little opportunity for participants to discuss and clarify their ideas. In this respect, the second summer session was an improvement over the first, although it was unsatisfactory in certain other ways.

On the basis of previous experience and the teachers' expressed needs, as ascertained from questionnaire returns, the 1955 session was converted to a workshop. The idea of a workshop was new and it was necessary to train participants in the group process. In accordance with the different teaching backgrounds of the 42 teachers in attendance, they were divided into 7 working groups. The workshop undertook the study of curriculum improvement in the community school, the study of teaching materials and methods, and the organization and operation of the community school. The workshop included the following major activities: general orientation, lectures on community school

Local Cement Factory Cooperates in Training Future Employees

problems, group work and discussion, plenary session, teaching demonstration, presentation of reports, and a final evaluation of the session by a participant committee. In addition to these activities, there was a field trip to a nearby school, and a community survey. The visitors met with the local people and learned from them about the community problems. These were taken back to the workshop for study and discussion.

As a next step, in mid-October the supervisors from the Department of Education were brought together for necessary orientation. In this conference the following plan was approved:

1. A team of supervisors will be organized to undertake the supervision and direction of some phase of the work of the community school.

2. The program for the year will be defined and distributed to all the schools.

3. A regular publication will be issued to inform the supervisory team of community school development and to answer questions on the subject.

4. A committee of supervisors, school principals, and teachers will be organized to study the curriculum of the various community schools with reference to the concept and purpose of community school education.

This series of meetings constituted the initial stage of inservice training. Followup work will be carried on and meetings will be held in individual schools for the benefit of local teachers and lay groups. With the experience of the last 3 years, it is felt that a sound foundation of teacher understanding and training for the community school has been laid.

These teachers should play leadership roles in promoting the community school idea and in building community relations with the people who support the schools. A long-range program has also been approved, which includes the establishment of a community school training center in the Taiwan Provincial Normal University and the inclusion of a course in the community school for elementary schools in all teacher-training institutions. In due time, lay leaders should participate more and more in the training program in order to further the community relations of the schools and to develop better understanding of the community school program.

SUMMARY: PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE GROWTH

Community school education was introduced on this island on an experimental basis in 1953. It has been allowed to develop and expand gradually in recognition of the fact that it involves "directed social change." The program, therefore, has taken into consideration the social organization of the community and the cultural patterns of the local society in introducing changes in the minds, attitudes, and life of the people through the instrumentality of the community school.

A community problem that was generally attacked was that of school graduate unemployment, an action which resulted in the introduction of practical courses. Since then, other programs have been developed until many areas of living have been involved: Industries, food production, health, sanitation and home beautification, citizenship, literacy, culture, and recreation. It will thus be seen that the community school not only attempts to improve the education of children and adults, but also to help raise the quality of living in the community.

The development indicated above has been on the secondary level. But since the community school idea should reach the masses, the program of community education has to be extended to the primary

schools. The first step in this direction was initiated by introducing the community school idea to teacher-education authorities and elementary school administrators and teachers. This was realized in September 1955, in two regional work conferences which developed a 3-day pattern of orientation, consisting of six lectures followed by discussion groups. The results were reported in a plenary session, and an evaluation of them was made. This pattern is intended to be duplicated in other regions for the purpose of stimulating interest in the community school movement.

Since trained teachers for the community school are a prerequisite for the expansion of the movement, two regional centers, one in the North, and another in the South, are contemplated with the collaboration of some elementary schools to serve as community school laboratories. The Education Materials Center in Taipei is included in this projected organi ation to provide motivation and direction in curriculum improvement and the preparation of local curriculum materials.

In a speech, "The Fulfillment of Educational Ideals, Introducing Community Education," the Minister of Education, Chang Chi-yun said:

> Our main task in the field of education * * * is to turn the schools into a pivotal force for the establishment of a new society and for the creation of a new China; to combine education with industry, school with society, learning with life, practice with work, employ nationalistic education, scientific education, vocational education as the four pillars for the erection of a new and perfect edifice. This new ideal in education is similar to the system of community school education in foreign countries.

Obviously, the trend of thinking about community school education in Taiwan is exceedingly optimistic. There is the far-reaching implication of coordinating it with the national program of spiritual regeneration and material reconstruction. Indeed, there are sufficient indications that the community school movement is a potent leavening factor in raising the quality of life and living in the rural communities. Greater promise of this outcome may be assured if the community school can find more opportunities for coordinating its programs with the projects of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, the Farmers' Association, and local service groups.

In the future of Taiwan, the community school will play an increasingly important leadership role in the development of the people. The propagation of democratic processes, the realization of the worth and dignity of the human individual, and its concomitant, the preservation of human rights, may eventually constitute the greatest contribution of the community school to the people of Free China.

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"College in the Town" Meetings Continue in Informal Circles After Formal Adjournment

College in the Country

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HOW THE PROGRAM STARTED [1]

The movement that has come to be known as *College in the Country* grew out of the needs felt by some rural community groups to study and to explore subjects about which they wanted to know more, and to satisfy the desire for a broader education. It represents simply another phase of community education in which West Georgia has participated since its founding in 1933. In the early years the emphasis was upon improving agricultural conditions and home and community life in the area served by West Georgia College. Later, the interest shifted to economic needs, and cooperative undertakings came into being.

The *College in the Country* represents another stage in the development of the program of community and adult education, as citizens in the area turn their attention from problems of the immediate community to the broader problems of State, National, and world communities.

In 1949, Mountain View-Garrett's Chapel Community Improvement Club, Smithfield, won a State community improvement contest. (Smithfield is in the northwest corner of rural Carroll County, Ga., 16 miles from West Georgia's campus.) This achievement gave to club members a desire to go on, to find something that would keep them meeting and working together. They arranged a picnic on October 22, 1949, and invited friends from West Georgia College to come and talk it over.

They talked of many things, around the picnic table—of things they wanted to know and how to get help on topics of interest to the group. The name, *College in the Country*, emerged as members of the group expressed interest in music appreciation; the problems of health, physical and mental; something on science and home improvement. November 4, 1949, was set as the date for the first meeting, at which they invited the President of West Georgia College to talk on Carroll County, Its History and Resources. Further discussion of topics to be studied resulted in a plan for study sessions on art appreciation,

[1] From "College in the Country—A Program of Education for Adults," West Georgia College, Carrollton, Ga., 1955.

the church in the world, family relations, speech, great poetry. Classes met twice each month for 1½ hours. Often these meetings continued from 7 to 11 p. m., the discussion being carried on over a cup of coffee after the meeting adjourned.

Meanwhile, through reports in the county papers of what was happening at Smithfield, interest was stimulated in other communities and calls came to West Georgia College and to individual members of the staff, for a *College in the Country* in these communities.

Faculty members met and considered these requests, sent members of the staff to visit the interested communities, explore the idea, and determine the desires of the community group in terms of what the people considered their needs. Believing that every community is important because that is where people live, careful consideration was given to all suggestions made. The staff members sent to meet with the group, through questioning and guiding the thinking of the members present, attempted to sense the needs of the group and to plan with them a program of study that would build a bridge from their desires to their needs. Within the limitations of staff time and available leaders and consultants, an effort was made to serve all groups requesting a study program. If consultants were not available at West Georgia College, they were found in the city or elsewhere in the State. It is important to know that West Georgia has no program to give or to promote—the staff gladly contribute their time and help in planning a program which is of interest to a community and which members of the local group will help to carry on, feeling that liberal adult education should be available to all people, not just a special few.

News of the series of studies at Smithfield spread and a "Family College" was planned at Unity. Hulett followed with a "Sunday Afternoon Neighborhood College." At Oak Mountain, it became the "Health College"; at Sand Hill, the "College of Service"; and at Center Point, the "Community College." Each "College" was planned to meet the needs of the individuals in the community. The name selected was chosen by the participants as were the topics for study.

The *College in the Country* program has now spread to 14 communities in the territory adjacent to West Georgia College. This number includes groups coming to the campus to hold sessions—the Art Group, the Home Demonstration Choir, the College in the Town, and the Methodist Circuit Men's Group.

Three new centers are developing, interested in stimulating a series of *College in the Country* programs in the area served by each—Young Harris, a private junior college in North Georgia; Alexandria,

Calhoun County, Ala., a county public-school system; and Oglethorpe University, in a fast-growing section of Atlanta.

A total of 1,476 persons have been involved in the *College in the Country* program since its beginning. This includes 1,201 citizens of rural communities, and 275 consultants, who have participated in 259 study sessions. During the past year, 1954–55, 8 new *College in the Country* groups have been added, serving 475 regular participants.

WHO INITIATED COLLEGE IN THE COUNTRY?

College in the Country began at West Georgia College. Some think *College in the Country* is an affectionate name for West Georgia, a junior college of 500 students on a lovely campus in the western part of Carrollton, Ga. That is not correct. *College in the Country* is the generic name for many groups of adults who meet from time to time whenever and wherever they want to meet to study whatever they want to study. They usually meet at some convenient place in their home neighborhood: a church, a community building, or a school. Sometimes they meet on a bus chartered for some special trip. In every case some responsible local organization co-sponsors with West Georgia College their own study series which is called *College in the Country*. Often—usually—a local study group gives a name to its *College in the Country*. Often the name evolves without conscious plan or effort. The name has local flavor, or may suggest the subject matter under study, like "College of Health," or may indicate the time of meeting as "Sunday Afternoon College" or "College in the Country on Saturday Night." In no case is college credit given. In some cases, usually after a first series ends, certificates are given at a "graduation" program. West Georgia College likes the initiative for such sequences of study to come from the adults themselves through one of their local organizations.

As has been said earlier, *College in the Country* is of recent origin, beginning about 1949. Throughout the years of its history, West Georgia College has worked with its neighbors in stimulating the desire for needed services and in supporting responsible effort to gain and maintain those services.

Many thriving institutions stand now as a credit to the effort of many past years: A regional library with bookmobiles serving all of the people, white and Negro, in three counties; a county health department that serves all of the people, white and Negro, in the county; and the community council which answers varied needs through coordinating panels on welfare, international affairs, religion, recreation, agriculture, and industry. Although no institution as such marks a changed mood in world understanding, different than

and superior to that of other places, exchanges of persons between Carroll County and India are evidences of broadened attitudes on world affairs.

College in the Country is an expression of the outward movement of the college into its community. The few illustrations given here—library, health center, council—show this same outward movement in other, slightly different, directions.

The same type of cooperative effort on a broader field has been attempted since 1953 when West Georgia College received a foundation grant to extend, enrich, and evaluate *College in the Country*.

The College neighborhood was extended many miles in three directions: into the mountain region of North Georgia, into Alabama, and into the edge of Atlanta. Other colleges, institutions, and agencies are spreading the philosophy and practice of *College in the Country* to adults in their vicinities. Oglethorpe University in fast-growing metropolitan Atlanta has now not only a citizens' committee on adult education, but also study groups organized cooperatively, like "College at the Crossroads," whose 50 adults study "Perspectives"—of History, of Sociology, etc.—in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. The Carroll Service Council through its Joint Committee on Adult Education cosponsors neighborhood "Study Nights" with Negro community organizations. Two hundred and seventy-five adults have attended "Study Nights" of the Carroll Service Council. Young Harris College now helps interested adults organize adult study groups in its mountain area. One series called "Saturday Night College in the Country" was announced on billboards and by posters to attract not only mountain people, but weekend tourists as well. The Calhoun County Public Schools in Alabama have provided study opportunities for interested people in their area. Through the work of these educational institutions and community agencies, West Georgia College has been able to extend its philosophy and practices far beyond its borders.

WHO TEACHES IN COLLEGES IN THE COUNTRY?

Institutions involved in this movement in adult education call on their own faculties as a first line of assistance in teaching. To lead special subjects they call for help from other colleges and universities, and from local, State, regional, and national agencies. Few leaders ever refuse to participate. Teachers from colleges and agencies seem thrilled to find mature people so interested in them and in their subject matter.

It is impossible to answer, with small faculties, all of the leadership demands made annually by 1,800 adults. *Faculty Associates* came

into being to meet needs for leaders, needs which have now grown beyond present resources. *Faculty Associates* is a name given to a group of lay teachers who have special abilities and are willing to be called upon. Invitations often come to them from local planning groups, not always from the college. Examples of *Faculty Associates* are: a practicing lawyer whose previous experience as a newspaper correspondent qualifies him admirably to lead studies of world affairs and of contemporary biography; an industrialist who is also an expert musician; a retired county school superintendent and his wife, a radio personality, who are qualified not only to lead local groups in study, but to document and help produce material for radio; a business man and camera enthusiast who uses his own pictures to illustrate studies of other countries; and a surgeon who volunteers his more-than-hobby interest in astronomy. They are not paid for their services. They enjoy sharing their special abilities as members of a gifted group of lay men and women.

Not all qualified laymen are willing to make a speech and be questioned even on a subject of special interest. To make full use of such qualified people and at the same time to help develop local potential leadership, West Georgia College organized *Conversation Teams*. These teams of from 3 to 8 adult members, some from the locality of the study series and some from outside, volunteer to lead a series of studies as a team. No one makes a formal address. The team sits informally around a table or among the people of a study group. One of their number begins the discussion and it is carried on much as conversation is carried on with erudite and informed guests in one's living room. The team meets at the regional library before a series begins as well as several times during the series to explore their subject, to block out fields of study and to take material—books, films, maps, etc.—for study and for use later when they lead a *College in the Country* study series. The bookmobile goes to the community several days ahead of the team to deposit an appropriate collection of books at the meeting place or conveniently nearby. Sometimes shelves of books are deposited in country stores. Cereal, canned food, candy, and library books! The Conversation Team idea in some cases has speeded the emergence of local leaders.

Naturally the use of lay leadership produces results of varying quality. Some lay teachers are very capable. Others are less so. To assist the emerging leadership, *College in the Country*, during 1955–56, is emphasizing leadership improvement. A series of conferences and workshops through the year brings together those who are interested. Most of those who come are at work somewhere in the program. In-service training of lay adults is the present concern of *College in the Country*.

At the End of the Year "College in the Country" Groups Exchange Ideas of What They Did During the Year

PRESENT PATTERN AT WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

There is such variety in the program of education called *College in the Country* that one can hardly call it a pattern. The pattern, if there is one at all, is this: adults plan for themselves such experiences as they believe they need and want. Staff members from the college are considered part of the planning group and consequently are free to make suggestions, to clarify, and to amplify. Never, as far as is possible, do college staff members impose their wishes or plans upon the group. The pattern is one of free choice. Encouragement of this freedom creates variety. Variety implies there is no pattern, no imposed pattern.

One community rolled out its red carpet of welcome for the home-coming of a native-son who is now an eminent sculptor. The next day a choir made up of Home Demonstration Council members from many communities rehearsed in the studio of the college director of music. Another community works with the college in an experiment with television: After exploring future television programs with people from

the networks who know what is coming, the study group will schedule a series of common viewing experiences. In family and neighborhood groups a specified program previously chosen will be watched, after which all the people will assemble for discussion of the issues or the content of the program. Television will become a resource, and the critical appraisal of it will become part of the viewer's experience. Other types of programs differ from the ones listed here as these differ from each other.

As a further illustration of variety within the pattern, a committee of inmate leaders at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary work closely with Oglethorpe University in a series of broad survey lectures and discussions called "Perspectives." For 1 hour the inmate leaders and 40 other prisoners obtain a general overview of such disciplines as history, sociology, education, art, and others. Following the lecture and discussion, the inmate teachers—staff members of the prison educational program—sit with the visiting teacher of the day and explore teaching methods and techniques used by him during the previous hour.

In another community, a joint committee of a community council—a committee of 40 persons of both races—work on problems incident to providing leadership for Negro study groups.

Seldom have 2 of the 30 study groups followed similar patterns. Just as communities differ, so do their study plans differ.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY TEAMWORK ENCOURAGED BY WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE

Adult education is part of a philosophy of total education which has been the philosophy of West Georgia College since its beginning. West Georgia College, a unit of the University System of Georgia, has from its beginning trained teachers for rural elementary schools. Very early it was found that the elementary school child could unlearn overnight in his home and community what he had learned during the day in school. The challenge of total education was accepted. The training of teachers for rural elementary schools and a program for the education of adults have supplemented each other ever since.

At one time the college worked with 14 rural elementary schools in its county. It works now with Sand Hill Elementary School. With Sand Hill School and community, West Georgia College has had an unbroken relationship for 18 years. Students of education observe and practice in the Sand Hill elementary school. *College in the Country* works with families of the children. The Sand Hill-West Georgia College team has made Sand Hill's Elementary School one of character

and of national reputation. Work with adults has helped to make Sand Hill an attractive, interesting, and alert community. Sand Hill is a tribute to teamwork of many, many years. Problems have been shared and blessings enjoyed by both school and community.

College in the Country in many other cases is a cooperative undertaking of college and community. To call the roll of those communities which have worked with the college in making a program of education to fit the needs of their adults would be to call the roll of probably half of all *College in the Country* groups: Franklin, Unity, Oak Mountain, Sand Hill, Center Point, Smithfield, Madras, and Carrollton.

Carrollton is a town of 10,000, the county seat of Carroll County and the site of West Georgia College. Observers say that Carrollton is more liberal, progressive, and tolerant than some other towns of its size and region. The same observers say that it has become a better place through projects jointly conceived and encouraged by the college town and its college.

Before the days of foreign exchanges, the college brought foreign youths as students to its campus. In cooperation with the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum and a community service council, the college brought an Indian farmer to live in the community for 8 weeks and then sent a Carroll County soil conservation engineer and the editor of one of the South's foremost dailies home with him to spend 8 weeks in India. This experience and other similar ones have made changes in Carrollton and vicinity—gains intangible but sizeable.

There are many evidences of tangible gains also: a modern health center, a fine hospital, a large lake for recreation. The community has advanced a long way in using its modern health facilities from days when the doctor was called only at the last minute and came only to confirm the worst fears of the seriously ill.

Teamwork of college and community can be seen in other fields. There is a community choir. There are art shows. Mental health is not neglected: Problem Panels are held cooperatively with doctors, teachers, and the public. The older people are not forgotten: The college and a local radio station have just completed a radio series, "This I Remember," which tells of life in the earlier days from experiences of older people and in their voices.

These projects suggest something of the breadth of interests that is open to exploration when college and community work as a team. What will be next? A community council needs (1955) to be reorganized and refinanced. Reorganization has been completed and financial support is being found. The next need will receive next attention.

The next need expressed by some internationally minded citizens is to travel through Mexico. That group meets every 2 weeks on the campus to study about Mexico—her history, art, problems, and customs. They plan a "studycade" to Mexico next summer. Many members of the study group on Mexico were on a United Nations Studycade in 1955. Studycade is a coined word now freely used to describe a study tour to places of interest by a group on a chartered bus, interspersed going and coming by nightly seminars on college campuses. Studycades began modestly for a few hours over a few miles. Now studycades seem to have no limit.

Maybe there is no limit to what can be done when a community and its college join forces, or, for that matter, when adults want to learn.

Producing Instructional Materials in Thailand

By Bernice E. Leary

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U. S. Operations Mission to the Philippines

WE ARRIVED at the Don Muang Airport in Bangkok on August 9, 1954—Gladys Van Arsdale and myself. We were strange "farangs" in a strange city of tile-roofed temples and tinkling silver bells. But not for long. The warm welcome from both Thais and Americans soon removed all feeling of strangeness.

We had come to Bangkok to serve as technical advisers to the Thai Ministry of Education on the production of supplementary readers for the primary grades. One week later we were established in three offices in UNESCO Building. One office was for conferences, another for typists, and a third for writers.

In the meantime, we had set up a small collection of the most recent American textbooks ordered some months earlier. And what was more important, we had joined the throngs of clean, white-bloused children crowding the streets and klongs and highways in the early morning going to school by bus, boat, samlor, streetcar, automobile, or on foot. We had visited their classrooms where earnest young men and women, also in white blouses, led them in the national song, in the salute to the flag, in a prayer to Buddha.

Here and there we had seen inspired bits of teaching—a beginners' class in English in a mission school, a puppet play at Chachoengsao, a handicraft activity in an isolated river school, an arithmetic experience based on products and prices in the local market, a social-studies project on India, a second-grade unit on the post office, an entire class searching for information at USIS Library. Yet nowhere had we seen enough books to meet pupil needs; in some schools, almost none. The evidence was incontestable: Thai children needed books. And they wanted books. So did their teachers. If a writers' workshop would meet the need, as we hoped, then the sooner it was put into operation, the better. Six months would go quickly.

The first problem in setting up the workshop lay in finding personnel. Writing experience and writing interest were desirable. But the essential qualifications were an understanding of children and a

concern for their reading needs. Of 10 persons who volunteered for membership or were recommended by their associates, 7 remained throughout the project. One had studied at an American university, 1 at Benares University, and 5 were preparing to come to America. All but 2 were from the Secondary Division of the Ministry of Education. All but 2 had children of their own. All were or had been teachers.

In addition to these Thai members, the workshop comprised one American besides ourselves, two full-time typists, and toward the end of the project, two full-time illustrators, loaned from the Department of Educational Techniques. An FOA photographer was also available, and occasional use was made of commercial photographers.

GETTING STARTED

What to write about was a troublesome question. We were agreed that translations of American books would not meet the needs of Thai children, and that the materials must be drawn from their own lives. The Royal Family and the Buddhist Temples were immediately suggested as of first interest. For other ideas the group visited elementary schools, talked with children, and examined courses of study. By the end of 2 weeks, they had compiled a list of nearly 50 possible subjects distributed over the first 4 grades. They pertained to the family, the community, health, crafts, seasons, animals, history, folklore, special days, good times, and a great variety of human activities of both children and adults. From this list each member chose the subject that he would like to write about and the grade level toward which to aim his writing.

First grade was ruled out on several grounds. A considerable number of supplementary primers had just been prepared at Chachoengsao, and new basic readers were ready and waiting for distribution. Furthermore, vocabulary control and the necessity of keying books to the new basic series were believed too difficult for beginning writers to attempt. It was agreed, therefore, to choose subjects of value for "supplementary" reading in second and third grades and to direct the writing toward these levels.

Once this happy decision was reached, another and more serious problem demanded attention—where and how to get material. It's one thing to choose a subject for a book, and quite another thing to know enough to write about it. Unless one had many more ideas than were needed, how could he sort them and put them into shape, as a writer is supposed to do? And how could he keep from draining himself dry and probably show in his writing that he was only a step ahead of his readers?

Talking over this problem straightway created others. Suppose one turned to firsthand experience and observation, as suggested. wouldn't he use a large amount of time? And wouldn't he find himself working alone rather than as a member of a workshop? Or suppose one decided to use some other person's experiences and get the information directly from him, wouldn't that, too, take time? Especially since miles of red tape might need unwinding preliminary to the interview? And how could one resort to library research when libraries in Thailand were so inadequate?

Spirits drooped noticeably for a few awful hours. Then the group reached a common conclusion. Of course, no hydra-headed problem could be overcome single-handed. It needed an attack from all sides, and by joint effort. There were things that could be done, even in 6 months, and we would do them—together.

First, we would begin by writing books cooperatively, each of us writing one or two chapters according to our interests. Getting ideas for a single chapter would be infinitely easier and quicker than for a whole book. And we would get the ideas by going places and seeing things and talking about them, as a group. If more ideas were needed, individuals would make their own later observations or use any other sources they wished.

Second, each person would gather material, as he had time, for the book he had already chosen to write, but he would delay the actual writing until he had had experience and helped with the cooperative books. Yet no one should feel alone in his project. Rather, everyone would share responsibility in gathering pictures, clippings, material of all sorts for every other person's book, as well as his own. The only requirement was that the contribution befrom a reliable source.

