EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

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The Journal will print articles on the theory and practice of educational planning, case histories, and articles from related specialties (economics of education, sociology of education, demography, town planning, institutional research, operations research, educational research, and applied mathematics) which are of interest to educational planners.

The Journal will also regularly include reviews of publications in this field and related fields.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The word *special* has been applied to this issue because a particular criterion has been used in our selection process. A number of pieces that would ordinarily have been selected for this issue were rejected or were reserved for later journal issues in order to accommodate this set of articles on national planning in the mid-1970s. At this point the editors wish to send two important messages to ISEP members and contributors: (1) it will be a long time before the journal can again devote an entire issue to national planning, but the goals of this issue will have been poorly served if these pieces do not evoke a continuing series of complementing, and perhaps contradicting, articles on national planning; and (2) the journal will continue to be concerned with educational problems and issues at all levels, from the institutional to the international, the fact that articles are commissioned for special issues should not deter authors from submitting articles on a variety of themes.

Don Adams* – Guest Editor

EDITORIAL

In reviewing the international developments in educational planning several cautions must be borne in mind particularly by the North American readers. First, in recent history, planning in general and educational planning in particular have received much attention and governmental support in many parts of the world. Indeed most of the history of formal, macro educational planning during the last two decades has been written outside of North America. Secondly, much of the international literature gives a very limited definition to educational planning. Particularly during the decade of the 1960s monographs, conference reports, and the like on educational planning, generated or stimulated by international organizations, was limited largely to techniques of target setting in education. Thirdly, throughout the world there has been much more talking and writing about educational planning than doing educational planning. Motivated by international trends and at times mandated as a requirement for obtaining technical assistance loans, most less developed nations developed national educational plans. The governments of the more industrialized European and Asian countries, responding more to demands of equity than productivity considerations, likewise gave considerable publicity to planning. Fourthly, in many parts of the world, evidence and opinion are mounting that educational planning has been at best a limited success. Although typically countries have not reached the level of cynicism regarding the potential of education for social change now present in the United States, suspicion is growing that educational investment needs more careful scrutiny. As an introduction to the case studies from Europe, Asia and Latin America, these characteristics will be reviewed in more detail.

Popularity of Educational Planning. The popularity of educational planning historically probably has related to political ideology, patterns of educational control, assumed instrumental value of education and level of planning technology. Politically, the trend toward increased governmental involvement in the design of social programs and the pattern of centralizing national control of education characteristic of most countries may be viewed as supportive of planning. Moreover, educational planning clearly received a boost during the 1960s by two not unrelated events on the academic scene. First, a number of studies by social scientists suggested that education was a contributing factor

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to economic and social development. Secondly, progress in management and planning techniques, e.g., manpower planning, demographic forecasting, cost benefit studies, systems analyses, and so forth, promoted confidence in the ability of administrators and decision-makers to manipulate educational resources to obtain pre-determined ends.

Understandably, given the "Socialist" orientation of many nations and the centralized nature of educational decisions, educational planning as a national exercise generally has been more popular in Europe and in the less developed nations than, for example, in the United States. Another discernible distinction is the focus or the purpose of planning. The richer countries have tended to emphasize social demand planning, that is, planning educational resources to meet the demand for school places. The less developed nations, in contrast, have been somewhat more concerned with making the educational system more supportive of economic and other developmental targets.

Definitions of Educational Planning. Most of the International literature on educational planning during the 1960s and early 1970s was concerned with the setting of enrollment targets and identification of fiscal and other resources necessary to meet given national educational goals. The "qualitative" considerations pertaining to such areas as teacher preparation, instructional techniques and curriculum development were given much less attention. Moreover, during the 1960s the efforts of the economists and technologists were in prominence, guaranteeing little attention to the process of planning, that is, the complex interaction of actors which leads to the identification of goals or targets and to the subsequent implementation of plans.

Other problems have persisted in conceptualizing and operationally defining educational planning. The boundaries between planning and decision-making and between planning and implementation rarely have been made clear. Nor have the roles of planners and administrators been distinguished adequately. The notion of educational planning as a political, as well as a technical activity, received little attention on the international scene during the 1960s. The educational planner as the manager of educational change, with all of the implications for political analysis and negotiation, was a conceptualization which struggled for acceptance only in the 1970s.

Planning as Plan Making. During the 1960s, much of the energy of international agencies and the national groups they influenced was expended in synthesizing educational surveys, demographic forecasts, and manpower analyses into national plans. These sectoral plans in turn fed the general national development plans. Undoubtedly, at times, the data and recommendations found in national educational plans influenced national policies. Frequently, however, the work of planners went for nought and the fat data filled documents they produced lay mute in ministry offices.

The plans produced typically identified certain overarching educational goals and then with varying degrees of specificity and employing any of a range of techniques detailed interdependencies (of stocks and flows of teachers and students) between branches of the educational system and between educational output and external demand. National educational plans varied greatly in terms of time span considered, level of aggregation of educational measures, reliance on "social demand" as opposed to "manpower" forecasts and the level of specification of resource requirements necessary for implementation.

Thus the end result of the efforts of planners was a plan which provided certain technical data and suggested directions for the educational system. Little if any attention, however, was directed toward the process whereby such directions might be achieved. To

some observers the production of objective, politically-neutral plans (to be transmitted to decision-makers) was the only appropriate role of planners. To others, plan-making, without analyses of the processes and levers of educational change, represented a form of irrelevant if not irresponsible professional behaviour.

Failures in Planning. Educational planning, particularly national or macro educational planning has recently come under extensive criticism of three types: First, there are the critics who dwell on the technical inadequacy of the tools of analysis employed by planners. Secondly, there are those who argue that if educational planning were recognized and examined as a political process it would be more successful. Finally, there are the critics who believe that educational planners have oversold the importance of education in national development and educational planning should therefore not be considered a priority.

There is validity in all of these criticisms and as a result educational planning is now entering a new phase. Planners are beginning to recognize the glaring technical inadequacies in forecasting social and economic demands on education. Consideration is now being given to planning for shrinking as well as expanding educational systems, for local and regional as well as national goals, even for "qualitative" as well as quantitative concerns. Furthermore, education is increasingly being viewed as just another area of public concern which must compete with other public services for funds. These trends, coupled with a reconceptualization of the planning process, suggest that a new threshold is being crossed and that educational planning in the coming decade is going to be vastly different than in the past.

The above introductory comments may provide a helpful context in reading the articles in this special issue of *Educational Planning*. This exclusively international issue is an attempt to provide a status report on changes in educational planning in various parts of the world. To guide the authors in preparation of their manuscripts the following sets of questions were posed to them:

1. What conceptual changes have there been in educational planning over the past several years? Is educational planning seen largely as a technical exercise relating educational inputs and outputs? Is educational planning seen as a political process directed by the political ideology of the actors involved? Or, is educational planning seen merely as a rational part of educational administration?
2. What changes are taking place in the technology or techniques of educational planning? Are manpower forecasts, cost/benefit models, futures predictions, PPBS, linear programming, etc., integral to educational planning? What have been the successes and failures with these techniques?
3. How do the conceptualization and techniques vary at the local, regional (sub-national) and national levels? What are the main problems in educational planning at each level? How is educational planning organized at each level?
4. How is the educational planning process related to policy making (or decision-making) in education? How is the technical information provided by the educational planner used? What appear to be the conditions which promote or extend the influence of the work of the educational planners?
5. What are the persisting issues in educational planning?

Ernesto Schiefelbein*

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING TRENDS IN CHILE 1950-70

Since the independence from Spain in 1810, education has been an important Chilean political issue.[1] Foreign educators were invited to start in the country new types of training or research. By the end of the nineteenth century a French and later on a German mission were hired to train primary teachers and to revamp the national education system.[2] Their work was usually efficient and important improvements in quantity and quality were reached at the different levels of the educational system.[3] However, those missions did not know that they were using some of the techniques now included in the tools of the modern educational planner.

The first attempt of introducing educational planning may be related with the "Gradual Renewal Plan" carried out for the secondary education in the 40s.[4] A diagnosis was prepared showing the gaps between the school and the labour market; the effects of the European selectivity traditions; and the lack of attention of individual needs and characteristics. The scope was expanded in the mid 50s when Ahumada[5] gave education an important explanatory role of Chilean underdevelopment. By that time educational planning was studied for the first time by the Ministers of Education of Latin America.[6] The Ministers acknowledged the potentialities of the approach and asked technical aid from developed countries. A seminar held in Washington in 1958 provided manuals for gathering and processing macroeducational information. At the same time UNESCO launched a project for developing elementary education in Latin America supported by a staff of well qualified experts.[7]

In 1960 an interdisciplinary team was appointed to prepare a comprehensive diagnosis of the educational system. Economists, sociologists, statisticians and educators worked together to detect main problems and pitfalls. As a result of the report a pilot project was designed for the North of the country[8] and a Planning Committee was created in 1962 with the support of the Ministries of Finances and Education.[9]

Alternatives and strategies were discussed in the Planning Committee during the first six months of operation and a bill was presented to the Congress for discussion. The proposal for legislation included the list of positions to be created and limited the pilot projects to no more than six. The proposal asked for exceeding the usual Civil Service salary structure. In June 1964, hearings before the Educational Subcommittee of the House of Representatives led to criticism from all sides. The bill stayed in the subcommittee and it was not resubmitted later on.

President Frei took power by the end of 1964. The new political party (the Christian Democrat) had a pragmatic stance and instead of trying to produce a sweeping change it looked for the development of a process of educational change. A Planning Office was created in the Ministry joining bureaucrats with people who had training and experience in administration and economics. Analysis of the past attempts to implement changes in education make the team avoid preparation of "the" plan but to present several alternatives that could be synthesized in a final project where several people could identify their particular contribution in at least one aspect of the project. Additionally there was a social impulse for change and progress and political supports were expressed in terms of increments in budgetary allocations.

*UNESCO Regional Office, Santiago, Chile. See page 11, references.

As a result of these projects: illiteracy was reduced from 16% in 1960 to less than10% in 1970; enrollments were increased to 50% in the 1964-1970 period; about 95% of the seven to twelve year olds were in school in 1970 showing a further reduction of illiteracy in the next future; places for all needing to enroll at seventh grade were provided since 1966; free books were provided for the elementary students; half of the primary students were receiving free breakfasts and a quarter free lunch too; new curricula were developed for the first twelve grades; differences between urban and rural areas were drastically reduced; a vast effort in preparation of educational materials, school construction and teacher training followed as detailed in several statements; on-the-job training substantially increased and an automatic assessment of qualitative performance of the system was in full operation by 1970.[10]

Two decades is obviously a short period to draw valid conclusions on educational planning trends. But this is the time elapsed in most developing countries since educational planning started being used on a wide scale. In the following paragraphs the evolution of four aspects will be studied in the Chilean situation in the twenty years period. First attention will be devoted to the process, including the location of the units in the administration. Techniques used by planners will be commented on in the next section. Subsequently, implementation and geographical aspects of planning will be discussed from the point of view of the strategies of change. Finally, the way the educational planner is able to get power to survive and to push ahead his proposals will be traced over the period under study.

Changes in the educational planning process

The most clear trends deal with preparation and discussion of plans. In the beginning emphasis was placed in a document called "Plans" where facts are presented supporting key issues raised in the diagnosis. From the set of selected problems goals were stated and human and financial resources were estimated. Attention was called to the "technical" value of the document and to the expertise of the members of the task force responsible for the document. Therefore only one solution was presented and little room was allowed for discussion. The Plan was widely diffused through all mass media and efforts were carried out to convert people to the new vogue.[11]

By the end of the period the plan becomes an ever changing draft and the last version is kept by a limited number of key officials. The draft version is complemented by multiple projects related to specific problems in many areas of the educational system. Each one of these projects have come out of preliminary versions where alternatives were presented to ad-hoc committees and discussed till a single solution was reached. Working with alternatives means that technical criteria are no longer the only ones considered. Solutions should also be feasible from political, financial, administrative and strategic points of view.[12]

A second trait is related with the scope of planning. In the beginning problems were selected inside the educational sector and in few cases exogenous variables were taken into account. Therefore, most professionals involved were educators. Later on isolation is reduced when planning concepts are also used in other sectors and at the national level. Finally, links between educational processes and the other social processes are taken into account.[13] The labour market demands and the salary structure become important variables in educational decisions, together with technological change, mass media

development and the Latin American Common Market. The planning teams become interdisciplinary and the former attempts to reach an educational optimum are relativized in terms of complex sets of social goals. Uncertainty in decisions is acknowledged leading to dialogue with administrators and politicians.

Foreign experts played a key role in the early stages of the educational planning.[14] Their advice was respected and usually accepted. Later on native educators and social scientists followed post graduate studies in foreign universities at the Master level first and then at a Doctoral level. Thus, native research received substantial support. By the end of the period there was enough native talent and expertise to cope with most of planning tasks and foreign aid was only necessary to solve specific problems. The design and strategy was mainly developed by natives that were able to profit from a deep knowledge of national reality and from basic ideas that were standard currency in pedagogical circles of the Americans and Europe.[15]

Educational planning was almost identified with manpower planning in the early sixties. With the time being more educational aspects are incorporated, mainly curriculum planning, qualitative assessments, the role of community and mass media and teachers' training.[16] On the other hand rising criticism all over the world on manpower planning and the "residual factor" cast some doubts on the effects of education on economic development. By the end of the period under study, manpower planning was reduced to a necessary exercise that helped, (together with many others), to make more objective decisions on educational policies.

A final trend is related to the shift from sharing power to generation of power for planning. But this aspect is so important that it deserves special comments below.

Evolution in techniques used in the planning process

Data were initially scarce. There were financial accounts of expenses and records were kept on enrollments, repeaters and ages. UNESCO manuals on students flows triggered interest in the relations between student population in year t in comparison with the year t+1. However, the high rates of increment of newcomers and the gross underestimation of repeaters[17] led to mischievious conclusions. The detailed knowledge of school work showed that those models were not suited to developing countries. Simulations models implemented in the mid sixties enable the planners to work with more accurate transitions rates. Repetition rates were much higher than usually accepted[18] and drop out rates were much lower. Thus, the low rates of graduation were mainly related with the internal functioning of the system.

Manpower studies flourished in the early sixties. Data were gathered on people coming into the labour market and on the educational structure of the labour force. Therefore, the economists of the team starting in 1964 put together the simulations of students flows, with the financial data on costs per students and the economic demands for graduates and drop outs into a Linear Programming model.[19] Discussion of planning alternatives were simulated in that model. Later on a model for projections of enrollments was detached from the main model in order to provide quick answers to assumed policies on factors affecting the student flows. Finally a Linear Programming model was implemented to estimate the transition rates from enrollments per grade for a ten year period.[20]

Modelling forced the planners to look for causal relationships. Funds were provided to stimulate educational research.[21] Bibliographical research on books, thesis, journals and mimeographed papers identified 3000 entries.[22] A first national meeting of scholars interested in educational research gathered more than 60 papers, half of them of interest for planners. Statistical techniques applied in research became more sophisticated. In the meantime Delphi methods for estimating relations and parameters were used.

Collections of statistics were reshaped in terms of planning requirements. A master plan was designed to utilize a computerized system. As a first stage computer programs for teachers salaries were designed including as a by product the production of basic statistics on teachers.

Information was also affected by the need to prepare specific projects to be financed by international institutions. Banks and bilateral aid institutions usually have standard procedures for evaluation of projects based on basic statistics. At the same time the design of projects also affected the whole style of planning. Planners started preparing specific projects for each one of the problems detected in the diagnosis or through different communication channels. Planners kept account of the interrelations among projects in an always evolving master draft plan.

There were early attempts to implement PPBS, first at the university level and then at the Ministry of Education. However, the lack of basic data and difficulties to define suitable measures of performance reduced the attempt to only a more precise budgeting classification than before, leading to estimate costs per unit of outputs. The same type of problems affected cost-benefit models. There were several attempts to estimate, for example, rates of return of education at the different levels and branches.[23] However, Chile is a small country with a powerful centralized state[24] where salaries are established according to relative force of pressure groups. Rates of return are thus affected by extra market forces and their indications are of doubtful value. In any case, the rates are interesting bits of knowledge about the relationships between education and employment and they had been considered when making decisions on educational policies.

In any case, multiplication of channels used to know about new developments in educational planning theory helps to improve the possibilities of their practical applications.

Trends in the implementation of plans

Chile is a nation with ten million people distributed in a long (5000 miles) strip of land. There are 8000 elementary schools and 600 secondary schools. The Director of Secondary education knows most of the principals by their family names. Therefore, planning is organized at the national level. Nevertheless experiences have been carried out to study the possibility of working at a more decentralized level. One southern region was selected in 1967 for a pilot project.[25] For three years efforts were carried out to avoid the usual channels going through the capital city. Finally it was learned that decentralization encompasses a change in the whole structure of the Ministry of Education. Data should be more quickly gathered in order to keep a control on the regional outcomes and central policies should be more precisely defined for the regional authorities to implement it. A better organization should be ready before moving into more flexible and decentralized schemes.

Chilean educators have little training in administration. They are usually promoted from their classroom into the principalship and then to the Ministry. Then they jump from dealing with 40 students to 500 or 2000, and finally to 1,000,000 or more students. This fact explains why initial essays of planning dealt with a few secondary schools in the Gradual Renewal Plan, or a small city as in the Arica's Plan or local projects as in the proposal for legislation of the early sixties. Efforts to affect the whole system are related to the work of economist and managers in the planning teams of the end of the sixties.[26]

Improvements in the gathering and processing of information enable the planners to get together each year with 10 or 12 groups of principals of secondary schools to plan the development of enrollments in the next year according with figures of graduation in the elementary schools of each neighbourhood. Thus, quantitative aspects of planning improve its level of reality. The budgetary process benefitted from these meetings as well as the design of new projects and international loans. Candidates for scholarships and the need to provide supervision were also detected in those meetings.

The qualitative aspects were the center of the early efforts. But the problems were detected in a subjective way. By the end of the period a National Assessment System was in operation. Once a year all students of the eighth grade were tested. The results were provided to the students for guidance purposes.[27] Computer programs were designed to provide similar information to each classroom teacher, principal and regional offices in order to help planners to detect unusual results. Those assessments were programmed to be also carried out in the 4th and 11th grades. At the same time local committees, which included teachers from the public and private schools, were created to prepare tests to be applied in each local community. It was assumed that contact of teachers with different backgrounds would help to improve their training.

Decisions to implement planning proposals are basically political. This point should not be forgotten. Even when solutions are technically feasible fear of political problems may avoid their final implementation[28] a reason why we need to study the evolution of the relationships between planning and power.

The generation of power for planning

In the early stages of the period under study educational planners wanted to get executive power. Planners tried to be named heads of the pilot projects or to create new structures under their command. Given that the main criterion was the "technical" value of the plan it was assumed to be necessary to be the director of the implementation process in order to avoid deviations from the planned norms. Their main bargaining power to get such appointments were the respect from the teachers unions, the university scholars and the support from key newspapers or radios.

Comprehensive planning seeking to launch several projects at the same time make it impossible to take direct command of implementation. Planners had to rely on specially appointed directions of projects or on the old bureaucracy. At the same time they have to obtain new sources of power to supervise implementation of plans. "For he who would induce change, it is necessary to make others realize that their needs can be met more efficiently (and/or effectively) through exchange, than through antagonism."[29] Information seems to be the planners' best weapon. His capacity to gather, tabulate and interpret data represents a "scientific" way of solving administrative problems. He must also prepare speeches for the Ministry or authorities, supported by objective data, answer

press questionnaires, prepare agendas for meetings, draft budgets, proposals for foreign technical assistance, act as secretary of many committees, and write aide memoires for many members of the ministry. He must help in relieving pressure from politicians asking for new schools or the appointment of partisan teachers.[30]

Involvement of different groups participating in the discussion of alternative solutions presented by the planner may also be a source of power. In general "most of the power that the planner ought to seek is based on relationships with other persons or groups who are able to command the execution of given decisions".[31] However, all these efforts take time and the planner faces a dilemma between generation of ideas for change and the generation of power to implement those ideas.

The planner does not act in a social vacuum and Chile was moving in the sixties toward a more progressive society. A large segment of the population asked for a better education. Ideas for change were endorsed by opinion polls thus showing future dividends in ballots. At the same time techniques had high prestige in the political party in power. Therefore, the influence of planner's work tended to be expanded.

Persisting issues in educational planning

Which is the proper label for the planner to use: technical or political? There is a clear trend during the period starting from the technical side and becoming political, but what should be the situation? It seems that the planner should be right in the middle of both spheres of action. He should have the ability to communicate with technicians in their own language and to ask them relevant questions and to translate their answers to politicians posing them relevant decisions.

How far reaching should the scope of educational planning be? Should it deal only with the public (or publically financed) sector or should it also include the private sector? This question is crucial in a country like Chile where long strifes have been created by differences between both sectors. Not to take into account the private sector limits the analysis of flows between both systems. On the other hand, it is difficult to interfere with the operation of private institutions. The only solution to this conflict seems to depend on the ability of the planner to show that concerted action may be beneficial to both parties.

The autonomy of the Latin American university is enhanced in certain cases with the idea of extraterritoriality. The privilege had been abused so often that public opinion may be unwilling to tolerate further irresponsibility. On the other hand people out of favour with the ruling group have few places in which to work and the universities are affecting the functioning of the educational system through their admissions exams and the training of teachers. Thus the planner must make a difficult decision. He may create political unrest if he attempts to force universities into a master plan, but all efforts in the rest of the system may fall apart if the university does not play a supporting role. No clear solution may be envisaged in this point. The political situation may show the lines to follow in each case.

The planner must weigh projects that are going to produce results in the long run with those affecting the short run. Politicians are usually more interested in the short run results because they want to win the next elections, but the planner knows that changes in education may take a long time to produce the desired outcome. This is a day to day problem that needs careful attention. Routine may become dangerous because it tends

to reinforce attention to short run type of projects. Sabbatical periods and visits to planning offices in other states may be a good antidote to routine.

Developing countries benefit from the problems that industrial countries faced and solved in the past. However, some factors may have changed and solutions should be reshaped.[32] To establish a set of suitable goals always require subjective judgements. Moreover, research is always adding bits of information or hints about possible ways to be explored. Efforts to gather and interpret available research may have valuable rewards.

Opportunity seems to be one of the most serious problems for the planner to solve. There is a tendency to wait for more data or more advice before making proposals. The power of the planner is partly based on his ability to avoid mistakes. However, delays may be dangerous in many cases. It is necessary to build a network of communication channels to detect problems and to have enough time to talk with as many people as required. The design of automatic signals of problems may also be effective.[33] National assessment systems may be of great value in this aspect, but the timeconsuming personal contacts are unavoidable. Discovery of effective solutions in planning also depends on taking advantage of fortunate circumstances. It is necessary to stimulate those conditions that appear to favour serendipity.

Routine is always an enemy of the planner, but if planning is accepted as a routine function of administration many problems are solved. The success of the educational planning efforts of the end of the sixties might be explained because the idea of planning was already accepted.[34] But functions are different from people, and functionnaires are competing for a limited number of possible promotions, especially in the case of a small country like Chile. Personal relationships between the planner and his boss or his colleagues may set up the pattern of cooperation or warfare.

The inducements of changes usually requires increased amounts of resources. Even if increased efficiency is obtained after reforms are implemented, more resources will be used than before. The more comprehensive and more rapid the pace of change the more massive will be the amount of investments. The planner is not a magician that can save resources through more efficient management and use them to tackle new problems.

In summary, the main trends observed in the Chilean situation go from techniques to behaviour; from recipes to new solutions; from copy to creation; from deterministic to heuristic procedures; from working in a well limited situation to a national scope; from attempts to manipulate few variables to complex arrangements to quantitative and qualitative variables; from pedagogical to interdisciplinary approaches; and from normative planning to more flexible arrangements. Thus the list of specific kinds of knowledge and techniques to master by the educational planner grows each year. But the good planner must be able to respond to each problem with creativity.

Some of these trends may be still valid in the next future, but some of them may be quickly reversed. Research may produce interesting changes if it is possible to define more precise relationships between inputs and outputs or between educational outputs and the labour market. Political changes in the country may also be a key variable for defining the type of planning to be implemented. Ethics has not yet played an important role in shaping educational planning, but it may also introduce new dimensions in the future work in this area.

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Although the author is a member of UNESCO his opinions are personal and do not reflect the points of view of the institution. The author has used materials gathered for cases 1, 2, 12 and 14 of the book "Power for Change: Educational Planning in the political context" written with Dr. Noel McGinn of Harvard University. He has also benefitted from long discussions with Simón Romero Losano, Head of UNESCO Regional Office for Education. Dr. Don Adams' suggestions and questions were of great value in organizing this paper. Participation in the Network Project directed by Dr. Barclay Hudson of UCLA helped me to think on the diffusion aspects of the Chilean experience.

