

RECENT SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH APPRAISALS OF LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATION

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IN THIS DECADE, SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF FORMAL education in Latin America show signs of vigorous growth and promise of substantial future developments. The *leitmotiv* running through most of the social scientific research on education is education and social change or, more specifically, education and economic development and social progress. There is still no strong evidence of a concerted, cumulative development in this area despite heightened research activity and the fact that scholars are more regularly communicating and integrating their efforts. To the contrary, it is more common of researchers to appear oblivious of the prior or related work of other scholars in other centers of research. However, the common cause of a relatively narrow range of concern has produced a concentration of effort and many-faceted attack by scholars from many disciplines on these problems that promise potent developments in theory, understanding and discovery.

I. RATIONALIZING THE APPROACH AND THE FIELD

Since empirical sociological and anthropological study of education is still relatively new, a number of articles concern themselves with defining the relevance of research with this approach to education, particularly education and development (Barreto, 1963; Bueno, 1961; Davis, 1963; Kimball, 1960; and Forrachi, 1964). These discussions, in part, delineate the relation between education and society as justification for the sociological and anthropological study of education. Forrachi explicates seven basic themes in the sociology of education that suggest the areas of present and future empirical development in Latin America of this subdisciplinary area: a) education as an object of sociological study; b) education as a social process; c) the more narrow focus of sociological study of the school; d) education and social structure, both the traditional structure of Latin American society and the social classes of recent years; and finally e) education and economic development.

The reviews generally emphasize, as is the custom in Latin America, the historical background (including earlier, as well as more recent demographic factors) to present-day characteristics of structure, custom, and education in each of the Latin American countries which form conditions producing present-day problems of economic development and sociocultural change (Albornoz,

1962; Bernal, *et al.*, 1965; Diaz Sanchez, 1961; Havighurst and Moreira, 1965; Kimball; Lopez, 1964; Salas, 1962).

II. SOCIALIZATION AND ENCULTURATION

Recent research, except for the study of political socialization in the universities, shows a lack of interest in the processes of developing lifeways in new generations. Enculturation and socialization were the subject of only a few articles (Chilcott, 1962; Elder, 1965; Goldrich, n.d.; Havighurst and Moreira; Hess, 1963; Rosen, 1962; and Vasconi, 1966) and dissertations (Deboyas, 1961; Green, 1963; Langton, 1965; Tancok, 1961; Upchurch, 1965). But a more vigorous interest in this area may emerge from the continuing emphasis upon political socialization studies as investigators pursue the phenomena to younger and younger age grades (Goldrich and Langton).

In a cross-national study (Mexico, Great Britain, Italy, West Germany and U.S.A.) of the relationship between family structure and achievement, Elder found that while size of birthplace, religion and social class are associated with reaching secondary school, parental dominance is significantly and negatively correlated with educational achievement even when the other factors were controlled, except where there was lack of educational opportunity throughout the population studied. In an earlier related study, Bernard Rosen, using T.A.T.'s, observations, interviews and questionnaires, found a group of U.S. youngsters valued self-confidence, autonomy and success in acquiring status more than did a group of Brazilian youth. Rosen attributes this lesser significance of independence and status acquisition to the Brazilian family structure which he characterizes as super-protective authoritarian and condescending toward the young.

On the issue of socialization in Brazil, Havighurst and Moreira conclude that of "the four basic social institutions," the state and economy are forcing upon the educational system the responsibility for rearing the younger generation in ways that make Brazil "economically stronger and politically wiser and socially more democratic," while the Brazilian family stands aside cheering the schools on and the church vigorously expands its schooling activity in order to get into the mainstream of state development (p. 257).

Complementing the vigorous growth in research on political socialization in higher educational institutions (see Arnove's article on research on higher education, pp. 45-62 this issue) and Hess and Goldrich each carried out studies of the development of political orientation of groups in a younger range of age-grades. In Chile, Puerto Rico, the United States, Japan and Australia, Hess explored children's attitudes toward and value basis for judging the main political leader (president, prime minister, etc.) of the national state. He found patterned changes with increasing age, but the patterns differed cross-

nationally. Puerto Rican youngsters, more like U. S. than Chilean children, showed attitudes oriented toward the office and the role of leader rather than toward the person occupying the position. Chilean and Puerto Rican children, in contrast with the U. S. sample, emphasized competence more than honesty and goodness in the leader. Social class appeared to have different effects on political socialization in different countries. There were fewer differences among socioeconomic levels in the U. S. than in Chile where political socialization is presumably greater. Hess concludes that the influence of school as a socializing agent may vary from one status level to another and that the proportions of influence that the home and school have as socializing agencies vary from country to country.