Spirits rose like the morning sun when the rainy season is over. The idea of "togetherness" dispersed all clouds of doubt and fear that had momentarily threatened creativeness. The following weekend found the entire group at the Sunday Market where we followed children and their parents as they went from booth to booth—bargaining, buying, meeting friends, resting, eating. On succeeding market days we went our separate ways, each of us bent on getting more background for our particular chapters.

THREE BOOKS FROM COOPERATIVE EFFORT

In less than a month, the writing of the first cooperative book, *Market Day*, was finished and the manuscript ready for tryout. It is the story of a brother and a sister, Phanya and Renoo, and their trip to market with their mother. It begins when "Phanya Wakes Up," the title of Chapter One, and ends "Near the Market Gate," Chapter

Eleven. In the intervening chapters, the children have a good time spending 20 ticals each (about a dollar in American money) for an umbrella, a toy boat, bologna from Chiengmai, platu fish from the Gulf, a green beetle, a parrot, fruit, and flowers for the temple. Their good times were planned to give their readers a good time, also, and a generous measure of information, besides. As for the Thai writers, they had a good time, too, not only in creating Phanya and Renoo and their experiences at the Sunday Market, but also in discovering that writing about children and for children can be fun, as well as hard work.

Community Helpers, the second cooperative book, was completed in another month. Composed of 14 chapters, it covers the work of teacher, librarian, newsboy, postman, telephone operator, radio operator, policeman, fireman, doctor, nurse, samlor driver, ferryboat man, train conductor, and street sweeper. Each chapter is based on trips to community centers, and on observations and interviews. It aims to give children reliable information about community workers, to promote a greater respect for their work, and to develop a greater willingness to share in it for community good.

The "side effects" from writing this book were felt by many people. The Thai members of the workshop got a new understanding of their city, through discovering the "hows" and "whys" of services that had been taken for granted heretofore. Miss Van Arsdale and I learned more about Bangkok in a few weeks' time than might otherwise have been done in months or years. As for the community helpers themselves, their interest in the books, and in the elementary school program was surpassed only by their zeal for helping—by answering questions, demonstrating services, contributing pictures and brochures, and inviting further observation. Small wonder that the writing of a single chapter left most of us feeling that to do justice to the community helper, and to our notes, we should have written a whole book.

A third cooperative book, *Home Industries of Thailand*, proved more time-consuming than either of the others. And rightly. *Market Day* had dealt with a single place, the Sunday market. *Community Helpers* had expanded to cover the city of Bangkok. Now here was to be a book on home industries to encompass all of Thailand. Obviously, it was impossible to make any exhaustive study of industries. And it was also unnecessary, for elementary school children are concerned chiefly with how a thing is made, and very little with industrial conditions or vocational opportunities.

More than 2 months were required to gather material and write *Home Industries of Thailand*. In that time, we visited industries in and around Bangkok, spent some hours at the School of Arts and Crafts, gathered pertinent feature stories from magazines and news-

papers, and tried in other ways to exhaust information available in the Bangkok area. Next came an 8-day trip to Chiengmai which the Ministry provided for all members of the workshop. There we watched entire families, sometimes entire villages, making umbrellas and the paper for umbrellas, shaping silver belts and bowls from what was once a heap of silver coins, fashioning lacquerware starting with three tiny strips of bamboo, and weaving cotton and silken fabrics of many colors and qualities.

In every home and in every village, we met a friendly welcome. Where work was interrupted by a holiday, as the celebration of Loy Krathong, managers called in a few workers to demonstrate a process or to pose for a picture. Sometimes they provided glossy prints from their own files, or contributed small samples of raw materials and partially completed products. Other residents of Chiengmai helped further by providing transportation and by taking photographs that were needed after our return to Bangkok. *Home Industries of Thailand* is, in truth, a cooperative book.

Ten chapters, each a separate story of a single home industry, are entitled as follows: "Dang Makes a Basket," "Nitiapa's Bronze Spoon," "Birthday Surprises" (the story of Neilloware), "A trip to Silver Village," "A Lacquer Vase for the School Fair," "The Umbrella Village at Boa Sang," "Pien Learns About Wood-Carving," "At the Potter's Workshop," "The Weaving Woman," and "Sakda Finds Material for a School Essay" (the story of silk-screen printing). Because of its wide range of interest and also its fairly wide range of difficulty, *Home Industries of Thailand* should have a wide range of usefulness as well.

BOOKS BY INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

Besides these three cooperative books, four others were written by individual authors. *Fruits of Thailand* is pure information about some 25 different fruits familiar to Thai children—rambutan, rose-apple, durian, mango, papaya, and others. Written in simple, straightforward style, it tells its readers where each fruit is most often found, when it ripens, and how it is used. All the information was evaluated and approved by an authority on the subject.

The Airport, written by the one man in the workshop, is the story of the Don Muang Airport near Bangkok, and the buzzing activity that makes it a center of international air travel. It is also the story of an imaginary flight from Bangkok to a foreign port, which acquaints its readers with the usual experiences of the traveler and with the part played by the crew in making his flight a comfortable one.

A Visit to the Temple of the Emerald Buddha follows the experiences

of a father and mother, their two children, and two neighbor children as they go about the compound of the sacred image. Paying homage to the Buddha in the temple and to the statues of the kings in the Royal Pantheon, joining other visitors to the Golden Chedi where the Lord Buddha's ashes are kept and to the Gallery of Legends from Ramakien, and other activities are made more meaningful by the explanation of the father who acts as guide.

The fourth and last of the individual books, *The Royal Family*, centers in the daily lives of Princess Ubolratana and Prince Vajiralongkorn. Written against all the odds naturally imposed by the sheltered life of a Royal Family, the story utilizes many sources of content—a royal audience, royal films taken by the King for public showing, approved feature stories, and the recorded observations of reliable persons. Yet the completed book is a unified and reliable picture of the Royal Children, as evidenced by the King's approval of its publication.

THE OPERATION OF THE WORKSHOP

Merely telling *about* the books prepared by the writers' workshop leaves much untold. How was the writing done? What steps were followed? What helps were given the writers? What evidence was there of growth in writing? How was the appropriateness of the materials for particular grades determined? Were differences in language a serious handicap?

Answering the last question first, I would say that differences in language presented an inevitable problem, but not a serious one. Most of the writing was done first in the Thai language, then translated by the writer into English for criticism by Miss Van Arsdale and myself. Subsequent rewritings were done in the same order until the material was in fairly acceptable form. One of us did the final writing of all chapters in English, mainly to keep the whole at about the same level of difficulty. Finally, the original writer translated his chapter back into Thai, conferring with the entire group to make sure that it had lost nothing in style or flavor and that it did not sound like a translation.

Two experiments, made to test the fidelity of translations, brought highly satisfactory results. First, a person outside the workshop was asked to translate the Thai version of one of my chapters back into English. Her only instruction was to keep in mind that the material was intended for the second grade. It was gratifying to see that her Thai-to-English translation of the group's English-to-Thai translation was almost identical in vocabulary and style to my original writing in English. Next she was asked to translate another chapter from

English into Thai. This time her translation was almost identical to that made by the workshop group.

The question of when the writing was done can be answered less specifically. Most of the members were at the offices at 8 o'clock in the morning, an hour before the official working day began. Some found this the best time to start writing. Others wrote at no scheduled hour, but between individual conferences, visits to schools, trips to gather material, and other activities of the day. Nor did they restrict themselves to office hours. One was known to write by moonlight at 4 o'clock in the morning in her own compound, while another did his most outstanding writing one midnight under the lights on Memorial Bridge.

Group conferences were scheduled at the request of the members, usually three times a week. Here we discussed writing techniques, criticized one another's work, debated names of chapters and books, planned for tryouts, and reported on results.

Growth in writing skill exceeded all expectations. Once a writer accepted his responsibilities to his audience, the act of writing became something more than putting words on paper. It meant catching and holding the interest of children from the first to the last sentence, telling them something that was new and fresh and alive, being honest with them, and respecting them and their interests. It meant trying out what one had written on one's associates, on one's own children, and on groups of children in the classroom, and then rewriting again and again.

Sometimes the reward came in the pride one felt in his finished product. Again, it came when children who read one chapter of a book begged for more. And this happened many times and in many places—in remote river schools, in laboratory schools of teacher-training institutions, in mission schools, in the public schools of Bangkok, and in the project school at Chachoengsao. Without exception, children liked the stories, whether read in second, third, or fourth grade, and whether they proved easy or hard.

Following the tryouts, we compiled and studied our recorded observations, the reactions of teachers, and the comments of children. These were used to guide revisions in vocabulary and sentence structure, and to suggest the kinds of background materials to provide for teachers. They had further value in determining not only the grade where each book could probably be used best but also its range of greatest usefulness.

When the workshop closed on January 8, 1955, the seven manuscripts, already approved by the Minister of Education, were turned over to the Director General of the Department of Educational

Techniques for publication. Most of the photographs and artists' drawings were submitted at the same time. Further responsibility for the books was left in official hands.

"EVER AFTER"

This, in brief, is the story of the Writers' Workshop in Thailand. Whatever merit can be ascribed to its accomplishments is due to the continuous cooperation, encouragement, and support of the Foreign Operations Administration and the Ministry of Education, and to the enthusiasm, conscientiousness, and intensive effort of the members of the Workshop.

Were it possible to do so, I should like to conclude the story with the old, traditional, satisfying ending—"And so the Thai children, with seven new books, lived happily ever after." But this is not a fairy story, as I have tried to show. And "ever after" is a long, long time.

During that time the books must be published, and it's a long trail from manuscript to finished book. Next, they must be made available for children, and school funds for materials are not abundant in Thailand. More books must be written, for what are seven books in a country so nearly "bookless"? Finally, more and more teachers must see the values of reading, and must come to relate it more closely to children's other experiences and activities.

Many of these responsibilities are being assumed by the members of the workshop. Those who have come to America are now studying children's books, taking courses in creative writing, visiting publishing houses, and learning all they can about the best methods of book production generally. Those who have returned to their former positions in the Ministry are meeting with teachers-in-training and teachers-in-service to promote a sound philosophy of reading, to help them improve their reading instructions, to show them how to fill the gaps in materials with small bits of writing of their own, and to create in them a desire to help in providing more and better children's books.

What has happened since the workshop ended is probably the best index of its true value and offers the most hope that through its endeavors, Thai children may live *more* happily "ever after."

Modern Classroom at Wingate School

Preparation of Teaching Materials: Five-Year Special Program, Bureau of Indian Affairs

By Ann Nolan Clark

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IN 1946 the Bureau of Indian Affairs faced the situation in which out of a population of 24,000 school-age Navaho Indian children there were 6,000 who had never been in school and for whom no schools on the Navaho Reservation were available. Reservation Day and Boarding Schools were filled beyond capacity. There were neither appropriations nor plans for the building of new Boarding Schools and the establishing of Day Schools. Establishing of Day Schools needs besides an appropriation certain other factors not too common in the Navaho situation. They must have a potential stable enrollment, be within walking distance of a community, and near a water supply and some kind of travelable roadway. The Navaho population is widely scattered. There is little compact community living. It is a semi-arid land, water sources are not plentiful, and there are few roads traversing the sandy wastelands.

Yearly, there was an ever-increasing number of Navaho youth who were reaching an unschooled maturity. One of the pressing problems was what to do with this age group who were now too old to start in any regular school program, even if schools could be found that had room for them.

Although the Navaho Reservation is as large as the States of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island combined, it can support less than half of its population now numbering more than 70,000. This makes it imperative that a goodly number of young people must be so educated that they can make a living and lead satisfactory and satisfying lives away from their homeland. Because of this need, the Five-Year Special Program was conceived and developed by a group of Indian Service education personnel. The aim of this program was to make the Navaho youth, of the 14 to 19 year age group who had not been to school, literate; to give him earning skills and living habits for a life away from the reservation if that was his choice.

The first problem in establishing such a program was to locate

boarding schools already established where a large number of Navaho could be taken care of and which were situated in areas of potential job possibilities. This limited the choice to a few nonreservation schools which were now not completely filled by Indians of the tribe which these schools originally had been built to serve. After a nationwide survey, it was found that there were six such schools which, although belonging to other tribes, could by careful planning be made to function for an additional number of pupils. These schools were Albuqueque Indian School, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Phoenix Indian School, Phoenix, Ariz.; Sherman Institute, Riverside, Calif.; Carson Indian School, Stewart, Nev.; Chemawa Indian School, Chemawa, Oreg.; and Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, Okla. A former Army hospital at Brigham City, Utah, had been made available to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and this Intermountain School also was used by the Five-Year Special Program. All of these schools, with the exception of Intermountain, and later Sherman Institute, would maintain two educational programs for two groups of enrollees. One group would be for the pupils regularly enrolled in the school and offering the regular curriculum comparable to the one offered by the State public schools. The second program would be the specialized one catering to the specific needs of the Navaho enrollees. Intermountain and Sherman Institute had only one program, the Special Program, for the Navaho.

The education personnel set up detailed minimum essential goals from which the program was to be developed. This was accomplished by the education director, Navaho Reservation administrators, supervisors, classroom teachers, and members of the medical staff working together and pooling their experiences, knowledge, and needs.

Stated briefly, and perhaps oversimplified, the program called for instruction during the first 3 years in Navaho and English with a classroom teacher and a Navaho-speaking instructor for every 25 pupils. Emphasis for these first 3 years was on a speeded-up program of English and the three Rs, living habits and social adjustments, with daily time also scheduled with shop instructors for the development of desirable work attitudes and work habits, for the care and use of hand tools and such general vocational experiences as would fit the pupil for life on or off his reservation. In the fourth and fifth years, emphasis would be placed on vocational training under shop instructors and maintenance personnel as well as on-the-job training with detailed followup and additional or remedial instruction. Daily time scheduled in the classroom was for needed help in vocational problems other than those handled by the shop instructors. Vocational courses which were offered in each of the schools selected had been determined by a survey of the job opportunities of the vicinity.

Organization and setting up of such a program was as complex as the goals were specific. However, each school program was staffed with personnel trained in Indian Service philosophy and teaching techniques who had knowledge and experience of Navaho Reservation geographical situations as well as of the characteristics and the folkways of the Navaho people.

When the program and the schools had been made ready to function, teams of Indian Service teachers with Navaho interpreters went into the reservation to explain what they were offering and to get recruits. Attendance was not compulsory, but the number of applicants was overwhelming and more than the seven schools could accommodate. Enrollees were selected on a first come, first served basis.

In August 1946, the first groups were enrolled in the seven schools, which had been made ready to receive them, untamed, disheveled, hungry, bewildered young people. Many were frightened and many of them were ill, but they had come because they wanted to come, and they had a courage that had been born of a desperate need for a different way of life. They came, wearing their typical Navaho clothing, carrying their possessions tied up in blanket bundles and their traditions, taboos, hopes, and fears in their minds and in their hearts. None of them spoke English. None had been to school nor were familiar with the white cultural patterns. None of them had salable skills other than weaving, silver working, or sheep herding. Few had been off the reservations or had lived on the outskirts of the white man's towns.

One of the early problems confronting school personnel was to provide the pupils in the classrooms with simple three-R materials. These materials had to be simple in language level, reading ability level, and concept level. On the other hand, these pupils were not children. Even at the beginning level, they were, in many respects, mature young men and women. Although they were starting from zero in our estimate of school beginners, in many ways they were below zero in the environment knowledge that white children bring with them to their first year in school. And, in many other instances, these pupils had experienced as much or more mature situations than the teachers who taught them. Also, 14-plus years had not been blank, but had been filled with learnings many of which would need to be "unlearned" as far as white standards were concerned.

This then was my problem: to prepare or to guide, supervise, or edit materials suited for adult beginners with little knowledge of English. Although I had many years' experience in preparing reading programs for children with language handicaps and some experience in

Recess Time at Church Rock School

the preparation of adult beginning readers for persons who were fluent in the language they would read, this problem had many new facets. With a limited speaking and reading vocabulary these pupils had to get vocational concepts, informational and factual materials in the clearest possible measure and the shortest possible time. It was a controlled situation with very definite goals. No material content must be haphazard or by guesswork, or time-consuming, because in order to accomplish the program aims in the prescribed 5-year period, every learning experience must have a positive reason, a positive result, a positive approach, and a direct relationship to previous experiences and new learning situations. There could be no going off on tangents, but they must be taught effectively and quickly the basic essentials that were necessary for them to know. In preparation of bilingual children of Indian heritage, some of my aims had been to instill in them pride of race and to record for their future, traditions

and beliefs that were beautiful and good but that might be forgotten. Although these new materials would also be for Indians, they did not have the same purpose. If these overage Navaho were to become self-supporting and self-sufficient in a new way of life, there was not time in these early training years to look backward. Attention must be concentrated on the present and the future. This then limited the choice of materials for the beginning years, at least, to content that was pertinent to the present and future needs of the pupil, not as an Indian, but as a citizen, a workman, and a contributing member of white society. The Indian was not allowed to forget, however, that he was a member of an Indian tribe for whom the whites, as well as he and his classmates had great respect in view of the tradition and history of their past and also great belief in what they could do with their future. This was done in little ways and in big ways, but perhaps most effectively in the unshakeable, unexpressed belief of the instructors that because of his heritage, he could make his future.

In the preparation of reading materials for adult beginning readers, there are two foundational beliefs that are very important. One is that the ability to read is not an end in itself, but a tool to be used to acquire knowledge. It is doubtful that the adult who has not learned to read until his middle teens or later will become a reader for pleasure. He will read for information. This put a further limitation on content in that in this beginning period its aim would be to add factual knowledge and to build new concepts for the reader.

My second foundational belief in the preparation of adult reading materials is that they must have purpose, meaning, and interest on an adult level; that along with learning *how* to read the reader must have something of value to read. "Learn while learning" could be the slogan. Although the technique of reading can be taught with such exercises as

The cat is pretty.
Come, pretty cat.
Come, cat, come.

it has no meaning nor purpose to the adult reader and is not likely to hold his interest long enough for him to attain mastery in the technique of reading it.

Preparing materials for a certain specific group has many advantages. The writer is familiar with the physical and economic setup of the group, as well as with their particular needs, and probable reasons for their wanting to learn to read. These Navaho, for whom I would prepare material, wanted to raise their standard of living. They wanted the things that money can buy, and they were willing

Water Color Class at Ft. Wingate Vocational School in New Mexico

to work for them. The Navaho is not lazy, and he is extremely practical. His history has proved that he is able to assimilate those things in a foreign culture which he considers will have a practical value for him. The Navaho is extremely proud. Along with other things, he has pride in his personal appearance. He also wants group approval. He is aggressive within a fixed pattern. His habit pattern in many ways is in conflict with the economic and social standards of his new life pattern. He is not familiar with white cultural norms. He is racially unsuited to the pressures and frustrations of a competitive commercial world.

Besides the long-range aim of obtaining salable skills, these pupils, as part of their training, needed to know quickly the pattern of their immediate environment and the functions of the staff members of the school. They needed to know acceptable daily living habits. They needed to know about money, about buying and selling, cost and

price and wage earnings. They needed to know foods, the names, why they should eat them, and an acceptable manner of eating. They needed to know about time. For a pastoral people for whom heretofore time had been broken into day and night and seasons of the year, to now be confronted with time broken into 15-minute periods or less was a confusing agony. All these factors, these characteristics, these basic essentials guided, directed, and limited the kind of material content to prepare.

Keeping the preceding factors in mind and using the minimum essentials goals as directive and guide, the following content areas were arrived at: (1) locality, (2) food, (3) personal knowledge, (4) health, (5) time, (6) science, (7) history. It was decided to make a portfolio of each area. These portfolios would contain (1) suggestions for the teachers, (2) instructions for the interpreters, (3) suggestions for followup materials, and (4) individual copies of the booklets prepared under the area heading. This material was graded as to vocabulary and concept levels. Several grades of difficulty were contained in each portfolio so that each class could be taught according to individual ability level. (5) A list of vocabulary used with a chart indicating number of running words, old words, new words, and times repeated for each booklet. There was also an evaluation questionnaire for the first booklets so that they could be brought back and changed if necessary.

To the question of *How must these books be written?* it was decided that each booklet must have:

(1) Mature concepts: Sometimes it was necessary to write three or four books developing simple concepts leading up to the desired ones. It was suggested to the teacher that the booklet would be used in the set as written if needed or the teacher was to begin with the booklet developing the concept that to the reader was the unknown one.

(2) Simple vocabulary on a graded level, all unnecessary words deleted.

(3) Adult interest level.

(4) Meaning, purpose, and a felt need. In cases where there was doubt on the part of the reader of the need, it was suggested to the teacher that orientation might be necessary before the books were introduced.

(5) Short, simple sentences; direct and logical.

(6) Repetition of words, points to be emphasized, concepts.

(7) Real life situations, local situations.

(8) Sequence.

(9) Local usage of words and phrases, a difficult word if it were meaningful and needed.

(10) Well-illustrated.

The vocational books were for use in the classroom, not in the shop, for third or fourth and fifth years. They were not vocational training

nor factual nor informational books for specific vocations, but were established learnings to be handled by the classroom teacher which it was felt would further enable the Navaho to hold a job in his chosen field. For each of the vocations selected, there were two basic books. One was an illustrated dictionary with two or three definitions of the equipment and trade vocabulary of the vocation described. The second book was a classroom textbook discussing the job responsibilities, living conditions, possibilities for advancement, necessary aptitudes, physical and educational qualifications, and specific emphasis on correlated academic subjects, i. e., in The Three R's of Dairying, civics was a correlated subject in that there were many Federal and State laws on dairying to be studied; in the Dry Cleaning textbook, there was simple chemistry to master, etc.

For the format of the booklet, size was determined by what was practical for reproduction. These books were not printed because there was an immediate need for them and printing would take too long, and also because it was felt that the book content need would change with changing conditions and permanency was not a factor. What was needed were books written for a specific purpose, for a particular group, for immediate use. For this same reason, cheap bindings were used. Although I feel strongly that color is important as an aid to learning, we did not use it in these books because of our need for speed and economy of reproduction. All printing and all illustrative materials were in black on white paper.

Teachers at the seven schools where the Special Program was being carried on wrote many of the booklets at night or during other spare-time hours for use in their own classrooms and to share with the other schools carrying on the same program. Three or four books used at this time were written and in use before my arrival in the program. Some of the books I wrote, and the other books were prepared under my guidance or edited by me. They were compiled in the Materials Preparation Department at Intermountain School and made ready for reproduction.[1]

The illustrations were done by Navaho interpreters, other Navaho school personnel, and Navaho pupils, as well as by an artist who was working in another capacity in the Materials Preparation Department. There was wonderful cooperation, enthusiasm, and belief in the project, as well as ability.

For 2 years, there was a Materials Preparation Workshop in connection with the Bureau of Indian Affairs inservice training summer

[1] The Special Navaho Program Booklets described in this article are available from Haskell Institute, Visual Aids Service, Lawrence, Kans., at prices ranging from 10 cents to 35 cents each. Some representative titles are: *Story of the Navajo* (Level II), 35 cents; *Catching Sickness* (Level II), 10 cents; *The Telephone and How To Use It* (Level III), 10 cents; *Budget Stretchers* (Levels III-IV), 15 cents; *Welding as a Career* (Level IV), 18 cents.

sessions. These workshops were a cooperative project with teacher-writer and interpreter-illustrator working together in teams. The teachers used their training and experience in presenting materials on the beginning reading level with mature concepts. The interpreter made pictures based upon the life which the Indians knew. Working together, the white teacher, and the Indian interpreter never allowed themselves to forget their one rigid, unchanging goal of trying to make every line they wrote, every line they drew a help in making the reader better fitted to go back to his people if that was what he wanted, or to go into a white community and be a contented and a contributing member.