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24. All teachers, most physicians and half of the engineers are hired by the state or by firms owned by the state.
25. Ministerio de Educación, "Plan de Descentralización Regional", Santiago, May 1970. There was a previous experience in the North, but there were problems in the follow up and little was learned about ways to improve regional planning.
26. The systems approach of education is from recent data. See E. Schiefelbein "Teoria, Procesos y Casos en el Planeamiento de la Educación", El Ateneo, Argentina, 1974.
27. The test had a 10% weight in the score of students for entering secondary schools. The weight was used mainly as a way to force students to make the test and it does not represent confidence in value of a test at the individual level.
28. E. Schiefelbein, "Constraints to change in traditional educational systems", *Interchange,* Vol. 2, No. 3, 1972.
29. E. Schiefelbein and N. McGinn, "Power for Change: educational planning in the political context". Center for Studies in Education and Development, Harvard University, mimeo, 1974.
30. Developing the data necessary to justify the new school or to prove the need for the extra teacher in comparison with the country averages, may be one among many sources of power. This subject is dealt with extensively in Schiefelbein and McGinn, *op. cit.*, chapter II.
31. Schiefelbein and McGinn, *op. cit.*
32. In certain cases solutions that are valid in the context of developed countries do not hold in developing countries. See for example E. Schiefelbein, "The Jenck's impact on developing countries", in John Simons, World Bank, 1974.
33. Schiefelbein and Leyton, "Anteproyecto, evaluación de la reforma de la educación de la reforma de la educación chilena", Oficina de Planeamiento de la Educación y Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas, 1970.
34. Oscar Vera, "Planeamiento educacional chileno", Coordinación del Planeamiento de la Educación", 1963.

Kjell Eide*

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN NORWAY

In recent years a number of distinct features have marked the development of educational planning in Norway. To some extent, similar developments can be found in other European countries, and in the thinking on educational planning within such international organizations as the OECD and UNESCO. In Norway, however, the changes in planning theory and practise may have gone somewhat further in such directions than in most of the neighbouring countries.

The changes are characterized by the following features:

- a widening of the scope beyond what would normally be thought of as "educational matters";
- a broadening of the conceptual framework to include elements of all the social sciences, without any particular relationship to a specific discipline;
- a profound change in the conception of planning as an administrative function, with far-reaching consequences for its relationships to other political/administrative functions.

In the following, I shall deal with those aspects of the change in educational planning in turn.

The extended scope of educational planning

The widening of scope has partly been directed inwards, towards the interior of the "black boxes" of the traditional approaches to educational planning. But there has also been a parallel expansion towards external phenomena beyond the limits of the educational system, whatever system definition one would like to use. Let me sketch the former development first:

Traditionally, educational planning in Norway was an exercise in figures: Numbers of pupils at various levels and in various sectors of the system, and their transitions between levels and sectors; numbers of teachers with various qualifications attached to those pupil numbers. Other resource inputs in various sectors and the transformation of total resource input into budgetary figures. The main emphasis was on internal consistency control within the system as a whole, and increased predictability of future events.

It may be regarded as a continuation of the same line when efforts gradually turned to similar phenomena at the micro level. Yet, the increasingly detailed studies of combinations of resource inputs in concrete school situations, based on extensive cost models, gradually turned away from the emphasis on controlling the future, towards stressing the notion of choice. Focusing on the substitutability of input variables made it easier to link in with available pedagogical insights on ends/means-relationships in concrete educational situations. At the same time it meant, a move away from the notion that education primarily aims at the production of a specific set of predefined products, towards a fuller realization of the multiplicity of educational aims, and not least those which cannot

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easily be expressed in cognitive terms. A logical consequence of this was the realization that in education, qualities associated with the process itself are not only important, but sometimes more essential than the final products.

Parallel to this came an increasing concern with organizational structures. Firstly, the size, localization and distribution of educational facilities. Secondly, the possibilities for institutional integration of such facilities and the new requirements caused by such institutional integration. A more complicated step, although a logical consequence of the former, is an integration of subjects and disciplines within the institutions, breaking the traditional monopolies of the various scientific disciplines and professional groups in defining the "proper" structure of knowledge.

Furthermore, traditional ideas about school organization had to be looked into. Are we drifting into a situation in which schools copy, in the most undesirable way, structures found in established industrial and bureaucratic organizations? Are false ideas about "professionalization" pushing us towards a form of specialization and compartmentalized expertise within and around the schools, which make sure that no essential decision about a child will be taken by anyone who knows more than a fraction of the child in question? Are the "general practitioners" of the system, the ordinary teachers, being relegated to the bottom position within a professional pecking order, devoid of any other function than providing a little warmth to the children, and identifying problems for specialist decisons?

Quite logically, the whole question of decision making structures within education tends to come to the foreground. What scenarios can be developed for future decision making structures? What are the present trends? What would we like to see happen? Should the real power rest with central government politicians and officials, or with an unofficial, but perhaps even more rigid, authority structure of expertise? Should schools primarily be run by ordinary teachers? But what about local authorities? Parents? Pupils? What are the consequences of various forms of power sharing for the variety of educational objectives which we tend to put forward in educational pep-talks?

Thus educational planning in this sense has moved into both the intricacies of pedagogical thinking, as well as organizational theories relevant to both educational and other institutions, and the problems of decision making procedures common to democratic theory in the variety of fields.

Thus expansion *beyond* the system of education does not stop at the traditional concern for a mysteriously developing "social demand" for education, or an equally mysterious set of "manpower needs".

The role of education in a policy for social equality necessarily calls for education to be viewed as a subsystem of a much wider societal system, in which any attempt to attribute "causal" responsibility to any particular subsystem must be looked upon with suspicion. The question of educational contributions to social mobility may be of some interest, but is largely irrelevant to the level of inequality in society as a whole. This is much more a question of how education can provide weak groups in society with the means to improve their own relative situation, not by sending a few more of their members to the top of an existing social structure, but by changing that structure itself. Furthermore, the whole issue of equality is as much a question of control over the criteria according to which equality is being measured. Conventional standards of achievement and performance needs reexamination, and possibly reinterpretation in terms of values different from those predominant within a traditional power structure.

When facing such issues, educational planning inevitably penetrates such fields as economic policy, social policy and cultural policy, and has to face such issues as e.g. geographical mobility, professional mobility and social mobility, as well as basic questions relating to formal and informal incentive systems, human preferences and value conflicts.

At the essential nexus between education and work, we have had to look critically at work organization and the definition of jobs, not only as they are, but as they ought to be. If the aim is to provide satisfactory jobs for everyone who wants it, what would have to characterize such jobs? It may be a matter of their location, qualification and performance criteria, the possibilities they offer for personal development, social contact and control over ones own work situation, flexibility of working time, etc. Rejecting the idea that the task of education is to adapt individuals to given work situations, we shall have to train people for the kind of work-life we would like to see developing in the future—probably the best means of advancing towards such objectives.

An extended concept of education beyond the limits of formal institutions, brings educational planning into the enormous complex of learning activities taking place within the family, at work and in leisure time, through informal learning situations and opportunities created by the mass media. Conditions and values controlling such learning situations become essential planning variables and bring especially the field of cultural policies and planning into focus. It is no accident that such new developments in educational planning run parallel to a series of new approaches to cultural policy, based on a wide and more pluralistic definition of culture, and more emphasis on culture as a process in which everyone is involved, as contrasted to the more traditional concept of culture as a set of professional products.

Correspondingly, in the field of research policy, an extended research concept is emerging. A clear recognition of the intrinsic interdependence between the validity and the relevance of research opens for more emphasis on research as a process of learning and development in broad social contexts, instead of solely on the highly specialized production of research "products". This provides new opportunities for more basic planning efforts concerned with the interrelationship between education and research, both regarding the use of research as a pedagogical tool, and the more fundamental question of alternative knowledge structures.

This interpenetration of educational planning with planning undertaken in other traditional sectors of public policy, which seems to gain growing momentum in the Norwegian context, is based upon a series of political and institutional preconditions, some of which I shall return to later on. At this stage, I shall only mention the tendency to break away from traditional bureaucratic structures within central government administration. Increasingly, intersectorial problems are handled through horizontal collaboration between the different sectors, within ministries as well as between them, without the traditional reference to superior, and usually over-loaded, co-ordinating bodies.

The most recent examples of this nature is provided by the preparation for the governments long-term programme 1978-81. In the preparatory stage, more than twenty interministerial bodies have been created, each dealing with a specific intersectorial problem. Planning personnel all over government administration are involved in such activities, extending far beyond their own formal sectorial responsibilities. Typical groups for involvement by educational planners deal with such subjects as:

"Combining work and education", "Suitable employment for all", "Particular problems of underprivileged groups", "Client producing societal processes", "Local community problems", etc.

It goes without saying that the increasing involvement of educational planning in other sectors than education, as traditionally defined, also implies a reciprocal involvement by planners from other sectors in educational matters. Economic and social planners cannot neglect educational factors, nor can those involved in cultural planning or research policy. Yet, the level of sophistication achieved within educational planning, which in many respects far exceeds that of e.g. traditional economic planning, has put the former in a position to contribute importantly to this general development in planning theory and praxis within the central government.

Expanding the conceptual framework of educational planning

Already the sketchy description above of the increasing scope of educational planning in Norway, makes it obvious that a major extension is needed in the number of variables brought into the formal and informal planning models applied, as compared to more conventional planning approaches. It is interesting to note, however, that this would also be the case, and nearly to the same extent, if a more comprehensive planning approach had been applied solely to the educational sector as conventionally defined. The extension beyond such sectorial limits does not, in fact, add major new requirements in terms of conceptual tools. It rather serves to provide a more generalized context for the application of such tools within the educational sector as such.

It should also be fairly self-evident that no single scientific discipline can provide an adequate conceptual apparatus for such a comprehensive approach to planning issues. Typically, we have moved from an emphasis upon economic theory and techniques towards much more extensive use of sociological approaches. Increasingly elements of pedagogical theory and organization theory have been adopted, as well as aspects of psychological thinking. Some modern orientations within political science have proved increasingly useful, as have certain theories and procedures within social anthropology. More traditional auxiliary disciplines such as social geography and technology still have something to offer, and we have tentatively played around with elements of systems analysis and futurology, admittedly with increasing doubts about their usefulness. Statistics keeps, of course, its position as a basic tool, and demography offers some useful insights.

It is interesting to note that as the approaches to planning become more comprehensive, many of the established research models and techniques within the traditional disciplines become less appropriate, and even directly useless. Examples can be found from many disciplines, and I shall only mention a few.

Traditional manpower forecasting tends to become relatively uninteresting, not because we are not concerned with the interplay between education and work, but because the most essential features of the problem escape available analytical techniques.

In view of the multiplicity of objectives, and the systematic interdependence between a wide set of variables, most of the techniques offered by economists and systems analysts for identifying "optimal" solutions, have only limited value. This certainly applies to the PPBS-approach, with its unrealistic assumptions about the possibility of identifying programmes with one-dimensional goal structures, and its emphasis on largely

irrelevant effectivity measures. The same applies, of course, to related ideas about "management by objectives", etc.

Cost models are extensively used, also as a simulation device relating to concrete decisions. More elaborate techniques of cost-benefit analysis have not, however, proved useful in most cases; partly due to the difficulties of benefit identification, and the implicit value-judgements built into the techniques of weighting. More fundamentally, the neglect of process qualities in favour of "delivered products" often makes such forms of analysis more misleading than useful.

We have found work on social indicators useful to illustrate the multiplicity of decision consequences, far beyond any stated objectives. Most of the work done, however, suffers from the same bias towards final products as the cost benefit analysis, and implicit and explicit attempts on weighing indicators face the same fundamental problems as connected with cost benefit analysis.

We can only make very limited use of human capital models and of more specific educational "production functions". In general, the consistent bias of economic theory towards economic values, as defined by market mechanisms, makes its contributions to a more comprehensive form of planning relatively limited. The stringent econometric training of Norwegian economists still make them valuable partners in planning activities, and it may still be worthwhile exploring the possibilities of expanding economic theory to cope with new sets of problems. Yet, at the present stage the main problem appears to be to break away from the narrowness of traditional economic models for planning.

Sociological theories on professional and institutional roles have proved very useful, and theories on interhuman relationships, bordering on social psychology, e.g. in the field of guidance theory and client relationships, play an important role for our thinking. As indicated above, we have more problems with the sociological tradition of defining societal equality primarily in terms of individual differences and mobility. It appears that a more historically oriented form of sociology could have more to offer in this context. Furthermore, the question of predominance or specific group values, defining "legitimate" criteria for equality appears to escape many of the more empirical approaches by sociologists.

In political science and organizational theory, we have found many elements of modern decision making theory essential for the understanding of key issues in educational planning. However, we cannot use theories implicitly based on perfect harmony models, nor on absolute conflict models. Incidentally, theories drawn from peace and conflict research have provided valuable insights in this context.

Differential psychology and testing theory have less to offer when selection according to given criteria is not a prime objective of a planning operation. When questions are raised about the implicit values built into discipline based curricula, and about the "objectivity" of the traditional power-hierarchy within the individual disciplines, many current approaches to curriculum work become less relevant. The notion that one can establish globally, or even nationally valid criteria for performance within different subjects, becomes dubious and tends to reduce our interest in comparative exercises in this field. We try instead to draw more upon experience from clinical psychology and developmental psychology, especially the regrettingly rare theories which bring peer interaction into focus.

Systems analysis theory may serve as a valuable reminder of the lack of subsystem autonomy. Yet, most formal techniques in this field disregard the fact that individual humans are in themselves partly autonomous and dynamic systems, influencing their environment as well as being formed by it. Biologically oriented systems analysis tries to take this into account, yet the predominant orientation in this field has not succeeded till now. Quite apart from this, our general experience is that substance knowledge in a field provides a better basis for an approach to more general planning issues than the detailed knowledge of specific generalized techniques.

We have been rather reluctant to make extensive use of future forecasting. Seeing planning as an important element in a change process, we find more or less camouflaged trend prolongations of limited interest. Largely, consensus seeking techniques of the delphi-kind appears to have strong built in elitist biases, though we follow with some interest experiments in future choice exercises for ordinary individuals. Scenario writing has been tentatively used by us, though we are fully aware of the nearly unlimited manipulatory possiblities implied in such techniques, which basically rest upon rather doubtful assumptions about complementary or alternativity between social phenomena. However, we still have some confidence in the use of alternative future scenarios as a pedagogical tool.

As indicated by this extremely sketchy summary, we have grown increasingly sceptical about highly formalized planning models and techniques. When we use models, we try to make them simple enough for everyone concerned to master not only their use, but also as far as possible their implications. A "client" shall have the full opportunity to take part in a discussion not only on the outcome of a model operation, but on the shape of the model itself and its appropriateness to the problem at hand.

Though still drawing extensively on more conventional national and international research, we make extensive use of relatively uncontrolled practical experiments, in which a variety of variables change at the same time. Various forms of action research also prove useful in identifying problems and initiating open ended processes, the outcome of which will be determined by the "clients" themselves. We have moved a certain distance away from the notion that research is something which can only be performed in universities and other specialized research institutions.

We do not make extensive use of formal evaluation techniques, although we try to establish fairly extensive systems of more "open ended" feed-back from various experiments and reforms.

An essential element in our concept of planning is that the extensive informal system of information, feeding information back to decision makers through the political system in the widest possible sense, should not be substituted for by highly structured, internal information systems based on the value premises of the various professional groups involved. Even more formal evaluation exercises should thus use criteria close to those applied and understood within the informal information system. We think it essential that all those concerned should be in a position to evaluate on their own premises the more formal evaluation criteria used.

It goes without saying that this excludes most of the formal measures of "efficiency" often applied in planning contexts. It also excludes the notion that any genuine form of "accountability" can be based on specific professional value premises.

Educational planning as a political/administrative function

Most of the developments and assessments indicated above, stems from a definition of the planning function which in the Norwegian context has emerged most clearly in the educational sector, but which seems gradually to spread also to other sectors.

At the level of central government, we would not like planning to fall into the traditional bureaucratic pattern of exclusive responsibilities. An agency "responsible" for planning should thus not monopolize something called the planning function, but should assist in the performance of such a function within all parts of the organization. Decisions as to what is the "right" kind of planning rest with the operational units, and cannot be over-ruled by the planning unit, which systematically refrains from appealing conflicts on such issues to the superior co-ordinating body (in this case the Minister). The specific task of a planning unit can thus be described as initiating and feeding intellectual input into processes within other units, the outcome of which will be determined by the "clients".

Interestingly enough, 10 years of experience with such horizontal operations within still basically hierarchical government structures have proved to function surprisingly well. This is for instance indicated by the fact that other units still invite the planning unit to undertake more work than it can possibly accomplish.

The planning unit is a key contact point within the Ministry for relations to other ministries and to external research. However, even in this case, the unit's task is primarily to engage the rest of the Ministry in such contacts, establishing the widest possible network of relationships for the Ministry as a whole.

Basically, this approach to planning becomes a pedagogical function, aiming at the continuous stimulation of learning processes within the organization as a whole. Increasingly, as indicated above, such learning processes are also developing externally, across the traditional governmental sectors.

Parallel to those developments at the central level runs a systematic decentralization of decisions to political bodies at the local levels, to institutions and to different groups within institutions. The key function of central government in this context is not so much to give directions, as to regulate the relative influence of the various groups involved, and gradually to develop genuine planning functions within each of these groups. This clearly increases the need for informative instruments by central government, as well as the need for measures which may build up the strength of the weakest partners in the educational power game. Recently, the move has been towards strengthening the position of local government, individual teachers and students. The approach is largely experimental, and probably no one sees the final outcome of the change processes initiated this way.

This attempt to stimulate the learning capability of the system as a whole, is not based on the assumption that an educational system can realistically be described by a harmony model. There are genuine conflicts of interest which cannot be solved simply by talking together around a table. Conflicts often block development, and the process of learning to handle such problems is in many cases a slow one. Planning activities at various levels may sometimes help to identify feasible compromises, but may also create new unbalances. Central planning activities have an important information function in this context, and are thus not only directed towards an internal learning process within the central ministry, but towards the total educational system as well as other systems surrounding it.

We are certainly only in an early stage of the development of a comprehensive approach to educational planning, based on the notion that planning is primarily a pedagogical instrument. We know the general rules of the game, that our task is not to solve other peoples problems for them, but to assist them in finding their own solutions, and that this applies to educational decision-makers at all levels, from ministers of education to individual pupils and parents. The practical application of such rules are, of course, fraught with difficulties, as goes without saying in a country where social and geographical inequality still exist, hierarchical organization patterns still prevail, and with new aspiring centers of technocratic and meritocratic power constantly emerging. Till now, however, it has proved an extremely rewarding experience, pointing towards planning procedures that may open up for far-reaching developments in many fields, and a development of planning theory away from its traditional close association with specific professional values and the notion of centralized, hierarchical organizations.

Gareth Williams*

EDUCATION PLANNING IN BRITAIN

In the United Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, the Department of Education and Science (DES) in London has responsibility only for the education system of England and Wales. Scotland and Northern Ireland follow similar policies and have similar planning procedures but there are important differences. The universities of all four countries are financed through the University Grants Committee which is responsible to the DES. This article refers to England and Wales as far as schools and colleges are concerned and the United Kingdom for universities.

Educational planning in Britain has been described by Sir William Pile, then senior permanent official in the Department of Education and Science (DES) as "pragmatic, conservative and evolutionary, not theoretical, futurological and revolutionary. . . . "[1] Pile was replying to criticism of educational planning in England and Wales made by an international team of examiners—who under the sponsorship of the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development had examined educational policy and planning in the light of the Government White Paper entitled *Education: A Framework for Expansion*[2] which at the end of 1972 had set guidelines for the growth of the British Educational system up to the end of the decade of the 1970s.

Achieving Educational Consensus

The 1972 White Paper was a new departure in educational planning for Britain and the officials in the DES had reason to be proud of their efforts. It represented the climax of the political consensus which had gradually been forged in British education since the end of the second world war.

The 1972 White Paper was essentially a civil service document, a realistic plan of action, not a Utopian dream of the future. The financial and other implications of all the proposals were not worked out in detail but there were realistic attempts at providing broad estimates of the costs of the various programs. The White Paper was published by a Conservative Government, but it is common knowledge that much of the background work had been done under the previous Labour administration and apart from a few glosses and the fact that little reference was made to secondary education the program could equally well have appeared under the aegis of a British Labour Government. The omission of secondary education is significant. It is the one area in British education where party political controversy had increased rather than diminished since 1960. The issue essentially was whether children should be selected for different types of education between the ages of 10 and 11. Secondary education was thus not ready for inclusion in a technocratic blueprint.

Planning in the DES is apparently seen as the practical work that is undertaken by professional administrators and politically neutral social scientists after political debate and discussion with other interested parties have pointed the general direction to be taken. Sir William Pile in the same OECD enquiry commented that he was "in favour of

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full discussion of the issues involved by all concerned wherever this was practicable, but always there came a time when discussion had to stop and decisions had to be taken."[3] One of the roles of the planner in the Des is to be aware of all the strands of educational opinion so that these can all be weighed in the balance when the serious business of planning begins. In a subsequent enquiry into "Priorities and Decision Taking in the Department of Education and Science" by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, Sir William commented that, "there is hardly anybody at this table (i.e. among the Senior Officials of the DES) who could not at this moment write a little essay giving very accurately the aims and objectives of virtually every interest group in the country."[4]

The anvil on which the political consensus was forged was a series of reports of official committees of enquiry into nearly every sector of public education. In a useful brief account of these reports* Anne Corbett says "They have been great consensus makers .... The government, local authority associations, teachers organisations and, to varying degrees, the consumers, need to agree before there is much change. The Newsom, Robbins, Plowden and James Reports all moved these interest groups in a mildly progressive direction, establishing a benchmark for policy."

Growing political consensus then, has been the most important feature of educational planning in Britain during the thirty years since the end of the second world war. It has meant that most aspects of educational planning could be developed as a technical exercise largely protected from the violent political controversy that has surrounded for example general economic planning or defence planning.

In this there is a clear difference between educational planning in Britain and that in many Western European countries and the United States. In Britain the policy aspects, the establishment of objectives based on political and philosophical values has been sharply divorced from the technical task of converting these values into a program of action. The educational technocracy in Britain do not view their role as one in which they have to promote a particular policy objective, though there are examples where civil servants, in persuading ministers of the imperatives created by events may have come near to pressing what has been described as a "Departmental" view on their supposed political masters. Educational objectives in Britain have normally emerged partly from such consensus seeking activities as those outlined above and partly from the election manifestoes of the Conservative and Labour Parties when they have come to power, though the space devoted to education in these manifestoes has steadily declined since 1964.

The educational press also has since the early 1960s played an important role in the establishment of the consensus. The number of specialist education correspondents in the daily and weekly press has increased from less than half a dozen in 1960 to over a hundred in the middle of the 1970s. The DES recognize this. Sir William Pile in his evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee said in summarizing the sources of information used by the DES planners to assess opinion in the world of education and about education in the larger world outside, "You may not regard the Press as an instrument for consultation, but it is certainly an instrument whereby what is going on in the educational world is disseminated to all and sundry, and in this sense it very much acts as a type of information service which does perform something in the nature of what, say, a deputation does when we cannot actually see it. If we can see what their views are in

*Known as the Crowther Report, 1959; Newsom, 1963; Robbins, 1963; Plowden, 1967; James, 1972; and Russell, 1973.

the Press then we are acquainted with their aims and objectives." Sir William may have been a bit ingenuous about the extent to which the educational press like all newspapers in a free society gives more prominence to a good story than to what is in some deeper sense important but there can be little doubt about the role of the Press in forming and informing educational opinion in Britain.

Indeed it can be argued that the educational press is too influential. Even academic scholars concerned with educational planning find that a piece in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* or the *Educational Supplement* or in *New Society* or one of the "quality" Sunday or daily newspapers is more influential than a much more carefully argued paper in a specialist academic journal.

Once discerned, however, the consensus has to be turned into a program of action: responsibility for the design of such action programs has come increasingly to be concentrated in the hands of a small group of officials at the DES. In April 1975 the total staff of the Department was about 2,800 but not more than a few dozen of these were directly concerned with educational planning and most of these were what Sir William Pile described as "simply officials of the Department with their thinking caps on." The actual professional planners, the planning and programmes branch of the department "is a very very small branch . . . . the total numbers are in single figures."

Organizing for Planning

The development of planning machinery in the DES has been very succinctly described in a background paper prepared by the Department for the OECD.

A handful of Education White Papers (i.e. Government Policy statements) and reports published between the mid-1950s and 1960s made valuable contributions to policy-making, but dealt only with individual sectors of the education service; as a result they did not measure competing claims on resources. An important development was the acceptance by the Government in 1961 of the Report of the Plowden Committee on the management and control of public expenditure. This marked the beginning of the present system of public expenditure planning–the PESC system, taking its name from the Public Expenditure Survey Committee of senior officials from Departments with expenditure programs which prepares an annual report for Ministers.