Goldrich's comparative study of Panamanian and Puerto Rican high school and elementary school boys (fourth, eighth and twelfth grades) indicates that salient political activism is not necessarily associated with widespread, genuinely deep interest in politics among preparatory youth of pre-college age. Interestingly, Puerto Rican youngsters showed stronger influence from their peers in political discussion and opinion than Panamanians who demonstrated more parental influence. Both Puerto Rican and Panamanian youth showed greater tendency to differ from parents on political affiliation and allegiance than North American youngsters who tend to inherit party affiliations from their parents.

This type of research suggests that Latin American youngsters have a different motivational syndrome than their North American peers—a difference that surely should be taken into account when anticipating the actual outcome of increased educational opportunity and when attempting to "diffuse" North American educational practice to South America. These studies often imply the assumption that schools are the instruments for modifying socialization to complement national social and economic goals. Studies of political socialization suggest that in many cases the educational institutions themselves must make many changes if they are to perform that function.

III. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION: EDUCATION AND STRATIFICATION, ACADEMIC SUCCESS AND OCCUPATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A major interest of the social scientists in education is the study of social differentiation, particularly of social stratification or social class (Lindgren, 1963). Havighurst (1965) shows that to an increasing degree with each school level—primary, secondary, and university—in five Brazilian states, the upper and middle classes are over-represented in the school population and the lower classes (i.e., children of service personnel, unskilled urban and agricultural laborers) are grossly under-represented. Schooling, Havighurst insists, is a means toward social mobility; but the conditions of demand in the labor

market may require, of the youth today, fewer years of education to be more occupationally mobile than their parents. Indeed, secondary education, *ensino medio*, in Brazil is not the only means of training for jobs. Self-teaching, or "autodidacticism" as Leeds (1964a) has labeled it, and apprenticeship after completion of primary school level, or after dropping out of secondary school, also may provide such training. Many young people simultaneously work and attend secondary school, thus adding a third means by which the ever increasing demand of the Brazilian economy for people with some secondary education is met.

Iutaka (1962) demonstrates that there is increased educational opportunity for the filial as compared with the parental generation, not only in São Paulo, but also in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Despite population growth in these cities, there is a decreasing illiteracy rate. On the other hand, the extent to which individuals of the filial generation may experience the benefits of increased educational opportunity largely depends upon the social class of the parental generation.

Havighurst and Moreira in *Society and Education in Brazil* provide the most elaborated discussion of other cases and perspectives on this issue of the relation of education to social mobility (Lindgren). They give thorough historical treatment to the various factors that now affect the relationships among educational, economic and social structures. They show that most upward mobility in the 19th century required only primary education and mobility into the middle class could be fully acquired through secondary education. The continued expansion in the rate of social mobility in the future will require expansion of educational facilities at secondary and higher educational level.

While focus on the problem of educational opportunities seems to be typical of an early phase of national economic expansion, in which there is rising interest in altering the social structure in order to feed economic expansion through changes in education, the focus shifts in a later phase to increasing concern with the problem of dropping out of school (Vasconi, *et al.*, 1966; Consejo Superior, 1964; Hamuy, 1961; Havighurst and Abreu, 1962; Velasquez de Rojas, 1963 and 1964). Hamuy, after demonstrating from data on fifteen-year-old and student-age cohorts the wide diffusion of education throughout the entire social structure in Chile, argues that the paramount problem of Chilean education is no longer lack of any schooling, but dropping out from school. Even a dropout rate of 20% from primary school and 12% from an intermediate level, he argues, does not spell catastrophe, for there are positive economic as well as negative reasons for leaving school. His data emphasized that students in both urban and higher socioeconomic categories begin school earlier and tend to continue school for a longer period than do students in the rural and lower socioeconomic groups.

A detailed study of student dropouts in Puerto Rico, when socioeconomic background was controlled, revealed that a series of factors were correlated with leaving school (Consejo de Superior). These factors derived from the results of the data which showed that more boys than girls dropped out in primary school but more girls than boys left school after the eighth grade. Dropping out had a negative correlation, particularly in rural areas, with the educational level of the mother, and a rather positive correlation with provenience from family households in which one parent was absent. The study could not emphasize the correlation of socioeconomic factors with school dropouts since one of its main purposes was to identify other causes of dropout when socioeconomic class is held constant.

Velasquez de Rojas related school desertion in Venezuela to socioeconomic level, to attitude of the family toward education, to the assistance of educational and financial kind available to the students, and to the integration of the school system with other institutions in the community. She argued that greater use of community resources and better coordination with other community institutions on the part of the school would reduce the dropout rate. In a survey similar to the Puerto Rican study of dropouts, although not following the same precision of design, Vasconi and Reca (1966) present statistical data from two locales of a province in Argentina. This project demonstrates that the occupational status of the head of the household positively correlates with opportunity and negatively with school desertion. Vasconi and Reca insist that having established this correlation, one must further examine other factors that make a difference in retention within each socioeconomic stratum. They tentatively explore the relationship between recurrent grade repetition and the teachers' evaluation of whether the repeaters should remain or drop out of school.