How Community Schools Begin and Grow

By Mammo Wolde Senebet
Headmaster, Dejazmatch Wonderad School
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

A SCHOOL IS BORN

IT IS EARLY MORNING on the Great Asmara Road. Lorries, jeeps, motor cars, donkeys, and camels laden with merchandise of all kinds hurry along toward Addis Ababa in a jostling, thundering throng. Edging this terrifying traffic is a wavering line of barefoot children walking from their village homes many miles away in the country to a school in the city.

Day after day, the headmaster of this city school watches the arrival and departure of these small boys and girls. He follows in imagination the long and dangerous journey which is a twice-daily experience for each of them. He sees clearly the need for schools in the villages "so that the new generations of these communities may grow up without undergoing the physical torture of walking miles and miles to their classes, or suffering the intolerable misfortune of not being educated at all." He tells us, now, how one such school came into being.

THE TAFFO SCHOOL

It is only natural for every Ethiopian to be overwhelmingly delighted to witness the evolution of Ethiopian community schools, marked by the birth of a new baby modern school, temporarily called "Taffo School." This is an example of an attempt on the part of an Ethiopian community to raise and establish a school of its own. It came into existence in this way.

One day at a place called Taffo, on the road from Addis to Dessie, I saw a group of little children playing and, at the same time, keeping an eye on their cows, sheep, and horses. What means, I wondered, could be used to educate them?

There was a newly established church at the place and, since all Ethiopian culture is based on our church, the prospect of setting up a community school nearby seemed very sensible, encouraging, and bright. Soon every Sunday, for several Sundays, a meeting was held in the church yard and the possibility of building a school was discussed. Construction did not start, however, until a certain man, Ato Lemma Odda, graciously consented to give a portion of his land,

free, for the premises of the new building. This place, though not exactly on the church grounds, commands an excellent view and is right on the road.

Building materials such as wood, ropes, and stone were supplied by the community itself and the Dejazmatch Wonderad School in Addis furnished the necessary corrugated iron sheets, nails, and straw.[1] Men of the community and two of the priests daily supplied the manpower necessary for the construction, with the help of some of the first pupils to attend the school. Industrious Boy Scouts of the Dejazmatch Wonderad School used their skills to help equip the two classrooms with tables, seats, desks, clotheshampers, bookshelves, and even storage places.

Thanks to the kindness of Ato Lemma Odda, the donor of the land, the cooperation of the many members of the community who furnished the materials, the good will of those who diligently labored to build the house, including the Boy Scouts, the school witnessed its inauguration ceremony on Tahsan 8, 1948, E. C. (December 4, 1955). Prior to the ceremony, the teachers and pupils of the Haile Selassie I Secondary School and of the Dejazmatch Wonderad School raised the sum of EM. $116.50; the parents, $11.50; and the Ministry of Education Health Officer, Dr. Pavars, $50 to buy uniforms for the children and suits for the two teachers. With this sum, 80 of the pupils were fitted with uniforms, and the teachers with new suits. So, on the day of the dedication, parents, guests, teachers, and children of the community of Taffo gathered to admire and to reap the fruits of their endeavors, now ready for harvest.

It seems that it is merely doing justice to include in this note some of the speech which Ato Lemma Odda delivered on that memorable occasion:

> Ladies and gentlemen, the reason that I gave a portion of my land freely for the purpose of establishing this school is that I wished my children as well as yours to be educated in the ideal manner, in a school right outside your thresholds. I had also in mind that as our children benefit from the service of this school they will find it a stepping stone toward their further education. Thus prepared, they will one day be useful instruments for our most beloved Emperor and our glorious country. They will also be in positions to help us in times of our troubles and needs.
>
> It cannot be denied, friends, that our fathers have left us lands. But in this modern age, that is not the type of wealth one can pride one's self upon. I have, therefore, a sincere conviction that each and everyone of us must

[1] Readers will be interested in the following more detailed description of the building process, furnished by Frederick H. Bair, author of Part II of this chapter: "After the land has been donated, the villagers assemble some skinned eucalyptus saplings and build a kind of Tepee frame. Meantime, they dig up some red mud, water it to a kind of 'dobe, mix it with cut grass, and let the whole bed ferment for a month. They slap this mixture into the chinks in the split frame from both sides * * * They roof with thatch, beautifully woven, cool, waterproof, and inexpensive, or (lamentably) with corrugated iron. In the Taffo School, the furniture is made of split eucalyptus and is rustic, quite comfortable, and serviceable."

fight ignorance and illiteracy, and in so doing put the indestructible wealth of education at the disposal of our little ones. This is why I gave a portion of my land and all the help I could to my community.

An astonishing aspect of this occasion was to see people contributing what money they had, although nobody asked them to do it. These gifts to the work of the school were of their own free will.

There are, at present, some 130 students and 2 teachers in this two-room school. The pupils are divided into four groups. When two of the groups are in the classrooms learning how to read and write, the third group is being trained in the principles of gardening out in the fields and the fourth group takes physical training and health education on the playgrounds.

So, here we see the happy community of Taffo enjoying the results of its fine enterprise. People are building homes right around the school and soon a town will spring up in this vicinity. It is now definitely clear that the school cannot possibly accommodate all of the students who will want to be admitted. When we remember, however, that the Dejazmatch Wonderad School started under worse conditions and has risen to the stage where it now has more than 800 pupils, we are filled with hope that this one also will be successful. The community has done its part and we are sure that our unfailing Government will, some day in the near future, take action and build a large school for this area.

His Imperial Majesty incessantly toils to bring about the means whereby illiteracy may be wiped out entirely in Ethiopia. He also has given each Ethiopian the right to acquire fundamental education free. It is, therefore, the duty of each community and each individual to help this education program to progress, and to follow the example of this most inspiring project of the community of Taffo.

Getting a Community School Program Started and Keeping it Going

By Frederick H. Bair

Community Education Adviser
United States Operations Mission to Ethiopia

WHAT I HAVE to write about ways in which programs of community education get started and keep going will be centered largely on developments in Ethiopia. Personal knowledge of such programs in other countries is limited, and the community school movement is too new, in a worldwide sense, to have accumulated a literature from which general principles can yet be safely drawn. Even in speaking of Ethiopia, most of the emphasis must be on "getting started," for that is as far as Ethiopian experience with schools extends, for excellent historical reasons.

The outline for this section is, for these reasons, simple and divides into two parts: (1) Getting started within the large frame of the country and its government; and (2) getting started, more narrowly, with the building up of a program of schools for community improvement. The second part again divides into two topics: (*a*) preconditioning a foreign adviser, and (*b*) getting the program off the ground.

This outline appears so disarmingly simple that the reader should be promptly cautioned by two additional observations. First: Ethiopia is not typical. Second: Neither is any other country in this part of the world, so far as I know. There is no master plan for initiating schools for fundamental education and community improvement. Stereotypes are fatal. Each country is unique in geography, anthropology, psychology, religion, philosophy, economy, internal variations, and history. In its history it is unique particularly in its external relations and in the nature and disposition of its Government.

GETTING STARTED

WITHIN THE FRAME OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS GOVERNMENT

Ethiopia, the "mountain fortress," is a classic example of the profound influence of geography; in this case, isolation, external and internal, has been the most conspicuous effect over a period of a thousand years. Externally, isolation has been enforced by ocean and sea, jungle, deserts, and mountain walls; internally, by "valleys of dreadful depth" which effectually cut off one section of the country from another.

Class in Handicrafts at Taffo School, Ethiopia

With an estimated population of 16½ million, this nation today embraces much more than that "historic core" of high, cool, and fertile triangular plateau which is the Ethiopia of Solomonic legend. Modern Ethiopia extends itself variously from the fourth to the eighteenth degree of latitude, in the form of a lower, broader plateau to the south, in a broad belt of jungle along the Sudan border, in an irregular horseshoe of desert surrounding the central highlands to the southeast and partly on the north, and in the ancient land of Eritrea on the north. The inhabitants of these regions burn in the desert and along the sea, and freeze on their mountain pinnacles at 15,000 feet; rainfall varies from none in the East to 70 inches in the West; but the climate of the great central plateau is one of the most perfect on earth.

These extensions of territory vastly complicate the processes of Government and of education. The "historic core" of the northern

and central plateau was peopled a thousand years ago by a Semitic mixture of Arabic and Hamitic stock from the Arabian peninsula, whose descendants today are the proud Tigrenians and the ruling Amharas. They were officially converted to Christianity in the third and fourth centuries after Christ; although long subjected to the Alexandrine see, the Ethiopian Church is one of the oldest in the world today, and continues to flourish in spite of the incoming of large numbers of Moslems during and since the 16th century.

The enlarged Ethiopia of today includes a great number of tribes or races—Gallas, Guraghes, Somali, Danakil, and those southwestern groups blanketed as the "Shankalla"—Hamitic, Negro or Negroid in stock, and in all speaking at least 53 languages or dialects.

Only two of the languages of Ethiopia have any alphabet so that they can be written down, and it has consequently been necessary to declare Amharic the official language of the Empire and to adopt it as the universal language of instruction. Amharic itself has limitations for that purpose, so that in the Government schools up to the present time English has been used as the medium of instruction above the fourth year. One of the first tasks, therefore, in establishing fundamental education must be the production of a considerable amount of teaching material in Amharic, for use at the beginning not only in grades one to four of the new schools, but in all aspects of adult education and community improvement.

Education in Ethiopia.—The history of education in Ethiopia may be treated under three periods: (1) Before 1935 and the Italian invasion; (2) from 1941, when the Ethiopians resumed control, to 1953; (3) from 1953, the start of the Ethiopian-United States Cooperative Program, to the present.

The account offered here of education before the Italian invasion has been condensed and paraphrased from Margery Perham's *The Government of Ethiopia.* "It has been claimed," says Miss Perham, "that if the country's education is regarded historically, the Ethiopian church schools of 1935 represented the oldest continuous system of education in the world." At any rate, as in medieval Europe, the church schools have kept alight the lamp of literacy on this high plateau across long centuries, and so continue to do to this day.

The Government entered education in 1908, when the Emperor Menelik II founded a school for 150 boys. In 1928, the present Emperor, then Regent, founded the Tafari Makonnen School, a primary and technical school for 250 boys. This school is distinguished for its excellent laboratories. In 1931, the Empress Menen founded a school for 80 girls which offers primary work and domestic

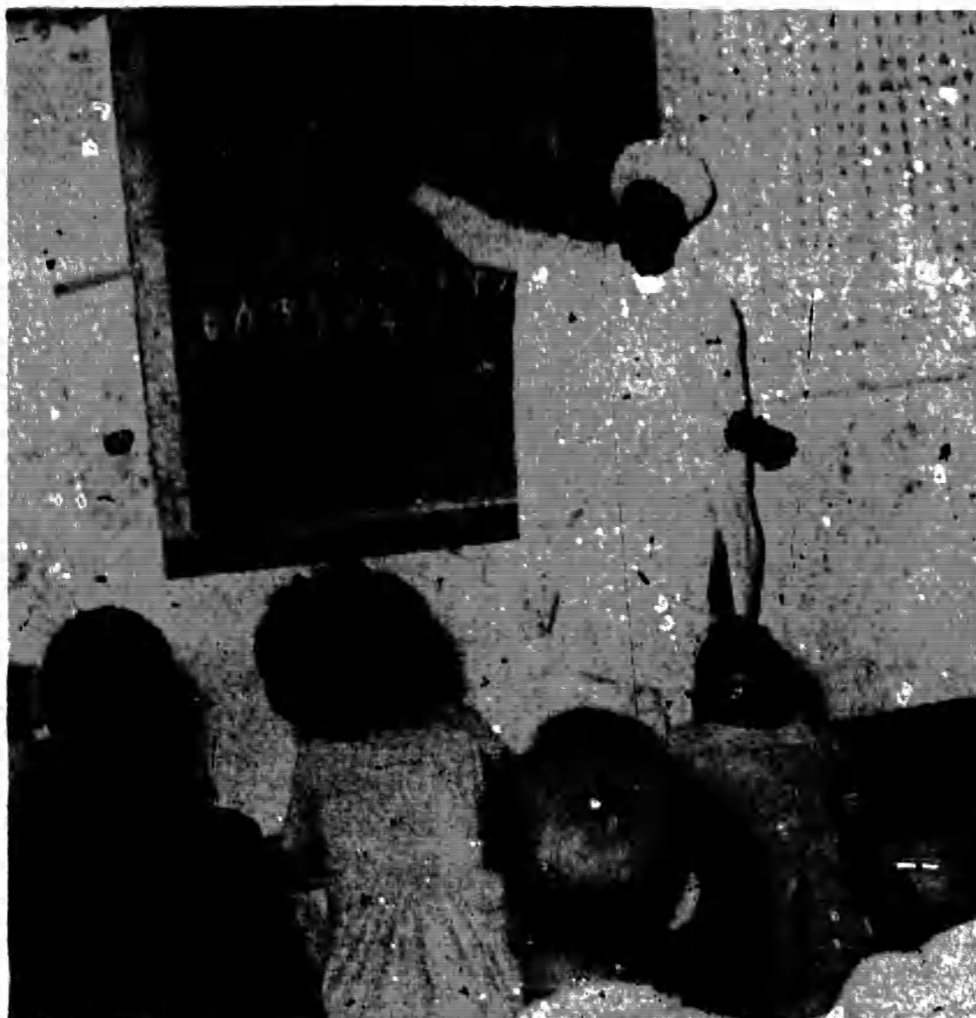
science, and is attached to St. George's Church. Eight or nine new schools were also opened in the provinces. Altogether it is estimated that some sixteen to seventeen hundred boys and girls received the beginning of a modern education before 1935. Meanwhile, the Emperor sent about 125 promising boys abroad to France, Egypt, Syria, Belgium, and the United States, for special training and world experience. Perhaps the sorest single blow struck against Ethiopia during the occupation was the execution of three-fourths of these young men.

Upon the Restoration of the Emperor in 1941, the Ethiopian Government, starting with next to nothing, and out of the ravages of 6 years of war, began anew the slow, difficult business of creating a modern educational system. "Next to nothing" meant next to no money, no teachers, no school buildings, no equipment, and no indigenous teaching materials. In addition to the Emperor's foreign scholarship boys, most of the local crop of educated young people had been wiped out. Anyone who could be found with as much as three or four grades of schooling was therefore pressed into service to teach, with or without a schoolroom or the most rudimentary equipment or teaching aids.

The wonder is not that some of these conditions persist to this day; that some teachers are still only partially trained, that pupils sit on improvised benches or on the ground in many makeshift schools, with textbooks of foreign origin or no textbooks at all. The wonder is that in a short 15 years such substantial progress has been won, and that today, more boldly and steadily than ever before in her history, Ethiopia continues to lay foundations looking to the realization of universal education.

As of 1953–1954 there were in Ethiopia 412 primary schools enrolling 62,000 children, of whom some 10,000 were girls. Of middle schools there were 119, enrolling 7,000 pupils. There were 12 secondary schools, of which 2 are agricultural, 1 commercial, 1 technical, and 1 a teacher-training school. Higher institutions include the University College of Addis Ababa, the College of Engineering, and the Imperial Ethiopian Agricultural College; these are potential even though they enrolled fewer than 600 students. With the exception of University College, which has its own Board of Governors, the educational system is centralized under the Ministry of Education. The education budget was $14,500,000 Ethiopian, which amounts to more than 15 percent of the total tax revenues for all governmental purposes.

One can only sketch here the developments of the Ethiopian-United States Cooperative Education Program which began in 1953. The formulation of a 10-year plan for the controlled expansion of Ethiopian education, the introduction of a modern, single, salary schedule for



Beginning Readers Tackle the Amharic Language

teachers, and the consequent working out of a system for reclassifying and upgrading teachers, the expansion of the output of teachers from 35 in 1953 to 280 in 1955, the increased application of educational measurements in many vital ways, great growth in audiovisual education, and in the trained personnel and machinery for school publications—all of these and other developments should be understood as moving forward concurrently with the unfolding of the program for the community school for basic education.

BUILDING UP A PROGRAM OF SCHOOLS FOR COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

As might be expected in the circumstances, schools in Ethiopia have developed to their present level mostly in Addis Ababa, and in the leading provincial towns; and those which exist are mostly preparatory schools of the academic type.

The need for mass education of an entirely different character was first presented to the Long-Term Planning Committee for Education in December 1953, in a special report on the language problem. The discussion which resulted gave rise to the formulation by the Committee of 28 resolutions for the reorganization and development of education. These were, in March of 1954, submitted to the Board of Education, the official policymaking body of the Ethiopian Government. The Board of Education approved these recommendations in June 1954, and requested the Committee to "consider details of reorganization, curriculum, and staffing with a view to their implementation." The first 11 of the 29 resolutions were aimed at the development of the community school for basic education.

In essence, these 11 resolutions urged that universal fundamental education, using Amharic as the language of instruction, and inculcating those skills which are most useful for living in rural Ethiopia, be extended to adults and be taught in schools for children 7 to 12 years old, in grades 1 to 4, in classes up to 40 pupils in size. The resolutions urged, further, that special teacher-training centers be established and learning materials in Amharic created for use both in the training and in the community schools. It was proposed that the community itself should provide the land for school grounds and should build and maintain the community school plant and teachers' homes, following plans provided or approved by the Ministry of Education, and that the Ministry should supply and pay teachers and provide teaching materials.

When I assumed my advisory job in January of 1955, the groundwork for the Ethiopian community school for basic education had thus been well and truly laid. That groundwork was substantially extended and further defined in the form of 13 additional recommendations approved by the Long-Term Planning Committee on March 8. Paraphrased and condensed, the new recommendations urged that the experience of other countries with community education be brought to and used in Ethiopia; that two types of staff members now be trained, both practically concerned with community development: the teacher who will work primarily with children, and the leaders who will work primarily with out-of-school youth and adults; that during the school year of 1955–56, 70 prospective trainees—35 teachers and 35 leaders—should be selected and enrolled for a year of special training, to begin in September of 1956, in a center providing special training for 1 year; that the site of the center be a tract of fertile farm land, with housing and equipment for a school-farm laboratory; that suitable materials in Amharic be prepared and published; that the cooperation of the Ministries of Public Health,

Lunch Time at Taffo School, Ethiopia

Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry, and of related programs under those Ministries, be sought and secured for community education and development on a national scale; that, beginning in 1957, 35 community schools for basic education, initially in the form of a first grade and a leader, be opened, and thereafter 35 each succeeding year, with one grade added annually to each school until all consist of grades 1 to 4, inclusive; that, of the 35 schools added each year, 10 be converted from existing incomplete primary schools that specified steps be taken to insure financial support of the program; that the new schools be so located in the provinces as to compensate for the present inequality of educational opportunity; and that trainees be chosen who come from communities in the vicinity of the schools in which they are to teach.

These resolutions, taken together, pretty well incorporate the theoretical stage of the creation of fundamental education, the philosophy, and the major and even some of the minor moves ahead. The Adviser on Community Education stepped upon the stage, appropri-

ately, at the precise moment when resolutions had to be translated into realities. And the first prerequisite to the success of that process, an essential too frequently overlooked or underemphasized, is treated briefly here under the subtitle:

CONDITIONING OF A FOREIGN ADVISER ON COMMUNITY EDUCATION

The Book Stage. The then Chief of the Education Mission in Ethiopia is a man who operates on the long view. He insisted that, for a period of 3 months after arrival on the post, I do nothing except visit schools and rural neighborhoods in Ethiopia and read and digest everything I could find concerning fundamental education and community development all over the world. From his own file, he supplied me with much of the best that is available on these subjects. The list ranged from an early mimeographed form of Raymond Gibson's "*Rural Schools in Peru*" to such monumental resources as *India's Five-Year Plan*, and *African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practices in British Tropical Africa.* Eagerly, I pursued the trail through the inspiring files of UNESCO's publications on Fundamental Education, and on, through India's *Kurekshetra.* I digested the brilliant *Report of the Regional Conference NEA Community Development, Tehran, 1954,* and cheered with all my heart for the progress of rural schools and community improvement in the Philippines. On the side, I made excursions through *Land Reform, A World Challenge*, the record of the Conference on World Land Tenure at the University of Wisconsin in 1951, and Dr. William Gray's classic report to UNESCO: *A Preliminary Survey of Methods of Teaching Reading and Writing.*

These titles offer only a meager hint of the cornucopia of unfolding world experience with schools and community improvement which the Chief of my Mission poured out upon my desk. I read until I could hardly see—one eye focused upon the educational needs of Ethiopia (as summarized in the reports of the Long-Term Planning Committee of the Ministry of Education), the other "surveying" what mankind was up to in my assigned field "from China to Peru."

Those 3 months of visitation within the country and of intensive study were one of the great growing periods of my life. But, by themselves, they were only an academic prologue. And so I set out to see for myself "the best that has been thought and said and done," in community education, in those countries at once most wise in experience and most comparable with my own.

The Look Stage.—In April 1955, the Chiefs of the Educational Missions of Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Hashemite Jordan, Israel, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, along with

Children Have Individual Plots in School

ertain supervisory officials from the area and from Washington, met
ı the Near East Area Regional Educational Conference at Beirut.
'his was a golden occasion for exchange of experience for my inexpe-
.ence; my own Chief saw to it that I was there and I took pains to be
n the receiving end. From my earlier readings, and from the reports
nd contacts of Beirut, I chose to go on from there to visit field work
ı Lebanon, Iran, and Egypt, and later, in India and the Sudan.

It is easy to know that one has gained much from such journeys, but
ır from easy to pin down any ideas of just what one has gained in aid of
particular program, or from precisely what sources. There is, of
ourse, the profound psychological orientation to strange lands and
lien cultures. Nothing can take the place of this firsthand experi-
nce. Even superficial exposure to more than one unfamiliar culture
ıakes it easier to adjust to any single one: This by contrasts, similari-
ies, likenesses-in-difference; by appropriation, sometimes, of whole
nits of teaching materials, of techniques, of methods of organization,
ıore rarely of deep insights into inter-race relations, and still more
arely, of principles which appear to be universal in application.

The *Look Stage* with me was a strenuous period. The heat, the dust,
he dysentery, the sleep-shattering aviation schedules, the frustrations
n (*a*) selecting, and (*b*) catching the key people and projects, the

hundreds of miles of pothole jeep-journeyings, the exacting journal-keeping, the accumulation and transport of mounting bales of memorabilia, the impossibility of hearing from home. * * * I put these things down to my own limitations until I found out that better men than I collapse under similar strain. One useful rule-of-thumb is suggested: Ordinarily no man should attempt, nor be expected to swallow, more than a single country or culture at a time.

The *Look Stage* involves the gambling element of every fishing expedition. Of all that one sees, 9 parts of 10 have little or no relevance, and the fishing may be, as has been said, a sorry labor, but the tenth part may prove to be a treasure beyond price! It has been so with me. We have already put to use in Ethiopia such findings from India—from Ernest Neal and Hugh Walker and U. I. Geswami, from W. A. Householder in Iran, from Sayed Osman Mahjub in the Sudan; and beyond question we will draw upon other learnings from abroad as our program moves along.

Which suggests that the time has now come to set down how our program is moving along. And so, beyond the Book Stage and the Look Stage, we emerge at last into:

GETTING THE PROGRAM OFF THE GROUND

The Action Stage: Major objectives and status of their progress.—In the area of action there appear to be four major objectives. The first is the establishment of a special training school for community school teachers and leaders by September 1956. The second is the mobilization of the Ministries of Government concerned, and of the nongovernmental agencies working with those Ministries, to support the new schools and their work of community improvement, beginning with the new training center. The third is to promote understanding of and applications for, the new schools at the grass roots, among the villagers themselves. And the fourth is the establishment of 35 community schools for basic education by September 1957, and of an equal number each year thereafter. The factor of time compels attention first to the establishment of the training school and to the securing of Government understanding and support. The work with the villagers and the location and establishment of our first community schools must in large part be set aside to be dealt with after September 1956.