The return of a Labour Government in 1964 gave new impetus to these developments. The new Government was concerned to plan national resources in greater detail than at any time since the early 1950s and to try to relate its own policies, particularly for the social services, to the likely growth in the economy. With a Government committed to indicative planning through the National Plan, the Department moved formally into the planning business itself. A small planning branch, staffed by economists and statisticians as well as by administrators, was set up in 1967, and by 1970 some of the results of its work became apparent with the publication of two education planning papers. "Educational Planning Paper No. 1" described the work done in developing output (program) budgeting for the Department and included the result of a feasibility study undertaken in 1968. "Educational Planning Paper No. 2" brought up to date the projections in the report of the Robbins Committee (1963) on the development of higher education to 1981.

The return of the Conservative Government in 1970 had important implications for the Department's planning machinery. First, the new Government came into office with certain political commitments, especially for the development of nursery and primary education, which marked a change of course from the policies of their predecessors. Second, the new system of programme analysis and review (PAR) was quickly adopted by the incoming Government as a contribution towards decision making. Following preparatory work by a group of businessmen based in the Civil Service Department, the Government decided to introduce a PAR system so that departmental expenditure programs could be periodically brought under special review on a selective basis. Essentially PAR is a means of defining objectives, establishing alternative ways of achieving given aims, measuring more precisely the cost of the various choices available and analysing the results of expenditure of resources so that valid comparisons with costs can be made.

At the time of these two developments the Department's planning branch was wound up and new planning machinery was established. It rested on three principles:

- Planning must directly involve those who must administer the policies that have to be planned;
- Specialist skills must be brought into the machinery in such a way as to ensure that they can make a creative contribution to policy formation without being able to determine it single handed; and
- The planning machinery must keep close to Ministers, exploring amongst others, options that reflect their known views and seeking Ministerial guidance and endorsement from time to time.

On this basis, the Department of Planning Organization (DPO) since the beginning of 1971 has consisted of:

- A policy steering group under the chairmanship of the Permanent Secretary, the highest ranking official in the Department, and including the most senior officials on both the operational and specialist sides. The role of the group is to determine the planning program in consultation with Ministers, to trigger off particular planning exercises, to ensure that the appropriate planning machinery exists for the jobs in hand and to receive and review the results prior to submitting them where appropriate to Ministers.
- Several policy groups, usually under the chairmanship of a Deputy Secretary, who ranks immediately below the Permanent Secretary, each directed to a major block of activities i.e. programs and policies relating to schools, or to higher education. Each group comprises a mixture of the heads of the operational branches and specialists such as HM inspectors, statisticians, economists, architects and cost accountants. Each group is likely to break down into sub-groups to deal with particular aspects, all groups being established as integrated multi-skill teams.
- A full planning unit headed by an Under Secretary who is ex-officio in membership of the steering and policy groups. The function of the unit is essentially to service the steering and policy groups, to take the lead in preparing papers in close cooperation with the operational branches and specialists, and generally to maintain consistency of methodology and co-ordination of efforts across the whole departmental planning organization.

The establishment of the DPO has been accompanied by development of the Department's program budget. As mentioned earlier, work on this has begun in the former planning branch, and following the 1968 Feasibility Study a decision had been taken to work towards annual calculation of program budgets to help in understanding the growth of educational expenditure. The program budget has been designed to show the determinants of education expenditure–how much is needed merely to maintain standards in the face of population increase, how much arises from growth in the numbers choosing to participate in education, how much is needed to accomplish planned improvements in the system. Other analyses within the program budget show the relative importance of various institutions at each level of education and the share of expenditure attributable to various resources inputs (teachers, other staff, building, etc.). It thus helps to inform the policy groups about the limits within which alternative policies can meaningfully be considered. Furthermore the economists and statisticians supporting the policy groups are able to draw substantially on the work sheets underlying the program budget to simplify the tasks of producing alternative expenditure projections for PAR purposes.

With this new machinery, which also improved the Department's capacity to respond to changes in direction of public expenditure, and with the aid of PAR methods, it was possible to undertake a major re-appraisal of educational policies. This culminated in the document: "Education: A Framework for Expansion" of December 1972. The starting point for the operation was the known political commitments of Ministers, but a variety of options was explored in the course of the exercise, and the package which finally made up the policy document of course took account of constraints on public expenditure generally. Because planning must lead to decisions and decisions must be negotiated through the public expenditure machinery, the Treasury was closely associated with the Department's planning operations. So too, was the Central Policy Review Staff, among whose functions is that of challenging spending Departments to consider new approaches and alternative methods of achieving objections which their traditions of thought and procedure might otherwise rule out.

The White Paper was subject to a good deal of detailed criticism but most commentators welcomed the evidence in it of the Government's determination to review in detail something like three-quarters of education expenditure and to make clear choices affecting five major areas of policy.

During 1973, the Department's planning machinery was engaged in revising and extending the projections in the White Paper in the light of new data (for example about the projected school population and the demand for higher education). When in December 1973 the Government made major reductions in the level of public expenditure previously planned for 1974/5 it was then possible to try to distribute the cuts affecting the education service in such a way as to do least damage to the objectives of the White Paper. Thus the plans for nursery education, in-service training and teacher supply have been largely protected; and the curtailment of the rate of growth of higher education does not necessarily mean the abandonment of the White Paper policy, because the latest indications are that the proportion of those qualified for higher education who wish to take up places is falling.

Several conclusions emerge from the development of educational planning thus far. First, the practice of showing expenditure on components of the education budget to

within £1 million up to 10 years ahead must not mislead anyone about the degree of uncertainty that must enter into long-term estimates of this kind. Although education is a service whose planning is heavily dependent on sheer numbers, and the collection of reliable and useful data has been highly developed, the degree of uncertainty and therefore of risk-taking in educational planning remains substantial and projections must constantly be revised and extended—as in 1973. Second, because of the time-lags, resistance and frictions in the system, major changes of direction and pace can be achieved only slowly. Most of what is going to happen in the next five years is largely determined already; and in a 10 year look ahead the real room for change lies only in the second five years.

Emerging Problems

As well as marking the apotheosis of consensus politics in English educational planning the White Paper of December 1972 also marks the culmination of an unprecedented period of sustained growth in nearly all branches of education.

As in many other countries of the world rising numbers of births had ensured rising enrollments in primary education and increased demand from school leavers had led to explosive growth of post compulsory education. Public funds were forthcoming to finance this expansion largely because one main aspect of the consensus was a belief in the ability of educational expansion to achieve greater equality in society and a second was the belief that education of many kinds made a significant contribution to economic growth. In this respect also British educational planners of the 1960s operated in a context little different from their counterparts in many other countries.

The White Paper was intended to mark a change of gear and a slight change of direction. That expansion was still the keynote is shown by the title *Education: A Framework for Expansion*. However, it was to be expansion at a slower rate than the 1960s and there was to be more emphasis than heretofore on pre-school education and some aspects of adult education—particularly the in-service training of teachers. Upon its publication the White Paper was widely criticized as representing an attempt by a Conservative Government to give education a much lower political priority than it had become used to during the preceding fifteen years. In fact the overall rate of growth of expenditure foreseen for the 1970s was slightly higher than in the 1960s. "In the schools sector the increase would correspond to an annual rate of growth of some 3%, which may be compared with a figure of 2.5% for the decade 1961-62 to 1971-72. For the higher education sector where the very rapid expansion of the 1960s gave an annual growth rate over the decade of some 6.5% the corresponding figure for the decade to 1981-82 would be some 5%."[6]

In the event since 1972 the ten year plan set out in the White Paper has proved to be in effect the Indian Summer of what most people now see as the golden age of British education—at least in so far as political stability and resources are concerned. In April 1974 Edward Simpson who at the time was head of the planning branch in the DES described the period since the end of 1972 as a "planners nightmare".[7] Since then the nightmare has turned into a hellish reality.

We can distinguish at least five devils in this purgatory.

First there is the continuing decline in the birth rate. After a peak of over 825,000 births in 1964 there were in 1975 the lowest number of births on record—only just over 600,000. The birth rate has, of course, a direct effect on the number of pupils in primary schools five years later: it has a much more immediate and magnified effect on the number of new teachers required, and hence teachers in training.

Second there are the continuing employment problems experienced by graduates. There was a sharp and much publicized rise in unemployment amongst new graduates in 1971. Subsequently the situation improved somewhat but to nowhere near the levels of the previous ten years when a degree had undoubtedly become a meal ticket, and in the best restaurant at that.

Third and closely connected to the unemployment situation among graduates there has since 1970 been growing evidence of the relative earnings associated with educational qualifications declining in relation to earnings generally. In other words the rate of return to expenditure on post-compulsory education had been falling.

Fourth, and probably resulting from the previous two factors, has been a stagnant demand for post compulsory education from the age of 16 onwards when compulsory education ends.

Fifth there has been in Britain as in North America increasing doubt about the ability of education by itself to overcome inequalities in society or indeed of the desirability of this as a major educational policy objective.

The sixth new element in the situation since 1972 has been the sharp fall in the political priority accorded to education and particularly post compulsory education since 1972. This results in part, obviously, from the five factors previously mentioned: if the demand for education by individual students is not rising, if there is evidence of at least temporary saturation of the market with qualified manpower and if there are doubts about whether education can do much to help meet the equality objectives prevalent in modern Britain it is difficult to see how education could retain high political priority. However, other less tangible factors have also been at work. The militancy of some students, although much less violent than in North America, Japan or many continental European countries has lingered longer and has had more effect in a country where nearly all students receive a maintenance grant paid for by the taxpayer. At the same time there are signs of growing unease about what has been achieved educationally by the "progressive consensus". The educational press at least suggests growing public concern with such problems as lack of literacy and numeracy among pupils, truancy and vandalism in schools.

Seventh and overshadowing all others has been the perilous economic situation brought about by inflation and large balance of payments deficits since the oil crisis of 1973. Even without the declining political popularity of education the need for reductions in public expenditure would have meant a gloomy outlook for public education in Britain. In the event there are fears that these problems may not be merely short term, but will be with us at least until the 1990s.

However it is not only the ending of expansion that has changed since 1972. There are growing signs that the political consensus also is breaking up. Public concern that the progressive consensus has not led to markedly greater equality and that it has certainly not solved problems of literacy, numeracy and truancy have already been noted. There has been a cause célèbre at the William Tyndale School, Islington North London. Numbers of pupils in this junior school fell dramatically as many parents withdrew their children apparently because of fears that the predominantly child-centred education was resulting in widespread illiteracy and innumeracy as well as delinquent behaviour. The local authority responsible, the Inner London Education Authority, instituted a public enquiry into the affairs of the school. This enquiry has not yet been completed, but the

enquiry itself has highlighted deep divisions of opinion about the relative merits of progressive and more traditional types of primary education.

In April 1976 substantial research evidence was published which supports the view that unstructured teaching methods in primary schools (which for many people is synonymous with "progressive") are less effective in imparting the conventional educational skills.[8]

The financing of education is also coming under much closer scrutiny. Part of the consensus has been an acceptance that all finance of educational institutions is obtained by direct subsidy from public funds. In addition nearly all full time students in higher education have received a maintenance grant from public funds. Two radical changes in these arrangements are being considered, particularly by those on the right of the political spectrum. First is the possibility that loans will replace grants in whole or in part as a way of paying the maintenance cost of full time students in higher education. Second is the possibility of channelling finance to secondary and higher education through vouchers to parents rather than paying grants directly to schools. Both changes obviously would bring about major changes in the financial infrastructure on which the "progressive consensus" has been based. In the future educational planners in Britain will need to be more directly involved in the values and prejudices that determine educational objectives.

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: STATUS AND ISSUES IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Planning in education is as old as the history of educational administration in Korea (as elsewhere) for planning may be considered as an essential part of the administrative process. More formalized planning, going beyond the level of operational planning, is relatively new. The establishment, in 1953 in the wake of the Korean War, of the Six-year Plan for Completion of Compulsory Education (1954-59) was the first experience of educational planning in post-liberation Korea. It called for attainment of the enrollment ratio of 96% of the compulsory school-aged children by the target academic year 1959-60, and the target was reached through its successful implementation.

In the early 1960s planning as a distinct function to be differentiated from other aspects of the administrative process was strengthened. After the Military Revolution in 1961, planning as a function of government was greatly stressed, with the establishing of new planning machinery such as the Economic Planning Board (EPB), a planning coordinator's office under the Prime Minister and an office of planning and management in each ministry. The First Five-year Economic Development Plan (1962-66) gave further impetus to recognizing the planning function as a distinct concept. It accelerated in many related fields of government the use of long-term perspectives in policy making and planning which would go beyond the level of operational planning for national public administration. Early all sorts of national development plans were attempted: manpower development, educational development, land development, food and agricultural development so that the planning concept coming into general use and acceptance, even popularity.

In educational planning, however, it was not until the latter half of the 1960s that the concept of long-range comprehensive planning came to be emphasized. In this connection the 15th General Assembly of the World Council of Teachers (WCOTP) held in Seoul in August, 1966, was a significant occasion. The study of its theme, "The role of the teaching profession in educational planning", which preceded the occasion, gave great impetus to the planning movement in Korean education. Those who participated in the theme study became the authors of the first book on educational planning in Korea, entitled *Educational Planning for National Development.*[1] In the following year a large-scale seminar on education and national development, emphasizing the role of educational planning, was held. Its papers were later published under the title of *Education and National Development.*[2] The Ministry of Education, responding favourably to the movement, launched into long-range comprehensive educational planning. The Council for Long-range Comprehensive Educational Planning (CLEP) was organized in February, 1969 under the Prime Minister. A specialist task force organized under CLEP was made responsible for development of the draft plan to cover long-range comprehensive educational development (1972-86), and the plan was completed by the end of 1970.

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Then in 1971, based in part on the CLEP Plan, the First Five Year Educational Development Plan (1972-76) was prepared primarily by the officials of the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, however, CLEP had been superseded by a new Council for Educational Policies which operated under the Ministry of Education. Then in 1972 there came into being the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) which was intended as a major organ for educational research and development directed towards innovation and change. KEDI became responsible for refining the First Five-Year Educational Development Plan (1972-76) and drafting of the Second Plan (1977-81). The latter is to be incorporated into the Fourth Five-year Economic Development Plan (1977-81). On the sub-national level the Seoul Special City Long-range Comprehensive Educational Development Plan (1972-86) was developed in 1971 by the Seoul Special City Board of Education. This may be considered the first example of long-range comprehensive educational planning on the regional level in Korea.

The years since inauguration of the first long-range Plan have witnessed rising expectations of the role of planning in the educational development of Korea. However, due to an unexpected national emergency, the original plan which involved substantial increase in the allocation of financial resources for education has not been fully implemented in the succeeding plans.

Conceptual Changes

In a historical perspective educational planning in Korea has had three distinct stages. The first, until 1965, was the period when educational planning was still considered as a part of the administrative process. Some sectoral plans of an intermediate range were developed by Ministry officials as part of their policy making and administrative process. In the Post-Korean-War period and the first half of the Developmental Decade, the importance of educational planning was gradually recognized and consequently some intermediate-range sectoral plans were developed in detail with the emphasis placed on quantitative development. The plans were not comprehensive. They dealt only with a a certain sector, e.g., compulsory education, vocational education, etc. Nor were they closely linked to the economy, nor did they take into account other aspects of national development, except for the factor of population. For example, the six-year Plan for Completion of Compulsory Education consisted of four parts: an enrollment plan, teacher demand plan, classroom expansion plan, and financial plans. All these were only concerned with the quantitative growth of the elementary system which would be required to meet the target of 96% participation by the target year. This was implementation planning. The Education Law of 1949 had stipulated the universal and compulsory education of children aged 6-12 would begin with June 1, 1950. It had not been enforced during the war.

The second stage, from 1966 to 1970, was marked with special emphasis upon planning which would be long-range and comprehensive. Educational planning was largely conceived of as a distinct function, differentiated from the operational planning involved in the administrative process. The idea was advanced to set up specific planning machinery directly under the President, above the Ministry of Education and free from administrative routines. It was thought that such an office could better make the linkage between education and other sectors of national development e.g., the economy, science and technology, and so forth. The concept materialized in the establishment of CLEP in 1969; the resulting was the development of the 15-year comprehensive educational plan.

Educational planning now stressed not only quantitative growth of the system, but also its qualitative development. It was not only concerned with the internal growth index, but also the external growth index. At this stage planning was viewed as a combination of a political process and a technical process, requiring the skills and expertise of both. The organizational structure of CLEP represented such a combination.

The third stage in educational planning, since 1971,has seen the planning function returned to the jurisdiction of the Ministry, but with due recognition for its discrete function. Presently the importance of the linkage between the development and implementation of the plans is being stressed. The political process is less emphasized, although it is represented by the Council for Educational Policies; technical expertness is provided by KEDI, often reinforced by outside experts who serve in an advisory capacity. General emphasis now is placed both on quantitative and qualitative aspects of development. Greater attention is being given to innovations in education, particularly in qualitative changes. And the overall plan is within a five-year intermediate development. Although long-range perspectives have been regarded as essential, the plan itself has been limited to the intermediate range. Financial feasibility has become a paramount concern of the planners. Generally speaking, educational planning has become less idealistic and more realistic in its orientation, except for emphasis upon innovation.

The following table summarizes this history:

TABLE 1 CONCEPTUAL CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN KOREA

Stage	Period	Time Span of Coverage	Emphasis on Quality/Quantity	Comprehensiveness	Relation to Economy and other Factors	Relation to Administrative & Political Process
I	–/965	Shortrange or Intermediate range	Quantity	Partial	Not related except for population	Part of administrative process; no particular concern for political process
II	1966-70	Long-range	Quality & Quantity	Comprehensive	Related to economy & other factors of national development	Outside MOE with special emphasis on political process
III	1971–	Intermediate range	Quality & Quantity Innovations emphasized	Comprehensive	Related to economy and other factors of national development	Less emphasis upon political process; linkage with administration emphasized

Technical Emphasis

At the first stage of educational planning when the planning function was largely regarded as a part of the administrative process, there was little use for technical expertise, except for the detailed knowledge and information necessary for projections of population increase, enrollment estimates based on some target setting (often arbitrary) and related estimates of numbers of teachers and classrooms and financial needs. Little attention was given to various factors which might influence the projections. Simple statistics were used. The statistics were not well standardized; indeed there was little need for exact or minute details.

In the second stage, more advanced techniques were made available. More systematically collected statistical data were used, the annual statistical survey of education having started in 1962. Projection techniques were greatly refined in the course of preparing the First Five-year Economic Development Plan. Computer techniques were also made available. The CLEP Plan included the use of manpower forecasts, PPBS, systems analysis involving PERT, CPM, and cost-benefit analysis, etc. Foreign (U.S.) advisors participating under the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities introduced such techniques in studies prepared under contract. A special task force was formed to apply the techniques and develop formulas for projections and allocation.

The Long-range Comprehensive Educational Plan (1972-86), on the other hand, employed an eclectic approach. It combined the social demand approach and the manpower requirements approach, but placed greater emphasis upon the former. The target-setting for future development reflected to no small degree the planners' personal judgments and biases.

As far as technological and technical aspects of planning are concerned, the third stage has been a continuation of the second. With all the difficulties and limitations of manpower forecasts, with which we are now familiar the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) nevertheless has prepared scientific and technological manpower forecasts which pay great attention to the planning of scientific and technical education. The manpower requirements approach, which has been stressed by the government sources remains controversial. Rate of return studies have been utilized primarily as a rationale for placing greater emphasis upon vocational training taken *outside* the formal school system and emphasis upon college education. International comparisons have been used to rationalize certain target-setting or establishment of development indices. The mathematical models have found no way into practical planning and the initial enthusiasm for PPBS has decidedly cooled down.

Organizational Structure

Now in Korean education the MOE plays the major role in planning as well as policy making and administrative implementation. Under a highly centralized system it exercises central control and supervision on all schools—national, public or private—planning and formulating their policies, enforcing standards, allocating resources, and supervising their operation. The planning unit within the Ministry is the Office of Planning and Management. The Council for Educational Policies with its four sub-committees (elementary, secondary, higher and engineering education) plays only a limited planning role.

At the subnational level the Special City and Provincial Boards of Education play a similar role, with responsibility generally limited to elementary and secondary education.

There are 12 such boards of education, which in turn may be classified into three categories of organizational complexity. The Seoul Special City has the most complicated type; Busan and nine provinces have equivalent organizations of medium complexity, and the Cheju Island has the simplest organization. The substructures of the Boards of Education are also of three different types: the metropolitan district type found in Seoul and Busan, the greater municipal type found in three large cities, and the municipal and county type found in other cities and counties throughout the nation. These substructures of the boards exercise control and supervision (mostly related to operational matters) over primary and middle schools within the districts.

For its short life the CLEP played an important role in educational planning. Under the ex officio chairmanship of the Prime Minister and the vice-chairmanship of the MOE and EPB ministers, it was composed of 50 members, representing the Government, the National Assembly, the press, business and educational communities, the Chamber of Commerce, the Korean Federation of Education Associations, and other important institutions of national life. Within the Council a Specialist Task Force of 14 members was technically responsible for development of the draft plan, in close cooperation with such operating agencies as the MOE, EPB and MOST. Within the MOE was an Educational Planning Committee composed of administrators; in the Boards of Education planning coordinators were designated whose role was to promote cooperation during the planning process.

Since 1972 KEDI has played a significant role in educational planning. At present it is composed of two divisions: the Broadcasting Division deals with ETV and radio and correspondence education programs, the R & D Division is responsible for research and dissemination. The latter is organized into 15 groups, each headed by a chief researcher. One group deals with educational planning and policy making.

The Planning Process and its Relations to Policy Making

In the first stage when educational planning was largely a part of the administrative responsibility, the officials of the relevant section or bureau of the Ministry prepared the educational plans, although occasionally *ad hoc* committees were organized with outside experts participating in the process. Thus educational planning was closely linked with decision making. However, the plans were subject to and vulnerable to, changes in top management personnel, and there were inconsistencies and discontinuities in educational policy.

In the second stage educational planning was the major responsibility of CLEP. It was carried on outside the Ministry. Of course MOE officials participated in the process, but they were not directly responsible for plan development. They were merely information-givers and critics. The failure to implement the CLEP plan might well be that the national emergency situation weakened the financial feasibility of the plan. But, in addition, there was an apparent gap between the ideal which the planners intended and possible (the reality) as viewed by the administrators responsible for plan implementation.

In the latest stage the plans are developed under the Ministry responsibility, but with technical assistance from the KEDI. In the Second Five-year Educational Development Plan which is now underway, the cooperation of MOST and the EPB was also sought.

In recent years, although the original enthusiasm for long-range planning has somewhat cooled down, there has been a rising expectation of the utility of medium range, less ambitious plans. Educational planning is increasingly regarded as an important means of addressing the long-pending educational crisis of inducing educational innovations, and increasing the contributions of education to national development. The process of preparing plans itself helps to promote consistency and continuity in educational policy making.

Some of the more important factors in educational planning, enabling it to be more closely related to educational policy making, seem to be: 1) the degree of rationality and validity of the plan itself, 2) the financial feasibility of the plans, and 3) the timing of the priority of policy alternatives suggested and the political and social climate. Since Korea has only limited experience in educational planning in the real sense of the term, it may be premature to draw definite conclusions, but it seems clear that educational planning is one means for more rational and consistent policy making in education. Each nation must find its own appropriate planning structure and process.

Major Issues and Problems

There have been many persisting issues and problems in educational planning in the Korean scene. The major ones can be identified as involving 1) approaches, 2) organization, 3) the process, 4) priorities, and 5) the position of private schools and their financial support.

1) One basic controversy in educational planning in Korea is whether to adopt general policy in accord with the social demand approach or the manpower requirements approach to developing the educational system. Although a practical solution has been found which compromises with an eclectic approach, the controversy is not resolved. Under the middle school non-examination admissions policy which has been enforced since 1969, basic education up to grade 9 has been widely accepted. As of mid 1975 77.2% of primary school graduates, after completion of their compulsory education, were continuing on to the middle school. However, entrance to the upper secondary school and to higher education is limited through the student quota policies and entrance examinations. In recent years the social demand for higher education has been steadily increasing, adding to the educational explosion of the secondary and tertiary levels. As of 1975, 74.7% of the middle schools graduates of the nation have been admitted to high schools, and 41.5% of the academic high school graduates and 8.8% of the vocational high school graduates have entered higher educational institutions. But the competition for places in the higher schools is increasing. In 1976, for instance, only 23.9% of the college-bound aspirants among the high school graduates will be able to find places in colleges and universities. Social pressure is mounting to increase the quotas in colleges and universities. There is never-ending controversy as to whether the number of places should be decided according to social demand or manpower demand. Since both approaches have their merits and limitations, the policy solution must be found which will enable a strengthened manpower approach to be used in certain fields and more flexible quotas be set in other areas. The expertise of the planners is a prerequisite to developing such a workable solution.