The above studies, then, are moving beyond the question of mere availability of schooling and taking up issues of the relevance of education to the population it services; its significance to them; their way of life; and their aspirations. New types of educational questions emerge from refocusing the question of career pattern and occupational choice.

Sussman (1965) shows the effect of type of community environment—rural through metropolitan—on college attendance and career choice in Puerto Rico. In the metropolitan areas, the availability of vocational-commercial curriculum, a ready white collar market, and the accessibility of post-secondary training, other than college, greatly reduces the proportion of students attending college from schools in metropolitan-urban areas as compared with rural and small town urban communities. This is particularly evident throughout the socioeconomic scale with respect to girls.

In nations where the issue is not college attendance but continuation in

secondary school, these same factors may produce a higher rate of continuation in metropolitan-urban areas as compared with the small town urban and rural areas. Gouveia's study shows the existence of just such a condition in São Paulo, Brazil. Her study of the preference for different types of secondary schools among ethnic groups in São Paulo was stimulated by the curiously high ratio of students in São Paulo who chose to attend secondary industrial schools, in contrast to other parts of Brazil. In São Paulo even middle and upper class students attended these schools. Gouveia reasons that the heavy concentration of industrial plants in the São Paulo metropolitan area and the emergence of new opportunities in the labor market encouraged individuals to reassess the benefits to be derived from different types of schooling. The result has been an acceptance of industrial courses among middle class Brazilians.

In developing countries, elite and upper-class groups show interesting modes of adjustment to the new conditions of economy and society. In studying the career choice of adolescents in Argentina, Prieto (1962) found a strong male preference for engineering at four times greater frequency than the choice for the traditionally preferred occupations of medicine and law. Even 6% of the girls, given a chance for an ideal as contrasted with a realistic choice, chose engineering. Sussman found that in Puerto Rico elite groups attend private secondary schools, thus draining off the most academically apt students from the secondary public schools in the metropolitan area. This produced a lower rate of college attendance from metropolitan public high schools than was true of the rural areas where private high schools were less readily available to the upper class and upper middle class persons dwelling there.

Change in the economic environment produces realignments and alterations in the usual educational indices. When these indices are examined with respect to the social structure, however, the changes often are so patterned that the same relative standing of the groups in the structure persists, although the absolute condition within any level may improve considerably.

Several studies have suggested that choice and career structure for women are differently affected by the same local conditions (Cohen, n.d.; Gouveia, 1965b; Prieto, 1962; Sussman).

IV. EDUCATION IN COMPLEX CULTURES

The relation of education to the economic and social structural changes becomes a crucial question in studies of the dynamics of complex cultures. Assuming one can view education as either of symbolic or functional value (Havighurst), the national emphasis is clearly on the latter. Education may be a consumer good (Montavon, 1965 and Carnoy, 1965), but in a society intent on economic development, it is an investment—a productive service.

The explicit emphasis of the economist has been upon the primary (“functional,” “productive investment,” “occupational preparation”) significance of education, and the desirability of having politically powerful elite share this view of priorities. More or less implicit, however, has been the recognition that formal education is probably the primary means by which traditionalist, isolated, agrarian or tribal peoples are brought into the conceptual-emotional orientation of economic modernity. Martin Carnoy (1965) expresses this perspective as follows:

The entire rate-of-return approach to education has been attacked on the basis of its assumptions. In taking rate of return as the relevant variable in allocating resources, we assume that this is the variable that determines the amount of schooling taken by individuals . . . Critics are of the opinion that individuals in underdeveloped countries do not respond to market variables in the same way that one does in developed countries. This may be true for some segments of rural populations in backward areas, *and one of the real returns of education may be in the structural change it engenders by bringing these rural areas into the market.* (p. 45, italics are this author's).

Carnoy goes on to say that most Latin Americans are, in fact, very susceptible in their personal decisions to factors influencing the cost and return of schooling. Nasatir's study of the Argentine youth's views on the purpose of university education would support this view. Many educators and social scientists would qualify it. Brazilian adolescent girls do not take “rate of financial” return as the reason for going on in school (Prieto). The Reichel-Dolomattofs reported that in Aritama, Colombia, children learned that certain kinds of jobs, whatever their income producing character, were more desirable, more worthy of respect and prestige than others, and that these non-manual jobs were those to which one should aspire. Nash supports the view that until certain changes, including the transformation to “market mentality,” are accomplished, investment in education probably will not maximize economic development but instead will feed the traditional system. On the other hand, Gouveia's study of why middle and upper middle-class São Paulo youth are entering industrial secondary schools, suggests that where educational conditions are best, and the reservoir of positions is immediately at hand and salient, “rate-of-return thinking” is present. Anthropological and sociological research should be directed to the question of whether a fundamental function of formal education should be the instilling of “market mentality” into each new generation (See also Curle, 1962 and UNESCO, 1965).