Getting started with the training school for fundamental education.—The elements to be handled in this project are plain: they are the plant, the personnel, and the program. Advance to date as among these factors is ragged and uneven, but in the words of Monsieur Poirot, "we advance" somewhat as follows:

Plant.—The first item under this head is, of course, the school site. Ethiopia is full of sites for educational institutions which rival any in the world, and the Ministry of Education has in this instance proposed three, any one of which would gladden the heart of an educator. The location finally settled upon is at Debra Birhan (literally the Monastery of Lights), 75 miles north of Addis Ababa on the great highway leading to Asmara and the Red Sea. Here, behind a steep escarpment of rock which separates the contemplated training school from the village and shelters it from the brisk highland winds, fertile meadows dotted with eucalyptus groves slope gently to the pleasant meanderings of the Baressa River. A population map shows villages numerous and close enough to furnish ample "laboratories" and the folk of the neighborhood and the local authorities are well disposed toward the enterprise. Here are land and water aplenty; two *gashas* of land (roughly 200 acres), for which the ground is now in process of resurvey, are being set aside for the campus.

The Ministry of Education maintains an architectural office and an experienced building staff, to whom have been committed the planning and supervision of the physical plant. It is intended that the buildings shall be dignified, but of the simplest and most functional type, built of local materials to exemplify the best traditions of Ethiopian village life. Only the minimum housing and services essential for getting the institution started will be provided for the opening next September. Extensions in the form of additional houses, farm buildings, roads, and water supply, under competent technical supervision, are expected to form a part of the training of the first crop of community teachers and leaders.

Personnel.—The staff of the training center at the opening is expected to consist of nine teachers and a director. To the present moment, we have been slower in getting started on this vital business than on any other. The delay has been caused by a variety of factors, the underlying one being the exploration of a question of fundamental policy: Should the teaching staff of the training school be Ethiopian or foreign?

Because of the scarcity of soundly educated, technically specialized Ethiopians (the historic reasons for which have been explained) the easy and obvious course would be to recruit our beginning staff from abroad. That has been the pattern up to this date in matters of education (as in many other fields) in Ethiopia. But it is precisely that pattern which the community schools for basic education are designed to supersede; the genius of the community idea lies in its demonstration by Ethiopians. To begin with, in these schools we have the break with the use of English as a medium of instruction. These are

rural schools for mass education: Education not of the chosen few but of all children, and not only children but out-of-school youth and adults as well. All teaching materials, for all these groups, must be in the Amharic language.

But the heart of this business lies deeper than language. We are here proposing adaptations of human life and behaviour sanctioned—in many of their elements sanctified—by a thousand years of tradition. To *belong*, to take root, modifications must come from within; they must be a movement of the will, not of outsiders, but of Ethiopians. What has been said in the literature of community improvement repeatedly of other peoples is doubly true of this ancient, proud Ethiopia: Change will never survive here until and unless it is self-initiated; improvement must be *by* the community. And the staff of the training center whom the Government employs to service such efforts at improvement must be *of* the community: The teachers must, in a word, know the Ethiopian village *by heart*.

Of course experience abroad supports the use of nationals—experience in India, in Egypt, in the Sudan. To get started with this fundamental movement we need only nine young Ethiopians strong, dedicated, and able to teach Amharic, arithmetic, social studies, agriculture, health, heavy crafts, physical education, and community organization. They have not yet been found, but we are confident they will be.

When we succeed in finding them and in forming a "first team" of Ethiopians, the strategy ahead is clear. We shall support the teaching staff with the most expert technical advice from the Ministries concerned and from associated agencies like our own, the Food and Agriculture Organization, World Health Organization, the Imperial Highway Authority, and others. Meanwhile, we shall select a "second team" and assign them to be trained as fast and as soundly as possible, both in Ethiopia and abroad, to replace the "first team." As fast as the second group are ready, they will be sent into the jobs in the training school. The first group of men whom they relieve will then be trained in their turn—and they will by that time know what they most need in the way of further special training. The enrollment of the training center will increase in the meantime more than enough to absorb both groups. In this scheme the first 2 years will, of course, be the critical period; if the beginning faculty can carry the load passably to that point, we shall have within 4 to 6 years a disciplined and experienced Ethiopian staff. From that point, their own pedagogical descendants can be depended upon to succeed them.

If we fail to find these nine Ethiopians at this point, we shall have

to go about it the long way around: Recruit American or other "outlanders" as best we can, and postpone for an indefinite period the utilization of a crop of Ethiopians to take their places.

The program.—By the program is meant, in simple terms, syllabuses and teaching materials, first for the training center and second for the community work with both children and adults. The community school movement has created for the first time in Ethiopia a demand for a complete implementation of mass education with teaching materials in Amharic. It becomes necessary therefore to evolve, starting with virtually nothing, an organization and machinery to produce, illustrate, and print such materials.

In the long view it may be found desirable to constitute the subject heads of the training school as chairmen of their respective syllabus and teaching materials committees, a scheme which has operated with conspicuous success over a period of 21 years in the Sudan. Meanwhile, because the production will not wait, at the request of the Ministry of Education, a Coordinating Committee for the Production of Teaching Materials for Community Education has been appointed and considerable progress is being made.

A committee of Amharic linguists—6 Ethiopians and 4 Americans—has made a survey of materials already available in Amharic, and listed them as to their usefulness and grade placement. Building around these, they have produced as fresh material an Amharic alphabet book, three primers and a first reader; and the rough content and some pages of Amharic text of a beginning arithmetic book. Plans are maturing for the issue of a 4-page leaflet in Amharic for children in grades one to four, copiously illustrated, in January of 1956, and also for a magazine, partly in English, for grades 5 to 8. The primary materials are particularly valuable because the first crop of teachers from the training center must, of course, go out to teach first grades as the beginning of the first 35 community schools.

This situation points up sharply one issue on which Ethiopian and American practices vary so sharply as virtually to collide: namely, the effective way to teach children in the first grade in school. In Ethiopia, except in a few private schools the beginning children are taught by men, and the teaching process is concentrated almost exclusively upon mastering an alphabet chart of 236 symbols. Beginning classes are usually too large to be well taught by any method, and the proportion of children who fail to continue into grade two is extremely large.

The remedy for this situation is not simple. Although, with the country's Christian background, Ethiopian women are regarded somewhat differently from women in the Near East generally, they still

give place to men in education, even in primary education, and in holding public jobs. In the fact of rooted tradition it is doubtful whether merely bringing in a foreign woman expert on primary methods to teach men in the new training center would be understood or well received. If in some way, a number of Ethiopian young women could be trained in Western-style kindergarten and primary methods, could then be given beginning classes of reasonable size, and operate with a program and equipment adapted to childhood, the holding power of their methods (by which is meant the proportion of beginning children who would persist into the second and higher grades) might demonstrate that the new community schools would do well, in this manner, to transform the introductory processes of education in Ethiopia. Such a move would mark a break with tradition, but it would release men desperately needed to teach in higher grades, and contribute substantially to solving the critical problem of teacher supply.

Beyond grade 1 the production of Amharic teaching materials is still uneven, but it is coming along. Arithmetic and history are still almost blank panels. In geography Dr. Gordon Schilz of the Imperial Geographic Institute has produced a *Geography of Ethiopia* for the third grade which is being subjected to trial use in the schools, and *Geography of Africa and Ethiopia* for grade 4 which is in press. In agriculture, the president of the Agricultural College, serving as chairman, has already in hand a substantial body of materials, and is using his staff of technical experts to edit units adapted to Ethiopia which will be ready for translation into Amharic by January 1. The medical officer for the Ministry of Education has undertaken the same responsibility for teaching materials in his field and is organizing subcommittees to produce units in health, hygiene, and sanitation. The head of the Imperial Highway Authority is having prepared a "Primer of Roadbuilding," to be available immediately, which he says will serve perfectly as a manual for our school leaders. All three of these chairmen are prepared to lend experts in their respective fields for demonstrations and practical experience for the trainees. There remains a great way to go in the production of teaching materials, but substantial additions are being made.

Mobilizing Government Support of Community Education.—In May the Ministry of Education, through its Long-Term Planning Committee, authorized this Adviser to confer informally with all appropriate nongovernmental agencies, establishing person-to-person connections looking toward effective cooperation in preparation for a general meeting of Ministries and allied agencies to be called by the Ministry of Education. Such preliminary conversations have now been held, and a semi-formal general conference of representatives of

all nongovernmental agencies, upon the invitation of the International Cooperation Administration of the United States is planned for the immediate future.

There is every evidence thus far that all Governmental agencies concerned will support the community school as an instrumentality to extend their own services to areas where they are most needed. Indeed, although it is premature to prophesy, there are encouraging signs that the Government and the various assisting foreign agencies may view the community school movement as a powerful influence for the advancement of Ethiopia and take further action on this assumption during the years which lie immediately ahead.

III. Some Common Understandings

Dimensions of Education

Education and Cultural Change

Schools and Other Community Agencies

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Community Education and the Schools

By Verna A. Carley

Community School Adviser
International Cooperation Administration
U. S. Mutual Security Mission to China

A NEW SCHOOL IN AN OLD VALLEY

A GROUP OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS were one day exploring some magnificent Inca ruins about 50 miles from Cuzco, Peru. Over in the valley, we saw a school which seemed strangely busy. Like busmen on a holiday, we could not resist the temptation to go and see what all the activity was about. Although it was Sunday and we were unexpected guests, the principal came to greet us, buttoning on his best coat. Soon some of the teachers who were engaged in a game of baseball with older farm youths dropped into the schoolroom to chat with us. Eventually parents and their children also joined our group.

This was the central school of a nuclear school system, and the teachers resided at the school. With great pride and appreciation they showed us the modest teachers' residence the parents had helped them to build, making the adobe blocks, the window sashes, and the construction. Only the material for the roof had been furnished by the government with aid from the United States.

In this same manner the school had, of course, been built first. It had separate classrooms for each grade with floors and windows, desks and chairs. This may seem like standard equipment in some parts of the world, but it was luxury here, in comparison with the typical Indian school, a windowless mud hut, with children huddled together on the floor.

We mingled with the parents, teachers, and children in the classrooms and on the grounds of this school, their finest structure and natural community center. We saw teacher- and pupil-made charts on the walls, and the fine workbooks and drawings of the children. Then with shy pride one of the parents and then another showed their work, for they belonged to the adult classes which met from 7 to 9 in the morning and from 6 to 8 in the evening, hours when the regular pupils were not in school. There were 30 in each of these adult classes, which also included youths and children who had not been or were not now able to attend the regular sessions. Classes were offered in the national language, in agriculture, and in homemaking.

There were six regular grades in this central school of the nucleo and four supervisors, in addition to the regular teachers. These supervisors—one each in hygiene, agriculture, homemaking, and adult literacy—helped the teachers of the 20 or more one-room sectional schools affiliated with this central school, in addition to teaching the adult classes.

In this community there was no artificial demarcation between the community work done by teachers and their work with the children in classes or with the fundamental education groups who met each morning or evening. These groups involved the same campesinos and their children, and the same teachers. All were concerned with the water and sewage disposal systems which were being constructed; all who wished made use of the showers recently built at the school. All, or some members of all families, were receiving instruction in first aid from the hygiene teacher, who had recently returned from the United States. All were watching the progress of experiments with grains, and chickens, and pigs, the purpose of which was to cross better varieties from the United States with sturdier but poorer native types. As we walked about the grounds, it was difficult to tell whether it was a parent, a teacher, or an older brother who was proudly pointing out the improvements and the experiments. This was truly a community center for these people. It was their school for they had built it, and its doors were open to all of them. The school was the core of education for this community.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

The lights of the truck of the Group Organizer reflected clearly the intently interested faces of the little farm community gathered around him to discuss the next steps in building the road. The discussion was lively, participated in chiefly by the men, but here and there in the circle a mother with babe in arms occasionally made a suggestion, without embarrassment. Children and youth of all ages followed the proceedings with wide-eyed interest and emotional reactions similar to those of their parents. There was no doubt that the building of a road to the highway was of the utmost concern to all; the entire group of men, women, and children had already volunteered, to the limit of their capacity, their land, their labor, and their pennies for its construction. They now listened to the reports of the committees appointed by them to interview Government officials regarding negotiations for a Government technician to help them with their plans, the preliminary voluntary work these farm people would need to accomplish, and subsequent assistance of the necessary road machinery on a scheduled date.

Here, I thought, was community education in action, a total community solving a problem basic to the improvement of their daily living. Here the democratic processes were being utilized, with people initiating action on a problem of deepest concern to them, suggesting ways and means of solution, volunteering their own labor and skill to the extent of their ability, seeking advice from technical resources, relying on their Government to assist them with that necessary fraction of the operation which they, in these remote hills, could not possibly provide. Here, indeed, was an excellent example of the work of the Division of Community Education which was represented by the Group Organizer.

However, as an educational representative on a multidisciplinary team studying community development programs,[1] I kept looking uneasily at the shadow against the sky, the country school dimly visible on an adjacent hill. "What," I kept asking myself, "is the school's role in this community education?"

As we were picking our way along the narrow, dark, rough trail to the highway, I asked the Group Organizer if the school teacher was at the meeting. "No," he replied, "the school teachers are commuters from the towns. There is no place here in the country for them to stay."

"Wouldn't parents such as these build a place for the teachers?" I questioned hopefully.

"No, the teachers have shown no interest in this type of activity and prefer to return to their own homes."

"But couldn't the school building be used as a meeting place so that there could be lights and seats?"

"No," said the Organizer for the third time. "It is not available. According to regulations, the teacher has it cleaned and prepared for the next day before she leaves for home."

And so the Government, intent upon improving the quality of living for the people, has established by law a separate and distinct Division of Community Education to put into motion a program of helping people, cooperatively, to help themselves in improving their health, their crops, their literacy, their housing, and their community life in general, with or without the cooperation of the schools.

A subsequent visit to the school left no doubt that it was the poorer for remaining outside the main currents of interest and activity in the community and for not utilizing the powerful motivation of the life problems that had been so engrossing to the children at the evening's meeting. For these children, at least, the functional community

[1] The writer was a member of an interdisciplinary team representing agriculture, health, sanitation, welfare, economics, anthropology, and education, which, after orientation, was subdivided into three sections to visit programs in the Far East, the Near East, and South America.

education was supplementing the formalized work of the shool; yet there can be little doubt that the 3Rs would have been more effectively taught had they been related to the interests, activities, and problems of the child and his home. Here indeed was community education and a little "schooling."

BROAD EDUCATIONAL MOBILIZATION

Jamaica illustrates with remarkable clarity what can be accomplished when every available skill and idea is mobilized in voluntary, island-wide, educational endeavors to improve conditions. Everyone participating is valued for his ideas, his work, his other contributions, and not for his ancestry or his educational or economic status; everyone is a potential leader, a leader being defined as "Anyone who knows something, or can do something he is willing to teach to someone else." The prime motivator is the desire for the well-being of the people, in which everyone has a "stake." The cement of common purpose between Government and people integrates the various elements in the citizenry with a feeling of belonging.

Out of this broad base of local leadership have emerged people like Nicanor Brown, president of Treadways Settlers' Association.[7] Once convinced that simple people like himself could improve the quality of their lives through their own efforts, he has become a genuine leader in every sense, deterred neither by his age nor his lack of "schooling." The transformation of a poor, neglected, illiterate farm resettlement project into a thriving community of proud, confident, and satisfied people is a striking example of the power and effectiveness of government technical assistance to cooperative educational programs involving all the people concerned in the purposing, studying, planning and carrying out of activities under their own leadership.

The broad educational program involved children, youth, and adults of all ages in such encompassing activities as 4-H Clubs, home improvement, cooperative credit, consumer buying, cooperative construction of homes, the building of smokeless stoves and sanitary toilets, the eradication of plant disease, the improving of livestock, experimental gardening, the diversifying of crops, the development of cooperatives for improved tilling, transporting and marketing of crops, and the providing of recreation. Yet even in this community, the curriculum of the barren little school had made no adaptations to the remarkable educational developments that were engaging the wholehearted participation of children and their parents. The "schooling"

[7] Detailed descriptions of Treadways and other Community Developments are included in a report prepared by Carley and Starch for the Community Development Division of the International Cooperation Administration, Washington, D. C.

had nothing to do with cooperative credit, new crops, soil erosion, or even with the hygiene and nutrition problems in their daily living. The problems studied came from a text belonging to a different era and culture.

THE SCHOOL'S OPPORTUNITY

It is a depressing experience to observe schools which are not participating in the dynamic and far-reaching educational programs of their communities, to hear national as well as community leaders say, "We have made tremendous advances in health, in agriculture, and in housing. Our schools are our worst problem." This usually means that school personnel are resisting any change in a time-honored, formalized curriculum, are insisting that programs handed down, both in content and method, from generation to generation are EDUCATION; that the facts and activities which relate the school to the community (even the school lunch program) are the responsibility of specialized agencies, such as agriculture, social welfare, public health, and the like. Reminded of local problems, such as sanitation, or hookworms, or reforestation which could give meaning to their textbook lessons, of activities which could develop attitudes of service and habits of good citizenship on the part of students, these traditional teachers, it seems, are apt to reply: "We don't have time to teach anything extra nor to add any more activities to our overloaded workdays."

It is also a rather shocking discovery for an educator to note the number of other agencies engaging, by themselves, in work that ordinarily should be shared, if not assumed, by the schools. In cases when the teachers have imprisoned education within the confines of the school building and its limited texts, other agencies, such as agriculture and health, have often had to develop educational programs to provide the necessary foundations for their projects. In one country I was amazed by the number, variety, and excellence of teaching methods, classes, and other educational activities under the auspices of the Public Health Program, the 4-H program, and Agricultural Extension. These, it was explained, had developed to such an extent to give the support not provided in the schools to the national programs in health and agriculture. The schools meanwhile, we were told, were "heroically safeguarding their traditions." In another country the Public Health workers not only pioneered in providing health services in a new community, but continued right on, through their effectively organized health education programs, to stimulate and assist the community to build a school. Eventually, in democratic countries, it is likely that the schools clinging to the traditions of class stratification

will be supplemented or replaced by programs serving all the needs of developing communities in much the same way as the academies in the United States were replaced by the high schools.

School personnel need to be helped to recognize that not all education is confined to the schools; that all "schooling" is not necessarily education; that much of the best education may be outside of the schools in health, agricultural, industrial, or welfare programs; that the schools have a unique opportunity as well as a responsibility to work cooperatively with other agencies in carrying out the particular services which they can uniquely contribute to total programs of community education. The extent and quality of the school's cooperation in such programs will largely determine whether school staffs and facilities will be augmented or whether new agencies or educational departments in other agencies will be established to meet the compelling need for living education in communities all over the world today.

That the school has a unique opportunity for leadership in community education is obvious. What contribution the school can and will make depends on the professional competence as well as on the willingness of the teaching personnel. Teachers having contact with parents and the homes of the children, should know their needs, their hopes, and their dreams. They should, more than most people, realize the importance of motivation, of learning by doing, and the significance of self-help in developing and preserving individual dignity. Well-trained teachers should know how to stimulate and guide the total process of problem-solving from the initial "felt need," through the cooperative planning and execution of a series of activities, to a solution and final evaluation in terms of progress made toward the realization of goals. Teachers know that the problem-solving process is basic to the total educational process. Demonstrations, or assignments of teacher-designed tasks, though useful, do not provide experience in the total process of purposing, planning, executing, and evaluating. Only by successfully participating in this total process do people become confident, and willing to continue to try to solve their own problems. The importance of the process itself is best described by Fred Wales, Director of the Division of Community Education in Puerto Rico:

> Roads, milk stations, gardens, and other material things are only the expressions of community growth, not the growth itself. Poverty of the spirit can be found as much in the community with fine buildings and abundant services as in the poor man's countryside. Buildings and services are signposts that mark the direction of a people's progress. For us, their value to the community can best be measured when one knows and understands the planning that preceded action, how they became a reality, and by what manner of participation their function is kept alive.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION

That individual teachers, especially rural teachers, have in many instances been the backbone of community development activities is an amply documented fact. But we also know that the teacher who sees his work in this broad frame of reference is more apt to be motivated by his own civic-mindedness than by any stimulation or preparation provided by his normal school or other professional training or association. In some communities a teacher may be an inspired leader of community education projects in health, housing, or literacy; in neighboring villages, teachers who were members of the same training courses may show not the slightest knowledge or interest in such endeavors. This may or may not be different from the individual responses in any other group or profession. Inasmuch as there is a teacher in most villages, however, more rapidly developing countries miss a real opportunity to intensify their efforts to raise living standards by not preparing teachers with the appropriate attitudes, skills, knowledge, and appreciation at the infusion or training point so that their necessary participation in group leadership will not be left entirely to chance.

PROBLEMS OF TEACHER EDUCATION

It is unfortunate that the normal schools, colleges, and universities, the infusion points, are in so many cases tradition-bound and aristocratically intrenched. Exceptions do exist, such as the community-centered program of Warisata Normal School in Bolivia, extramural or summer session courses in other universities, and the emphasis given in the Philippines and in Puerto Rico, as well as excellent programs in several universities in the United States. But it is the exceptional rather than the regular preservice or inservice teacher-education curriculum which provides the philosophy, method, and actual experience in community education.

Why is there such a lag throughout the world in the programs of teacher-training institutions? Why are we so slow in giving teachers adequate preparation for participation in broad community educational developments? Is it because most governments have no clearly defined policy with respect to community development and the integration of communities into national life? Without the external stimulus which such a policy provides, normal schools and universities are often loathe to make fundamental changes in their approaches to education. Or may it be that those who have benefited most from their educational advantages resist, actively or passively, the expansion of educational opportunity? Certainly general public

education would take away many privileges from those who regard their educational attainment, achieved through a succession of competitive examinations, as a badge of status and exclusiveness.

Two recent rather similar incidents, in different institutions, show how tenaciously this assumption of superiority perseveres. Workshops had been requested in one country by university and normal school staff members who had no contact with educational developments and materials preceding and during World War II. When the consultants advised open rather than locked book shelves in order to make reading materials easily available for the participants, professors planning the workshops were very reluctant to agree. They finally consented to the experiment however. After several more workshops, those who had in the beginning most strenuously opposed the innovation found deep satisfaction in the gratitude of the young people who for the first time had access to such resources.

In most teacher-training institutions, the staff does not really know how to participate in the preparation of teaching personnel for community education. The professors, themselves, are almost certain to be products of highly formalized educational systems based on status, persons who have had no firsthand experience with informal, functional types of education. Even the most brilliant lacks acquaintance with the ABC's of democratic educational procedures. They do not know, for example, what is involved in learning how to chair a meeting; how to participate in group discussion; how to plan for cooperative problem-solving; how to be the kind of group leader who encourages each individual member of a group to contribute as much as he can to the solution of a common problem, who feels and shows a sincere respect for each individual contribution, who can analyze and present the outcomes of discussion so that a group is able to evaluate its progress in terms of its needs and objectives, appreciating material gains but valuing more the development of self-confidence, faith in cooperative educational processes, skill in applying them, and determination to continue to improve through their use.

Many professors in nations trying to develop community education have never had an opportunity to be one of a group of people who work as equals even though they have varying backgrounds, or a chance to share ideas with individuals or agencies other than their own small professional staffs. Can it be that their inexperience with this kind of communication has caused them to feel a certain insecurity which they sometimes try to hide behind a semblance of indifference or even of hostility? Their pride does not permit them to admit ignorance. Only with opportunities to experience with

satisfaction to themselves, and without "loss of face," the processes fundamental in the broader concepts of community education, can this great potential of educational leadership be redirected, developed, and utilized for the country's progress.