2) The organization placement of educational planning has also been a persistent problem. The idealists who succeeded in establishing the CLEP under the Prime Minister have yielded to the realists who have settled for a more effective but more limited role in the Ministry planning unit. Some might argue that under the existing arrangements the long-

range planning function will be weakened, and coordination with EPB and MOST and related organizations made more difficult.

When CLEP was established in 1969, the idea was advanced that the planning for education should be strengthened by association with the Prime Minister's Office. This was later changed and strength is now seen as emanating from the MOE and the Boards. But the problem of planning machinery remains unsolved.

3) For the planning process, particularly for the planners' relation to educational policy making, no clear guidelines have been established. The planning process, as is the case with the planning organization, has been left largely subject to the whims and administrative discretion of the top management in the MOE. Government bureaucrats are reluctant, under such conditions, to accept the concept of long-range planning. Long-range commitment can only act as a constraint on current actions. There is fear of shrinking or reducing administrative discretion, so this is avoided on the pretext of regard for more flexibility in policy making. In this connection, it should be remembered, that the strengthening rational control and reduction of administrative whims and discretion, are the very reasons why educational planning is undertaken.

It is likely that the inadequacy and inefficiency of technical information provided by the early educational planners may have created some of the suspicion of administrative officials for educational planning—particularly long-range planning. As the technical expertise of the planners grows, the scepticism may well be subdued.

4) Controversy over policy priorities has been persistent. In recent years the planners, from the needs of national development, have been inclined to shift priorities from elementary education to secondary and higher education. Administrators, on the other hand, have tended to stress that the ground work is not yet finished, the compulsory education sector must be improved. And as new educational frontiers, such as early childhood education, special education, and non-formal education, are opened up, and the financing of education becomes increasingly difficult, the decision on priorities in investment becomes more serious. Thus far the matter of priority has been argued *ad hoc* and somewhat arbitrarily. Priorities have been settled not so much in terms of principles and established criteria, as on the basis of unprincipled compromises, in the course of which the planners' role has often been a dubious one. The increase in educational investment seems inevitable. There is now a clear need for clearly established priorities to guide the allocation of resources.

5) The future of the private schools has been a thorny question. Since over a half of the secondary schools and two-thirds of the higher educational institutions in Korea are private their role cannot be ignored. In Korea private schools have been subject to government control and supervision and recently the control has been strengthened. Control without support has been the issue. The need for public support of private schools has become urgent. As equalization programs in secondary schools have been promoted and higher education reforms have been enforced, equivalent standards among schools, public or private, have been made prerequisite to many reform measures. The need to provide financial support for private schools is widely accepted, but the means remain controversial. Debate centres on extent, and priority of such support, particularly in view of existing financial constraints.

Conclusion

Educational planning as a discrete function is well established and recognized in Korea. It now seems to be a lasting feature in Korean education, although serious issues and problems related to its activities remain unsolved. In Korea it is now regarded as a combination of political process and technical expertise, capable of adding continuity and consistency to policy making and rationality and efficiency to administration. Consequently there are rising expectations of the benefits to be gained from educational planning. As these are realized the educational planners in Korea will continue to gain status.

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN VENEZUELA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

This paper attempts to trace the historical development and implementation of the planning concept as it evolved in one sector of Venezuela's political economy—education. Venezuela's education system today is experiencing profound changes, reflecting the rapid social and economic changes brought about by accelerating industrialization and new wealth generated by the exploitation of petroleum. Many of these educational changes are closely interwoven with Venezuela's clear devotion to national planning; indeed, some of the changes have been predicted directly upon it.

The paper records a sequence of historical events never before synthesized. In so doing, it attempts to chronicle, in retrospect, the various "presses" and contingencies which influenced the development of planning in Venezuela, and to show how the reality of the planning process has at times diverged from the planning "ideal". This, combined with the fact that the Venezuelan experience parallels that of many other Latin American nations, makes such a historical treatment a valuable resource for scholars and field practitioners alike. It is hoped that as rational planning becomes more sophisticated and credible, in Venezuela and elsewhere, that those responsible for its implementation will benefit from both the failures and successes of the past.

The Historical Context of Educational Planning

National planning in Venezuela is a recent phenomenon, having developed only during the preceding two decades. The concept of integrated, rational planning at the national and sectoral levels seems to have captured the interest of Venezuelan leaders as a result of several loosely related developments which took place—both inside and outside of Venezuela in the 1950s. These included: 1) The ideas of the seminal book *Two Elements of Government* by Dr. Enrique Tejera-Paris;[1] 2) the development of the "Puerto Rico Plan"; and 3) at least tangentially, the study of French plans.[2] These factors, while indirect, nonetheless created a kind of "mind set" among Venezuelan officials, which enabled the planning concept to be embraced as viable and desirable.

Before planning could become a reality, however, a more direct impetus was required. A planning infrastructure, appropriate to Venezuelan needs, had to be conceived, and Venezuelans trained to implement it. The impetus to accomplish these tasks was provided by a series of meetings and seminars which were initiated and took place between 1956 and 1959.

The first of these was the meeting of hemisphere Ministers of Education in Lima, Peru, in 1956. This meeting reinforced the concept of planning as a requisite for good government and its various sectors. More specifically, it was here that the doctrine of integrated *educational* planning was first given general credence. The Lima meeting was a point of departure in another way also: It was recognized the good planning—if it was to become

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operational–must be predicated upon a viable set of guiding norms, and principles of initiation and implementation. In order to develop these norms and principles, it was agreed to hold a planning seminar in Washington in 1958.

The Washington seminar did, indeed, help to establish these benchmarks. In addition, it recommended a pattern for the organization of planning which was, in the immediate future, to be adopted by Venezuela. The idea was simple: it was proposed that hemisphere countries establish sectoral planning offices–including one for education, within, or responsible to, a national planning commission, whose task it would be too orchestrate the efforts of the sector planners.

1958 was a pivotal year for Venezuela in many respects. It marked the downfall of the Pérez-Jiménez regime and the beginning of democratic government under the forward-looking new president–Romulo Betancourt.

Betancourt soon began to implement the planning infrastructure suggested by Paris and the Washington seminar, and by the end of the year CORDIPLAN, a national office for coordination and planning, was established. CORDIPLAN formulated the general outlines for all planning policies of the national government. It also established the general aims of development for Venezuela in all sectors. CORDIPLAN was a necessity if sector-planning activities, and the rational allocation of funds from the national budget, were to be properly coordinated.

If national planning implies sector-planning, then surely the education sector must develop a planning infrastructure of its own. This, indeed, was the rationale behind the establishment in August, 1959, of EDUPLAN, the planning arm of the Ministry of Education.

EDUPLAN, like CORDIPLAN, grew out of the Lima and Washington conferences in 1956 and 1958 respectively. In addition, developments in Colombia following the Lima meeting helped shape the early character of these organizations, and particularly that of EDUPLAN.

Dr. Gabriel Betancourt-Mejia, the Colombian Minister of Education in 1956, had taken the Lima recommendations seriously. When he arrived home in Bogota, he began to establish the first planning division of any Ministry of Education in South America. In August, 1959, as a direct outgrowth of the Washington seminar and Betancourt-Mejia's efforts, a three month course on the planning of education was set up in Bogota. This course represented the first systematic attempt to assemble the important elements of educational planning as they related specifically to Latin America. The course was also an exercise in defining the probable future of organizing a system of educational planning. Up to this time there had been no cohesion and much disparate action relative to planning. Finally, the course was something of a "testing ground"–an experimental model designed to discover and define pertinent actions that could lead to the effective organization of an office of educational planning. Venezuela sent three participants to the Bogota course–two of whom were eventually to become directors of EDUPLAN.

The Structure and Function of EDUPLAN

At the same time the Bogota course was in progress, EDUPLAN became a legal reality through Presidential Decree number 115 (August 7, 1959). Dr. Luis Prieto, who had been a Venezuelan delegate to the Washington seminar on educational planning, had

requested technical assistance from UNESCO in setting up a planning infrastructure. UNESCO had, in turn, sent Leonard Emerson, a planning specialist from England, who immediately began to help establish the functional mechanisms which would put flesh and bones on President Betancourt's decree, and make EDUPLAN a working reality. One develops some sense of the latent power of EDUPLAN, as well as its potential for becoming a complex bureaucracy, by a perusal of Article 4 of the law which established it.[3] Article 4 sets forth EDUPLAN's charge:

a. To prepare the proposals for plans as well as the specific plans . . . necessary to the educational development of the nation;
b. To initiate, implement, and coordinate the research necessary for the educational planning activity;
c. To organize and encourage public participation in the planning process;
d. To guide and supervise, from the technical point of view, the development and execution of the educational plan in all its aspects (prior to this, to help the appropriate organizations in the preparation of their budgets for education);
e. To coordinate the participation of the appropriate executive organizations in the Ministry of Education, and coordinate these with other independent national planning agencies, and to plan the coordination of the educational services of other ministries, and coordinate its activities with multi-national and bi-national planning organizations;
f. To evaluate the results of the planning and to provide for periodic assessment of progress.

EDUPLAN, however, must exercise its functions in accord with the overall national functions of CORDIPLAN.

When Venezuela's delegates to the Bogota course returned home, they immediately became the nucleus of the EDUPLAN staff, and began assembling a small group of technicians to begin the work of educational assessment and planning. They were also asked by the directorate of the Ministry of Education to nominate an official director for EDUPLAN who could meet three conditions. He was to be:

1. A person of national prestige.
2. A person acceptable to the political reality of the Venezuelan leaders and decision makers, and
3. A person of high moral integrity both from a political and a professional point of view. Particularly with reference to the educational tasks in directing this new planning effort.

The man who met these criteria and who was nominated and named the first director of EDUPLAN was Dr. Olinto Camacho. These conditions clearly implied that the direction of Educational Planning would be in the hands of politically acceptable professionals and the staff would be expected to exercise the necessary technical expertise.

The organization of EDUPLAN provided for–in addition to its director–an assistant director and four departments: Pedagogical Affairs, Program and Budget, Technical Assistance, and Educational Research. In addition, five "commissions" were created: Curriculum, Evaluation, Supervision, Goals, and Organization and Methods.

EDUPLAN was technically regulated by a National Planning Council of Education. (This council is to be distinguished from the "National Planning Council", which was established by the same law which mandated CORDIPLAN. It was designed to facilitate cooperation and interministerial planning by providing a regular forum for communication in which all ministeries were represented.) This National Planning Council of Education, chaired by the Minister of Education, was responsible for approving all decisions made by EDUPLAN. The Director of EDUPLAN functioned as secretary to the Council, and its members were drawn from CORDIPLAN, and other ministries, as agenda warranted their presence. A liaison was thus established between EDUPLAN and the Ministry of Education, on the one hand, and CORDIPLAN and other relevant ministries on the other. EDUPLAN and CORDIPLAN were also linked in a more direct fashion, through formal representation from EDUPLAN to CORDIPLAN's social sector on operations. Informal liaison was carried out through the expected channels–including telephone communication and face-to-face meetings between the Directors of EDUPLAN and CORDIPLAN.

This network of formal and informal, direct and indirect, linkages among EDUPLAN, CORDIPLAN, and the National Planning Council of Education facilitated the balance, coordination and cooperation among the various sectors of the political economy which are essential to rational planning on a nationwide scale.

EDUPLAN began its task by asking a series of questions: "What were the people of Venezuela thinking about their educational system?" "What did the people believe an education system should accomplish and what did they expect from their system?" And, most important: "What kinds of changes and innovations in education were perceived as necessary and desirable?"

The consideration of questions such as these suggests a commitment on the part of EDUPLAN to establish genuine and direct communication ties with the "clients" of the educational system–the citizenry at large–and with those who staff the system's ranks at the level of interface with its clients–chiefly teachers, principals, and other "school" personnel. This sensitivity to the need for open, two-way channels of communication (dubbed "reciprocal flux" by ex–EDUPLAN director Rivas-Casado)[4] has, indeed, characterized EDUPLAN since its inception. Though the educational system has grown to a size where direct interaction between EDUPLAN and teachers, parents, and students is no longer possible on an ongoing basis, the goal of "face-to-face" communication remains desirable, both for ensuring political support for the organization, and to maximize the accuracy of data gathered for planning and budgeting. EDUPLAN has sometimes assigned staff members to observe education field sites, and whenever possible sends representatives to such gatherings as teachers' conventions, in order to both collect and disseminate information. Curricular reforms have reflected the input of teachers. Though these practices have been time-consuming and expensive, they have been justified. EDUPLAN's base of public support has been generally firm, and its activities have had the support and cooperation of a substantial majority of Venezuela's teachers.

In the early years of EDUPLAN's existence, its work centered upon a few central tasks: Two of the more important of these were the formulation and defense of the annual budget for the education sector, and the collection of statistical data on the sector which would enable planning, including the formulation of trend projections, to begin. These early years were characterized by a lack of precision and scientific rigor in the collection and analysis of data. Keenly aware of this shortcoming, EDUPLAN expended

considerable energy on the development of more precise diagnostic tools and methods. Indeed, the emphasis upon enhancing the quality of its educational research efforts may be considered a third major task of EDUPLAN in its first decade of work.

The Effect of Educational Growth on EDUPLAN

The decade immediately succeeding the founding of EDUPLAN was a period of profound governmental commitment to, and consequent prolific growth in, Venezuela's educational system. In 1958, for example, the education sector was allotted approximately six percent of the annual budget. By 1969, that figure had risen to 18 percent—a three-fold increase (defense allocations, by contrast, remained relatively stable at about 12 percent of the national budget). Fully 4.3 percent of the nations GNP was, by this time, being pumped into education—substantially more than 3.5 percent contribution which UNESCO was *later* to recommend as appropriate for all developing countries. In 1958, less than 60 percent of the age cohort eligible to be in school was, in fact, enrolled. By 1960, this figure had increased to 90 percent—this in spite of a rapidly growing school-age population.

In spite of this commitment, the system in the early 60s was satisfying neither the vastly increased social demand for ever more education; nor was it developing the comprehensive human-resource base upon which the continued advance of other sectors of the political economy depended.[5]

Furthermore, there was considerable imbalance within the education sector itself. A great number of public and private normal schools had been created to meet the new demand for teachers. These produced such a suberabundance of teachers that the market for their services was eventually saturated. EDUPLAN was thus forced to reduce the new-teacher "output" by decreasing the number of normal schools in the country. At the same time, the demand for secondary education had multiplied to the point where it had outstripped the capacity of existing facilities. In response, EDUPLAN mandated the opening of new secondary schools—many of them in rented space—in areas where pressure was greatest.

In addition to these quantitative problems posed by the growth of the education system, EDUPLAN addressed a number of qualitative problems associated with rapidly changing national needs.

In an effort to sensitize the system to changes in Venezuela's economic opportunity profile, and to meet human resource demands, EDUPLAN began the publication in 1960 of a study guide to Venezuela, which was revised periodically as economic needs and opportunities ebbed and flowed. EDUPLAN's initiative in the human resource area was manifest in other ways as well.

In 1963, for example, it implemented a ten-year plan of curriculum revision. A major goal of this effort was to change the attitude of young Venezuelans toward certain categories of occupation and life-styles which had traditionally been shunned, but which were becoming increasingly essential to the development of an industrial economy. This plan was beset with problems from the outset, as teachers paid little heed to the new curricular thrusts and funding and the technical expertise for the development of experimental projects was insufficient.

In 1969 EDUPLAN recommended that the nation's education system be decentralized (Decree 72-1969). This "regionalization" was aimed at bringing school offerings into greater harmony with local social and economic needs. It was to begin in the technical and pedagogical areas only; budgetary and curricular control were to remain centralized.[6] It should be noted that while 1969 was a milestone date in the decentralization process, it is but one important point in a process which had been operating for a decade or more, and which continues today.

EDUPLAN was instrumental in developing a plan of "auto-evaluation", wherein schools would evaluate themselves along specified criteria and submit the results to EDUPLAN. Indeed, EDUPLAN conducted auto-evaluation of its own activities, which resulted in administrative and other structural changes in the central planning body. In addition to the results of the auto-evaluation, EDUPLAN analysed the wealth of statistical data collected in its early years; together, these sources of input provided a basis for informed decision-making.

EDUPLAN's efforts to rationally guide and contain the "runaway" nature of the system, however, were constrained by the General Law of Education–the same one which had been in effect since the oppressive Pérez-Jiménez dictatorship. By 1969, this law had been stretched as far as it could be; no longer did it function as a realistic framework within which the development of education might take place. While various efforts had been made to change the law, there was enough fear of the political and economic consequences of change (which would have further democratized the system) so that an effective opposition could be mounted. Further, many critics of continued expansion viewed education as a costly consumption item, rather than in terms of investment in human-capital production.

In the late 1960s, EDUPLAN's increasing control and success was formally ascended in the education hierarchy, and it became the "Dirección de Planeamiento" of the Ministry of Education. This rise in status was symbolized by the change of name. The scope and value of the services this body was providing–as suggested by the preceding brief description of its activities–was at this time given the formal recognition and *de jure* power it had wielded previously only in the *de facto* sense.

Since 1969, under the direction of Rafael Fernández (1969-74), Guillermo Herrera (74), and Miguel Escotet (75-present), the "Dirección" has expanded steadily. It continues to derive its considerable power from its budgetary control, and from the fact that it renders an indispensible service to the Ministry of Education.

EDUPLAN Today

Today, the Direccion de Planeamiento is subdivided into twelve "departmentos" and "comisiones", including units devoted to research, human resources, rural education, and evaluation. Each unit has a specific charge, operationalized in a set of rather clearly defined "metas" or objectives. The overall objectives of the "Dirección", paraphrased below, give a clear indication of the comprehensive nature of this planning arm of the education system.[7] EDUPLAN must:

a) Plan projects and programs that will orient the development of the planning division;
b) Initiate research in areas of critical importance to the process of reorientation of education and improvement of the system;

c) Initiate plans, programs, and strategies to support pre-school education, special education, primary education, middle education (basic and diversified), and adult education that would improve the system in the area of curriculum;
d) Coordinate the programs assigned by law to the Ministry of Education and through it to regional education offices in accordance with the administrative plans developed by the national government;
e) Study and prepare projects concerning the equipping and construction of schools required in each of the levels of education;
f) Contribute to the planning, programming, and implementation of systematic technical aid to guidance counselors;
g) Contribute to the structural reform of the Ministry of Education;
h) Plan, program, and implement the regionalization of education;
i) Program the development of education in the rural sector;
j) Develop activities directed at the qualitative and quantitative improvement of systems of school evaluation.

Venezuela is fortunate in having a fairly high per-capita income level and fairly high rate of growth in relation to the other countries of Latin America. But the national aggregate figures conceal particularly wide internal disparities in the distribution of national wealth, between the various regions and among social classes. Although these differences are being leveled to an extent by increasing urbanization and the rapid growth of a middle class, they continue to be reflected in the offerings of the education system. Venezuela has reached the stage of industrialization and economic diversification at which shortages of technicians, skilled workers, and literate workers in industry are obvious bottlenecks to further development. At the same time, public institutions have a need for qualified administrators, economists, social scientists, and others that cannot be satisfied by the existing education system. These are some of the challenges facing the Dirección de Planeamiento today. And while educational planning in Venezuela has grown and matured since the early foundering steps of EDUPLAN eighteen years ago, many of the problems which plagued early planning efforts continue to remain troublesome. The failure of the Education Law to keep abreast of current education needs, the occasional lack of continuity in planning from one government to the next (national elections are held every five years), and the continuing difficulty in operationalizing centrally laid plans are among these problems. While they are specific to Venezuela, they are also representative of the kinds of problems which have blockaded efforts to implement educational planning in many developing nations. The obstacles are formidable, and it remains to be seen whether Venezuela's by now-obvious commitment to rational educational planning will be strong enough to overcome them.

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PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN POLAND

Analysing certain problems of educational planning in Poland we shall concentrate first on presenting the assumptions of educational reform in the light of general goals of the socialist state's evolution as well as on the place that educational planning has been given within the system of integral planning. Next, we shall show the importance of demographic forecasts and the demand for qualified staff for the educational planning. The broad educational reform which is now taking place in Poland will be more understandable against the background of this type of data.

General goals of the evolution of the socialist state and assumptions of educational reform

Aiming at man's universal development, the socialist society determines the long-range tasks for various fields of life. These tasks are concerned with the economic development, the aim of which is to assure a proper standard of living conditions through a rapid increase in production of material goods and services. The educational expansion, cultural expansion, cultural transformations as well as the changes in the organization of social life are a task of utmost importance.

In determining the long-range program of education in conformity with the supreme goals of the socialist society the assumptions have been made that education is not only an instrumental value that serves achieving other values e.g., access to professions, well-paid jobs, prestige and the like. The research carried out has shown that education and learning have been reckoned in Poland among the highest values, being highly praised as values *per se*. Such a way of appraising will take deeper and deeper meaning in the future. There will be a growing interest in learning conceived as a form of both personal evolution and multiplication of cultural values.

Broadening his intellectual horizon, his knowledge and the scope of interests the man will see more values in life, will be more resistant to negative aspects of the modern technical civilization and will be able to better cope with various nuisances, owing to his more active attitude towards life. The increase in learning will be accompanied by a greater cultural activeness, by the need of having contact with artistical creation, with values that enrich the intellectual-emotional experiences as well as aesthetic impressions. Learning makes man's thinking more scientific in character and it gives him the possibility of a better perception of the complex phenomena of modern world.

It goes without saying that consolidation of learning as a value *per se* does not occur by itself in the evaluations and attitudes of people but it is achieved through the process of intensive instruction and upbringing. It is for this reason that showing people the cognitive, cultural and social chances that are assured by intellectual development through the process of continuous learning, is an important postulate put before the educational system.

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The conception of the modernization of education is based on the assumption that in the developed socialist society the role of instruction and upbringing exercised by all the schooling institutions in a close relation with other institutions dealing with education and upbringing, will increase more and more. The importance of educational influence exercised by social organizations, mass media, institutions propagating learning and culture, work-enterprises and the like will be increasing, as well. However, it is the school that will remain the main institution of purposeful and organized instruction. The role of the school will increase within the whole system of instruction and upbringing. It is assumed, moreover, that extra-school tuition, organized within the framework of continuous learning will expand considerably.

A group of experts has been set up under the head of an outstanding sociologist, Professor Jan Szczepanski who is charged with the task of elaborating the conception of educational reform. In a two-year period this group has elaborated the "Report on the State of Education in Poland". In addition to the keen diagnosis of the present state of education, the Report presents the proposals of educational reform based on the envisaged tendencies of the development of education as well as on the assumed goals of the learning system in upbringing. The Report prepared by this group of experts has given a number of premises to the Ministry of Education and Upbringing for the elaboration of a detailed program of educational reform.

The Report on the state of education gives a broad substantiation of the concern for integrating the problems of instruction and upbringing in one educational system. This system should comprise the educational activities of the whole society dealing with upbringing, i.e., all the institutions shaping personality, preparing the individual for professional activities and participation in social life. The main tasks of this integrated system can be generalized as follows:

1. the system of education adapted to the requirements of the society that develops dynamically, should give youth an equal start as concerns the education at all levels, providing the possibility of the choice of school and learning direction depending on individual abilities and aspirations;

2. the shaping of the personality of people able to create a high level of living together and realizing in a creative way the principles of the socialist system in all the domains of social life should be an important task of education and upbringing;

3. preparing those qualified for various occupations, the educational system should take into consideration the present and future development of economy and culture, and a rapid scientific and technical progress. Its task is to shape people with a broad profile of education. As concerns preparation in the field of narrow specialties, it should be achieved through professional work. Scientific and technical progress will require, moreover, the extension of continuous learning which gives changing specialties and which assures the updating of knowledge as well as both scientific and technical improvement. Schooling is to assure understanding of technics and ability of making use of it in professional work and in everyday life. Improving the technical culture of the whole society, the educational system should, at the same time, develop the means for preventing the negative social, mental and cultural effects of the one-sided development of technical civilization. This can be assured by a broad humanization of technical science.

Great stress is put by the program of educational reform upon man's preparation through the process of education and upbringing, to family life, teaching him a rational

housekeeping, rational organizing of the budget and making proper choice in everyday decisions that influence the way of living. Education conceived in this way will be an important factor in shaping the socialist way of living which should be characterized by rational actions, care for individual's values and culture in living together, as well as intellectual and also for social activeness of individuals and social groups.

An important task consists in preparation of the individual to an active participation in social life. The report on the state of education underlines that the development of socialist democracy will lead towards a continuous extension of the participation of population in the representative institutions and various forms of self-government. The young people should be properly prepared to fulfill such functions. It will be necessary among the others, to prepare the workers for various services participating in the international cooperation, for the institutions of foreign trade and industrial, economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Of importance will be preparation of individuals for making a proper use of individual international contacts in the field of education and cultural development.