EDUCATION VERSUS REVOLUTION

People all over the world are wanting to improve their lot, to provide for their children better living conditions than they themselves have known. These mounting desires will not wait while a school system gets itself reorganized, while masses are "schooled" in the traditional manner to satisfy their needs. Educationally "postponed and forgotten" people who are now asking for a share of Earth's bounty, as well as its drudgery, are increasingly intent upon getting it, one way or another. The question often is whether they can get it the evolutionary rather than the revolutionary way. The former depends upon the educational process; the latter, upon the overthrow of those who "have" by those who "have not." The former emphasizes the effect upon people of the educational and democratic processes employed in the solution of problems; the latter is concerned with material advancement.

Confidence in the educability of the "commonest man" and a genuine willingness to provide the opportunity appropriate to his educational needs—not just in terms of schooling—explain the rapidity with which a countrywide community development movement has spread in both Puerto Rico and Jamaica. We were told that Norman Manley is considered a liberator in Jamaica because he gave people knowledge of the power within themselves. What a keynote for progress in harmony with democratic educational processes! What a contrast to the methodology of liberators with guns and bullets and knives. Both Prime Minister Manley of Jamaica and Governor Muñóz of Puerto Rico are intellectual leaders who have identified themselves with the problems of common people and have based their political careers on self-help programs using broad educational procedures in agriculture, health, housing, and welfare. Though it is generally supposed that this "grass roots" approach takes longer, the rapidity of progress in both islands demonstrates what can happen in a period of 10 to 15 years when large proportions of the citizenry are actively involved in the advancement of their own living standards.

Settlements like Treadways and communities all over the island show the remarkable evolutionary rather than revolutionary change in people and in Jamaica since the bloody riots of 1938. We were told that these uprisings of discontented folk were successfully met by getting at the cause; that they were a people's protest against

their economic distress, their demand for the creation of conditions that would render possible a better and less restricted life. We were told that resettlement programs of agricultural organizations and of the Jamaica Welfare, such as Treadways, commissioned "to engage in any work or activity, directly or indirectly relating to the health, cultural improvement, education, recreation, agriculture, industry, finance, trade, justice, and morals of or for agricultural and working people of and in Jamaica" had stopped the tide of communism, "which simply isn't a problem in Jamaica."

PUTTING KNOWLEDGE TO WORK

Teachers like those whose work is described in this yearbook are waging a "peaceful offensive" against human misery by putting knowledge to work for the greatest good of the greatest number. Unfortunately, many scientists and classicists, who dread the influence of applied science, laboratories, practicums, and land-grant colleges, look with disfavor upon this trend in education.

A program which aims to release intelligence and innate capacity on a broad communitywide scale in the solution of problems is often met with amused disdain by those who say "They can't solve problems if they can't read." As though life were not constantly posing problems without reference to one's reading quotient! One must admit that problem-solving is easier if the people concerned can read but it is not impossible without this skill. Whole infected areas have rid themselves of pestilence by following the directions of competent "technicians" taught by gifted leaders who had the resourcefulness to design training programs utilizing demonstrations, charts, and pictures, participation, and practice for keen men and women capable of understanding the processes involved though deprived of the benefits of literacy. True, many of their people were motivated to become literate, but at the outset the need for the skill was so urgent that the time necessary for "book-learning" could not be spared. I have seen such activities as DDT spraying, insect control, home nursing, the building of wells, houses, sanitary privies, and smokeless stoves carried on, by and for large numbers of people handicapped by illiteracy who were able to make good use of scientific knowledge.

I have seen in-service teacher-education programs for "mature" graduates of the fifth grade who were responsible for one-room schools in which the age of their pupils ranged from 6 to 21 years. I have seen 6 months' basic training courses for medical technicians with no more "schooling" than the teachers, who were then sent to the most remote health centers to care for the health needs of a thousand

or more people in developing communities. I heard the principles of cooperatives taught to a group of serious-minded adult illiterates, followed by tutoring in 'riting and 'rithmetic for those who would be keeping books. Later I saw the thriving cooperatives which had developed from this kind of education, cooperatives which paid off not only in equipment and credit amounting to thousands of dollars but in the health, happiness, and earned self-confidence of members as well.

I saw a father, his eldest son, his son's wife, the younger brothers, and the neighbors' children all seated on the ground against the sunny side of the house learning to read. The father told us that he most appreciated the opportunity for his eldest son to read again as the boy had not had the chance to do this since he finished third grade, the highest level offered at their local school. I have seen "library" groups of "recent" literates studying, with as much intensity as any college student's, pamphlets with limited vocabularies but adult ideas published by their government, pamphlets which explained the causes of and solutions for their problems, told them how to grow better potatoes, how to improve the soil, how to combat leaf mold, how to disinfect, how to write a letter, how to conduct a meeting. And in these and in many more experiences I had the deepest admiration for the participants and their leaders and the firm conviction that the knowledge put to work by and for these people would result in an impact probably as great as that of many in "ivory towers."

A government vitally interested in the improvement of living conditions for the masses of its citizenry is well aware that such improvement can be accomplished only to the degree that the people confidently, wholeheartedly, and cooperatively undertake to help themselves. To arrive there, it will encourage the development of broad educational programs designed to improve local diets; to combat disease; to build better homes; to decrease illiteracy; to construct schools, health centers, bridges, dams, harbors, and sanitary facilities; to grow better grain and livestock. It will do this because it believes that such community education gives people confidence in their own ability to "take what they have and make what they want," and destroys the appeal of those who come with readymade answers.

In educational programs of the dimensions demanded in the race between evolution and catastrophe, the various types of education—fundamental, vocational, general, and higher—lose their uniqueness in the imperative objectives of nations which are face to face with pressing countrywide problems such as malnutrition and disease. No significant program of education anywhere today is without responsibility for participating in overall national programs which depend for their success upon broad utilization of intelligence, skill, and knowledge. Departmental and agency lines tend to lose their

importance in the pursuit of the major objectives of the "peaceful offensive." From a spot on the map in the Far East, arguments concerning the prerogatives and responsibilities of health or agricultural agencies or the schools in solving these pressing problems seem about as futile as debating the merits or the priorities of the Army or the Navy or the Marines or the Public Health Service in an all-out offensive in a "hot" war. What is needed is a total effort to put all knowledge and skill to work for the common good.

THE ISSUES INVOLVED

1. To what extent is a government genuinely committed to the task of improving the lives of its citizens?

2. To what extent are the schools cooperating with national programs which aim to better conditions of living for the mass of people?

3. To what extent can a government progress in a program demanding a broadened base and methods inherent in the democratic process if the courses, methods, and practices in its schools are based on a class or status system?

4. To what extent have community education programs developed without the benefit of the school system?

5. To what extent are the educational processes involved, the effects on the people themselves, as well as material results, considered in developing programs of education?

6. Are the schools helping to put knowledge to work for the improvement of living of all members of the community, or are they guarding it as a badge of superiority in a "strata" society?

7. Are the schools through their curricula and methods diffusing the knowledge and developing the attitudes and skills which are fundamental in the improvement of present-day living and the solving of current problems, or are they simply passing on facts and behavior patterns belonging to another age and social structure?

8. Are teachers clinging to out-moded curricula and methods by choice or prejudice, or because they lack the knowledge and assistance to revise and adjust them?

9. To what extent are Ministries of Education, universities, and normal schools cooperating in the preparation of school personnel for the broader aims of education? Are they "marking time" or actually working against such programs?

These are not academic questions, nor exclusively those of the so-called underdeveloped areas. These fundamental issues are being discussed with varying terminology in the United States and else-

where, not only in university seminars and teachers' meetings, but in Government agencies, and at national gatherings like the White House Conference on Education. These are among the issues which have been or are being resolved wherever successful programs in community education are reported. They are fundamental issues rather than academic questions because powerful interests, customs, and traditions are involved.

Descriptions of the programs reported in this yearbook show clearly that these issues are being attacked and resolved by the resourcefulness and determination of community educational leaders, in or out of schools, throughout the world. Every illustration is a case study of creativity and of dedicated service in the struggle against lethargy, prejudice, and ignorance. Every one is a pioneer movement, a pilot project, in a long-term program against hunger, disease, and illiteracy. Every one is a positive program designed to improve the quality of living of the "commonest" as well as the "uncommonest" man, whether he is in the most remote hills of Jamaica, in the housing developments in Puerto Rico, on the Altiplano of Bolivia, in the jungles of Peru, the villages of India and Egypt, the tents in Iran and Jordan, or in the community schools of the Philippines.

Education and Village Improvement in India

By Humayun Kabir

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CHANGING PATTERNS

THE INDIAN PEOPLE have throughout the ages sensed the need of education for the improvement of community life. In ancient and even in medieval India, formal education was, however, the prerogative of only a minority. The majority were served by a system of folk education which was one with the people's lives. It flowed naturally through the social channels and made its way almost everywhere. Agriculture and crafts were taught as family avocations or through a simple and elementary form of apprenticeship. The community also administered law and justice through a council of village elders. Nor were the cultural needs of the people ignored. They were trained to honor the ancient ideals and imbibe the ethical habits needed for the welfare of the community.

The modes of instruction included the recitation of the epics, the expounding of the scriptures, readings from the *Puranas*, which may be regarded as legendary records of history, the performance of *yatras* founded upon the early myths and religious stories, dramatic narrations about the ancient heroes, and the singing in chorus of the songs of old religious literature. This system of audiovisual folk education [1] was able to instill in the common man a philosophic and cultured spirit in spite of the almost universal lack of literacy.

Side by side with such audiovisual education, there were common religious festivals and established social institutions which helped to develop a sense of community among the people and to train them in the simple duties which the comparatively simple mode of life demanded. The joint family system not only gave a sense of security to the old and the young, but also provided young boys and girls with the opportunity for learning how to live as members of a society. In many cases, the village, either through a local landlord or through the council of elders, looked after the old and the infirm in cases where there was no joint family to support them. In this way the material as well as the spiritual needs of the people were largely met and society functioned simply but healthily.

[1] *The Indian Heritage* by Humayun Kabir. Bombay, India. Asia Publishing House.

This traditional pattern of Indian life was at first disturbed and later disrupted by the advent of the West. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the West increasingly dominated the Indian scene. Of the various forces released by this impact, perhaps the most far reaching in its consequences has been the influence of western modes of industrial production. The Industrial Revolution in Europe literally ushered in a new age for man and led to a complete transformation of old social institutions. The old village communities were increasingly replaced by modern industrial and commercial towns. Women began to move out of the domestic circle and to take up work in factories and offices. Increasing use of the machine led to greater spread of scientific knowledge and was at times accompanied by a weakening of faith in traditional religions.

These factors contributed to the growth of individualism at the cost of family and neighborly ties, but the West soon found alternative methods of social insurance and social cooperation to supplement, and where necessary replace, the institutions which decayed. The impact of the industrial age was felt in India as well, but alternative modes of social insurance were not as quickly or as fully developed as in the West.

The spread of western education in India, however, led to a growing realization that there could be no improvement in the standard of life without far more widespread education for the people. We find that right from the beginning of western contacts, a few farseeing Indian leaders desired a system of national education for the people. From the early years of the present century, political leaders and social reformers increasingly demanded the introduction of universal compulsory education throughout the country. Gokhle, whom Gandhi regarded as his initiator in politics, had as one of his life's dreams the provision of universal education for the people.

THE GROWTH OF A NEW CONCEPT

One of the indications of the decay of old Indian culture was the growing estrangement between education and life throughout the nineteenth century under the impact of western influences. In fact, this largely counterbalanced the many undoubted gains which followed from the introduction of western education and science into Indian life.

One of the first, if not *the* first to realize the nature of this estrangement and suggest means to remedy it was Rabindranath Tagore. Writing about 65 years ago, Tagore pointed to the lack of contact between education and life as one of the basic causes of India's political, economic, and social backwardness. Education in Europe, he observed, was based on needs which grew out of the daily life of the

people. The most forward-looking educators there were men who were engaged in the search for truth, in the discovery of scientific laws, in the creation of works of art, and in the solution of social and economic problems as they arose from day to day.

Such education brought to the students not only information about facts and events, but also the broad discipline, the humane outlook, and the creative urge which alone can shape human life. Knowledge, he realized, need not be something apart from the community, but could form the substance of a people's life. In India, as Tagore saw it 65 years ago, education was largely superimposed and dealt with contents derived from European life. It had little contact with the problems and aspirations of the Indian people. Tagore proclaimed that the dilemma of Indian education would be solved when it gave the people the capacity to match felt needs with their satisfaction and provided "food for the hungry, clothes for the unclad, language for their ideas, and life to all education."

It was with a view to satisfying these requirements that, more than 50 years ago, Tagore established his school at Santiniketan. He intended it as a center, not only for the acquisition of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but for the development of the mind and personality of the child. The very first plans he made for his school provided that teaching would be in close contact with nature and far away from cities. The school would have land of its own which the pupils would help to cultivate and a dairy where they would look after the cattle. During the intervals of their study of books and their farm and dairy duties, they would engage in activities for improving the physical condition of the locality. The school at Santiniketan, established in the opening years of the century, was perhaps the first to recognize the role of education in the improvement of community life in contemporary India.

In the course of years, Tagore further developed his conception of education in its relation to community life. In his essay on *An Eastern University*, he has restated the conditions needed to make education fruitful and creative. He has referred to the ancient tradition of Indian education. Its main function was to make the common man conscious of the sanctity of social relationship and teach him to perform the various duties to which he is called as a member of the community. Education in modern India, he held, must be rooted in this tradition, but be richer and deeper in order to conform to the culture of India, which is a complex of elements derived from ancient and medieval India, the culture of the Orient, and the civilization of the modern West. It must not only cater to the intellectual needs of the individual but must also help to develop his personality through contact with art and the life current of the people.

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In Tagore's own words, "Economic life covers the whole width of the fundamental basis of society, because its necessities are the simplest and the most universal. Educational institutions, in order to obtain their fulness of truth, must have close association with this economic life. The highest mission of education is to help us to realize the inner principle of the unity of all knowledge and all the activities of our social and spiritual being. Society in its early stage was held together by its economic cooperation, when all its members felt in unison a natural interest in their right to live. * * *. The idea of such economic cooperation should be made the basis of our University. It must not only instruct, but live; not only think, but produce."

Tagore concluded; "Our center of culture should not only be the center of intellectual life of India but the center of our economic life also. It must cooperate with the villages round it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin clothes, press oil from oil-seeds; it must produce all the necessaries, devising the best means, using the best materials, and calling science to its aid. Its very existence should depend upon the success of its industrial activities carried out on the cooperative principle, which will unite the teachers and students and villagers of the neighborhood in a living and active bond of necessity."

Visva Bharati was established in 1921 to give a physical embodiment to this idea. It was not an accident that Sriniketan, the first center for rural reconstruction in modern India, was an essential part of the university from its inception.

Tagore thus came not only to the conception but also to the formulation and execution of a community development program more than 50 years ago. With the insight of genius, he saw that the fate of a community depends on the quality of its personnel, and that the quality of the personnel depends on the universality and the quality of education. Such education, however, cannot be divorced from the actual needs of life, nor can it cater to the requirements of any particular section of the community. He drew up a program for the all-round development of the rural population as a step toward regeneration of the villages. This alone would, in his view, ensure the achievement of Indian independence. He was thus one of the first to realize that political liberty could not be achieved in isolation from the other freedoms, but was the concomitant of the development of social, economic, and cultural freedom. Further, he realized that emancipation could be achieved only through the flowering of the personality of the individual and that the personality of the individual could not flower except in his social milieu.

THE ADULT LITERACY AND SOCIAL EDUCATION MOVEMENTS

I have discussed Tagore's contribution to the growth of the new conception of education at some length as his was not only the first but one of the clearest statements of the problem and its solution. Others shared in the discontent with the existing state of affairs, and as the demand for independence grew in strength, the demand for educational reform and educational expansion also grew. Attempts were made in the first decade of the century to establish a new type of national school. The demand for such schools grew with the Noncooperation Movement. The appointment of popular ministers in 1921 gave added strength to the demand. It was, however, not till 1937 that the first large-scale program for expansion of elementary and adult education was taken up.

In view of the widespread demand, popular ministers responsible to the people could not but initiate programs to eradicate illiteracy. There was an attempt in some areas to correlate such programs with programs for the development of community life. This was specially marked in some of the provinces ruled by Congress ministries and was due to the increasing attention that Gandhi was paying to programs of village reconstruction. After the failure of the Salt Satyagrapha Movement in 1930–32, he devoted himself more and more to programs for the social and economic uplift of villages. The establishment of all-India organizations for promoting spinning and weaving and other village industries was one evidence of this interest. Another and perhaps even more significant indication was the establishment of organizations which brought new social and educational services to the untouchables and other unfortunate sections of the Indian community.

In spite of these developments, the programs of adult education initiated in 1937 were primarily programs for the eradication of illiteracy. Experience soon showed that in the absence of a closer relation with the emotional, economic, and social needs of the adult, programs of mere literacy could not make much headway. There was also an imperfect realization of the special problems of adult education. Methods used were often more suited to the needs and capacities of children. Absence of suitable literature for the neoliterate adult was another great handicap. The result was that after an initial spurt of expansion, the programs slowed down and soon reached a stalemate. Elsewhere [3] I have discussed in somewhat greater detail the reasons

[3] *Education in New India* by Humayun Kabir. London, Allen and Unwin Ltd.

for the failure of this first nationwide movement of adult education for the uplift of community life. In any case, the outbreak of World War II in 1939 brought this phase of adult education programs to an end.

The year 1946 saw the beginning of a new and more sustained program of adult education in the country. The war years had been years of difficulty and led to a reduction in the facilities of education. The war, however, performed one great but indirect service to the cause of education, and ultimately to the freedom of the country, by the incursion of large numbers of Europeans and Americans into India. In the past, the leaders in educational and political reform had been men who had seen the better conditions of life in western countries and contrasted these with conditions in India. Only a minority of Indians, however, could afford to travel abroad and have such firsthand contacts with the West.

During the war, hundreds of thousands of European and American troops were brought to India. They were located not only in towns but even in remote rural areas. It was as if the West came to India because Indians could not go to the West. Millions of Indians who would otherwise never have known of the superior standards of life enjoyed by the ordinary Britisher and even more by the average American had, for the first time, a glimpse of what education and freedom can achieve. There was the increasing realization that there can be no improvement in community life without improvement in education. From this it was but one step to recognize that there can be no reality in education without close relation to community life.

In 1947, soon after the initiation of these new programs of adult education, India became free. Educationally, the situation was then difficult if not desperate. India was pledged to democracy, but not even 10 percent of her adult population was literate. Including children in school, the overall percentage of literacy in 1941 was estimated at 14 percent, but there is little doubt that this figure had been considerably reduced in the 6 succeeding years. Adult education programs had been altogether suspended with the outbreak of World War II. During the war years, a large number of elementary and secondary schools had also been closed for lack of funds and personnel. It is doubtful if the percentage of literacy in 1947 was even 12.

Independence saw a tremendous demand for expansion of educational facilities at all levels. While every effort was made to expand the existing school facilities, it was increasingly felt that expansion of such facilities for the adults was of even greater urgency. Simultaneously, there was increasing recognition that the traditional pattern

of adult education must change. There was a marked shift in both the conception and the orientation of the programs. In place of the old emphasis on mere literacy a new 5-point program was established. The objectives of this were literacy, improvement of health and hygiene, economic uplift through the introduction of new crafts and the improvement of old ones, citizenship training, and healthy recreation. To distinguish this new orientation from the old attitude toward adult literacy, it was given the more comprehensive name Social Education.[3]

THE APPROACH THROUGH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It would not be unfair to say that the community development program introduced during the first Five-Year Plan was a natural development of the social education program initiated in 1948. This in its turn was based on the pioneering work of Tagore and Gandhi and the enthusiasm created by the adult literacy movement of 1937. One new feature of the latest version was the special attention to rural areas. This had become necessary for two reasons: On the one hand, the vast majority of the Indian people live in villages. On the other, the villages had been grossly and increasingly neglected for decades. There could thus be no general uplift for the country as a whole without special measures for raising the standard of living, and, even more, the expectations and hopes of villagers.

It was primarily to meet the needs of rural areas that a new central authority, the Community Project Administration, was established. The Administration operates two types of programs: (1) the community development programs, which are worked out in a compact area with a view to providing villages with many of the services which till now have been available only in towns; and (2) the national extension services which seek to provide similar amenities on a less elaborate scale and may be regarded as the first step toward the development of the locality into a community development area.

While the main outlines of the community development program grew out of earlier Indian experiments, it has a new element, one due to the impact of American experience in developing rural communities through agricultural extension work under the leadership of the land-grant colleges. Till now, Indian educators had been intellectually aware that widespread education is a condition of economic progress. American experience showed even more vividly than the experience of Europe the manner in which prosperity and social welfare result

[3] See again *Education in India* for a more detailed discussion on the subject.

from production techniques adopted as a result of the application of science to the problems of industry and agriculture.

The impact of American experience found a ready response in India as the people were already predisposed toward educational expansion. I have mentioned earlier that hardly 10 percent of the Indian population was literate when India became free. Nor were existing facilities such as to encourage the hope that the deficiency could be made up quickly. With the advent of freedom, however, a new spirit moved the people. Between 1947 and 1952, the percentage of schoolgoing children in the age group 6–11 had increased from 30 to about 42 and in 1956 stands at about 50, a gain of almost 66 percent. The rise in the age group 11–14 is also appreciable, and, what is more satisfactory, the large wastage in the elementary stage has been considerably reduced.

Previously, hardly 40 percent of the children who entered school at the age of 5 or 6 continued beyond the first 2 years. We are now slowly but steadily approaching toward the goal laid down in the Constitution: education for all children up to the completion of the fourteenth year.

The Community Project Administration has, since its inception, played an important role in this progressive expansion of education. Its influence on in-school education, however, has been qualitative rather than quantitative. As I have already indicated, a large-scale expansion in schooling facilities had been going on since 1947. It cannot be said that the rate has been accelerated since the establishment of the Administration. What has happened is that the total program of rural uplift is beginning to affect the school programs. This is seen most clearly in the accelerated growth of Basic Schools in areas served by the Administration. The Administration has also played an important role in encouraging local initiative. The voluntary contributions of the community by way of free gifts of land, labor, and money is appreciably higher in development or extension services blocks than in areas outside the purview of the Administration.

The Administration has played a more decisive role in the field of social education. We have referred to the early efforts in the direction of adult literacy in 1937 and how they petered out after the outbreak of war. The emergence of the richer and more comprehensive plan for social education in 1948 offered greater hope, but in the absence of a suitable organization, this movement might also have languished after the first flush of enthusiasm was over. The establishment of the Community Project Administration was an insurance against such a contingency. The Administration with its network of voluntary

and paid workers has provided the machinery which can make programs of social education effective.

The country has been divided into a number of blocks of about 100 villages each. Each block is served by a number of village level workers who are charged with the responsibility of harnessing local talent and enthusiasm for the total uplift of the village. In the national extension blocks, the services are comparatively modest. Where a more intensive program is contemplated, three blocks together are constituted into a Community Project Area. In each such block, there are two social education organizers, one block development officer and for overall planning for the area, a Project Development Officer. There is a Development Commissioner in each State who guides its development and exercises general supervision over the staff in these extensions of development blocks. The Development Commissioner looks to the Community Project Administration for guidance on policy.

This emphasis on organization is one evidence of American influence. The predominantly agricultural orientation of the program is another, though it is likely that in the desperate food situation which faced the country on the attainment of independence a great deal of attention would, in any case, have been given to food production. However that may be, the success of the new approach is evident. The new organization has created a new enthusiasm in the countryside and called out voluntary effort on a massive scale. The 4 years from 1948–1952 saw the spread of social education to about 4 million adults. The 3 years since 1952 have extended the program to about 10 million.

THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

To the question as to what extent the educators and the schools concern themselves with the improvement of community life, the answer cannot be a simple quantitative statement. There is little doubt that the introduction of western education in India in the early years of the 19th century led to a process of ferment which has had far-reaching effect on every aspect of community life. In the beginning, the impact was wholly beneficial. It brought into the village achievements and ideas of a wider world. It created a more democratic atmosphere by opening out new avenues to many sections of the unprivileged and the underprivileged. It also brought a little additional wealth into the village by the inflow of the earnings of villagers who went to work in towns as a result of such education.

One remembers how, even 30 or 40 years ago, there was throughout eastern India a regular exodus of town-dwellers into the villages during

the autumnal holidays. They brought with them not only gifts but also a new fermentation of ideas. Their return to the villages was invariably marked by a general improvement in the social and educational tone. Many working in towns helped to build hospitals, establish schools, improve communications, and in other ways generally improve the amenities of village life. The same services were performed in northern and western India by men from the Army and industrial workers who returned to their villages at regular intervals.

These benefits did not prove lasting for two main reasons. The introduction of western education was contemporaneous with a gradual impoverishment of the countryside. Before the advent of the West, Indian life was essentially village centered. Not only did the vast majority live—as they still do—in villages, but each village community developed a kind of autarchy. There was a simple economy in which agriculture and rural industries were complementary units. Western influences disturbed the equilibrium of the old village. The industrial revolution made Westerners hungry for new markets. Their goods poured into the villages and slowly but inexorably pushed out local products. Cottage industries languished and in many cases perished. The decay of crafts and industry forced more and more people to take to agriculture. Holdings became uneconomical and more and more burden was thrown upon the land.

Simultaneously, the number of persons seeking modern education increased and led to the emergence of the problem of unemployment among them. The old pattern in which comparatively well-to-do townsmen came to the villages for short periods and generally improved the economic and social conditions of the village gradually decayed. The result was that the village as a whole was impoverished. Educators gave less and less time to any specific improvement of the community life. Indirectly, however, the schools still continued to act as centers of learning and enlightenment. It is no exaggeration to say that they are responsible for the gradual permeation of modern ideas throughout the countryside. Areas in the East, the West, and the South which have been under their influence longest show the greatest social resilience and flexibility. This was, however, a prevasive and imperceptible influence and the effect of it cannot be measured in strict quantitative terms.

One of the main criticisms against the western system of education imported into modern India was that it had little relation to the life of the vast majority of the Indian people. In place of the old traditional education which was at least in a rudimentary way oriented to the needs of the community, the modern system of education is pri-

marily book-centered and places an undue emphasis on the development of linguistic ability and the abstract intellect. The courses, the curriculum, and the methods have therefore been largely without any relation to the needs of the rural community.

There have, however, been exceptions to this general practice. The system has paid good dividends in the hands of able and creative teachers. Reference has also been made to the attempt which Tagore made in the beginning of the century to remodel the content, the curriculum, and the methods of education to serve the needs of a resurgent countryside. There have been similar attempts in other parts of the country. The development of the national movement led to the establishment of what was described as a national system of education. By and large, these national institutions followed the mainly academic pattern of western education with only this difference: That a greater emphasis was placed on Indian traditions and Indian ideals.

The most systematic and sustained attempt to modify the content, the curriculum, and the methods to meet the requirements of the community has been made in recent times under Gandhi's leadership. This is not the place to discuss at length the Basic System of Education for which I must again refer the reader to my book, *Education in New India*. It may, however, be briefly described as education integrated with life, and built up around a craft. Instead of treating the different subjects in the school curriculum as distinct and isolated items, it emphasizes their correlation and unity. It looks upon the school as a democratic community where children learn to live as members of a cooperative commonwealth.

The Basic School does not, however, confine its activities within the boundaries of the school itself. It is part of the normal routine of the Basic School to undertake programs of cleaning and providing sanitary services to the entire village. In some of the best Basic Schools there is hardly any distinction between school activities and social education programs in the widest sense of the term. Basic Education thus creates the atmosphere and mental outlook needed for community development. It is not accidental that the spread of the national extension services and the community development program has been accompanied by an expansion of Basic Education. In fact, the Basic School has often been the nucleus around which a program of community uplift has been built.

There have also been in existence in different parts of the country *Ashrams*, *Gurukuls*, and village reconstruction centers in which social service, adult education, and community development have gone side by side. From the nature of the case, these efforts have not been very widespread.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOLS

Like the influence of the school on the community, that of the community on the school has also been mainly indirect. One of the striking features in the Indian scene has been the almost universal demand for education. Some countries have considered it necessary to make attendance in schools obligatory. By and large, no such need has been felt in India. Here the problem has been one of providing enough schools for all who want to attend. This is the more remarkable when we remember the prevailing poverty of the people. Lack of means induces and sometimes compels parents and guardians to withdraw children from school as soon as they are 10 or 12. In spite of this economic compulsion, Indian parents are anxious to give their children a better deal than they have themselves received. Education still carries with it a great deal of social prestige. The ancient Indian tradition of the supremacy of the Brahmin, in spite of his poverty, has not altogether died. Even illiterate parents, therefore, seek to provide education for their children for as long as they can afford to do so.

The influence of the community in the development of the schools may be seen in another way. Though elementary education is essentially a responsibility of the State, private enterprise has played an important role in its development. In certain provinces and in certain special fields, a major portion of the burden even for elementary education was borne by the community. Though Baroda had a Primary Education Act in the first decade of the present century, it was not till the close of the second decade that two major provinces, Bombay and Bengal, passed similar acts. Even after the enactment, there were many areas in these States where provision for elementary education remained the responsibility of private initiative. Government is now taking up increasingly greater responsibility at this level, but the provision of preprimary education and the initiation of new experiments or developments in this field still remain essentially the prerogative of nonofficial agencies.

The Constitution of India came into force on the 26th of January 1950. It laid down that within 10 years, i. e., by 1960, universal compulsory education must be provided for all children up to the age of 14. As indicated earlier, only about 50 percent of the children in the age bracket 6–11 are today in school, and only about 20 percent of those in the age bracket 11–14. It is thus clear that a majority of the children in the age bracket 6–14 do not yet have the necessary facilities for schooling. Strenuous efforts are being made to make up this deficiency. In the extension and development blocks alone,

some 12,000 schools were opened between October 1952 and September 1955. It is hoped that at least in the Community Project areas, the directive principle of the Constitution will be fulfilled by 1961.

This cannot, however, be achieved by State action alone. The Community Project Administration has depended heavily on voluntary contribution of the people and the people have responded magnificently. As against State expenditure of Rs. 17.5 million in these blocks, the people have contributed almost Rs. 10 million. Almost invariably the formula is that the community provides lands and building for the school, while the State undertakes the responsibility of meeting the recurring expenses. In the Second Five-Year Plan, whose draft has just been released, it is proposed that the community should undertake to bear also a part of the recurring expenses for such schools.

The role of the community in the development of secondary education has been even greater. It would be no exaggeration to say that of the 18,000 middle and secondary schools functioning in the country, a large majority owe their origin to and are, even today, sustained by voluntary effort. The local authorities at various levels support a number of schools but, even if they are counted as organs of the State and not agencies of the community, the number of publicly managed secondary schools would come to barely half the total number.

The community has thus had a very decisive influence on the development of local schools, so far as their establishment and multiplication are concerned. It cannot, however, be said that the community has played a comparable role in the development of the curriculum and methods of instruction. One of the weaknesses of Indian education has been that it has, by and large, been planned from the top. Western education on any large scale may be said to have begun in India with the establishment in 1857 of the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

These three universities were established with two major ends in view: One was to train a number of persons to help in the administration of the country. The other was the introduction of western ideas and attitudes into Indian society. The secondary schools grew up only as feeders to these universities, and the elementary schools, by and large, as feeders for the secondary schools. Education was thus dominated by the university to a degree perhaps unknown in any other country. The result was that the general pattern drawn up by the university influenced the tone and temper of even elementary schools. Since higher education is, by its nature, bound to be somewhat abstract and general, there was thus hardly any scope for the special

needs of localities or communities to enter into the curriculum or the program of the school. As indicated earlier, a change began first with Tagore's experiment in Santiniketan and later through the acceptance of the Basic System of Education under Gandhi's influence. Since then attempts are being made on an increasing scale to model the courses and the curriculums of schools to meet the requirements of the community.

THE TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP FOR COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

Till the establishment of the Community Project Administration in 1952, no large-scale programs had been laid to train teachers or administrators for carrying out specific programs for the improvement of the community. The activities described in earlier pages grew out of the social consciousness of individual leaders or teachers. Some workers had no doubt been trained at Santiniketan or Wardha or other centers established by Gandhi and his associates, but their number was small and the training in many cases confined to a small segment of social life. They had often great competence in a particular field, but were quite as often not interested in anything outside their own specialty. Thus, their approach to community development was essentially that of amateurs.

Two factors contributed to the growing recognition of the need for a concerted plan for improving various community services. On the one hand, the Indian Constitution accepted the ideal of complete democracy and introduced universal adult franchise. It was recognized that an illiterate electorate could not satisfactorily discharge these immense responsibilities, that special measures would have to be taken not only for eradicating illiteracy but for improving the material conditions of life.

Education and economic improvement were especially necessary in the context of the contemporary situation. The modern age is one of conflicting ideologies. There was a risk that unless the material conditions of life in India were improved quickly enough, the deprivations suffered might lead to gross discontent and possible revolution. The community development program was devised and initiated as one answer to this problem. For obvious reasons, social education received a high priority in this program.

The Community Project Administration set about the task of improving rural life in a systematic and well-planned manner. A small pilot training center was established in Nilokheri. Soon after, training was started at 5 other centers in different parts of the country. The number of centers has now increased to 8 and it is

proposed that the number should soon be raised to 10. These centers train social education organizers and in some cases also village level workers. There are at present three Block Development Officers training centers and it seems certain that the number will increase rapidly. In addition, some seminars or camps have been held for Project Officers. The Development Commissioners of States meet periodically to exchange experiences, compare notes, and modify lines of future action in the light of their discussions.

The Administration, however, depends primarily on the village-level workers for the execution of its programs. They are given a multi-purpose training in order to meet the different demands of the villages in which they work. Though there is a special bias towards agriculture and animal husbandry, sanitation and improvement of village crafts have an important place in the program. The village-level worker cannot be an expert in all or even in one of these fields, nor is he expected to be. He is, however, in a position to supply what is analogous to first aid, to direct the villagers to the appropriate expert bodies, or, if necessary secure the needed information for them. Literacy education has been emphasized. Programs have also been initiated for organizing village libraries, reading rooms, community centers, and recreational activities. In a word, the education programs have been planned so as to develop a strong social conscience in the rural population. In the purely educational aspects of this program, the village school teacher has often been used also as the adult literacy teacher. He is not, however, the only agency to be used in this connection.

The universities, the teachers colleges, and the training schools have not so far made any major change in their training programs as a result of the introduction of the community development program. One reason for this may be that, unlike the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Iran, or Ethiopia, the village school teacher is not being used as a main agent for the community development programs in India. Here the main reliance has been placed on the new multipurpose village level worker specially trained for the job. The Community Project Administration seems to be of the opinion that the village school teacher would in many cases prove inadequate for the responsibilities involved in such programs. The Administration also feels that since the Indian villager is basically an agriculturist, the main sphere of training for the village level worker should be related to the field of agriculture. It is obvious that a short-term training program cannot turn the village school teacher into an effective village level worker.

While there is a good deal of justification for the view of the Administration, I feel that the approach requires modification in two

respects. If the objection to the village school teacher is because he is a low-paid and untrained person incapable of bringing to the villager the simple knowledge of agricultural processes, he is surely still less fitted to be in charge of the younger generations. In the end, it is the youth, conditioned by the training they receive, who will determine the fate of all development programs. It is a paradox of many democracies, and India is no exception—that while, on the one hand, they say that its children are the greatest asset of a nation, they place children in charge of persons whose skill and competence leave much to be desired.

Since income is the measure of social importance in a money economy, it is enough to point out that the teacher's emoluments rarely if ever exceed those of an unskilled worker. Idealism is certainly a very important factor in the teacher's life, but it is surely too much to expect that teachers will live on idealism alone and leave all the good things of life to others. The inevitable result of the present arrangement is that able men and women are not attracted to the teaching profession. Even of the few who are attracted, many leave it at the first opportunity. The social loss and deterioration due to unsatisfactory teachers may not be immediately felt but, over the years, such teachers steadily lower the competence and character of the entire community. Problems of such magnitude must sooner or later be dealt with directly.

The second consideration is this: If their status and emoluments are to be improved, teachers must be increasingly drawn into the community development program. India is yet a poor country and our financial resources are strictly limited. On the other hand, the number of teachers, particularly at the elementary level, is very large and is fast increasing. It may therefore be difficult to effect any appreciable early improvement in salary and conditions of service, without giving some additional responsibilities. In doing so it must, however, be clearly remembered that any such functions should not overlap the teacher's primary duty which is the teaching of the oncoming generations. Any arrangement which delegates to a secondary position this primary duty would be most undesirable and, in the end, harmful not only to the community but to the entire country.

In fact, the improvement of the quality of the teacher is one of the basic prerequisites for improving the quality of manpower and thus, ultimately, the conditions of rural and urban life. Various measures are now in hand or under discussion for bringing about the desired improvement.

One measure which deserves consideration in this connection may appear somewhat unconventional but is likely to give results. At

present, one of the main reasons for the poor quality of the teacher is his poor pay, and the pay cannot here and now be sufficiently improved because of the large numbers involved. Besides, the rate at which enrollment in schools is increasing is already taxing our resources almost to a breaking point. An appreciable immediate increase in the salary of teachers is, in such a situation, difficult to achieve. Some amelioration is, however, possible if a teacher is paid a somewhat higher salary but required to handle a slightly larger number of pupils. It is self-evident that other things being equal, the higher the proportion of teachers, the better the results are likely to be. If, however, the choice is between many poor teachers of indifferent quality and a smaller number of teachers of high quality, something can surely be said in favor of the latter choice. One good teacher in charge of 50 is likely to give better results than two bad teachers each in charge of 30 pupils.

Careful study should also be made of the possibility of relieving teachers, especially in the elementary classes, of much of their routine and custodial work. Older pupils may help the teacher in some of the housekeeping duties required in the classroom. Teacher aids or teacher apprentices may also assist in routine or mechanical work. In these ways, also, it may be possible for a single competent teacher to deal with a larger number of pupils than is often the case today.

Once it is recognized that the school teacher, subject to the conditions mentioned above, should be utilized in community development programs, two consequences will follow: On the one hand, he can be a most useful auxiliary in all programs for rural development. He approaches the most impressionable section of the village population during the most receptive period in their lives. If he is properly oriented toward rural education he can make a distinct contribution toward community development. Since he would be rendering additional services, it should be possible to improve immediately his emoluments and conditions of service, thus giving him the living wage which he is, generally, not receiving today.

The other consequence would be equally far reaching. Once a definite program for the utilization of the village teacher in community development has been drawn up, arrangements will have to be made for special training for the purpose. This will mean important changes in the present theory and practice of teacher-training institutions. As the obligation of the teacher to the community receives greater emphasis, the content, curriculum, and methods of teaching are bound to change. The present hiatus between the school and the community can be largely overcome as soon as the teacher looks upon his profession as a means to the total uplift of the community.

The actual training can take one of two forms: On the one hand, training camps can be organized where existing school teachers could be given the necessary orientation to village development work. On the other, there must increasingly be provision for such orientation in the normal courses given in training schools and colleges.

A new development in this direction is the decision of the Government of India to set up a number of Rural Institutes in different parts of the country. For various reasons, the rural areas have not till now had the same facilities for higher education as the urban. This has not only caused a disparity in development and outlook between rural and urban population, but has also been a major cause of the drift to towns of able and energetic young men and women from the villages. The Government of India appointed, some time ago, a committee to study this problem. On the recommendations of this Committee, it has been decided to set up a number of Rural Institutes which will provide education comparable to university standards but specially directed to meet the requirements of rural areas. Apart from agriculture, rural engineering, rural housing, rural health and hygiene, the Institutes will also provide for the training of teachers and other rural workers who can actively participate in programs of rural development.

THE OVERVIEW

To sum up: Even if the educators and the schools have not in the past always directly or consciously concerned themselves with the improvement of community life, the impact of western education has had far-reaching effects in disturbing the old order and creating the urge for a new life among the masses. This has affected even those who did not come directly under its influence and remained in many cases out of touch with any education.

The curricula and methods of schools have not in the past paid much attention to the needs of the community. Education was primarily abstract and academic and often quite out of touch with Indian life. Beginning with the establishment of Tagore's school at Santiniketan, there have been persistent efforts at correcting this state of affairs. The formulation and gradual implementation of the scheme of Basic Education has revolutionary possibilities some of which have already been realized. The establishment of multipurpose schools at the secondary level and Rural Institutes at higher levels has carried this reorientation of education a step farther. The Community Project Administration is bound to play an increasingly important role in these changes.

The community has helped greatly in the progress of education as is evident from the extent of private and unofficial contributions to

the educational budget of the nation. Even at the elementary level, the purely governmental expenditure was only about two-thirds of the total in 1947-48. In spite of the enormous expansion of education at this level, the Government's share does not show any appreciable rise in 1953-54. In secondary and higher education, it was private effort—either through fees or by way of donations or bequests—that has met the major share of the total budget in the past. In 1947-48 the share of the State was less than one-third in the case of secondary and only a little more than a third in the case of collegiate and university education. In 1953-54, in spite of the greater interest taken by the State in the promotion of secondary and higher education, the private sector contributed about 60 percent in the case of secondary and more than 50 percent in the case of collegiate and university education. The community's interest in the quantitative expansion of education has not, however, been matched with a commensurate interest or effectiveness in the field of qualitative improvement.

I have already indicated briefly that, with some honorable exceptions, training schools and colleges or university training departments have not in the past been appreciably affected by the community development programs. After the establishment of the Community Project Administration, a beginning has been made which is likely to become increasingly more effective with the passage of time.

Schools and colleges have naturally been affected by programs sponsored by other than educational agencies. Since the young are the most sensitive section of the community, it would have been surprising if it had been otherwise. Such influences have not always been healthy, particularly when they have worked not through, but independently of and in some cases in opposition to the schools. The recent experience of undertaking various types of constructive work through schools has proved a most interesting development in correcting this tendency.

As already indicated, the influence of education has been pervasive and every aspect of community life has been affected by it. As such, it is difficult to point to any specific improvements, for this would involve listing practically every item in the national life. It may be added that the leadership not only in development programs but in almost every type of national activity has been provided by the educated. Even when people have reacted against the present system of education, it is not unfair to say that the attitudes they have adopted and the programs they have undertaken would not have been possible without the impact of modern education on their minds and characters.

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Cambodian "Garage" and Youthful Driver

Education and Changing Social Patterns

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THESE REMARKS on the relation of education and cultural change were prepared in Cambodia. This is not an unfortunate circumstance, for I work in a situation where a people who recently gained their independence are giving full evidence of wanting to vault out of the ox-cart era into twentieth century modernism by means of education. In such a society, the outline of this problem of education and cultural change is plain, and since I shall be drawing solely from observation and from my memories of experiences in Asia over the past 3 years and in certain rural areas of the United States over a longer period of time, perhaps my remarks would be more appropriately titled, "Some Reflections on the Relation of Education and Cultural Change."

My comments will, I hope, reflect my feeling that the relation of these processes can be most poignantly seen in circumstances where one can witness symbols of man's increasing dignity; where people formerly wrapped in the shrouds of cultural darkness are casting off their cloaks and emerging into light.

The elements of culture are man-made; they exist, they change, and they have meaning only in the realm of human experience. In essence, education—formal or informal—is the vehicle, the process.

In using observations from geographically opposite sides of the world, the emphasis cannot be on the incidents themselves. Through them, however, we can see in relief those processes which in the world of men and things seem to me to have relevance to our discussion.

Mary Blue is the head of a plantation family. She is slightly gray-haired and her teeth pointed and snuff-stained. She stood in front of her house, a shack in surroundings of brush and splotches of red clay showing where the top soil had washed away. She said:

> Man, I'm having it hard. I takes these two hands and plows like a man. All the responsibility is on me. My son say, "Ma, you look so bad, I'm going where I can make something and help us out." He done been gone a year. I ain't heard from him. Don't know who he's helping out, but it sho' ain't me. Yes sir, all the care is still on me. Man, I'm having it hard.
>
> Can't even lay down in my house. If I lay still I freeze to death. And when it rains, it's raining inside as much as it's raining out. Catch a tub of water inside the house. Have to move my beds next to the fire place to

> keep from being drowned out. Rain coming in from the top. Rain coming in from the side. That house ain't good for nothing.
>
> I rents this land. Has to buy seed and you knows you grows nothing without no fertiliser. And all I raised was one bale of cotton and that went for rent. For myself there wasn't enough left to pay off my debt, and me left without a dime. Them foxes et up all my chickens. The water washed out all my corn. And someone shot down all my hogs. Before that the hogs had et up all my greens. Man, I'm having it hard.

What have been the ongoing social changes in this society—a society Mary clings to but her children leave? What happens to people under the impact of a different economy, new inventions, radical cultural changes, when they have known only the bare skeleton of a social organization, a social system that has not been vigorous, one in which new growth has not kept pace with the rot?

What is education in the kind of world in which Mary Blue lives? How does change enter the lives of people submerged in a plantation community, the majority of them living in barren, dilapidated neighborhoods resembling "coon hollows" and "possum trots"? How do these people change if they are neither told what to do, nor pushed into change? They were aware that "things are sho' changing around here." "Folks used to be thick as flies down here making corn and cotton. Now there ain't nothing down here but cows and Johnson grass." They were in the midst of a silent revolution; witnessing a struggle of socio-economic and competitive ecological processes, increasing numbers of cows standing in pastures and men with cotton hands and cotton hearts existing in surrounding fields. Yet they continued to walk between rows of cotton stalks.

When I first looked at this world I saw a people on the margins of the culture common to most persons in the United States. My concern was with problems of education in a changing cultural situation. There was a necessity for seeing this problem in different dimensions than before.

Here were people for whom the windows of time and civilization had been closed. In their daily habits, their ways of life, their technology, they were shrouded in the cloak of an era that had gone by. Their plight was made more noticeable by the contrast of their world with that of the larger world that surrounded them.

Here there were schools. But there was little education. Most certainly there was education outside the schools. The people were ill-housed, in ill-health, ill-fed, and ill-clothed. The kind of education they knew had not made for better adaptation to surroundings or adaptation to cultural changes. The effect was entirely different. Their kind of education had only accelerated social erosion. Here were men who appeared to be solidly etched in the frieze of their

culture. Yet they were in reality "shivering in the high wind of a changing culture." Mechanization, diversification, and the resulting modifications of the social organization were so sweeping in their scope that they have been said, quite correctly, to have comprised a silent revolution.

A group of school supervisors from the Indo-China area were on a study [illegible] of educational facilities in neighboring Asian countries. I stood one evening with one of them on a hill overlooking Singapore. The city lay beneath us—an oriental crossroads of cultures and commerce; a conglomeration of races—Malay, Chinese Tamil, and European. As we watched the unfolding magic of a city readying itself for night, my friend remarked: "You will never know just what this has meant to me." He meditated aloud on a busy day of looking at many schools, taking notes of everything, even of the kinds of hinges used to fasten school windows, then he added: "It is like getting a glimpse of a tiger when all that one has known is a cat."

Public Health Program Gets Underway

Somehow, I felt that I could understand, for I was becoming aware of the circumstances and the extent to which various forces were making out of many people an "Awakened People." Again, there was a necessity for seeing the problems of education in different dimensions.