Developing the abilities of self learning as well as of shaping personal aspirations and life aims, the system of education should prepare the individual to an active participation in cultural life, in multiplication of cultural values and creative development of nation's cultural heritage. The Report assumes that expansion of education will be founded on the assumption that school education is the basis for the acquisition of culture, for participation in it and for its development. It is just for this reason that the system of education should be properly linked to the institutions propagating culture, thus completing, broadening and deepening the school education. It is envisaged that the content of aesthetic culture conceived in a traditional way will be expanded owing to the evolution of scientific, technical and moral culture as well as of culture of work and social living together. It is assumed that the participation in the culture called representative and shaped by the top-level creators will be expanded. It is postulated that barriers will be set up to prevent commercialization of culture. Cultural contents should be the vectors of humanistic values.

The assumption has been made that the system of education in Poland will become a factor essentially accelerating the universal evolution of the socialist society. Its most important tasks, for the coming years, consists in giving the possibility of all the citizens of achieving knowledge and abilities as well as of developing capacities and convictions that will favour rational activeness in all the situations of life. Generalization of secondary education will be the road for achieving this goal.

Place of educational planning within the system of integral planning

Planning of education in Poland is not an autonomous activity. It is one part of a system of integral planning. Both primary and secondary schools are subject to the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. The Ministry prepares the uniform programs of instruction for particular subjects and types of schools, it trains teachers and finances the school activities. The universities and other schools of higher learning are under the direction of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technics.

The both Ministries elaborate long-range conceptions for the development of education at all levels. They dispose of appropriate units that deal with forecasts and planning. Moreover, on the level of nation-wide planning, educational problems are subject to the

Commission of Planning of the Council of Ministers. The Commission of Planning has a department of social planning which deals with problems of education, health, social welfare, culture, tourism and other fields. The Commission has elaborated the national long-term plan for socio-economic development up to 1990. The problems of education have been given an important place in this plan. It is envisaged that the whole system of education will undergo modernization.

The integral character is an important feature of the national planning. The uniform system of planning includes economic, social and physical planning. One of the features of integral planning is that it conceives the economic, social and cultural tasks as elements of a program, the paramount goal of which is the evolution of the society as a whole. The aims of society's evolution are determined as well as the detailed programs to ensure the achievement of those aims. The tasks are apprehended from the aspect that is covered by physical planning. The analysis of the implementation of planned tasks is an important feature of socialist planning and it aims at introducing the essential changes in the further stage of planning.

Determinations in the national planning of education are based on diagnosis of both the needs and concerns of regions, e.g., voivodships, local centres, communities and towns. Integration of these needs and concerns on a nation-wide scale is not an easy affair because of the unequal development of particular regions. One of the tasks of central planning, therefore, consists in gradually reducing the disproportions in regional development.

At the level of voivodships and local units the educational planning mainly covers economic and administrative problems. Problems concerning programs of study and teachers' training are coordinated on a national level. All schools are financed from the State budget. Stress is put on the fact that local authorities exercise a considerable influence on the development of their schools adapting them to the needs of the regions. Recently community authorities have become strongly engaged in setting up so called "collective schools", which are regarded as being of great importance in increasing of the level of rural schooling. Setting up of collective schools is one of the elements of educational reform.

The role of demographic forecasts in educational planning

Demographic forecasts are of considerable importance for determining the long-range programs of educational expansion. It is estimated that Poland's population will grow, within the thirty-year period 1971-2000, by six million people. This means that the total population will increase from 32.6 to 38 million. However, the dynamics will vary in the successive decades. The number of children and youth in the age group up to 17 years will rapidly diminish in the first ten-year period (from 10.7 million in 1970 to 9.6 million in 1980). The second ten-year period will be marked by stabilization; the third by decline. In the years 1990-2000 there will occur a second drop in the number of children and youth to a low of 9 million.

This projection is of great importance for the future system of education. According to the opinion of the Commission of Experts, there exists the possibility to cover – by the present system of instruction as well as by the proposed model solutions for the future – a greater number of children by compulsory pre-school education, particularly in the next five-year period. The demographic situation provides the possibility of prolonging compulsory schooling into the level of secondary school. It would be possible to

introduce the general secondary school early in the near future. In higher education the increasing influx of youth is expected to continue until 1980, after which time the number of students will diminish rapidly. This also will favour the expansion of higher learning. Up to 1980, the higher education system will not be able to satisfy fully the increasing aspirations of youth. But thereafter the projections reveal that – independently of the scope of the system – it will be possible to put greater stress upon improving the level and quality of education.

Problems related to the continuous learning of working people present a different picture. Here we shall face the phenomenon of an increased population in the productive age groups (from 18.3 million in 1970 to 24.6 million in 2000, i.e. an increase of 5.3 million). The greatest burden will fall in the first decade, 1971-1980. During this period there will be an increase in the productive population of 3.2 million and in the next two decades this increase will amount to approximately 1 million persons. Under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution there should occur a considerable quantitative growth of the population active professionally, which will improve the qualifications due to the system of continuous learning. Thus, the assumption should be made that the scope of continuous learning will be a broad one.

A simulation model of the school system has been designed for determining desirable policies of educational development in the light of these demographic projections. This model has been elaborated by scientists of the Philosophy and Sociology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences on the basis of a similar model created by UNESCO. Work is going on in the development of this model of the school system, introducing parameters concerning the demand of the economy for specialists of various types.

Demand for Qualified Manpower

The program of educational expansion must take into consideration the needs of national economy and society for skills indispensable in the successive stages of the scientific-technical revolution for a developing socialist society. Essential changes in the socio-professional structure of working people have been envisaged. In the twenty-year period 1970-1990 the number of people employed in agriculture and forestry will diminish by more than 3 million, i.e. from 6.1 million to 3.0 million; the number in industry and construction will increase from 5.1 million to 7.8 million persons; and the number in service occupations from 3.8 million to 7.1 million. From these figures estimates can be made of the general trends in the demand for qualified manpower and the tasks which emerge in respect to education.

Determining of scope and program of education in particular fields will take place parallel to the detailed determination of needs for types of qualified staff. Solutions concerning the program and organization must also take into consideration divergence between the obvious tendency to prolong the period of schooling and the earlier maturation of youth and their aspirations to become independent, to undertake professional work and set up their family. It is evident that to some extent youth aspire to early integration in the adult world. Some young people will do their utmost to become independent, interested in starting work and continuing to study parallel to their professional work. The extension of continuous education undoubtedly will favor such decisions. It will be, then, important to create the conditions for a real achievement of general secondary education, especially vocational one, even if youth will try to become independent sooner.

Another problem related to vocational education consists of the controversy between the tendency to prolong the period of compulsory learning and the application of general secondary education on the one hand, and the interest of many work-enterprises to limit education of youth to the level of primary vocational school on the other. According to the opinion of many organizers of industrial production, there exist many operations – due to the present level of technics – for which only a primary vocational education is necessary. People with secondary education avoid such simple and repetitious operations because of their monotonous character. The need to increase the level of both general and vocational education is appreciated because of general progress, social needs and an increase in the cultural level. However, under the concrete industrial condition characterized by a high demand for trained workers, the idea of prolonging schooling up to the level of general secondary education arouses serious resistance in some milieus. This fact should be taken into consideration in programming concrete solutions for vocational education. Worth considering, perhaps, would be the idea of a partial realization of compulsory secondary education taken within the framework of continuous learning.

Better understanding is necessary of that portion of youth who will be unable to acquire secondary school education because of difficulties connected with mental retardation. A special system of education should be assured such a youth.

Changes in the System of Education

The present system of education in Poland is unable to assure the secondary education to all the youth. Educational reform aims at making secondary education compulsory. At present primary school begins at the age of 7. It is compulsory and it last 8 years. After primary school one portion of youth pass on to further education in the primary vocational school for 2 or 3 years. The graduates from these schools are given the title 'qualified worker' and, typically, they start work in various enterprises. Some of them continue their education in evening schools.

Directly after the primary school, it is also possible to enter the four-year general lyceum or the four/five-year secondary vocational or technical school. Most of the graduates from the general lyceum continue on to universities or other institutions of higher education. Most of the graduates from the technical schools begin working professionally. Some of them will continue their education through engineering evening schools.

Under the present system of education, the primary school lasts eight years, the primary vocational school two to three years and the secondary school four to five years. On the whole, the period of learning in both the primary and secondary school is too long. The reform of education will bring about essential changes in this system. The role of pre-school education will increase. It is assumed that pre-school education will cover all children from age 3 to 6. School learning will start at age 6, i.e., one year earlier than hitherto.

The compulsory ten-year school will replace the present primary school, primary vocational school, lyceum and technical school. This means that all youth up to the age of 16 will have the possibility of acquiring a secondary school education. It is intended that those who are not willing or able to study at university or another institution of higher education after graduating from the 10-year school, will have the possibility of learning in various vocational schools for periods from 6 months to 2 years. Their pro-

grams will be adapted to the needs for specialists of various fields. Vocational training for service occupations will be of special importance.

The reform of education will be of enormous importance for the further democratization of education. Extension of general education in the general secondary school will contribute to the better preparation of youth for higher studies, and it will create broader bases for improving the level of vocational training.

The importance of reform for the structure of workers' qualifications becomes particularly evident against the background of expected demographic changes. An increased and then diminished influx of youth from schools onto the labour market will take place in particular years. For example, a strong "piling up" of youth undertaking work will take place in the years 1984-1987. In the longer-term future differences become obliterated and the influx of school graduates to the world of work becomes generally similar to the demographic birth rate.

The report on the state of education underlines that the reform of education should reduce the oscillations between youth populations undertaking work in particular five-year periods. Because of the reform the influx of youth to work in the first twenty-year period will be more evenly distributed over particular five-year periods.

The implementation of educational reform consisting in creation of a coordinated system of education will give the possibility of a more rational channelling of youth to schools, trades and special fields in conformity with their abilities and preferences. This will, undoubtedly, diminish the number of people dissatisfied with their respective professions or type of work ––people who provoke conflicts in their work-milieu. With the better use of their abilities it will be possible to increase the intellectual potential of the society.

The reform of education is expected to contribute to the increased linkage between education and social life in all the fields of activities. The modernized learning through systematic instruction of organization, will increase the level of management abilities and will contribute to increase the general level of the organization of economy and administration, as well as promote the attitudes and skills of cooperation and living together.

The implementation of educational reform aiming at creating a uniform system of education is an enormous task requiring the commitment of the whole society.

It is estimated that the total expenditure for education up to 1990 will amount to some 250 billion zlotys. This represents a tremendous effort and only the economy of a dynamically developing country can cope with it. Poland's expenditures for education in the period 1966-1970 amounted to 20 billion zlotys. In other words in the next five-year periods of implementing educational reform, expenditure for education will double.

A modern system of education cannot be created in a short time. The process of educational reform will last for at least ten years. The bases have been already created for an appropriate preparation of the program of this enormous undertaking.

However, the modernization of education cannot be carried out only by means of changes in the structure of the educational system. Of great importance are changes in the programs of instruction, increase of teachers' qualifications and the creation of instruments and facilities. The Ministry of Education and Upbringing has organized new

scientific institutes grouping selected specialists. One of these institutes will deal with programs and textbooks. Competitions are to be organized for working out the textbooks for particular subjects in schools of different types. The process of the preparation of textbooks is a long one, and it is for this reason that the textbooks which will be introduced a few years from now are already under preparation.

The preparation of teachers who can satisfy the requirements of modernized education is another important task. In Poland there is still a high number of teachers in the primary schools who have had no higher education. The decision has been made that all of them must acquire higher education. A broad action of completing the teachers' education has been undertaken with the assistance of universities, higher pedagogical schools and other institutions of higher learning. At present some 65,000 primary teachers are completing their education at higher schools by means of extramural studies.

The television university "Nurt" / "Current" has been organized to facilitate the higher education of teachers. Several times a week the university professors give the TV lectures on particular subjects. Moreover, consultation centres have been organized at universities, where scientists help the teachers complete their education, and various courses and conferences are organized for them in the holidays. The educational reform creates for teachers the conditions for acquiring higher education and improving their qualifications. The completion of the primary teachers' education is an undertaking whose implementation must be properly planned. It should be stressed that realization of these educational reforms will have great impact on the improvement of educational planning on a nation-wide scale as well as on regional and local levels.

Robert L. Crowson*

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND SCHOOL REFORM: A REPORT ON WEST GERMANY

Introduction

This paper examines the status of comprehensive planning for educational reform in the Federal Republic of Germany. Although a late entrant among the European nations engaged in school reform. West Germany is now heavily involved in the problems, and the politics of educational structural change. A *General Plan for Education*, calling for some rather widespread alterations in the nation's educational system, was approved by the various federal and state governments in late 1973.[1] By mid-1975, at the time of this review, two years of discussion and involvement with the *Plan*, plus the various supporting and "spinoff" papers involved in its implementation, have provided a useful vehicle for some preliminary statements about the comprehensive planning process. In its first section this paper reviews very briefly the background of West Germany's planning effort and the major provisions of the *Plan* itself. A second section assesses the current (mid-1975) situation in the implementation of German educational reform; while a third and the major section of the paper seeks to draw some general conclusions about educational planning and the initiation of structural change. In the author's view the German experience indicates the need for carefully designed strategies for implementation as a concomitant function of plan development.

Germany's General Plan for Education

In the mid-1960s, Torsten Husén cited the Federal Republic as Europe's prime example of a failure to plan appropriately for the modernization of elementary and secondary schooling.[2] In 1972, a much-referred to OECD report on West German education noted that the "breakneck economic growth" of the nation has gone ahead with little change in educational structures and that in "an age when mass secondary and higher education are being rapidly developed in other advanced states, Germany has made do with a system that has effectively shut off some 90% of the children from the possibility of entering university-level education."[3]

At the time of the OECD report, however, Germany had already become deeply involved in the discussion of proposals for school reform and had begun to undertake, for the first time in its modern history, the task of national planning for education. In mid-1970, in accordance with a change in the federal constitution, a Federal-State Commission for Educational Planning had been established. In June of 1973, after three years of work, this Commission produced the *General Plan for Education*. The *General Plan* was an impressive accomplishment for Germany—a first step, in many minds, in the restructuring and unification of the nation's entire educational apparatus according to

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some common-goals, well-considered reforms, and good planning.[4] The *General Plan* has been followed by the development of comprehensive reform proposals in almost all of the individual German states—adapting the national guidelines to varying local conditions, population needs, and political ideologies.

West Germany's national and state school reform plans call for changes akin to the alterations being considered and implemented elsewhere in Europe—reforms which will loosen the traditionally selective and elitist bent of the educational system. A major objective is to extend a reform begun during the Weimar period, wherein a common four-year primary school experience (Grundschule) was established for all children. Current proposals would seek a similar commonality in post-primary education—through a breakdown in the traditional tripartite structure of Hauptschule, Realshule, and Gymnasium.[5]

Much of the discussion of a new form for post-primary instruction hinges upon the idea of the Gesamtschule (comprehensive school), a melding of the tripartite system into an approach to education which will permit many improved opportunities for individual inclinations and qualities to be properly developed.[6] The purpose of this reorganization is expressed in a single word which is heard frequently in West Germany these days—"Chancegleichkeit," or equality of opportunity. If the intentions of the comprehensivization of schooling are realized, no longer will it be required that a decision be made for a student at age ten regarding his placement in one of the three types of post-primary institutions. The new structure will provide a secondary education stage I (using the Gesamtschule) which gives youngsters, until age sixteen, a chance to pursue a common general education as well as a chance to "test-out" individual talents. A secondary education stage II will follow, with opportunities at that point for young people to enter vocational or technical schools, to begin apprenticeships, or to prepare for the university.

A second objective of *General Plan* reform is to remove much of the rigidity which traditionally characterizes schooling for occupational advancement in Germany. This is a concept exemplified by "der zweite Bildungsweg" an opening up of alternative routes to the university, i.e., routes other than the hallowed Abitur examination following study at the Gymnasium. For the first time, university entrance may be approached through technical studies (the Fachoberschule followed by the Fachhochschule). Reforms which are in keeping with the idea of the zweite Bildungsweg include the shaping of a heretofore almost nonexistent system of adult and continuing education complimented by a capacity for educational counseling—particularly during the important formative years of secondary education stage I. Hopefully, in addition, the prestige and appeal of differing forms of higher education (e.g., advanced technical schools, teacher training colleges, the highly academic institutions) will be equalized through the widespread creation of comprehensive universities (Gesamthochschulen).

A third set of reform proposals in the *Plan* fall into a grease-the-skids or remove-obstacles-to-chancegleichkeit category. Among these are a politically and technically very difficult effort to reform teacher preparation and the teacher reward structure, thereby mitigizing a system which now attaches great prestige and benefit to the Gymnasium teacher (the Studienrat) and making it possible to engage in the widespread training of teachers for the new curricular flexibility and openness demanded by the Gesamtschule. It is intended also that chancegleichkeit will be served by affording all five-year old children the opportunity to attend elementary school by 1985. The participation rate in 1970 was fifty-four percent. In the nation which developed the idea of the kindergarten,

opportunities to benefit from publicly supported pre-school training have been severely limited. Similarly, the very cursory attention currently given to special education in Germany is, according to the planners, to be quickly remedied.

The Status of General Plan Implementation

Germany's General Plan for Education received approval from the heads of the various federal and state governments in late 1973. By mid-1975, a number of steps toward the implementation of educational reform had clearly been taken in many of the states (Länder). In general, however, it would appear that change is proceeding slowly throughout the Federal Republic and not without considerable opposition. For example, although some of the states have pushed hard toward the development of comprehensive secondary schools (most notably the strongly social democratic state of Hesse), the Gesamtschule in most regions is still considered a very shaky experiment. There are fewer Gesamtschulen in Germany today (about 40) than there were a year or so ago.[7] All of the existing comprehensive schools are experimental, all are being closely evaluated, all are in the midst of curriculum development and role definition, and nearly all are being watched with increasing skepticism by other educators and by the general populace. An early mood of considerable optimism about the prospects for moving rapidly into the secondary education stage I reforms has now been replaced throughout the nation by a go-slow attitude and a propensity to say "let's evaluate the results of the existing Gesamtschulen before going much further."

A major difficulty in eliminating the traditional tripartite structure lies with the nation's teacher reward system. The *General Plan*, in its proposal for a secondary education stage I, asks for equalized salary schedules. However, teachers at the Gymnasia have always enjoyed greater presige, been more highly educated, and paid better than their colleagues at the Hauptschulen and Realschulen. The Gymnasia teachers are understandably reluctant to see any diminution of their perquisites of pay and position. They are active and influential spokesmen for a strongly conservative interest among many Germans who wish to preserve the hallowed, elitist institution that is the Gymnasia. Despite recent reductions in the salary differentials among the three types of schools, and despite some beginning efforts to combine the teacher training functions of the colleges of pedagogy and the universities, little progress has been made to date in equating the prestige and attractiveness of comprehensive school teaching with that of the Gymnasium.

A third obstacle to reform lies in the threat the secondary education plans pose to Germany's system of vocational training. A long-standing approach to job preparation in West Germany is a dual system of apprenticeship and formal schooling. Students who leave both the Hauptschule and the Realschule are expected to enter a long period of on-the-job preparation for specific occupational slots while continuing their formal schooling part-time if at all. Traditionally vocational education in Germany is, in effect, left to the employer. It has been pointed out that there is a long and deep conflict in German society between the concepts of Bildung and Ausbildung—the formation of the mind and character as opposed to vocational training.[8] The schools and institutions of commerce and inudstry have very separate developmental functions. Only from the latter do young people expect highly intensive instruction for the jobs they are to fill. Critics of this system charge that the training is so heavily job-specific that German workers tend to be poorly adaptable to rapidly changing technologies and shifting job requirements. The plans for secondary education reform seek to increase the role of, and the years involved

in, formal schooling–through the development of a strong, integrated system of vocational schools. While the hallowed apprenticeship system would not be abandoned, it would be more than balanced by a formalized vocational preparation process which emphasizes transferrable skills and occupational adaptability. Considerably complicating the implementation of this reform is a split in the locus of governmental authority for vocational training. Under the existing apprenticeship system, occupational training is the responsibility of the various state and federal ministries of labor. Formal schooling is under the authority of the state education ministries. The secondary educational reforms would appear to result in a diminution of the role and responsibility of the labor ministries in the development of Germany's work force, a role change they will not very willingly abide.

A fourth complication in the implementation of the *General Plan* stems from current problems in the flow of students through Germany's educational system. An inviolate tradition of German education is the assurance given to persons who pass the Abitur examination (Abiturenten) that space will be available to them at one of the nation's universities in their chosen field of study. At present, Germany's universities are all badly overcrowded in nearly every field, and a limited admissions policy ("numerus clausus") has been instituted throughout the nation. Abiturenten must now sometimes wait from one to five years for university entrance, depending upon the field.

This situation is in large part attributable to the existence of many more Abiturenten than ever before. Whereas only ten percent of each age cohort completed the Abitur examination a decade ago, about twenty-four percent of each age group passes the Abitur today.[9] In the midst of discussions concerning the need for improved chancegleichkeit it would appear that the traditional structure is already responding to societal pressure for an opening up of the elitist system. With the current excess of Abiturenten over university places, many conservatives are arguing that further reform and a possible further enlargement of the pool of university entrants is unncessary. This argument is receiving greater emphasis in discussions of the state of reform in mid-1975, as the slowing German economy suggests that the nation can no longer offer guaranteed employ- - ment at prestigeful positions to all of the nation's university graduates. With the press for space in higher education, and with the beginnings of some concern about a potentially underemployed university work force, the feelings of need and urgency surrounding the implementation of *General Plan* reforms are no longer very apparent.

A related barrier to implementation, finally is the matter of budget. With evidence of a mid-1970 economic recession, the projected costs of the educational reform ideas outlined in the *General Plan* are of considerable concern. The structural alterations proposed for the nation's school system are expensive–calling for a doubling of expenditures for education between 1970 and 1975, for heavy increases in capital expenditures on school buildings (e.g., Gesamtschulen), and for an increase in the education share of the German gross national product from 4.8% in 1970 to 7.6% by 1985.[10] At a time of an apparent slowdown in the pace of the postwar German economic "miracle" and of currently rising unemployment, talks of heavy reallocations of government resources toward educational reform has been substantially muted.

Germany's Educational Reform Experiences: Some Lessons for Planners

Although the status of school reform in Germany in 1975 is not in accord with the projections for change put forth in the *General Plan* in 1973, the German experience in educational planning over the past two years offers some interesting and informative observations. Implementation of the *General Plan* has not proceeded very far; but given the political and economic barriers to reform, and the vary ambitious scope of the changes proposed, the lack of progress is not surprising. And despite its difficulties, the educational planning process has been extremely successful in one very important sense. Germany offers an unusual example of a major industrialized nation which has been able to produce a *General Plan for Education*, and which has initiated a widespread development of supplementary plans at state and local levels. In few other nations has educational planning received as much acceptability, visibility, and informed discussion.

The lessons to be learned from the German experience, however, go beyond a recognition of the Federal Republic's success in getting national educational planning "off-the-ground." It may be suggested that the German experience raises the following propositions concerning the educational planning process.

The Politics of Implementation

Comprehensive plans for educational reform are apt to be subjected to a rather destructive politics of implementation, a circumstance of conflict based upon the existence of complex interlocking networks of vested interest. Germany's *General Plan* seeks an ambitious restructuring of the nation's entire primary through higher education system of schooling, between 1973 and 1985. Involved are questions concerning curricular reform, teacher preparation and teacher remuneration, pupil allocation, school construction and classification, higher education admissions, relations between education and industry, and a host of special "needs" areas (e.g., special education, kindergarten places) throughout the educational system. As this comprehensive design for reform currently pursues strategies of implementation, it has become apparent that the nation's planners have been inadequately attuned to the complexities of function and behaviour related to current organizational relationships.

The prestigeful Gymnasium is supported by a teacher training system which is tied very closely to the traditionally conceived German university. Gymnasium teachers are trained very thoroughly in their areas of academic specialization; they are given little if any training by the university in education methods. However, the Gesamtschule, with its emphasis upon curriculum development and instructional flexibility, has demonstrated the need for better training in the field of education—an area which has traditionally been left to the "practice-oriented" pedagogical colleges (pedogogische hochschulen) which produce the Hochschule and Realschule teachers. It has been recognized that to implement effectively the concept of the Gesamtschule, Germany must rework its system of teacher preparation—breaking down the deep schism between theory and practice which typically separates the style of teacher training found in the university from that found in the pedagogische hochschule. Plans for the development of Gesamthochshulen (comprehensive higher education institutions) do just this, but it will be some years before the nation is producing large numbers of the highly academically trained and educational-practice-oriented individuals needed for successful, widespread implementation of the Gesamtschule idea.[11] The process of implementation is not at all simplified by the need for change in the nation's concept of the function of the university—for the

power of the *status quo* among German university faculties is considerable. For an institutionalization of the comprehensive school idea to await a prior implementation of changes in teacher training dooms the *General Plan* to a very long and difficult time framework for fulfillment. Exemplifying the difficulty involved, for instance, is the fact that in many states two separate governmental bureaucracies are respondible for lower and for higher education, with notorious problems of communication and lack of coordination between them. Even when both areas of schooling are housed in the same ministry, officials point out their problems in getting the primary-secondary and tertiary sectors to work together.

Another network of tradition and interest surrounding the educational reform movement involves problems of federalism and governmental prerogative. The *General Plan* was developed, and has been pushed, by the national government and particularly by the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Among the states and cities with an SPD majority there has been generally greater progress in the implementation of reform than in Christian Democrat (CDU) areas. The party differences, however, do not seem to present as great a barrier to *General Plan* implementation as do questions of federalism. Constitutionally, the eleven Länder are responsible for their own systems of schooling; they are very wary of federal encroachment into educational decision making and are committed to the maintenance of a weak national ministry of education. Although the *General Plan* was an outgrowth of federal initiative within the Bund-Lander Commission, its implementation depends more upon the support given it by a cooperative association of the states, called the standing conference of the ministers of education and cultural affairs (Standige Conferenz der Kultusminister der Länder). The Standing Conference has approached the *General Plan* and its very comprehensive reforms with considerable caution. Of paramount importance to the Standing Conference is a need to protect its own existence from the possible development of a more powerful planning and educational reform capability within the federal government, to protect the interests of each of its member states from any possibilities of federal encroachment, and to protect itself from damaging involvement or unwanted publicity concerning the implementation of any politically controversial ideas in the *General Plan*. Although advocates of the reform ideas presented in the *Plan*, the standing conference staff members are not likely, in their own interests, to push very vigorously for proposals which could weaken their precarious position atop the loose confederacy of state government.

A third example of vested interest and contradictory viewpoint acting as a blockage to implementation involves the *Plan's* seemingly inocuous proposal for universal free kindergarten.[12] The *Plan* calls for an expansion of kindergarten places sufficient to serve 70% of the five-year-olds by 1975, 85% by 1980, and 100% by 1975. At a time of declining birth rates, and of a surplus of elementary teachers and under-utilized classrooms, these objectives should be within easy reach. Furthermore, an expansion of kindergarten places would appear to be an important ingredient in the *Plan's* push for greater educational opportunity. Throughout the nation it is the less privileged child who is now least likely to have a chance to attend pre-school.[13]

Despite an apparent need and feasibility, the kindergarten proposals face stiff opposition. A major obstacle is Germany's long tradition of private schooling for the three-to-five age group. Although pre-schools are widely available (but much less so in rural areas), the kindergarten attendance is generally thought of by Germans as a voluntary parental decision and, even more importantly, as a decision with religious connotations. Most

establishments for pre-schooling (particularly in the politically influential states of Bavaria and heavily populated North Rhine-Westphalia) are denominationally identifiable as either Catholic or Protestant. Although parents today are inclined to send their youngsters to whatever school most appeals to them, whether the religious identification fits their own or not, the denominational and private emphasis in kindergarten education is still very strong.[14] In a nation which quite effectively removes the parent from decisional control over the course of education with the onset of formal schooling at age six, German parents seem strongly of a mind to protect their right to decide whether their five-year-olds should go to school at all, and if so, to what kind of school.

There are, of course, additional examples of vested interest which have complicated the implementation of reform. A key to the success of the Gesamtschule is the development of a teacher reward system which equates the salary, prestige, and other benefits of that school with those of the Gymnasium—not an easy task given the stratification of the teaching community. As mentioned earlier, the planned revisions in secondary education which affect the style of vocational education and the apprenticeship system come into conflict with another governmental bureaucracy (the various state ministries of labor) and with the political tie between the labor ministries and industry. In higher education reform, the great power and tradition of the German professorship requires a very slow and careful movement toward any change in university admissions, patterns of study, or faculty working conditions.

In sum, the comprehensiveness of Germany's *General Plan for Education* has activated an array of interlocking barriers against the accomplishment of reform. Since its provisions create critical and salient issues in the areas of teacher politics, parental rights, church-state relations, governmental bureaucratic infighting, federal versus state control, on-the-job versus in-school training, and the "lehrfreiheit" of university faculties– the *General Plan* is pulled hither and yon, from one conflict to another, whenever a component of the plan is suggested for implementation. Because it is comprehensive and integrated, with each of its reform ideas supporting others, the *Plan* is subject to innumerable coalitions of interest which, although often in uneasy alliances, are able to slow considerably the pace of reform.

The Need for Implementation Strategies

A second, and related, lesson from the German experience is that informed educational planning requires careful attention to strategies for plan implementation—strategies which involve more than the goals and provisions of the plan itself. The 1973 product of the Bund-Länder Commission for Educational Planning (*General Plan for Education*) is a statement of need for reform, targets of educational policy, proposed time elements for goal attainment, and projected costs of reform. The *General Plan* does not offer a prescription for implementation. This task, the job of the past two years, has largely been left to the Standing Conference of Education Ministers and to the individual states.[15]

It would appear that a major weakness in the *Plan*, and a major factor in the slow pace of reform since 1973, is the lack of clear interim policies for the attainment of target goals. A prime example in this regard is the story of the Gesamtschule. The Gesamtschule (comprehensive school) is a key component in efforts by Germany's planners to extend educational opportunities. However, during the past two years the nation has enjoyed little systematic discussion of, or direction over, the various Gesamtschulen which have been established. Large numbers of institutions were given the label "Gesamtschule"

when the term first became popular; most of these labels have since been removed. The remaining institutions are now considered highly experimental—and almost all are now involved in very difficult struggles to create curricula, attract and train teachers, properly allocate students, improve a fading image, show some degree of success, and simply survive.

As the Gesamtschulen experiments have proceeded, the difficulties of educational reform have become highly visible. Teachers are now becoming reluctant to work in the comprehensive schools because the long hours of work in curriculum development, pupil evaluation, etc. are generally not accompanied by additional compensation nor does the work receive anywhere near the prestige accorded employment in the Gymnasium. Curriculum ideas calling for a combined general educational background plus opportunities for the development of special pupil inclinations and talents have in practice been extremely difficult to structure within the Gesamtschule framework. A phase of "orientation studies" in secondary education stage I has been difficult to implement, because of the great lack of German experience with, and training in, the field of student counseling. Evaluations of the Gesamtschule experiments have tended to be haphazard. Each of the existing schools is engaged in some degree of self-evaluation (usually with the help of outside consultants); but nowhere throughout the Federal Republic, in 1975, is there a well-designed and well-controlled comparative evaluation of the Gesamtschule against other types of institutions.

In short, the *General Plan's* policy initiative, calling for the nationwide implementation of the idea of the "comprehensive school" in secondary education, has, in its implementation, demonstrated a lack of effective interim planning. Plans for a phasing-in of reform, for systematic research into curriculum and teaching methodology problems, and for a well-designed evaluation scheme have not been developed. The lack of such planning has seriously damaged the credibility of the reform movement. Parents are now becoming extremely reluctant to send their children to the experimental Gesamtschulen.[16] Without a base of support in carefully developed strategies for policy implementation, ideas about comprehensive schools, or other *General Plan* reforms, are currently in considerable danger of succumbing to mounting criticisms regarding poor administration and ill-considered policy leadership.

Side-Effect of Planning

Finally, a *third* lesson from Germany's *General Plan* experience is that educational planning should be cognizant of, and perhaps designed in terms of, its numerous latent functions. Some of the side-effects of the German educational reform movement appear to be quite as significant as the *Plan* itself. It would appear, for example that there has been a major impact upon the structure and the methodology of the Gymnasium. The secondary stage I proposals offer a threat to the traditional Gymnasium and to the separate, elite status of the Gymnasium teacher. In response to this threat, the Gymnasium throughout Germany has been engaged in a rather thorough renovation of its own curriculum. The number of courses available to students has increased, student options and opportunities for flexibility in subject-area concentration are being introduced, the rigidity of the Abitur exam is being loosened with more student choice of examination topics, student counseling is being introduced, and schedules for the sequence of Gymnasium studies are being opened up to give students opportunities to move at differential

rates toward the Abitur. In short, as an obvious defensive move under the pressure of educational reform, the Gymnasium is beginning to take on a number of the characteristics associated with the Gesamtschule.

A second, and related, side-effect is the current widespread attention given to Chancegleichkeit in German education. In recent years, Gymnasium teachers and administrators have altered considerably the tough-minded sorting-out function of the Abitur examination. Few (less than 2 percent) of the Gymnasium students now fail the Abitur, the strict and rigid formality of the examination itself is passing from the scene in most schools, and the mood among Gymnasium staff almost everywhere is one of helpfulness—each student should be given every opportunity to take and pass the leaving examination. The effect of all this, of course, is readily apparent in the current glut of university entrants. The percentage of each age group becoming Abiturenten and seeking university entrance has suddenly passed far beyond all expectations.

Of perhaps even greater importance in terms of "Chancegleichkeit," however, is a new interest at the local level in exploring matters of distribution of educational achievement. In the heavily industrialized city of Essen, for example, a full-scale city-sponsored investigation was conducted in the 1970s, for the first time, into relations between social class and educational attainment—pointing out wide disparities in achievement and in the availability of school facilities between the lower-class northern portion of the city and the wealthy south. In Essen and in many other German communities, as a consequence, committees of parents (Elternvertreter), which traditionally have had little voice in school management, are developing an increasing awareness of, and interest in, school affairs and the distribution of school resources.

In higher education, educational reform has had an impact similar to that upon the Gymnasium. University faculties have been extremely reluctant to countenance the implementation of comprehensive universities (Gesamthochschulen), where the traditionally less prestigious pedagogical colleges, technical and engineering schools, and schools of art and music are integrated into the university structure.[17] Among conservatives and traditionalists, there is a fear that the great theoretical and scientific demeanor of the German university may be diminished by too close association with the vocational orientation characterizing other elements of higher education. Among the faculties of the less prestigious institutions there is also a reluctance to integrate—based upon a fear that their organizations may be overwhelmed by the power of the traditional faculties and that they as a staff (because on the average they have less impressive academic credentials) will be second-class Gesamthochschule citizens.

Many of the state ministries for higher education (Behörder für Wissenschaft und Kunst) have pushed hard for comprehensive universities, and nearly all of the facilities construction currently underway in the Federal Republic carries this philosophy. Here, one of the few weapons available to the national government has been brought to bear, for the federal government underwrites fifty percent of the cost of new construction in the tertiary sector—thus insuring itself a powerful voice in the direction of higher education affairs. As this governmental pressure has been brought to bear upon existing institutions, the universities have initiated a number of activities which are in the spirit of reformist thought. University departments are joining faculties of technical colleges (Technische Fachhochschulen), for example, in cooperative teaching and research relationships in specialized areas. A prime example is a relationship between the University

of Hamburg and the Technische Fachhochschule of Hamburg to train people for the maritime construction industry. In Hamburg there is much pressure upon the university to "go comprehensive". Other relationships being established bring teacher training institutions (Pedagogische Hochschulen) and the universities into cooperative contact to deal with matters of training and curriculum in the spirit of the secondary stage I and stage II reforms. In Berlin, for example, a venture of this type which was established as an institute (Institute für Sozialpedogogik und Erwachsenbildung der Freien Universitität Berlin) is now fighting for formal status and recognition within the structure of the Free University. Although such ventures and special purpose relationships are often designed to give impressions of readiness for reform while in fact changing little, the effect of the *General Plan* is that the extreme insularity which characterizes the various forms of higher education in Germany may be breaking down.

In sum, the experience of Germany's educational movement is that the implementation of change, albeit slowed by continuing controversy, has not been without consequence. Perhaps an appropriate observation here is that when little seems to be happening and it appears that well conceived plans are floundering upon shifting political controversies, it is probable that the intellectual and political process that in planning has important effects upon the antecedent conditions of the process. Germany's *General Plan for Education*, whether fully implemented or not, has been a powerful stimulant to a nationwide discussion and critique of its schooling system.

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3. Reviews of National Policies for Education, *Germany*, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Paris, 1972, p. 55.
4. The authors of the OECD report were fully aware of the work that was then going on in the Federal-State Commission. In their discussion of the Commission, the OECD reviews wrote:

   > For the first time, then, in the modern history of education in Germany, there is now a national body responsible for planning the development of education *at all levels*, from kindergarten through higher education; and responsible also for drafting a unified budget for the fulfilment of this plan. From the creation and labours of such a body, it may be hoped, some might consequences for education will flow.

   See Reviews of National Policies for Education, *Germany, op. cit.*, p. 32.
5. Note: The Hauptschule prepares young people for entry into apprenticeships and jobs and the lower-status, blue-collar occupations. The Realschule prepares people for middle strata, white-collar type positions; while the Gymnasium provides intellectually demanding preparation for the university and high employment status.
6. For a review of post-war efforts to achieve school "comprehensivization" in Germany, see A.J. Heidenheimer, "The Politics of Educational Reform: Explaining Different Outcomes of School Comprehensivization Attempts in Sweden and West Germany", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, October, 1974.
7. Personal communication with the Associate Director, Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, Berlin, July, 1975.
8. See R.L. Merritt, E.P. Flerlage, and A.J. Merritt, "Democratizing West German Education", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 7, No. 3, December, 1971, pp. 121-136.

9. In the opinion of many, the biggest single factor in an arousal of public interest in educational reform was the publication of *Die Deutsche Bildungskatastrophe* (The German Educational Catastrophe) by George Picht in 1965. Picht argued that a failure to expand the school system was resulting in a dangerous and chronic shortage of young people who had completed the Abitur. Now, ten years later, the nation has discovered itself to be flooded by Abiturenten. See A. Hearndon, "Inter-German Relations and Educational Policy", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1973, p. 9.
10. *General Plan for Education, op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.
11. Germany's Federal Ministry of Science and Education proposed that there should be just one comprehensive institution of higher education, the Gesamthochschule, throughout the Federal Republic. For background, see: M. Krueger and B. Wallisch-Prinz, "University Reform in Progress: The Current Debate in West Germany", *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June, 1972, pp. 340-351.
12. Note: There's a language difficulty here. The term "kindergarten" is understood by Germans to apply to what we would normally call nursery school (institutions for three and four-year olds). Our kindergarten (schools for five-year olds) would, in German, be labeled "Vorklasse" (preschools). The use of "kindergarten" in the text above is within the context of our usage–thus the term refers to places for five-year olds (or "Vorklasse" in German).
13. See, for example, a report for the large, industrial city of Essen which shows school attendance rates for each socio-economically diverse area of that city. *Struktur und Entwicklungsplan für das Essener Schulwesen für die Jahre*, 1972-1985, Stadt Essen Untersuchungen Zur Stadtentwicklung, September, 1972.
14. It is only in rather recent years in North Rhine-Westphalia, furthermore, that even elementary schooling (what is now termed the Grundschule) no longer carries an identification as either Catholic or Evangelical.
15. Some of the states have in fact done a rather thorough and remarkable job of following up the *General Plan* with highly specific guidelines and plans of their own for the fulfilment of the various reform proposals. North Rhine-Westphalia for one, has produced a series of highly specific documents (generally one for each of the policy target areas in the *General Plan*) which design the shape of educational reform for the state.
16. In a recent court case of some significance, it was ruled that if school authorities assign a child to a Gesamtschule, his parents have a right to intervene if they wish and require assignment to another type of institution. The explanation given is that the Gesamtschule is considered "experimental", and no parent or child should be forced to participate.
17. In their analysis of German university reform M. Krueger and B. Wallisch-Prinz note: "Within the *Gesamthochschule* system, the student is able to choose between different levels of training and he is guided by his school and test performance. The reforms propose a new relationship between theory and practice", See Krueger and Wallisch-Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

David N. Wilson*

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL PLANNING INFLUENCED BY MILITARY GOVERNMENT: NIGERIA

Introduction

For those of us who have been concerned with the process of educational planning in developing nations for the past decade, a number of significant recent changes have been observable. Our professional interests focus upon those which have taken place in the education sector in which we operate. But, from time to time, we emerge to "discover" that changes elsewhere are having a significant impact upon our activities in the education sector. This paper focuses upon the impact of such a change – a political change. Increasingly we have been witnessing the demise of (genuine or nominal) democratic, elected governments. They have been replaced by various forms of military rule. In this paper we examine some of the effects of military rule, and military forms of decision-making, upon educational planning in Nigeria. We might well deplore this trend and speculate on how many other nations of the world may undergo such political changes. Our responsibility as scholars and practitioners of planning goes beyond this, however. We need to examine the real world and judge its effects on our work. As we shall show, in Nigeria not all the effects are bad.

At present Nigeria is engaged on the implementation of its Third National Development Plan. Simultaneously, the nineteen constituent states of the Nigerian federation are also engaged on the implementation of state development plans. This paper will examine the interaction of the federal and state planning processes in the light of recent events.

Examination of the various development plans in Nigeria reveals that a significant degree of policy-formulation preceded the preparation of their educational components. However, constraints upon the planning and budgetary processes, plus deficiencies in the implementation of these plans, have seriously distorted some of the original intentions of these policies.

The post-independence history of Nigerian politics was marked by a series of crises which impeded most of the objectives of the first and second development plans. The period of relative stability which marked the reign of the Supreme Military Council, prior to the July 1975 *coup d'état* and the February 1976 attempted *coup d'état*, witnessed a different type of planner-policymaker interaction from that common in other developing nations. This has resulted in changes in the division of powers between the federal government and the nineteen state governments, a development which is likely to continue. This assumption by the Federal Ministry of Education of powers which formerly had been exclusive to, and or shared with, the state governments has been facilitated by the enormous windfall profits of the petroleum industry during the past five years. Nevertheless significant disparities continue to impede federal and state policy-making, planning and implementation in the education sector. They include:

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(a) historical anomalies in the distribution of educational facilities, (b) reconstruction, rehabilitation and restoration of civil war-damaged institutions, (c) lack of administrative and technical capacity to operate, expand and improve educational facilities, and (d) socio-political factors which make it difficult to use surplus teachers of one region in other areas which are experiencing shortage.

In this paper we will demonstrate that these constraints, together with certain planning data and bureaucratic difficulties, have had an unusual impact upon the process of educational planning, particularly, during formulation of the Third National Development Plan.

There seems to be an important difference between the planner-policymaker interactions which take place in representative, democratic governments and those which take place in military governments. We commented on these in the article on educational and national planning in Zaire which this journal published in 1975.[1] The central difference between planning under a military and under a civilian regime is with the timing of decision-making and the emphasis upon implementation. When a military regime makes a decision, it does so with the idea that the implementation of that decision will be immediately executed. The effects of such an expectation upon the planning for a public service will be illustrated in the following sections.

Historical Background

The organization of the planning apparatus in Nigeria has closely paralleled governmental structure since the inception of planning activities in 1946. As a direct result of the initiative of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1944, the *Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare* was introduced in 1946. This was a colonial plan, drawn up by the group of senior colonial government officials who comprised the Central Development Board in Lagos. Area Development Committees were established to advise the Central Development Board in the three groups of provinces which composed Nigeria, but these also were dominated by expatriate government officials. At this stage there was little participation of Nigerians in the planning process, with the result that "objectives relevant and meaningful to the Nigerian population..." were not included in the plan.[2]

Near the end of the ten-year period of the plan a federal system of government replaced the provincial group structure. The Federation, which came into existence in October 1954, consisted of the Northern, Eastern and Western Regions plus the mandated Southern Cameroons and the Federal Territory of Lagos.* During 1955, each Regional Government and the Federal Government prepared new plans. The 1955-1960 (Federal) *Economic Development Plan*, which developed *parallel* to, rather than complementary with, each region's development plan, was revised in 1958 and extended to 1962. Thus, prior to independence in 1960, the weak federal structure in Nigeria had witnessed the preparation and implementation of *five* development plans with varying goals and no common frame of reference.

The performance of the Federal Government during this period high-lights the weaknesses in the administrative infrastructure. Only 51.8% of the revised total estimated cost of planned projects was implemented. Serious shortcomings in the administrative

*The Mid-West Region was separated from the Western Region in 1963.

machinery, of high-level manpower skills, of construction capability and particularly in the taxation and accounting (disbursement) procedures became apparent. These impediments to effective plan implementation have continued to plague planning in Nigeria.

In 1955 the IBRD/IDA (World Bank) Mission recommended the creation of a National Economic Council as a

> forum in which the Federation and the Regions might meet to discuss the many economic problems common to each, notwithstanding their separate constitutional functions, and such of their development policies as may have consequences reaching beyond their respective constitutional spheres.[3]

The establishment of the NEC was followed in 1958 by the creation of the Joint Planning Committee as a coordinating advisory planning group. The JPC also included federal and regional civil servants. Their reports and studies were channeled through the Federal Ministry of Economic Development, and this planning structure was instrumental in formulating the *First National Development Plan* covering the years 1962-68.

In 1960 Nigeria became the first independent African nation to establish an educational development commission. Under the Chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby, the *Commission on Post Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria* evaluated their investment in education and recommended, among other things, the establishment of a National Manpower Board.[4] In 1962, the Board was established as a component of the Planning Division of the Federal Ministry of Economic Development. In addition to planning for transportation, communications and other matters, planning for educational development had become a matter of concurrent responsibility of federal and regional governments.

In the political realm federal-regional competition overshadowed cooperation, so that by the crisis of 1966, after two military *coups d'états*, there was beginning a process of re-centralization of government. The creation of twelve states to replace four regions had the immediate effect of precipitating the secession of the Eastern Region and the Civil War of 1967-70 began. On the positive side, the creation of the twelve states helped to assure a national planning context since the Federal Government then assumed primacy in planning and policy-making.

The creation of new political units in a state structure will have immediate effects upon educational development. In this case not only were there multiple state ministries of education, with their differentiated unit components, but each state was striving to create as complete an educational system as possible—adding programs and facilities at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. By 1970, the nine noncombatant States had created their ministerial and systemic infrastructures. Following the end of the Civil War, the three eastern states (Rivers, South-Eastern and East-Central) began the processes of system-infrastructure creation and reconstruction. These were incorporated into the *Second National Development Plan* covering the years 1970-74.[5]

In March 1975, three months after the inauguration of the Third National Development Plan, General Yakubu Gowon was deposed by a *coup d'état* which installed General Murtala Muhammed as head of the federal military government. His two hundred days in office saw an increase in the number of states from twelve to nineteen, and it may be assumed that the process of creating a system-infrastructure is underway in all the new states.

Plan Performance

The First National Development Plan

The implementation of the First National Development Plan realized a shortfall of about twenty percent—i.e. there was 20% less actual expenditure than had been provided for in the plan. This was not a bad overall performance considering the series of crises and the civil war. However, analysis indicates that the performance was uneven; there were disastrous effects at the regional level. In the former Eastern Region, for example, actual expenditure was 36.2% short in total and 67.3% short in the education sector.

The most significant shortfall—due most likely to overestimation—was in anticipated public sector receipts from donor nations. However, the absence of foreign aid for public sector projects was more than compensated for by private sector investments far in excess of the planned estimates. Oil revenues during 1962-1967 rose from 1.9 to 3.4% of the Gross Domestic Product. Only about 50% of the anticipated development finance became available from external sources.

During the 1967-1970 civil war production in the oil fields of the Eastern Region was interrupted and several of the larger capital projects of the First National Development Plan suffered massive destruction, e.g. the oil refinery at Okrika, the Niger Bridge, and (in education) the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Therefore, some of the resources of the Second National Development Plan had to be diverted from developmental purposes to reconstruction of the damaged capital works of earlier planning periods. This was true of nearly *all* of the educational institutions in the Rivers, South-Eastern and East-Central States. The war necessitated cancellation of many projects of the plan and diversion of financial, human and material resources into defense expenditure. However, there were certain direct benefits to the national economy resulting from government policies during the war. Exchange control and tariff restrictions stimulated, even protected, certain basic industries in noncombatant areas. The share of industry in the GDP rose from 5.3% to 7% between 1962 and 1967, and reached 8.2%, in 1971. These developments were paralleled in the labour force by the withdrawal of nearly 100,000 job-seekers and employed, who were absorbed by the Federal forces and by others who were absorbed in employment generated by the expansion and diversification of the industrial sector.

The war caused a two-year hiatus between the end of the (modified) First Plan and the commencement of the Second Plan in 1970. The most important missing element in Nigerian policy formulation and planning since independence had been the lack of a national sense of purpose, national goals and objectives. Ironically the very people who, *prior* to 1967, voiced opposition to the current central planning goal—creation of Nigerian unity—actually brought it about, by their act of secession.

The Second National Plan

Five general objectives were articulated in the Second National Development Plan and continue to influence the Third:

- a united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- a great and dynamic economy;
- a just and egalitarian society;
- a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and
- a free and democratic society.