I was reminded that there could be schools without education and education without schools; that what existed as education in any one place drew its cues, reflected, and bore a strong relationship to the kind of economic, social, and cultural world in which it happened to be located. But it was in Asia that I first saw people who worked all morning over their knees in the watery mud of a ricefield and then came at noon to classrooms to read and write. The growing clamor for more education or, perhaps, the intensity of it seemed like something more than I had known before. Classrooms by the thousands were being constructed by the villagers. Everywhere there were evidences of more schools, more children enrolled, more adults becoming literate, or at least acquiring some kind of reading facility. But I sensed that this kind of education, also, was ill-adapted to its situation.

Here, among the people with whom I was working, an educational tradition was not lacking. In fact, the lettered man here has always been esteemed. A village without a school is frequently considered "backward." Yet, masses are illiterate, and they are a peasantry, a people in transition. For them and the social worlds in which they live, a transition began long before the moments of confusion, misery, disintegration, and the calamities of the Indochina war. Apart from war, the stories of the people, particularly in farming communities, are chronologies of "hard times." They tell the story of poverty, indebtedness, and unrelenting exigencies of survival. The weather and forces of nature, the workings of feudalistic systems, and persisting folk habits weave patterns of precarious existence. For them education must meet the needs now of worlds no longer in harmony with the past, and in the future must provide a base from which the people can intelligently help to offset years of social erosion.

In looking at the problems of education and cultural change in geographically opposite sides of the world, two lenses are needed. In one instance the focus was on a silent revolution activated by changing technology and its effects on what might be called a static social organization. In the other, the focus was on peoples in movement in the presence of a "hot revolution," with forces that awakened them, although they were not technological forces. In the matter of education and cultural change, the two situations have more similarities than differences.

There were schools in both locations. There were teachers in their midst. Learning by rote was a tradition. Neither situation repre-

Preparing the Field for Rice Planting

sented the kind of world in which separate institutions designed for the instruction of the masses were required for the integration of the economic and political life. Schools were few. Until recently the increase in the number of buildings was a false sign of progress, considering the amount of rote-learning it produced. Thus it is understandable that the people in the first community, although in the midst of a silent revolution, continued in their same old ways, apparently almost oblivious to changes that were going on around them. They continued to walk down the rows of cotton stalks with a rickety old piece of a plow in an area rapidly becoming mechanized. Paradoxically, the schools and the teachers were equally blind to the revolution that surrounded them. They saw no relationship between education and cultural change.

Once I asked a Vietnamese teacher in the midst of this "hot revolution," if he ever told the children something of current events, or if he ever told them what was going on in this place and beyond. His reply was an astounded "No." I asked also whether the children

learned anything about growing rice better or how to build a house better, or how to improve in any way the circumstances of their fathers. His answer was "No." He said the children did not have time. When I asked him why, his first reply was to explain to me that education in his country was based primarily on the principle of teaching "everlasting truths." News, he explained is not in that category. Since education is based on a series of examinations, he added, there are a set number of things which the educated person is supposed to know. These things, in earlier times, consisted of memorizing so many characters and maxims. When the child had learned the required number of maxims and characters, he would move on to the next level.

Our conversation took place in a rural farm area. There were men, women, and children working in the fields; some were planting rice, others were plowing with water buffalo, and still others were fishing. In this same world there were exploding shells and shrieking planes. Villages that had stood for more than 300 years were now rubble and ruin. In the midst of this I heard children by the thousands chanting in rote-like fashion maxims which belonged to another era. I thought, "If education is the process by which society renews and perpetuates itself, these schools are only adding to the social erosion."

What kind of education, then, does help people to understand and deal with social change? The answer certainly is not to be simply found in literacy activities alone. The kind of education that is required is one that enables people to see their own traditions as something from which secrets may be derived, or things may be learned—settings from which new worlds may unfold. He who would educate for changing social situations must first understand how traditions come into being and how they are modified. This involves, first, teaching the educator how societies are organized.

The education of the educator about the social worlds with which he must deal is often very difficult; he must learn quickly about the nature of the social world and how man himself comes to learn about the world.

During my first experience in community education, "visiting" was the medium for entering the people's world. But to see the situation as a "sociological stranger" was alone not enough. To learn how far these people had moved along the continuum from the typical folk society toward the civilization of the city, I had to know what it felt like to walk all day behind a mule and a rickety old piece of a plow. There had to be time to *live* as they lived—to sit day by day in front of a fireplace, just rocking and looking into the fire. There had to be time to listen to sermons; to acquaint oneself with the lore

and superstitions; to feel the stark isolation that exists when the darkness of night approaches a bleak and barren countryside. All of this was necessary before one could possibly sense the moods that dominated their thinking. All of these activities are part of that world.

In daily conversations behind the plows, in homes, at church, at meetings, at play with youths and adults, I did live among them, work along with them, and I learned a tremendous amount from them. I sought to enter every area of their lives. This involved letting these people teach me about their culture as an integrated unit. From them, by means of undirected probing interviews in which they expressed what they considered to be their biggest problems, through surveys, and through analysis of census data set in a larger framework of knowledge of the changing region and known trends in rural life, I gained an insight into the nature of this rural community. I was trying to discover ways of asking questions about their traditions so that I might learn how traditions might become things from which secrets could be deduced or a setting in which worlds might be revealed.

It was necessary, too, that I gain some insight into the fundamental educational processes in this kind of situation. Robert Redfield, who has written often on both education and cultural change, has described a scene that is quite illuminating on this point. As I recall it, he tells of a small boy sitting in the presence of the men of the village. The boy asks one of them what happens when a snake is cut in two. The men talking among themselves and in response to the little boy's question reveal the whole body of lore, fact, and fiction existing in their minds about the world of snakes and what happens to them when men kill them by cutting them in two. One tells of having seen a snake rejoin itself. Another says this is impossible. This leads to a discussion of all kinds of snakes, their habits and the dangers of handling snakes. In short, as Redfield suggests, one sees in essence, in such a circumstance, the most elemental form of the educational processes.

Never before now, however, has there been such a possibility of lack of continuity in the transmission of the heritage from one generation to another. In simple societies what one man knows, what one man experiences, and what one man does is so similar to that of his fellows that one man is as good an informant on his way of life as another. Today, the simple society is ceasing to exist. The ever-widening forces that bring men and societies in contact with one another and with things that civilize or make for civilization rule out the earlier comparisons between simple and complex cultures.

Typical Cambodian Village

Certainly since World War II there has been a quickening pace in the extent to which persons and cultures belonging to an oxcart era are becoming a part of the orbit of the technological world's characterizing more complex cultures. Today there is no place so isolated, so out of contact, or so immune to the forces making for change that it does not feel the effect of rapid cultural change. Peoples' ways of doing things, their ways of thinking about things, their ways of relating themselves to other men, their religions—all these change under the impact of contact with other peoples. Inventions in one part of the world make for alterations of lives virtually everywhere.

In the past there was a tendency to think of education as primarily a process whereby the heritage of a people was transmitted from one generation to another. The increase in the number of programs

designed to break what has been called the tragic circle of illiteracy, poor health, and general low standards of living among large population segments of the world attests to the fact that education must assume a larger function—making for change, enabling hands and minds to acquire new skills required for survival in a changing world.

In seeking to make for change, or aid in efforts designed to enable people to adapt to changes, the educator must see any people's culture in its totality. In viewing society as a whole, man everywhere can be thought of as living on certain adaptive levels. First and most basic of all, there is the level that relates man to the land and how people are distributed over the land. The second level may be called the economic sphere. Here one is concerned with the means or systems of production that people use in adapting their natural resources to their needs. The third level of adaptation is concerned with the relations of individuals to one another, i. e., their institutions. This may be termed the social sphere. Lastly, there is the level that concerns itself with the system of beliefs, attitudes, and, more generally, with man's relationship or adaptation to the unknown.

The crucial facts for the educator to recognize are that certain levels of adaptation are more amenable to change than others and that all elements that go to make up a people's culture do not change at the same rate or at the same time. To ignore these realities may often lead to educational activities that have no relationship at all to the people for whom the program is intended. Moreover, the educator may be accomplishing the very opposite of what he seeks to do.

In my American communities, our educational program was one of creating awarenesses. It was a program of research and action. The gathered facts became the content of our educational materials. We used things we learned about the people to teach the people about themselves. Activities began with our learning from them what they regarded as being their most serious problems. As the little boy learned of the world of snakes—i. e., with discussion giving play to all the fact and fiction—the people came into awareness about the world in which they lived and saw how the changing technology was affecting their existences. In principle, these persons had a modicum of "book learning" but they were functionally illiterate. We did not, however, try to "lecture" them into the necessity of learning to read and write. However, when they found they could write letters so that they were intelligible to the addressee, they themselves became aware of the need for literacy classes. Thus, literacy activities were only introduced when there was a felt need.

In this setting, as persons directing educational programs for large areas soon came to realize, it is not possible to blanket all of an area

with educational activities. Using techniques related to the concepts discussed, we arrived at approaches which helped us to know in what communities it made sense to begin certain kinds of activities and in what localities there was little or no possibility for initiating a type of educational activity. Furthermore, we attempted to use our awareness of what made communities tick to contribute to the achievement of educational goals. For instance, a community recreational program was planned. Brochures and pamphlets were prepared and discussions were held. Then, when an effort was made to use the traditional leaders, results were limited. At the next attempt, with our understanding of the structure of the community, we sought out persons who were anxious to be mobile or who were seeking increased social acceptability. These educated the community to the recreational need, gained the participation of its members and made for more successful realization of the program goals.

In other instances, in our efforts to "educate," we had to find out what was involved in acceptance of a new idea. In the rural community where the farmers just could not see how they could live without a stalk of cotton, our educational efforts were directed toward "educating" them in the diversification of their crops. Many efforts were made, but things really did not happen until we found what was involved when people take on a new idea. We decided to forget for a moment about educating the farmers and decided to let the farmer educate the educator. We learned that the farmer's acceptance of a new idea was a social thing. How his neighbors viewed a new technique was a more crucial factor than the mere learning of a new idea by an individual.

In the Asian situation, though the lack of communication has made more difficult our study of these social worlds which we wish to assist through education, the same principles have relevance. From this setting, we can now describe situations that bring into focus the problem of the function of certain kinds of educational activities. My first work problem in this region was in connection with literacy activities. Some 130,000 people were attending literacy classes daily. At noon and at night, as one approached a pagoda, a garage, a private home, school classrooms, the air was filled with echoing sounds of persons learning to read and write. Approximately one million persons participated in the classes over a period of 1 year. What did this mean? What was the magic that motivated them? The world in which they lived was one in which the oral tradition had been and was likely to continue to be for some time the most dominant. The concern with these questions was important, because decisions had to be made as to whether there should be a massive

effort to provide reading materials for all of these persons who were having some contact with the printed page.

As we looked at the situation and the social context in which all of these things were taking place, we realized that the classes served much more of a morale function than an educational function. The people were in a war setting; life was disintegrating all around them. The circumstances under which they were able or allowed to gather into groups were limited. The literacy classes provided a legitimate opportunity. Had we not recognized the function that the classes were serving, we would have been thinking that we were doing one thing, when, in reality, we were accomplishing another. The classes were continued. And their numbers increased when the program of the classes was changed to include less reading and writing but more emphasis on handicraft activities, education through the use of drama, community class projects in gardening, poultry raising, and so on. Books were needed, but if we had made books the sole emphasis, we would have been blind to what the situation required.

It would be highly desirable if this paper could end with significant generalizations about what kind of education does help people to understand and deal with social change.

The tasks which my statement set out to accomplish were more humble in nature. In it I have attempted to provide some understanding of some things education must take into account when it is intended for peoples who are being moved into the ever-widening orbit of civilization itself. And how important it is for the educator in performing his task to take into account the things in man's social environment which give meaning to life, the things which make for joy and sorrow, the things which make living unbearable, or give hope to life!

The radical changes for which education must prepare people to adapt is a part of the continuing historical process. Education, depending upon the kind that it is, either revives and invigorates or may in itself contribute to further dislocation incident to cultural changes.

The Relation of Education and Other Professions and Resources

By Willard W. Beatty

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IN DISCUSSING the role of education in developing community life, it is easy to exaggerate the part played by the school. When one reads some of the reports of work done in improving agriculture, or in providing a more healthful community environment in underdeveloped areas, one is often struck by the extent to which schools and education are ignored as contributing factors to success. Either attitude is equally unrealistic. The solution of community problems depends upon a change taking place in individual and social attitudes. Such changes occur only as a result of education in its finest and broadest sense, dealing with the facts furnished by the specialties of agriculture, health, or other technical fields.

A case in point is furnished by an elaborate health improvement project which was launched in several Egyptian villages by an important foundation concerned with the improvement of world health. Confident of the obvious improvements in physical well-being which would result from the proposed activities of the project, no attempt was made to understand the existing community attitudes or beliefs regarding health and disease, or to persuade the villagers of the desirability or efficacy of the measures which it was proposed to take. Two major disease factors were contributing to diminished physical capacity on the part of most of the villagers. The cause of both diseases was known to the medical workers; both diseases were curable, and by the establishment and maintenance of control measures, infection or reinfection could be measurably reduced, if not completely eliminated.

The first condition was caused by bilharziasis, an inflammation of the bladder caused by a flat worm, which lives in the wall of the bladder, and lays eggs which are passed out with the urine. If the urine is excreted into fresh water, these eggs hatch into larvae, which in turn seek a home in a type of freshwater snail found in many Middle Eastern streams, such as the River Nile and its tributaries and irrigation canals. Within the snail, the larvae develop into embryos, which are capable of swimming when they reenter the water,

and also are able to penetrate the skin of human beings, returning by the bloodstream to the bladder, where they recommence the cycle described.

The second condition was trachoma, a disease of the eyes, spread by the myriads of Egyptian flies which literally cover the faces of children and older folks in rural Egypt. Trachoma is disfiguring, reduces vision, and ultimately causes blindness. It is supposed to be highly infectious, and the disease is known to be spread by flies, passing from one individual to another.

For the proposed experiment in health control, it was planned to provide for each of the laboratory villages one or more shallow wells of pure water to be used for drinking, cooking, and bathing. While bilharziasis was the major disease which this improvement would tend to eliminate, many other filth diseases would also be brought under control, for the sole source of water in the average Egyptian village is the passing stream, or irrigation canal, or standing body of fresh water.

To counteract the spread of trachoma, an elaborate program for the control of flies by aerial spraying of the villages and surrounding areas with DDT and the careful spraying of home interiors was proposed. Lastly, to promote both programs, the team of health workers undertook to dig and equip each village home with a post-hole latrine, to reduce and, if possible, eliminate the general practice of excreting into the water sources.

So convinced were most of the medical men engaged in the project that "seeing would be believing," that little or no effort was expended in trying to understand what the villagers thought about it all, or in trying to convince them of the desirability of what was being attempted—or of its outcome.

As might have been expected by someone who has had experience with the differences in outlook and understanding of different cultures, this neglect practically nullified their most earnest endeavors. After 3 years, the women continued to dip water out of the irrigation canals for drinking, cooking, and bathing. An easy and obvious explanation was that as this water was right at hand, why go to the effort of walking to the other end of the village to carry back a heavy load of the new kind of water which came out of a pipe? True, the new water was clear, instead of muddy; but it was whispered about among the women that this new pipe-water would render their men impotent—and who wanted an impotent man for a husband? Three years later, also, most of the latrines had been filled in, because they were thought to be something dangerous into which the younger children might fall.

Lastly, after 3 years of freedom from the pesky flies, nature was again taking a hand, and a new mutation of the fly that was resistant

to DDT was abroad. Having depended on DDT rather than on screening or other supplementary device, there was no second line of defense and things were on the road back to "normal."

UNESCO's experiences in the field of Fundamental Education, in the course of which many drastic efforts were made to improve health habits and eliminate disease, tended to prove that had such a program as that described above been based first on an understanding of Moslem beliefs and habitual behavior, so that an acceptable alternative behavior could have been proposed; and, second, on community self-activity growing out of understanding and conviction, it would have had a much greater chance of permanent if partial success. This is simply another way of saying that education must go hand in hand with health measures, if they are to succeed.

Another illustration can be drawn from Egypt, at the time UNESCO launched its Arab States Fundamental Education Center (ASFEC) at Sirs el-Layyan. For many years, sporadic teaching of reading and writing had been undertaken in a number of Egyptian villages. Here, as in many other areas of the world, inspired zealots had set out to teach "the people" to read, in the belief that education alone was the key to the solution of all social problems. Fundamental Education recognizes the importance of learning to read and write, but its exponents are equally convinced that most of the world's people who lack these skills suffer also from a multitude of associated problems, all of which are so interdependent that an attack on all must be attempted at the same time.

The people who can't read and write are likely to be those who also suffer from the prevalent endemic diseases and who live in areas where there are no doctors. They are also likely to be people whose agricultural practices are destructive rather than conservative, bringing about a steadily declining standard of living. This condition is likely to be intensified by absentee ownership of the land, which results in a pressure through overseers for peasants to produce crops regardless of the effect on the land and its resources. The heavy land rentals imposed, and the heavy taxes which are often collected, result in the sale of the best grain, and the retention of the poorer quality for seed; the sale of the best lambs, and the retention of the poorer stock for breeding. This causes a steady downgrading of everyone's standard of living, and ultimately the destruction of the essential factors upon which a renewal might be based.

Most of these areas are those which once produced their own cloth, leather goods, and pottery by hand, and through the specialization of different villages in different crafts, a healthy though primitive trade took place through periodic regional markets. More recent contact

with industrialized cultures which purchase the raw products of agriculture or other resources caused the original self-sufficiency and balance of agricultural or other production to be diverted to a few major crops or products. Machine-made products have been offered in part payment for labor, thus destroying or degrading the native handmade products upon which many people had depended for a livelihood. No guidance has been available by which people might learn to adapt their native products to new tastes or new needs. In many instances, this entire complex is further complicated by the fact that during multiple and destructive social changes which have resulted from various aspects of "colonialism" (a practice in operation long before the rise of Western powers), local self-government has often completely disappeared. Consequently, thousands of communities have lost any initiative toward their own improvement, waiting in despairing hope that some improvement will eventually come from "above"—that is, from the state, the city, the landholder, the government, the overseer, or some agency outside of themselves.

To attack any one of these conditions *alone* is to court disaster. Sick and hungry people haven't the strength or the ambition to learn to read or to worry about dreams of social improvement. Even literate people who are hungry and ill lack ambition.

When the ASFEC center was opened at Sirs el-Layyan, it became known among the villages of Manoufia (the Egyptian state of which Sirs el-Layyan is the largest village) that in UNESCO's new training program, teams of graduate students from the various Arab states, each with a basic training in some one of the various areas which Fundamental Education aims to attack, would gain their practical experience through laboratory work in a series of neighboring villages. Quite to everyone's surprise, as this news percolated through the rural areas, committees of leading representatives of a number of these villages sought out the head of the Center, and laid before him their claims to be one of the laboratory villages. The representatives of a small village at some distance from the Center made a unique plea. While the preliminary discussions had emphasized that one of the difficulties which the program was designed to correct was illiteracy, as well as many other disadvantages, they wanted to be chosen by the Center because, despite the fact that their village had a claimed literacy rate of almost 70 percent (most of the men, a surprisingly large proportion of the women), this literacy had failed utterly to enable them to combat the many other problems with which the Center was concerned. A few of their young folks escaped each year to Cairo or Alexandria, gained a higher education, and permanently deserted their home village; endemic disease was rife in the village, and they had no health service, no doctor, and no understanding of what to do

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about their troubles. They were at the end of one of the large irrigation canals, but often got no water, with the result that their agricultural produce frequently was not enough to pay their rents and taxes and leave enough to feed the people adequately. The social life of the village was rent with cliques, which prevented collaboration toward the correction of any of their difficulties. Could the Fundamental Education experts help them solve some of these seemingly insoluble problems? Because these people saw so clearly many of their own problems, and wanted help and guidance in doing something about them *themselves*, they were chosen as one of ASFEC's laboratory villages, and in 2 years great progress has been made.

Let us not make the mistake of assuming that underdeveloped areas are all in Asia or Africa. When the United States Indian Service intensified its work with American Indians in 1933, the Navaho reservation was a case in point for every one of the social ills Fundamental Education (or Community Development) undertakes to combat. Tuberculosis and trachoma were endemic on the reservation, and doctors were few and far between; the birthrate was high (possibly the highest in the USA); and to feed these multitudes, there had been an increase of livestock (largely sheep and goats) far beyond the capacity of the land resources to support. As the grass was eaten down to the roots, spring freshets washed away the top soil, and both sheet and gully erosion was taking over much of the former grazing areas. One bad winter just before the war, a late snow arrived with the lambing season, and many of the new lambs died. The market for spring lambs was consequently bad, and to get any cash return, the best livestock was sold, and the weaklings whom the traders wouldn't buy were held for the breeding stock of the future.

The people were largely illiterate, and while completely surrounded by an English-speaking nation, this enclave was so shut off from contact with non-Navahos that the great majority of the people spoke only Navaho. The surrounding industrialization tended to supply products to replace those of their own manufacture, and such silver jewelry as their smiths customarily made, or such weaving as their women produced no longer served local needs, and was cheapened and distorted by the non-Navaho traders. Early attempts during the thirties to bring about a correction of all of these difficulties, which a wealthy nation could afford to do, often failed of success because they were uncoordinated, and because the initial impulse of each specialty was to step in and do something for the people, on the excuse that there was no time to teach them what they needed to know, in order to bring about a permanent change which they themselves would accept as necessary.

Demonstration areas were forcibly set aside where controlled grazing, by which the number of animals was limited to the estimated carrying capacity of the range, permitted a natural restoration of the forage cover; simple water spreaders were installed; simple check-dams were built; and simple terracing for irrigation farming was introduced, each with the expectation that the Navahos watching the success of these efforts would be inspired to imitate them in other areas. To compel such a response, grazing permits for the ownership of livestock were required, and the number of permits was limited to the estimated carrying capacity of the land. This necessitated the elimination of many dry cows and steers and whole herds of horses, all of which were deemed by the Indian owners as obvious evidence of "wealth," even though they had no commercial value. Goats, which had furnished milk and wool, and which often constituted leadership to the flocks of sheep, were also discouraged because their nervous moving from place to place led the flocks to cut up the ground with their sharp hoofs, encouraging erosion; and their more indiscriminate eating habits led to the destruction of more types of ground cover. The government bought the surplus stock at a reasonable price, and cooperated further by introducing high-quality breeding bucks, to compensate for the better ewes and lambs which had been sold during the disastrous winter referred to.

The ultimate result of this forced cooperation was economically beneficial,[1] but unfortunately the connection between cause and effect was not established in the minds of the people. The war and other factors upset many plans, and the rate of population increase outsped the economic improvement, to the extent that the majority of Navahos today remain convinced that the government stock-reduction program destroyed their economy. (When stock-reduction began in 1933 there were about 41,275 Navahos living on the reservation. In 1947 this number had increased to about 65,000. It is still increasing.) Throughout the reservation there is little evidence that the demonstrations by Government workers of the many ways erosion could be controlled and normal grass cover naturally restored have been accepted and incorporated into native practice. The point is

[1] From [illegible] to [illegible], the duration of the stock-reduction program, the gross reservation income from livestock increased from [illegible] to [illegible], despite about a 40-percent reduction in livestock numbers. As a result of the livestock improvement program, there was little change in the total number of pounds of wool, but it was produced by fewer better-fed sheep—the total throughout the period was a little over [illegible] million pounds. Due to stronger and better-fed ewes, there was little reduction in the total lamb crop. There were [illegible] lambs produced yearly in the [illegible] period, [illegible] lambs in the [illegible] period, with three-fifths of the total number of sheep. During this time, the healthier stock resulted in an increase in the total weight of lambs from [illegible] pounds to [illegible] pounds.

that these changes were brought about by Government action, not as a result of community action of a convinced majority.

Another United States Indian reservation, Pine Ridge, demonstrated a different form of attack, in which a great deal of emphasis was placed on a coordination of teaching and demonstration in which schools, extension agents, medical men, and those interested in a restoration of local self-government took part. As reported in a recent publication of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Education for Better Living, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans., 1955) this program was achieved throughout with Indian understanding and acceptance and, according to the report noted above, is today deemed to have been successful and eminently worth continuing by a great majority of those local Indians who took part in the program.

Pine Ridge is in southern South Dakota, in an area of little rain. In fact, periods of extreme drought alternate with periods of moderate rainfall in what may be a normal cycle. When there is ample rain, the fertile soil produces abundant grain crops; during the dry part of the cycle, nothing but native grasses grow without irrigation—and in periods of extreme drought, not even the grass grows. The first World War occurred during a rainy period, and the Indian lands were leased to non-Indians for use in the "wheat will win the war" campaigns of that era. The Dust Bowl period of the 1930's found this area of the Dakotas drought-stricken and leased lands barren. The Indian lands profited from the same study of soil and moisture conditions which took place throughout the drought area, and it was concluded that this was a natural cattle area, for those portions of the Indian lands with undisturbed natural grass cover which had been leased for cattle raising were not as hopelessly barren as the farms. Although more than half of the reservation lands were leased to non-Indians, it was decided to introduce Indians to a cattle economy by which they might successfully operate their own lands, and gradually reclaim the leased lands; and at the same time it was hoped to encourage them in the development of small irrigated areas for home gardening.

In addition to the normal public-school curriculum, the Indian Service elementary and secondary schools in the area began to emphasize cattle-raising and irrigated gardening, through care of actual cattle and the development of community gardens on school lands. Children and adults were both given learning experiences by the schools, while the extension division organized adult cattle cooperatives and provided a variety of ways by which interested Indians might acquire cattle. The high-school herd of registered cattle was used to strengthen the cattle acquisition program by offering breeding

service, selling its purebred bull calves to Indian operators, or by making it possible for youthful school graduates to acquire cattle on a repayment basis: i. e., by returning to the school the first issue of young heifers acquired from the school. The community gardens were a first defense against actual want, and adults in each school community were invited to cooperate with their children in planting a garden. The children's garden was intended to produce food for the school lunch, the adult garden to produce food for the participating families. The garden was operated as a unit, as many people helping as wished to. A record of the hours of work done by each family was kept, and the resultant crop divided on the basis of the effort expended. The school was paid for use of land and water by a small levy on produce for the school lunch program. The school kitchen (and in some cases, an extension division canning kitchen) was available for instruction and practice in pressure canning of surplus products for winter use.

To increase the food supply, chickens were introduced at the schools, grains planted for chicken feed, and the children taught to care for them; eggs and meat were added to the school lunch as a result. Interested children or adults were permitted to earn (through school maintenance chores) settings of eggs for their own use. Here again education and extension cooperated, and today there are more than 10,000 Indian family-owned chickens on the reservation. Similarly milk goats were introduced at some of the day schools. The Sioux were not milk drinkers, and the mobile quality of the people during the summer months was not conducive to keeping a milk cow. A goat could be taken along on a tour of summer rodeos. Here again, the goats were first acquired to satisfy a school need. The children were taught to care for the goats. It was made possible for an Indian family to earn a goat, in the same way that a flock of chickens could be earned—by doing needed work around the school. Several hundred goats were acquired by Indian families in this way. Cattle were ultimately preferred, and today many milk cows are owned by Pine Ridge Indians.

The entire story of coordinated Community Development at Pine Ridge is too long to tell in this brief paper; it is reported in the reference given. Suffice it to say that many attacks were made on the social and economic needs of these people. All were keyed to need, and based on community participation. Sometimes such participation was enthusiastic and the innovation incorporated in their pattern of living; sometimes it was too much at variance with existing mores, and was rejected. The effects of the Pine Ridge program were carefully studied during 1951–52, and a lengthy interview was held with many of the individuals and families who had participated in the program.

as students in school. By large majorities they agreed that the following programs in the high school had been of proved utility in improving economic well-being:

1. Training in cattle raising.
2. Training in butchering.
3. Projects in dairy animals, chicken and pig raising.
4. The Morgan horse project, which contributed to the upbreeding of the Indian cow ponies.
5. Co-operative selling of Indian craft products.
6. Instruction in irrigated gardening.
7. Instruction in loom weaving (a newly introduced handicraft).
8. Training in well-drilling.
9. The organization of Junior Cattle Associations for the school children, modeled on the adult Cattle Associations. (This had been tried as a more practical approach than the 4-H Club to the reservation needs. Opinion was divided as to which was better.)

The following elementary school projects were approved:

1. School and community gardens.
2. Student participation in school lunch preparation (instruction in nutrition, etc.).
3. Operation of school libraries as community libraries.
4. Introduction of milk cows.
5. Introduction of chickens.
6. Instruction in loom weaving for children and adults.
7. Providing shower and laundry rooms for community use as part of the school plant.
8. Pupil and school cooperation with adults in home repair.
9. The horse-breeding program.
10. Reintroduction of adapted wild fruits. (The Dakota area was at one time rich in wild fruits and berries. These have been disappearing. The United States Department of Agriculture has been cross-breeding and developing these native fruits to increase their bearing. The day schools planted the new varieties and shared them with the Indians).

During this same period, the Health Division, working first through the school children and their parents, introduced a program which effectively eliminated trachoma from the reservation. Malnourishment was corrected in part by the well-balanced lunch program, in part through dosages of cod-liver oil. Through health education and increased confidence in the medical service and hospital, a cleanup of venereal disease was also accomplished through voluntary cooperation on the part of the people.

To return again to the international scene, another example of the necessity of a many faceted approach to community development was clearly demonstrated in one of the laboratory villages of the UNESCO

Fundamental Education Center at Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, Mexico. (CREFAL—taken from the initials of its Spanish title—is a center for training graduate students from 18 Latin American countries for Fundamental Education. "Graduate student" is a broad and flexible term as used here. The requirement for admission is that the candidate must have progressed as far as the training offered by his home country permits, in the fields of teaching, public health, home nursing, agriculture, handicrafts, organization of cooperatives, recreation, or other related experience.) Training in the Center is divided between theory, practice, and preparation of materials. For practice, teams of students, each with a different specific skill, undertake work in one or more "laboratory" villages. It was soon learned that once such a team of outsiders gained the confidence of the villagers (and that in itself is no mean accomplishment) it was usually possible to discover some specific problem with which many villagers were concerned. With that as a beginning, many developments might follow.

One small isolated village was surveyed by a team of students, with a view to charting its obvious health, economic, and social problems—which is a required preliminary to all field work. The most obvious discovery by the team was that there was a very high infant mortality rate, apparently traceable to the local well, which was situated at a low point in the village, receiving the surface drainage from a community to which a latrine was unknown. To the team, this seemed the point at which to begin its work of stimulating the villagers to improvement. Meeting with the villagers in their own homes, and eventually in a series of open meetings, however, this was one problem with which they did not find the villagers to be concerned. But what did bother them was that the village was not served by the major highway around Lake Pátzcuaro, and was only connected to the outside by a donkey path through a rocky defile. The access had been so difficult that when the state road had been built there was not money enough to build the village spur. As discussions developed, it appeared that the men were sufficiently anxious for the improvement to volunteer the labor to build the road, but had no tools with which to work. It was suggested that a committee be selected to visit the head of the road department at Morelia, the state capital, to see if some governmental help might not be obtained. This was done, and the committee secured the loan of drills, sledge hammers, shovels, and wheelbarrows, and a gift of enough black powder to blast the rock outcroppings. Soon the road work was under way.

As this progressed, the community became increasingly enthusiastic about their "cooperative" project, and began to discuss other

improvements which they might undertake. Before the road was finished, they were planning a black-topped basketball court—for basketball some years before had become a favorite adopted sport in the Pátzcuaro area. The irregular open space before the church, and overlooking the lake, was chosen for this purpose, and again an appeal to the road department resulted in a promise of a load of black-top delivered at the side of the highway near the new village access road. The completion of the court led to repair of the old schoolhouse, the upper floor of which had rotted through some years before. While this was going forward, it was decided to build two one-room apartments for the teachers—whom the Federal Government would send, if the local people found them a place to live. This job was topped off with the decision to build a latrine for the school—the first in the village.

By this time, community meetings to discuss the welfare of the village had become commonplace. In fact, a degree of self-government was developing, as directing committees of younger men were appointed to "assist" in guiding the various projects.

At one of these community meetings, an outbreak of hog cholera which had appeared in one of the neighboring valley villages was discussed, and the student team was asked for advice regarding inoculations, which it was rumored some CREFAL students had introduced to a nearby village. This was explained, and the villagers were told that the government agricultural agent in Morelia would sell them vaccine and the necessary hypodermic needles at a very low cost, and that they (the students) would be happy to show the men how to vaccinate their own animals. Funds were raised, and a committee traveled to Morelia to buy the vaccine. The hogs were all vaccinated, and none sickened that year.

As project after project had evolved, there was nagging at the back of the students' minds the thought of the children who died each year from the infected well water, which could have been corrected. As they had worked with the villagers, however, they had come to recognize the truth of the advice which they had received from one of their experienced instructors at the Center. He had told them that if they who were outsiders attacked such an ancient institution as the village well, they would set up a village schism, in which some would defend the well and others attack it with such vigor that everyone would forget the cause of the discussion. Finally, when they had despaired of ever accomplishing what many felt might be their most important contribution to improved village health, they were pleasantly surprised to have one of the older men, at a village meeting, point out how the pigs had been saved, and ask if something could not be done to save the children who died in such numbers. Masking

their excitement, the team members suggested that the question be investigated as had all previous problems, by appointing a committee to study and report. The committee was urged to invite the representative of the Health Ministry in Morelia to investigate conditions. By this time, the villagers had learned the extent to which official government representatives were willing to help, and there was no hesitancy in making the approach. The result of a test showed that the well water was foul; and the recommended cure was to raise the well casing and fill in the surrounding area, so that surface water no longer drained into the well. As a part of the project, the students proposed that the traditional washing stones alongside the well where the village women brought their laundry, and from which the laundry water had in turn been draining back into the well, be raised to a waist-high concrete trough which could be built nearby, and tilted to drain into a nearby field. This would have the added advantage of allowing the women to stand instead of kneeling while washing.

These illustrations have shown how one problem leads to another. By this process the need to learn how to read and write almost invariably arises, for the farmer would learn more about improving his crop yield, if he coud read; the villager could make a loan from the rural credit bank if he could write and sign his name; a man away from home could communicate with a sick wife at home, if he could write; village cooperatives for the buying or selling of wares of various kinds demand men who can keep records of money transactions, place orders, fill orders, and so on. And once a little skill has been acquired which enables an individual, old or young, to comprehend the message of the printed page, the desire for more skill grows—provided there is a means to satisfy the desire. This fact accounts for that aspect of Fundamental Education referred to above, in which the UNESCO Centers each engage in the production of reading materials for new literates which are written in simple language and explain what the reader needs to know to improve his living—and which allow him to read for himself the great traditional stories of his culture, as well as news of the events and wonders of the world outside. When the realization of need for learning to read or write arises, the leaders concerned with Community Development or Fundamental Education should know how to satisfy that need in the most effective manner.

No attempt has been made to emphasize the number of compartments into which the needs of these various communities might have been divided if there had been adherence to the usual classification of education, health, agriculture, engineering, forestry, recreation, or home economics into which our highly cultured society has been divided. Each story has been told as it developed, with the problems

inextricably mixed; and it should be obvious that their correction could not well have been isolated and treated separately. Internationally, this multiple need has been recognized in the Fundamental Education for which UNESCO is trying to train leaders, and in which the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Labor Organization are cooperating. It is also recognized by the UN Social Welfare Division, which has undertaken the preparation of multipurpose community workers. The chief difference in these two approaches is that UNESCO has recognized the vast amount of knowledge needed to solve these complicated problems, and asks highly trained people to add to their present specialties the additional experience in integrating this knowledge with other specialties, and to take further training in how to stimulate in the members of a community the desire to work together and thus help themselves. The UN training program attempts to achieve the same end through shorter training periods for unskilled local workers, who it is hoped can operate under the direction of more experienced leaders. The United States, in some of the Technical Cooperation Administration training programs which it is sponsoring abroad, has undertaken both types of training at the local level.

The UNESCO Centers are offering 2-year courses to highly skilled people; the training period for semiliterate multipurpose workers is sometimes as short as 6 weeks. It will probably take a careful evaluation of accomplishments to determine which emphasis is more nearly right. Possibly the problem is so massive—there are about 1½ billion people to be reached—that there is ample room for both skilled and unskilled workers. But it is pretty clear that the workers must either work as teams versed in many specialties—or acquire within themselves a sufficient variety of skills to give needed guidance when the opportunity to do so is presented.

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Who's Who in the Yearbook

Samuel C. Adams, Jr., is chief of the Education Division of the United States Operations Mission to Cambodia. He went to Indochina in 1952, as mass education specialist with the ICA foreign-aid program, after a John Hay Whitney Foundation Opportunity Fellowship and a period as research assistant for the University of Chicago's Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations. Prior to that Dr. Adams was director of the Marion Cooperative Center, a fundamental education project of rural action research and social experimentation.

José V. Aguilar was born in a rural community of the Philippines and attended public school there, but later completed his college work at Denison University in Ohio. For more than 30 years he has been connected with the Philippine public-school system, all but 3 of which were as superintendent of schools. His project design for the community school which he began in 1948 had the support of the Joint Congressional Committee on Education and the UNESCO Consultative Educational Mission. Since 1954 Dr. Aguilar has been on the staff of the College of Education at the University of the Philippines. In recognition of his contribution to education, Central Philippine College granted him an honorary doctor's degree.

Frederick H. Bair is a well-known educator whose broad experience includes high-school and university teaching, many years as superintendent of schools, special work with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, various positions with the New York State Department of Education, including that of Chief of the Bureau of Curriculum Revision and Executive Assistant to the Commission of Education. As consultant for the International Cooperation Administration, Dr. Bair spent 2 years in Ethiopia. His extensive writing on education includes a series of textbooks for high school.

W. E. Baker spent a year in Cuba where he managed a large dairy farm, and then returned to devote 29 years of service in the schools of his native Michigan. In 1929 he accepted a position as superintendent of schools and teacher of agriculture, and held both posts until he retired from teaching in 1954. The community school program which Dr. Baker developed in Mesick has won international recognition, and he has participated extensively in a wide variety of local and State educational and civic organizations.

Simon Beagle taught for 5 years in elementary and junior high schools in New York City. Since 1950 he has been coordinator of community programs and assistant principal of several schools. He has served as consultant to many civic organizations and has published numerous articles on education. Mr. Beagle is now acting principal of an elementary school in New York City.

Willard W. Beatty began his work with underprivileged people in 1936 when he became Director of Education in the United States Indian Service, a position which he held for 15 years. During this

period he served as an American delegate to the first Inter-American Conference on Indian Affairs. In 1951, Mr. Beatty became Deputy Director of Education for UNESCO, concerned with the promotion of Fundamental Education. In this post he established the UNESCO Fundamental Training Centers at Patzcuaro, Mexico, and Sirs-el-layyan, Egypt. He also aided in the establishment of national Fundamental Education Training Centers in Thailand, Ceylon, Haiti, Liberia, and the Philippines. Since 1954, Mr. Beatty has been educational consultant in the architectural firm of Perkins & Will.

Luanna J. Bowles began her foreign education experience in 1927 in a private girls' school in Tokyo, Japan, where she taught English Next she joined the staff of Fisk University working variously as teacher of English, executive secretary to the president, and director of publicity. Her next assignment was in the United States Office of Education as assistant editor of *Education for Victory* and *School Life*. In 1946 she returned to Tokyo on a 4-year tour of duty in the Civil Information and Education Division of SCAP. Since 1952 Miss Bowles has been on the Education Division headquarters staff of the United States Operations Mission to Iran. As Fundamental Education Adviser, she has cooperated closely with the Ministry of Education in establishing and developing the program of Fundamental Education throughout Iran.

H. Emmett Brown's extensive teaching career began at the Kemper Military School in 1918. Later he was for 16 years on the faculty of the Lincoln School of Teachers College and member of the natural science department of the college. From 1944 until 1952, with the exception of 1 year as a Fulbright lecturer in Burma, Dr. Brown headed the science department at the State University of New York College for Teachers. He is the author of a number of publications and a member of numerous professional organizations. Since 1952 he has been education officer of the Mutual Security Mission to Free China.

Verna A. Carley has had extensive teaching experience in the schools of Wisconsin, South Dakota, and New Jersey, and later at Columbia University's Teachers College, and the Universities of Fordham and Stanford. She was Director of the Information Exchange Section of the United States Office of Education and from 1942 to 1946 was an officer in the Waves. During the next 4 years she was adviser to the Japanese Government on Teacher Education and Director of the Institute for Educational Leadership. Before joining the educational staff in Taiwan as adviser in community school education, Dr. Carley was member of a team of ICA consultants which studied community development in Latin America.

Ann Nolan Clark is well known as an educator and as the author of books for children. Mrs. Clark served both as teacher and textbook writer in the Bureau of Indian Affairs for many years. From 1946 to 1950 she worked with the Inter-American Educational Foundation in Central and South America in preparing teaching materials and training teachers for the schools. In addition to instructional materials, Mrs. Clark is also the author of a long list of outstanding books, many of which have won national awards. She is

presently educational specialist with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and is preparing teaching materials and books for use in the Bureau's newly launched adult education program.

Leonard Covello was born in Italy and at the age of 10 emigrated to the United States with his parents and grew up in the East Harlem area of New York City and was graduated from Columbia and New York Universities. A naturalized citizen, Dr. Covello has devoted his educational career to the problems of the foreign born and their children, and has worked for the recognition of foreign cultures in American life. He has been active in all aspects of the community school and has published widely in the field. When Benjamin Franklin High School was opened in 1934, he became its first principal, a position he still holds.

Robert S. Drew was born and grew up in a small New England farm community. After serving in the Army in World War II, he finished his agricultural and educational studies at Pennsylvania State University, taught in a rural consolidated school, and then received a Fulbright Scholarship for 2 years of work in a rural education center in the British Cameroons sector of Nigeria. When he returned to the United States in 1955 he joined the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to help organize an agricultural program in an Indian boarding school on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Peter du Sautoy was born and educated in England, and after entering the British Colonial Service was made Assistant District Commissioner in the Gold Coast, West Africa, and later served on the Central Secretariat of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare there. Since 1955 he has been Director of the Ministry's Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Mr. du Sautoy's articles in this field have been published in England and France.

Glen S. Gagon, instructor in the College of Education of Brigham Young University, spent 4 years in the education mission of the United States Operation Mission in Iran.

Thomas A. Hart, born in Argentina of American parents, had his college training in the United States. His period of college training, 1933–51, was interrupted by 4 years' service as lieutenant colonel in the Southwest Pacific area and in Bolivia. In 1951 Dr. Hart was made Chief of the Saudi Arabia-Yemen Branch of the Technical Cooperation Administration. Subsequently he was made Chief of Education Field Party in Bolivia for the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and later was made Acting Director of the Health Division of the United States Operations Mission to Bolivia. Dr. Hart's awards for accomplishments in the field of health education include the Bronze Star Medal for special work on Goodenough Island and the Gold Medal of the National Conference of Bolivian Farmers.

Humayun Kabir was born in India and graduated from the Universities of Calcutta and of Oxford, and taught at the University of Calcutta. He was the first president of the All-India Students Congress and leader of the Peasants Party, and was also in the

Bengal Legislative Council. In 1952 Mr. Kabir became secretary and educational adviser to India's Minister of Education. In 1953 his Government nominated him vice president of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations and the same year he also became consultant to the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Bernice E. Leary has had wide experience in public schools from elementary through high school and has taught in colleges and universities. She has served as specialist in research for the United States Office of Education, the University of Chicago, and Row Peterson & Co. Her educational work abroad includes service as visiting expert in the Office of the Military Mission in Germany, U. S., and two tours of duty as consultant in textbook preparation in Thailand and in the Philippines. Dr. Leary's writings include articles, curriculum guides and bulletins, a series of textbooks for junior high school. She is coauthor with Dr. W. S. Gray of *What Makes a Book Readable*, which in 1940 received the American Education Research Association award for the outstanding research of the previous 5 years.

Horace G. Ogden is currently employed by the technical assistance program of UNESCO as chief of publications and coordinator of audovisual production at CREFAL. He formerly worked as educational specialist with the Division of Sanitary Engineering Services of the United States Public Health Service, and as assistant director of the Research Interpretation Service at Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

Osvaldo Rodriguez Pacheco was born in Puerto Rico and educated in the schools there, with graduate work in the University of Texas. He has had wide experience in elementary education as teacher, supervisor, superintendent of schools, and instructor in the University of Puerto Rico. He is now general supervisor in the Department of Education of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Mr. Pacheco is a member of several educational organizations and the author of numerous articles published in educational journals.

Friedrich Ploetz, a native of Germany, had his first teaching experience in the University of Halle, with many years in elementary schools. As county superintendent of schools of Darmstadt County after the war, he took an active part in the educational planning for the Schuldorf Bergstrasse and was its first director. Dr. Ploetz participates in the inservice training programs for county teachers and lectures at the State Teachers College at Jugenheim.

J. Carson Pritchard has directed the West Georgia College program of education for adults since 1949 when College in the Country began. Before this assignment and concurrent with it for 6 years, he was director of a panel on religion in the Carroll Service Council, a nonpartisan agency through which efforts for community betterment are channeled. Prior to the latter assignment, Dr. Pritchard was minister of churches in Alabama and Rhode Island.

Mammo Wolde Senebet is headmaster of Dejasmatch Wonderad School in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

A. I. Sheddad, now headmaster of a school in Shoa Province, Ethiopia, is himself a Sudanese nomad from El Obeid in the Pastoral province of Kardogan. At present he is working with the Ethiopian Ministry of Education on a basic plan for nomadic education.

Philip Manderson Sherlock was born and educated in Jamaica. For a time he was secretary of the Institute of Jamaica and later became Education Officer of Jamaica Welfare, an organization concerned with community development and adult education. He is now vice principal of the extension program of the University College of the West Indies and also a member of the United Kingdom Committee on Higher Education in the British Caribbean, and the author of several books on the Caribbean.

Ko Tai, a native of Taiwan, graduated from Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan, and studied in the United States under the Department of State's teacher-training program. Mr. Tai was on the staff of the Press, Pictorial, and Broadcast Section of the Allied Headquarters in Tokyo, and before joining the International Cooperation Administration's Education Section at Taipei, China, as program assistant in community school education, he was principal of Chi-shan High School in Taiwan.

Richard M. Tisinger has had 20 years of experience in administrative and supervisory work in the Education Division of the United States Indian Service. Prior to that he taught in China. More recently he served UNESCO for a year as a member of a technical assistance educational team to advise with Burma in the development of its new programs of universal education, and then became deputy director of Thailand UNESCO Fundamental Education Centers, a position which he held until 1956 when he returned to resume work with the Indian Service.

Isabelo Tupas, consultant on the community school project of the ICA Mission to China, is Chief of the Instruction Division of the Bureau of Public Schools of the Philippines.

Fred G. Wale was a teacher in greater Boston from 1925–35. He served in the educational program of the Farm Security Administration for the next 5 years, and from 1940 to 1947 was the Director of Education for the Julius Rosenwald Fund. He is now Director of the Division of Community Education of the Department of Education, San Juan, P. R., a post he has held since the early beginning of the Division.

Henry Yang, a graduate of the University of Nanking in China and onetime lecturer at National Yin-Shih University, is also member of the Supervision and Guidance Committee on Secondary Education of Taiwan Normal University, and has also been lecturer and chief of the extracurricular section of the university. During the 1954 and 1955 summer sessions of the university, he was Assistant Director of Community School Education of the International Cooperation Administration's Education Section in Taipei, China.

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