The priorities for the 1970-1974 plan accorded highest priority to agriculture, industry, transportation and manpower development. Since the accession to power of the Supreme Military Council financial planning and policy-formulation have been re-centralized to give primacy to federal activities. Under the former civilian rule the regions had held the balance of power. To quote the Plan itself:

> The national scale of priorities has been duly adjusted marginally at the State level to accommodate differences in the stages of development....Thus, manpower development [for example] in one part of the country may entail the rapid expansion of primary school education, while in another area it may mean concentration on secondary and technical education, and yet in another, it may involve the rationalization of university education. The basic objective in all three cases is... to upgrade the level of available manpower for self-fulfilment and full employment.[6]

Efforts to restructure governmental organization and "balance" the development of social and economic institutions in order to redress regional disparities were not the only important aspects of the 1970-1974 plan. Another was a program of restoration, reconstruction and rehabilitation of persons and installations damaged during the war. Since nearly 20% of pre-civil war industrial and agricultural contributions to the GDP had originated from the former Eastern Region, its early restoration was imperative. Massive reconstruction in the Rivers, South-Eastern and East-Central States was a major task of the plan.

We were involved in a UNESCO project assisting the implementation of the Rivers and South-Eastern State First Development Plans. The United Nations also assisted (through UNICEF) with relief and rehabilitation efforts in Rivers State. Serious shortage of trained intermediate-level technicians and managers and archaic accounting procedures seriously inhibited implementation, particularly in the Rivers State. In fact, in the education sector only 20% of the planned capital disbursement occurred. The performance in South-Eastern State was much better—more than double that of Rivers State. It suffered from severely limited financial resources, but had adequate executive and technical manpower cadres.[7]

Transition from the Second to the Third Plan

On October 1, 1974, General Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria's Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Military Council* announced details of the proposed Third National Development Plan. He noted that:

> The Plan is designed to bring about a radical transformation of the national economy—Federal and State. It will undoubtedly bring about significant improvement in the standard of living of every citizen of our dear country.[8]

The plan commenced on the 1st April, 1975 (i.e. at the beginning of the financial year) and will have an estimated expenditure of ₦30,000,000,000 ($45 billion) over its five-year period. Seventy percent of this investment expenditure will originate from the

*Which at that time included the military governors of 11 states and the civilian administrator of the East Central State.

public sector, Federal and State, and 30% from the private. In marked contrast to previous plans, nearly all of the finance will come from Nigerian sources. Table I shows the comparative sectoral allocations of the three national development plans, indicating the shift in priority areas which has taken place. Nigeria has opted for an industrial "great leap forward", apparently at the expense of investment designed to increase productivity in the agricultural sector. Even though the allocation to the agricultural sector has increased sixfold, a significant proportion of the investment will be used to improve estate-produced export crops, rather than encourage sufficient food production to feed Nigeria's population.

Table 1 SECTORAL EXPENDITURE ALLOCATIONS FOR NIGERIA'S THREE DEVELOPMENT PLANS (in million Naira)

Sector	1962-1968 Actual	1970-1974 Revised	1975-1980 Projected
Industry	95.1	36.7	6,000
Mining, Manufacture		130.4	
Transport	242.2	885.6	4,100
Regional Development	88.7	59	3,200
Defence and Security	—[1]	349	2,200
Education	91.3	300	2,000
Agriculture	105	304.9	1,400
General Administration	207.1	266.6	854
Communication	22.1	112.9	774
Health	14.9	138.8	659
Information	9.4	85.3	201
Power	161.4	90.6	163
Labour and Social Welfare	7.4	16.1	152
Judicial	2.5	—	—
Financial Obligation	25.8	—	—

[1] "Financial obligations", together with "General Administration" may include expenditures on Defence and Security. However, this information is not public and it is extremely difficult to factor defence costs from general administrative expenditure allocations.

Sources: For 1962-68 actual figures, *Second National Development Plan*, p. 13.
For other figures, "Nigeria's Third Plan", *African Development*, December 1974, p. 20.

The educational implications of this investment emphasis will be felt almost exclusively at the post-secondary level. The effects of the expansion of the universities and the creation of four new universities and new colleges of science and technology will not be felt in the early years of these plans. The required numbers of high-level graduates will not emerge until late in the planning period. Moreover, general agricultural education has continually been neglected in Nigeria. With this apparent de-emphasis of agriculture in the third plan, this condition may well persist.

Between 1970 and 1973, there occurred a number of pre-planning activities intended to provide groundwork for the educational sector of the third plan. The first was the creation of a committee to look into the feasibility of introducing free primary education. Its report entitled, "Education for National Mobilisation", was published in October, 1970. Under the chairmanship of Chief B. Somade the committee advised giving teacher education top priority in the educational plans in order to make the introduction of free and universal primary education feasible. The committee made 19 recommendations which include *inter alia*:

- that the state take-over voluntary agency educational institutions;
- professionalization of the educational service;
- introduction of planning units in each state;
- rationalization of all levels of education into a unified national system;
- design of curricular matters which would advocate Nigerian unity and the introduction of second and third language teaching.

The report stressed that only by careful planning of the introduction of universal primary education could "negative and disastrous consequences on the economy, the political and the social systems" be avoided.[9]

In 1969 and 1971 there took place national conferences on curriculum reform, and in June 1973 a seminar on A National Policy on Education was held. The recommendations of all these conferences were submitted to the National Council on Education which had been charged with the preparation of policy guidelines for the third plan. A very important aspect of all these conferences was their significant degree of inter-relatedness. In marked contrast to pre-civil war developments, the two curriculum reports were used by the federal and state Ministries of Education to formulate a draft educational policy document for Nigeria. The draft was then submitted to the Seminar – "a gathering of Nigerian educationists and other public men interested and knowledgable in the subject"[10] for examination and advice. Their report of the Seminar on a National Policy on Education is a comprehensive document which translates Nigeria's national objectives into educational objectives, outlines an educational philosophy for Nigeria and defines the elements of its educational policy. The Seminar had six substantive committees and produced in all 18 general recommendations dealing with pre-primary and primary education; secondary education; university, professional and technical education; adult, special and non-formal education; teacher education; and administration, planning and finance. Their report was submitted to the Federal Ministry of Education and the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction (the authority which was responsible for preparation of the Third National Development Plan). We shall now examine how the two ministries dealt with the recommendations and how the Supreme Military Council influenced the planning process in the education sector.

The Third National Plan

The most recent national planning has been conceived as long-range planning. In 1972 the Supreme Military Council directed the Federal Ministry of Education to undertake the preparation of a fifteen-year educational plan, the first stage of which (1975-80) would form the educational component of the Third National Development Plan. In the years 1972 and 1973 the Federal Ministry of Education established liaison with the national plan implementation agency – the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction – and the twelve state ministries of education. In 1972 a national commission to study the educational system and recommend long-term national objectives was set up, which was (in effect) the successor to the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission which had been attached to the federal ministry and several state ministries during the implementation of the second plan. At this time there was considerable debate about the necessity of continued "external assistance" in educational planning. The commission was composed of "working parties" from each state ministry, and the federal ministry assisted by several UNESCO advisors.

The preparation of the fifteen-year plan was scheduled to take eighteen months from July 1973. However, in a dramatic reversal of policy, the Supreme Military Council intervened, directing the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction to complete the drafting of the education sector of the Third National Development Plan by December of 1973.* This meant that all the detailed pre-planning studies of the total project had to be scrapped in favour of a short-range, four month crash program. The crash program was then followed by further modifications of the original commission work program so that the fifteen-year plan might be quickly prepared.

Although there were outlines of a desired educational policy and numerous suggestions for curricular reforms, most of the basic educational, economic and demographic data required for plan preparation were not available. Moreover, detailed data from the 1973 Census were not provided because serious questions had been raised as to its accuracy. This forced the planners to rely upon projections made from 1963 Census data – data which themselves were alleged to have been inaccurately enumerated.

In view of the public clamour for a policy of free, universal primary education, and the warning of the Somade Commission about the need for careful planning of such a policy, this shortcoming may well prove to be critical. We have the example of the disastrous underestimation of primary school age cohorts made in 1954 and 1956 in the Western and Eastern Regions of Nigeria when they, prematurely, tried to introduce universal primary education.[11]

Prothero has noted that "... those concerned with studies of Nigeria's population will remain in considerable doubt and continue to wonder what the true figures are".[12] All the planning exercises and projections made by the educational, economic and manpower planners for the Third National Development Plan were based upon extrapolations of the 1963 Census figures. Table 2 on page 72 shows the range of population estimates the planners are trying to work with.

The adjusted 1973 (and later years) projections were prepared by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) and the UNESCO Planning Mission personnel. They were used for many of the projections prepared for the third plan.

*Rather than follow the original schedule of completing the entire 15 year plan by December 1974.

They assume an undercount of ten percent in the 1952-53 Census and an overcount of ten percent (for certain areas) in the 1963 Census. The "strictly provisional" figures for the 1973 Census were not officially released by the Federal Government; they are "suspect" and are still being "checked" by the census officials. Whichever figures eventually prove correct, for the northern states (in particular) it should be remembered that most developing nations are characterised by having about 25% of their population *under* the age of five and, often, about another 25% between the ages of five and fifteen. If the 1973 enumeration in the northern states *is* correct, and it is assumed that well over half their population is of pre-school or school-attendance age, the implications for the planned implementation of free, universal primary education are serious.

TABLE 2 NIGERIAN POPULATION BY FORMER STATE: CENSUS DATA AND ESTIMATES (in millions)

	1952-53[1]	1963[1]	1973[2]	1973[3] adjusted estimate	1973[4]
Lagos	0.50	1.44	1.98	1.57	2.47
Western	4.36	9.49	12.12	8.80	8.92
Mid-Western	1.49	2.54	3.24	3.28	3.24
Rivers	0.75	1.54	1.97	1.74	2.23
East-Central	4.57	7.23	9.23	8.25	8.06
South-Eastern	1.90	3.62	4.63	4.10	3.46
Benue-Plateau	2.30	4.01	5.12	4.02	5.17
Kwara	1.19	2.40	3.07	2.40	4.64
North-Western	3.40	5.73	7.33	5.75	8.50
North-Central	2.35	4.10	5.24	4.15	6.79
Kano	3.40	5.77	7.38	5.82	10.90
North-Eastern	4.20	7.79	9.96	7.87	15.38
Total	30.41	55.66	71.27	57.75	79.76

[1] Census
[2] Official estimate
[3] Adjusted estimate
[4] Strictly provisional 1973 Census figures

Sources: UNESCO, *Education in Nigeria*. Paris: Confidential EFM/42, Annex Three.
R. Mansell Prothero. "Nigeria Loses Count". *The Geographical Magazine*, November, 1974, p. 25.

The entire way in which the Supreme Military Council handled the announcement of the free, universal primary education policy indicates its misunderstanding of the magnitude of the implementation problems of such a program. The Somade Commission

Report, the National Educational Policy Report, and other documents outline in detail the requirements of the policy in terms of teachers, administrators, facilities and finance and have stressed the need for careful phasing of its implementation. But the Federal Government gave the impression of immediate implementation particularly in its early statements. The policy of universal primary education was announced as beginning in 1975, then as beginning in 1976. Lately it has been stated that the policy will be fully implemented by 1980. It is not clear how much of the apparent confusion is due to bad reporting in the press and how much to the Federal Government's misunderstanding of the implications of the policy.

The shift in the division of powers between the federal Government and the states, which became evident during the implementation of the second plan continues and is increased by the intervention of the Military Government. One example of the encroachment of the Federal Ministry of Education upon the sovereignty of the state ministries is seen in the implementation of the policy recommending creation of federal government colleges. These institutions were originally proposed by the Ashby Commission as a vehicle for the promotion of Nigerian unity. They are secondary schools which would draw students from all over the country. Since they would be residential, Nigerians of all types would learn to live together. In 1973, the federal ministry simply announced to all state ministries that as of the 1973-74 academic year a federal college was to be established in each state. There seems to have been no pre-planning for the institutions, no consultation with the educational planners in the states. The effect of the instant creation of these colleges upon the state's secondary school sector seems not to have been ever considered.

Another example was the creation in 1973 of a federal inspectorate. It proposed that, by the end of that year, at least two federal school inspectors be attached to each state ministry of education. Although certain states (like Rivers State) were suffering a serious shortage of school inspectors, the proposal was not favourably received. It was viewed by senior officials as interference in the affairs of the state. Nevertheless they were unable to thwart the implementation of the policy. The mere addition of extra inspectors does not, in the author's opinion, address the real problem. It was acute transportation and financial difficulties which had prevented the Rivers State Ministry of Education Inspectorate staff from carrying out their duties. Unless these problems were solved two federally appointed inspectors were not likely to make much difference.

The most significant example of the unilateral cancellation of a previously "shared", or concurrent, educational jurisdiction was the nationalisation of the Nigerian universities in 1972. In effect, this put the universities exclusively under federal control. The states were left with a share of authority for all non-university post-secondary education (the Colleges of Education and the Colleges of Science and Technology). By this action the Federal Government took away from the states the opportunity to participate in the development of new universities. The plans of South Eastern State for the gradual development of the Calabar branch of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka were particularly affected. This new institution will likely become the nucleus of Nigeria's seventh university, and the status of the branches of other established universities is now in doubt. They could conceivably also become full-fledged universities in the future. The develop-

ment, by the state governments, of C.S.T.s and Colleges of Education* may well also reflect their desires for additional future universities. So the problem of duplication of the development of two parallel systems with resultant waste of resources cannot be discounted. On the positive side, the nationalisation of existing universities has freed state funds for other educational projects.

Educational System Development

Before drawing some conclusions and lessons for planners from this brief résumé of Nigeria's three national planning efforts, it is desirable (particularly for the North American reader unfamiliar with the Nigerian educational system) to briefly describe its development.

Organization

Since Nigeria is a federation its educational system is not uniformly organised. It consists of 19 separate state systems. However, it is slowly moving to greater centralisation of education as the Federal Ministry of Education claims concurrent (and sometimes even exclusive) jurisdiction over matters which had previously been exclusive to state jurisdiction. The "power of the purse" firmly resides with the federal government and it is evident that the revenue allocation formula which they use gives them ever greater control over education. This centralizing trend has been reinforced by the "instant policy" mode of the Military Government.

As we have already reported, federal policy has recently decided that Nigeria will have free, universal primary education from September, 1976. This means that the practices of 17 states are to be equalised with those of the Western State and Lagos. The extent of the effects on schools can be imagined. At present curricula are determined by each state. But examinations are centralised through the West African Examinations Council, which administers examinations at the end of secondary education. Currently there is no uniform age for school attendance. But pupils usually enter primary school at age 5 or 6. The Civil War in eastern Nigeria disrupted the schooling of a large number of children, so that in primary schools of the East Central, South Eastern and Rivers States there still are many overage pupils. Throughout the country first level studies range from six to eight years of school. Secondary schools are differentiated into Secondary Grammar, Modern, Commercial and Comprehensive schools. The latter were first established in the (former) Western Region. They are now becoming increasingly favoured in educational policy so that commercial and technical subject streams are added to the academic streams.

Enrollment

Although formal education began in Nigeria in the nineteenth century, until the 1950s most schooling for Nigerians was confined to the primary level. Most of the schools had been founded, and were controlled, by religious bodies. The predominance of these bodies only ended recently, largely as an aftermath of the Civil War. The 1950s witnessed an expansion of the secondary and post-secondary sectors, but the really dramatic expansion took place at the primary level, largely as the result of (disastrous) UPE experiments in the Western and Eastern Regions. From 1960 to 1973 primary enrollment rose from

*Formerly called Advanced Teacher Training Collges.

2,912,619 in 1960 to 4,662,400—though the increase was not uniform (see Table 3).

Over the same years the general secondary school enrollment increased from 135,364 to 432,256, the number of students in secondary, technical and vocational education increased from 5,037 to 21,515 and primary teacher training enrollment* increased from 27,908 to 42,771, the number of Sixth Form students (preparatory university year, equivalent to the freshman year of a four year bachelor's undergraduate program) from 899 to 8,539. At the university level over these years, enrollment increased from 2,545 to 23,173. Under the second national plan university enrollment projected for the 1974-75 academic year was 31,117. The effects of the Civil War upon education—particularly the closure of schools in the three eastern states—may be seen from the figures of Table 3. The postwar period of reconstruction and rehabilitation has restored pre-war enrollment patterns and even begun to expand the system once more.

TABLE 3 NIGERIA: POST-INDEPENDENCE ENROLLMENT PATTERNS

Year	Primary	Secondary Grammar	Secondary Tech/Voc.	Secondary Tchr.Trg.	Secondary General	Sixth Form	University
1960	2,912,619	52,437	5,037	27,909	135,364	899	2,545
1961	2,803,836	n.a.	6,023	29,524	168,238	n.a.	3,128
1962	2,834,010	n.a.	7,241	31,170	195,499	n.a.	3,637
1963	2,896,382	n.a.	7,355	32,339	211,879	n.a.	5,148
1964	2,849,488	85,820	9,911	31,054	205,002	3,823	6,719
1965	2,911,742	128,160	12,646	30,926	209,015	4,815	7,697
1966	3,025,981	148,918	15,059	30,493	211,305	6,095	9,171
1967	1,778,976	102,714	7,454	20,495	128,839	4,826	6,604
1968	1,791,309	131,924	8,558	22,883	186,876	4,609	8,617
1969	2,345,854	176,328	8,815	23,257	205,500[1]	5,555	9,906
1970	3,515,827	254,642	13,645	33,332	310,054	4,214	14,531
1971	3,894,539	n.a.	15,203	37,119	343,313	8,273	17,349
1972	4,391,197	313,100[1]	15,953	40,043	399,722	n.a.	20,252
1973	4,662,400	366,047	21,515	42,771	432,256	8,539	23,173

[1]estimated

Sources: Federal Ministry of Education, *Statistics of Education in Nigeria,* 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1971 and (mimeographed) 1973.

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*Post primary education

TABLE 4 CRUDE FLOW RATES: NUMBERS ENTERING FINAL YEARS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION PER 1,000 ENTRANTS

STATES	PRIMARY		SECONDARY
	After 5 years	After 6 years	After 4 years
Benue Plateau	802	766	836
Kwara	680	697	856
Kano	886	920	886
North-Central	793	763	892
North-Eastern	848	835	780
North-Western	915	918	725
Lagos	1,019	n.a.	497
Mid-Western	432	n.a.	694
Western	447	n.a.	750

Source: IBRD/IDA, *Nigeria: Options for Long-Term Development.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1974, p. 182.

TABLE 5 FIRST YEAR ENROLLMENT INDICES PER MILLION INHABITANTS: NIGERIA

(Around 1970) (mid-Western State: 100.0)
First-year enrollment per million population

	Primary	Secondary	University
East Central	155.1	n.a.	n.a.
South-Eastern	115.5	21.7	28.6
Rivers	106.0	56.2	18.8
Mid-Western	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Lagos	85.1	115.2	28.6
Western	62.2	96.0	83.0
Kwara	27.1	40.2	38.8
Benue Plateau	21.6	15.2	9.4
North-Central	16.4	10.5	5.4
North-Eastern	9.4	7.6	4.0
North-Western	8.6	7.6	3.6
Kano	6.9	6.5	4.0

Source: IBRD/IDA, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

Grade repetition and student dropout continue to be most serious flow problems in the elementary and secondary sectors, although some progress is being made in increasing early school participation rates and reducing wastage. One difficulty in trying to assess the efficiency of the system is that we do not have data describing true wastage, repetition and transition rates. We have made estimates of student flow which indicate that in 1973 in Rivers State, 79% of all first-year primary students entered the second year; 95% of the second year passed to the third; 95% of the third to the fourth; 88% of the fourth to the fifth; and 97% of the fifth to the sixth year. Yet, only 55% of those completing the sixth (final year of primary school) entered the first year of secondary school.

Table 4 gives crude flow rates by state, computed by the UNESCO Planning Mission. The numbers of pupils in the final primary grade are expressed per 1000 entrants to first-year primary five or six years earlier, and the number entering the final secondary grade per 1000 entrants to secondary school four years earlier. Lagos, the national capital, is an area of in-migration. The two states with UPE, Western and Mid-Western, show the lowest retention rates. This implies that their concentration upon universal primary *intake*, with its consequent over-taxing of the system and dilution of teacher quality, has resulted in extremely poor rates of student flow retention through the grades and student retention in school. The question cannot be avoided: is the goal of universal access to primary education for first-year entrants worth the sacrifice in quality and pupil retention?

In Nigeria there are striking disparities in access to education from one state to another. To a large extent this reflects the favoured position of urban over rural students. In Table 5 the magnitude of the task of primary school expansion to meet UPE criteria can be seen. Mid-Western, which has attempted UPE is taken as the base index and the first year enrollment of states is taken per million population.

Another good indicator of the distance certain states (particularly in the north) will have to go in order to implement UPE is the ratio of grade 1 enrollment to the estimated number of six year olds in the population. These are: North-Eastern 10%; North-Western 11%, North-Central 20%; Kano 9%; Kwara 34%; Benue Plateau 27%; Western 87%; Lagos 107%; Mid-Western 95%; East-Central 171%; South-Eastern 129%; Rivers 119%; and Nigeria as a whole 66%.

In East-Central, South-Eastern and Rivers states the closure of educational institutions for three years during the war has resulted in inflated enrollment. The enrollment ratios reflect the backlog, since they are computed on the basis of only one year's age cohort.[13]

The chronic shortage of secondary school teachers was addressed comprehensively by the OLC-ACE/Michigan State University study team, who made a number of recommendations comparable to those made by Nigerian educators and policy-makers in recent conferences. The development of the Colleges of Education and teacher education programs at the universities, envisaged by the second and third plans will likely meet most of the demand. According to Hanson, the recruitment of expatriate teachers for the post-primary level will probably have to continue to supplement the output from Nigerian teacher training colleges.[14]

However, we question whether the recommendations of the Somade Commission have received adequate attention. Given the poor demographic data and the resulting poor projections of the demand for places, it is conceivable that in most states as many as 20% more students than anticipated will show up each year asking for entry to Standard I. Once

the insufficient expansion of the primary school teacher training institutions becomes apparent the UPE policy will precipitate a crisis which will make the crisis of 1956 in the Eastern Region appear to have been a minor problem.

The Third National Development Plan *does* address the issue of the numbers of teachers required for the implementation of UPE but a flow of graduates cannot be produced overnight. The following statements, taken from the plan, raise more questions than they answer:

> 50. Teacher Training...is a necessary part of the UPE scheme and in fact, its cornerstone, for on it depends the success of the whole UPE effort. It is estimated that a total of 281,190 additional teachers will be required by 1982. The corresponding figure for 1976, the beginning year of the UPE scheme, is about 60,000 teachers. These figures are based on an assumed teacher/pupil ratio of about 1:35. In addition, about 8,155 additional teacher educators will be required during the Plan period based on an assumed teacher/trainee ratio of 1:20.
>
> 51. The capital expenditure required to adequately equip teacher training institutions in terms of providing the physical facilities necessary to permit the enrollment of the large number of trainees envisaged is considerable. A bulk allocation of ₦200 million has been earmarked for this vital programme.
>
> 52. However, Government has realised that to successfully inaugurate the UPE programme in 1976, some action was immediately desirable. Consequently, an emergency training of teachers commenced with the 1974 school year, designed to produce a total of about 97,000 additional teachers by 1976. In operational terms, a total of 43,000 additional trainees were expected to be admitted to the 156 existing teacher training institutions in the country with an overall capacity of 53,000 student trainees. The institutions as a major cost-saving device will operate on a double-session basis. This device notwithstanding, the emergency teacher training scheme calls for major expansion programmes to the physical facilities in these institutions, notably in dormitory space, reading halls, science laboratories, libraries, dining hall/kitchens, etc. A 10% contingency allowance was made for new classrooms, but in addition a total of sixty-two new schools enrolling 1,000 trainees each are also considered immediately desirable. It has been estimated that a total capital expenditure of ₦51.04 million will be required for the expansion of the existing 156 institutions for 1974-75 alone, and that another sum of ₦170.50 million will be required for the construction of the 62 new teacher training colleges to be built.[15]

In order to put these statements into perspective let us look at what has been occurring in the expansion of teacher education. Table 6 shows, by qualification and state, the number of teachers in Nigeria in 1970 who were serving a primary school enrollment of 3,515,827. There were altogether 103,652, an overall ratio of 1:34. But 33,985 teachers possessed less than the minimum Grade III qualifications. This means that they have had *no* professional training and their personal general education consists of primary grade six, secondary modern (three years), secondary grammar (four years), or West African School Certificate and vernacular Arabic (in the north).

TABLE 6 NIGERIA: PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS BY STATE AND QUALIFICATION, 1970

State	NCE	Grade I & above or equivalent	Grade II	Grade III	Others	Total	Primary enrollment	Pupil teacher ratio
North-Western	–	17	199	415	858	2,489	77,522	1:31
North-Central	–	50	1,788	1,117	807	3,762	116,383	1:30.9
Kano	–	5	692	169	1,057	1,923	62,520	1:32.5
Benue Plateau	–	27	2,295	864	1,357	4,543	157,127	1:34.6
North-Eastern	–	30	2,011	668	1,323	4,032	131,397	1:32.6
Kwara	–	58	2,615	673	535	3,881	124,688	1:32.1
Western	–	142	10,377	6,243	7,293	24,055	802,534	1:33.4
Mid-Western	–	99	7,102	1,211	3,704	12,116	391,101	1:32.3
Lagos	30	121	3,792	1,607	1,717	7,267	237,560	1:32.7
East-Central	33	452	11,727	5,245	7,928	25,385	912,819	1:36
South-Eastern	1	101	3,440	1,875	4,606	10,023	351,176	1:35
Rivers	–	29	753	594	2,800	4,176	151,000	1:36.2
All Nigeria	64	1,131	47,791	20,681	33,985	103,652	3,515,827	1:33.9

Source: Calculated from *Statistics of Education in Nigeria*, 1970, pp. 41 and 53.

If there were about 4.7 million pupils enrolled in primary schools in 1973, and starting with September 1976 all six-year-olds must be admitted to Standard I, with the estimated intake being more than 2.5 million per year, then it is feasible to assume that by 1981 there could be some 18 million primary school pupils enrolled in Nigeria's schools. Peter Harrigan's estimated requirements exceed those announced above:

> Based on this figure the number of additional teachers required for the first year of the scheme runs to around 40,000. Overall requirements for the complete six-year programme runs to 450,000 teachers to be added to the present teacher force of 150,000. Hence, by 1981 the annual salary bill involved computed at Udoji levels will amount to a staggering ₦600 million per annum.[16]

Any discussion about the state of the Nigerian educational system would be incomplete without some financial facts. Questions of capital and recurrent expenditure becomes particularly important when the implications of the policy of UPE are considered. Since 1963, Nigeria has allocated about 3% of its GDP to educational services. Between 1964-65 and 1970-71 the allocation of regional/state recurrent expenditure to education rose from 33.9 to 35.7% and the Federal educational expenditures rose from 4 to 7% of all governmental expenditure. These figures are high for an African state, but one must keep in mind that Nigeria is the most populous state in Africa. What is important to note is that the *distribution* of this expenditure among the states is uneven. The World Bank

study, commenting on the Second Plan noted that:

> The Western State alone accounts for one-third of primary allocations and the four largest northern states together account for little more than the Western State's Plan taken by itself. It is not evident from the Plan's overall financial allocations that the balance of educational opportunity within the country will be improved. The southern states are spending most of their primary allocations on repair of existing buildings and on keeping up with population growth, while the northern states are expanding their primary systems. Secondary education is being expanded rapidly throughout the country and it is not clear whether existing disparities are being reduced.[17]

With Federal recurrent expenditures at 22% and State recurrent expenditures at 35%, the question must be asked: How much higher must these levels rise in order to implement the UPE policy? It is true that the output of the petroleum industry increased from zero in 1957 to 100 million tons in 1973-74 and recently has brought in about ₦1.5 billion annually in revenue. The effects upon the GNP of the doubling of posted petroleum prices should be to increase Federal revenues significantly during the third plan. However, Tables 7 and 8 show that during the second plan it was the states which bore the brunt of capital and recurrent expenditure on primary education in Nigeria.

TABLE 7 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN NIGERIA, 1970 to 1974

	Federal	States
Primary	19.2%	80.8%
Secondary	24.6	75.4
Technical	21.5	78.5
Teacher Training	15.2	84.8
University	62.2	37.8
Other	54.7	45.3

Source: Calculation from *Second National Development Plan*, p. 246.

TABLE 8 NIGERIA: PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF RECURRENT EDUCATION BUDGETS, 1970-71

	Federal	States	All Nigeria
Primary	–	49.9	42.0
Secondary	5.0	18.5	16.3
Technical/Vocational	3.4	1.7	1.9
Teacher Training	1.1	7.7	6.7
Higher Education	81.9	8.9	20.5
Adult Education	–	0.2	0.2
Administration & Inspection	2.1	7.3	6.5
Other (including Scholarships)	6.5	5.8	5.9

Table 8 disaggregates recurrent expenditure sufficiently for us to note that nearly 50% of that of the states was,in 1970-71, devoted to primary education. These figures indicate that the Supreme Military Council should have greatly revised the educational grants structure when they decided upon the "shotgun" implementation of UPE. Otherwise the states will be forced to divert expenditure from other sectors to the primary sector. Analysis of the third plan indicates that some revision is intended but only in terms of capital development financing, not in recurrent expenditure. In the plan the ratio of Federal to State recurrent expenditures will remain at 4:1 until 1980. This seems inadequate to take care of the anticipated UPE-related rise in recurrent expenditures.

Lessons for Educational Planners

Planning in Post Independence Nigeria provides some interesting lessons not only for those whose work lies in developing nations (particularly African ones) but also those who work in federal systems. The first plans showed continuing weakness. These include: (1) underestimation of project costs; (2) serious shortages of executive and technical manpower; (3) archaic accounting, taxation and budgetary procedures; (4) shortages of architects, engineers and quantity surveyors, and in some locations insufficient building contractor capacity; and (5) over-optimistic reliance on external sources for development capital. By 1976 the latter has been overcome and some of the others reduced.

What is occurring in Nigeria is a process of the functional adaptation of transferred institutions which should lead eventually to the evolution of uniquely Nigerian institutions. The goal is not simply expansion of the system. Nigeria has experienced an endless series of federal/state structures—each type having its own set of planner-policymaker interactions. Within each state the type of planning and the organization have reflected the nature of that state and many constraints to successful planning (particularly to successful plan implementation) change as the state structure changes.

In the present governmental structure there is at least a near chain of authority. Whether it is a suitable one for the decision-making process in educational planning remains to be seen. At least the federal-regional jurisdictional conflicts have been averted. Prosperity at the national level has given the federal government the wherewithall to influence developments and the style of the Military Government shows little patience with delays. The ascendancy of the federal government in promoting national educational policy appears to have taken the initiative away from local policy-makers. This may be seen in the nationalisation of the universities, the determination of educational policies for the whole nation by means of a series of national conferences and commissions, the adoption immediately of the policy of free, universal primary education and revenue allocation formulae which will favour federal government initiatives rather than those of any particular region or state.

However, the new federal-state structure creates new conflicts as it resolves old ones. For example, the creation of twelve states out of the four regions required the creation of twelve educational establishments. Nigeria now has twenty Ministries of Education instead of five. Each state has established its own educational system with institutions from primary through post-secondary levels. This institutionalisation has created employment for administrators and teachers, but it has somewhat overextended the manpower capabilities of certain states. It is not a light task to quickly create a large number of senior and intermediate level administrators and executives. This could be overcome by promoting the free mobility of labour within Nigeria. Theoretically, such

mobility already exists. But, with the exception of Cross-River State (formerly South-Eastern State), most of the states refuse to engage outsiders. In its promotion of Nigerian unity the federal government looks with disfavour upon the refusal of certain states to hire teachers and administrators from labour-surplus areas. However, *de facto*, with the exception of Cross-River State (which has published its "open-door policy") seventeen states refuse to hire Ibo, and even to some extent Yoruba, teachers. This creates the anomaly that Imo and Anambara states (formerly East-Central) suffer from severe unemployment of their trained manpower, while other states import trained manpower from abroad.

The Federal Government is assisting the states to create an administrative infrastructure conducive to successful implementation of plans. A planning unit has been set up in each state ministry and the Federal Ministry of Education has assisted with the training of educational planners, administrators and ancillary personnel. As a result there now exists a set of local-central relations which did not formerly exist. The inclusion of state planners and policymakers in federal-state conferences and working parties has brought about a great deal of cooperation between various Ministries of Education.

The establishment of a Federal Ministry of Education "presence" in each state ministry, by means of the Federal Inspectorate of Education, and the creation of the new Federal Government Colleges (secondary schools) have established new links between the federal and state governments. It is this Federal inititive which should encourage concepts of Nigerian unity.

It must be admitted that Nigeria provides an example of how national goals for education and national educational development can be vigorously pushed by a military regime. One other related development which merits mention was the creation of the National Youth Service Corps in June, 1973. Although the Corps was proposed in the Second Plan, its implementation had been deferred for several years. Nigerian university graduates (with the exception of medical graduates) now are posted to one-year assignments as volunteers in all States. The 1973 distribution of volunteers indicated "...that many students who come from states that are educationally advantaged will be serving in relatively underprivileged states, thereby in some measure reducing the sharp differences in Nigerianization of staffing that still prevail".[18] The Corps or something similar may well be the device which will enable UPE to be successfully implemented. Without some such scheme the resources demanded for UPE will distort the entire third plan implementation. If that occurs the benefit of the more vigorous push for national policy may be lost. Unless regional disparities can be reduced the fragmentation of the nation will recur.

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REVIEWS

Emmerij, Louis. *Can the School Build a New Social Order?* New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, 1974. Price: $10.50.

The 1960s were a fascinating period in social and administrative history. They were a time when it seemed that social altruism could be reinforced by the calculations and concepts of social scientists who could show how unilateral transfers between society and its young would make for a more productive and happy world. It became a period of unprecedented expansion in both secondary and higher education. It was also a time when the economists joined with sociologists to create educational planning as a discipline which first challenged the traditional and then reinforced the new processes of educational decision-making.

The author of this book had a ringside seat in all this, first as a member of the OECD and then of the ILO educational and manpower planning staff. And he has produced a useful account of the main trends of the time and of the way in which planning developed to work with them. This is a book, the author tells us, that "has no methodological or technical pretenses and has, therefore, not sought to impress the readers with scores of learned footnotes in order to display the encyclopedic knowledge that went into its elaboration". Quite quickly, however, the reader gets tired of that kind of pseudo self mockery which gives warning of a thinness of perception which makes one wish that a good historian of intellectual development could have got into the field.

Be that as it may, first, the author describes clearly and well the quantitative and qualitative expectations, held in the 1950s and 1960s. He evaluates the social demand and manpower requirements argument for education and skillfully describes how it was assumed by many that high educational expenditure would be associated with less inequality in the distribution of income. He chases through the main findings to show how the quantitative expansion disappointingly failed to distribute educational opportunities and how, when once achieved, access to education could not offset the pull of the social context. He describes well the way in which the new alchemists, the economists, struggled over cost-benefit and rate-of-return studies and how the sociologists tracked the ways in which social groups participate in education. He describes vividly the scale of the expansion (although we personally doubt, for example, whether Turkey is "well under way" to achieving universal compulsory schooling for all).

But beyond these major descriptive points, there is a thinness of approach. Mr. Emmerij is patient of the attempt of the economists to provide both descriptive and predictive models to the point where his language becomes quite exhuberant: "so one group of economists stumbled through a bottle-neck but all three groups . . . cut their way uneasily through conceptual smoke screens and tumbled . . . into technical . . . ditches . . . while another group walked majestically along a voie royale . . . laid out by a vanguard". This kind of language must come from taking copious notes of speeches made by delegates in Paris or Geneva.

Beyond this kind of meta-waffle there lurks a planner who has remained detached from schools. He defers to the need for schools to become more open to the feelings and individual needs of pupils, but he is then insensitive to teachers when describing their rejection of educational technology. Teachers are "paranoid" in their attitude towards the economists and technologists of education. Might not the teacher feel that he knows so little about how he can best work with children that analysis which sets up yet a larger and more abstract framework, without getting into the processes and the interpersonal relationships, is bound to be superficial?

Moreover we challenge Emmerij's assumption that the last expansion brought very different things, even though we might not like all that it brought. Martin Trow has well described the impact on higher education expectations, structure and ethos of mass and universal education.[1] The development of comprehensive education, of more open schooling at other levels, were not, perhaps, causally related but were certainly coincidental with major changes affecting relationships between adults and children, the attitude of clientele toward educational institutions, the move away from monodisciplinary toward integrated studies throughout the system and the relationships between the teacher as an authority figure and the whole society. So when the author deplores the lack of qualitative change he is off his point, a real and valuable one. The point is that educational planning has to pick up findings, or generate concepts, in a whole range of disciplines. This includes the analysis of values, of the institutional characteristics of schools and their governing systems, of the relationship

between schools and institutions such as the family, and the delivery and impact of educational services on clients. Economists cannot monopolize these issues.

We share some of the author's prejudices about the relationship between educational planning and policy making but feel he has not worked through his ideas in terms of institutional reality. Planning has several meanings. But if by planning we mean the evaluation of present and future educational systems with a view to specifying a range of values to be endorsed, it is simply not feasible to assume that all policy makers should be planners. The line executive cannot be decisive in the short term and at the same time brood about the future. Moreover, the author has not got quite right the British committee and commission structure: "educational planning . . . was equated with the preparation of reports by ad hoc advisory committees". This overstates the committee roles as the reader of *Politics of Education*[2] (in which Anthony Crosland comments disparagingly on the Plowden and other committees) will see.

Finally, the book contains an important analytic point which should be mentioned. The author shares with Arnold Anderson, Leila Sussman, Tom Green, and Raymond Boudon, a concern with the way in which increased educational expenditure has not equalized educational or social equality and mobility. The arguments given here are concerned with an important artifact of the system rather than with such questions as whether the school itself is an effective institution. Boudon has come to a celebrated if doleful conclusion that no modification of educational variables is likely to have more than a moderate effect on the inequality of educational opportunity or social opportunity. Emmerij asks why. Particularly he asks what happens when a country is near achievement of universal education. His answer is that a "zero correlation" sets in when all complete a high level of schooling, so that the correlation between completing that level and any subsequent social differentiation will be reduced to zero. Democratization only sets in when the saturation point has been reached for the high social classes, and by the time "the group of last entry" completes the final level, that principle will emerge. We can see no way out of this impasse. There is the consolation that a system which at least sets all standards moving on an upward spiral is worth having, even if it seem powerless to affect interclass relativities without changing the total social structure.

These concepts and terminology are useful. But it should be noted that identical concepts and phrases appear as early as 1971 and 1972 in the work of Thomas F. Green and Emily Haynes of Syracuse University.[3] Green's work was based on data issued by the OECD in 1970 and by James Byrnes on time-series data reconstructed on the growth of education in the U.S. over nearly 100 years. Others, too, have contributed data to arguments which showing that educational opportunity does not benefit the lower classes until the upper classes have reached a certain threshold.

All in all, this is a useful book if limited in scope and in its ability to get inside the institutions of which its title speaks.

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3. Thomas F. Green's work in this area of study is published in several sources, including, for example: "Breaking the System," *Notes on the Future of Education* (Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse), Summer 1971. And "Challenge to Meritocracy", *Liberal Arts: Death or Transfiguration.* Papers from the 58th Annual Meeting, Association of American Colleges, Washington, 1972.

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John Holland and Michael Skolnik. *Public Policy and Manpower Development.* Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975.

This small, unobtrusive volume makes a number of contributions to the manpower literature. While much of the discussion focuses on Canada and even more narrowly on Ontario, Holland and Skolnik are interested in questions of concern to educational and manpower planners and policy makers everywhere. In direct, at times almost terse, prose the authors cover a range of conceptual problems and analyze a number of policy issues. The significance of their effort is best seen through a review of portions of the contents.

The book is divided into three parts: I Manpower Development: Its Meaning and Purpose; II Government Participation in Manpower Development; and III Formulating Manpower Policy for Ontario. Each part contributes new information or a fresh perspective to the manpower literature. Part I sharpens some of the basic terminology which has frequently been employed in a haphazard way in the literature. Important conceptual distinctions are drawn between manpower and labour, between manpower policies and manpower programs ("We tend to have 'programs' or projects for the underqualified and 'policies' for the highly qualified"), between human resources and human capital, and between manpower policy and educational policy.

The latter distinction may be of particular interest to ISEP members. Manpower policy is seen by Holland and Skolnik as "the implicit or explicit commitment to a pattern of behavior intended to increase the rate of returns accruing to society from the resource that is the population in its present state". Educational policy, on the other hand, may or may not reflect a belief that "it is good business to invest in education", and need not concern itself directly with such manpower objectives as the skill mix of the labour force, the geogrpahic distribution of the demands for labour, and so forth. The authors further note, "the tendency to give a relatively small role to manpower objectives appears to be rooted deep in Canadian educational policy".

In a brief but insightful historical review, Holland and Skolnik describe how education and manpower development became important components of public economic policy in the West. Distinguished scholars and public leaders of the early 19th century voiced strong opinions on the utility or disutility of formal schooling and human resources in societal change. Interestingly enough, unlike the close association of manpower and education assumed by contemporary researchers and policy makers, earlier views kept these areas distinct. They note, for example, that Henry George, "a founder of modern socialism" and a staunch supporter of the importance of manpower, offered scathing criticism of schooling.

Formal education began to receive more advocates among economists by the late 19th century. The argument was pressed that education's influence on restricting population growth made schooling a worthwhile investment. Secondly, there began to emerge an argument that the state had a moral obligation to "interfere in the affairs of its citizens via public education". Thus the economic and political rationale was laid for creating manpower and educational policies in the service of economic goals. Although Canadian Confederation occurred after this rationale became recognized, not until the second half of the 20th century did Canadian policy makers feel a need for explicit policies relating manpower and education.

Part II details the evolution of the various public policies influencing quantity, quality and distribution of manpower, offers comparative observations on manpower policy in Ontario and other Canadian provinces and Western countries, and concludes with an analysis of the problem of "accommodating manpower activities in the public accounts". Comments here are limited to the latter two topics. A major conclusion of the exercise in comparison is that the manpower policy of Ontario resembles that of the United Kingdom more than that of the United States. The concentration of policies in Ontario has not been on the hard core disadvantaged but rather on the temporarily unemployed and on improving the skills of the already employed. The authors point out the non-advertized fact that, "Manpower policy in the United States is clearly being used as a substitute for fiscal monetary policy adequate to the full employment objectives of that society".

A useful, but incomplete, attempt is made by the authors to develop a program framework for manpower policies. Assuming that "the construction of logically consistent programs is prerequisite to an efficient budgetary approach to the selection of manpower options", the authors proceed to build a taxonomy of manpower programs in Ontario and a series of manpower and activity models. The former classifies programs under the following headings: availability of labour, quality and skill-mix of the labour force, regional distribution of labour, composition of the demand for labour, matching workers with jobs, administration, research and dissemination of information. The contributions of education to the various sets of programs are noted. The activity models illustrate how services for a particular client group may be viewed as constituting a manpower program. Finally, since it is sometimes necessary to choose between different agencies offering similar programs, the "institutional implementation mechanisms" may serve as program criteria.

The main contributions of Part III lie in an analysis of the political and economic contexts of manpower policy in Ontario and in a listing of clear policy suggestions. Several of the conclusions reached probably have validity only in Ontario. However, three observations in particular will be of interest (and possibly of utility) to a wider audience. First, unlike many U.S. writers on the subject, Holland and Skolnik make clear that ideological issues may underly manpower policy. While conservatives and progressives alike may find reasons to support certain manpower programs, there may also be ideological barriers. For example, Canadian (and U.S.) governments are much more friendly to manpower policies which affect the supply side (training, mobility assistance, etc.) than those designed to influence the demand side (subsidized employment). The assumption is made by policy makers on both sides of the border that demand-side policies may interfere unduly in the market process.

Holland and Skolnik emphatically reject the notion popular in the U.S. that manpower policies are the answer to obtaining full employment. There is a need for sound manpower policies, regardless of the rate of unemployment, but manpower policy and fiscal and monetary policies are not substitutes. Manpower programs may make certain groups of workers more employable, more mobile and more knowledgeable regarding opportunities, but they are not a long range solution to a goal of full employment.

A third major conclusion examines the relationship between manpower policy and education policy. The 1960s were a decade of rapidly growing attention in both the industrialized and in the less developed nations to the adjustment of educational policies in light of manpower requirements. An extensive literature emerged conceptualizing the linkages between productivity, occupational structure and education. A crude technology evolved which was designed to forecast necessary manpower needs by industry and occupation and to plan educational enrollments accordingly. Holland and Skolnik, however, argue that educational policy and manpower policy, at least in Ontario, should have but an indirect relationship. The educational system must contribute to a variety of individual and societal goals and is seen as best serving manpower objectives by "providing a broad basic education which can serve as the foundation for adaptation to particular job requirements as they arise, rather than by efforts to meet a wide range of specific specialized skills coinciding with the requirements of industry".

Given the history of manpower policies which frequently have had little effect except to lock the poorer workers into low paying occupations, given that manpower policy has served as an indefensibly poor substitute for alternative fiscal policy, and given the technical inefficiency of the process of matching needs and programs, one can perhaps sympathize with Boulding who observed, "I find the whole manpower concept repulsive, disgusting, dangerous, fascistic, communistic, incompatible with the ideals of a liberal democracy, and unsuitable company for the minds of the young". Nevertheless, after more thought one is forced to conclude with Holland and Skolnik that manpower policies, for all their lacks, should be a significant part of public policy; "...at best, manpower programs make redundant people employable. At worst ...manpower programs provide a disguised form of transfer payments". While the expectations of the 1960s with respect to the benefits of manpower programs may now be tarnished, manpower policies, used for limited and appropriate purposes, are useful public tools.

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REVIEWS

Manuel Zymelman. *Financing and Efficiency in Education: Reference for Administration and Policy-making.* Boston: Nimrod Press, 1973.

Over the past several decades quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of education throughout the world have led to a seemingly never-ending and upward spiralling need for resources, placing severe strains on the abilities of governments – whether at the national, state-regional, or local levels – to provide adequate funding. As a result alternative methods for the collection and distribution of funds to education have been examined in numerous studies. On one hand, efficiency considerations with respect to resource allocation often are dominant, while, on the other hand, and not necessarily consistent with efficiency, is the quest for equity of resource distribution. These two emphases have been the poles around which much of the literature of educational finance has been built.

However thus far the literature has tended to stress application to problems which are unique for a given country; for example, much has been written about educational finance in the United States, emphasizing those problems inherent to its form of local educational governance. Manuel Zymelman's book is valuable in that the relevant concepts and ideas of educational finance have been abstracted from the context of any particular country. The author purports to "provide decision-makers with all the known methods of financing education, as well as their advantages and disadvantages.... [The book] also makes an understanding of the basic issues of increasing efficiency in education possible. The scope and organization of the book offers a survey of problems and old and new solutions in education, so that educationists in developing countries can see their particular problems in larger perspective".

In view of its broadly based agenda, it is worthwhile briefly reviewing the book's contents. In part I the author focuses on the sources and methods of financing education. After a brief foray into the history and philosophy of educational finance, a cursory discussion of commonly used taxes is presented. Then various distributional formulae, based on criteria of equity and minimum educational standards, are described. This is followed by a presentation of alternative methods of financing elementary and secondary schools. Additional chapters are devoted to problems and issues in the finance of higher education, occupational training, recurrent education, and educational broadcasting. Financial arrangements such as the cooperative, the voucher system, and external aid to education are analyzed in turn. Finally, Zymelman briefly discusses methodologies of forecasting resources for education, and presents an index for measuring educational funding.

In Part II, emphasis is placed on problems of evaluating and increasing the efficiency of educational systems. The reasons and sources of inefficiency are enumerated and cost-benefit/effectiveness analyses are presented as tools to raise efficiency. Educational outputs are discussed in general terms and subsequently alternative economic valuations of output such as rates of return, the residual approach, the manpower approach, correlational and regression analyses, and production function analyses are critiqued. There are chapters devoted to planning and program budgeting, the collection and analysis of data, and alternative administrative arrangements as means to improve efficiency. Finally, specific ways of enhancing efficiency are described – educational contracting and alternative fund distribution strategies, and an index for measuring educational expenditures.

While Zymelman's approach is basically cross-national, he emphasizes throughout the virtues and pitfalls of the application of specific methodologies to developing countries. The author must be commended for his ambitious attempt to bring between two covers a summary of much of man's current knowledge in the area of educational finance. Obviously, a book of a little over 300 pages must necessarily treat the *potpourri* of topics outlined above in a less than comprehensive fashion. This book has the potential of being a good reference source except for the fact that it contains not one footnote attributing ideas and concepts to appropriate authors nor a bibliography to which the interested reader may refer. This constitutes a serious omission – one which vitiates the book as a useful tool for practitioners. Moreover, in view of the fact that many of the topics covered in part II have over the years been exhaustively detailed and summarized elsewhere (such as cost benefit analysis, manpower planning, etc.) the book could have been strengthened by omitting these topics, and

devoting more space to the less extensively treated topics in part I. Nevertheless, the book should prove worthwhile for individuals desiring broad-stroke coverage of the field of educational finance, and having either the resources or fortitude to search the literature for areas of specific interest.

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The Society was founded on December 10, 1970, in Washington, D.C. Over fifty local, state, national and international planners attended the first organizational meeting.

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