School enrollment of 6–14 year olds was studied by Goldblatt (1967) as an innovation being diffused in the states of Mexico and is one of the most interesting recent studies of education in Latin America. Basing her study on a diffusion model developed by Hagerstrand, she treated spatial variation in enrollment first as a function of information fields, approximated by patterns

of communication from urban and rural areas and across regions of the country. The variations were examined in terms of causes for resistance to enrollment. Cultural traits that affected parental decisions to enroll their children in school were compared between one area and another. She found that adult literacy and low employment of children were contributing factors in the information field and played an important part (particularly opportunities for field employment) in the rate of diffusion of enrollment. Going barefoot, an indirect index of traditional culture, is a resistance variable. Goldblatt clearly demonstrates the usefulness of the Hagerstrand model for studying educational innovation, diffusion and change.

With respect to the development of competency, too narrow a focus on formal educational structures may lead to the error of overlooking alternative or repetitive processes for accomplishing that end. Leeds' (1964a) study of career structure in several cities of Brazil identifies the occurrence of an interesting phenomenon—"autodidactism"—the self taught individual. "Autodidactism," in association with individuals holding more than one job or position seems to be characteristic in an expanding occupation-opportunity structure in which training institutions are absent or inadequate, or as Leeds expresses it, where there is "an absence of curricularized training." Social units such as the *panelinha* and *cabide*, according to Leeds, are highly adaptive for societies in which there is a juxtaposition of static agrarian forms of the past with the emergent exigencies of an expansive industrial future.

Using a sophisticated model of complex society undergoing changes of industrialization, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences in Santiago studied the attitudes of adults toward formal education. In a changing society under change, there are serious disturbances between ends and means which are directly or indirectly produced by the rise of consumption expectations in a situation of underdevelopment. The obstacles which make it difficult to find solutions for satisfying rising expectations produce a situation characterized by the transformation from individual anomie to collective or inter-institutional anomie. The transformation may not solve the fundamental problem, i.e., the origin of anomie, but if anomie on the individual level can be transformed into anomie of an inter-institutional type, it at least eliminates a personal problem for the individual. This model relates to educational ideology by predicting the relationship between status consistency (stated in terms of high or low levels of the two variables, education and income) and the ideology of how education functions for the individual and society. The high consistents—high education, high income—tend to see education as symbolic in function, producing cultivated individuals. Inconsistent with high education and low income transform their personal problem to a collective level through enlarging their cognitive field to the international sphere. They seek "revolutionary" solutions, thus re-

ducing their personal dissatisfaction through political participation. The inconsistencies with high income and low education, however, see education functioning as the provider of specialized knowledge (See Briones, 1963; Muñoz, 1960; and Moreira).

Complex developing sociocultural systems are not only fields of problems of occupational change but present problems of acculturation and assimilation. While many discussions allude to the educational problems connected with Indian populations of Latin American countries, there are very few recent studies directly concerned with researching these problems (Abad G., 1962). Two areas of study, linguistics and biculturalism, have import for future research on educational problems of Indians, as well as other ethnic and linguistic groups.

The issue of native language and academic success has received much attention in North America, particularly with respect to Spanish-speaking minorities in the United States (Epstein, 1967a, 1967b; Modiano, 1966; and Rubel, 1967). The association of native language with self-concept and culture-group has been explored by Epstein and Rubel. Clearly, in addition to purely intellectual matters, powerful psycho-emotional processes are associated with native language when learning a national language involves second-language learning. The evidence now available suggests that when second-language learning entails rejection, denigration, and repression of the individual's native language, it tends to have a generalized detrimental effect on academic work (Rubel). Modiano's significant study of two styles of approaching the teaching of reading in a native language, based on a study in the Highlands of Chiapas in Mexico, bridges the educationally relevant and economically significant aspects of this problem. Comparing the reading ability in the national language of Indian children in federal and state schools, where all instruction is in Spanish, with children in bilingual schools founded by the National Indian Institute, where children are first taught literacy in the mother tongue, Modiano concludes that:

... youngsters of linguistic minorities learn to read with greater comprehension in the national language when they first learn to read in their native tongue than when they receive all reading instruction in the national language.

Not only does the study bear repeating in other contexts with other languages, but also the multiplicity of psychological and sociological factors that have possible connection with this startling result bear further research.

Biculturalism, a concept referring to an acculturative state of individuals that often entails bilingualism, has been associated with a psychologically transitional condition, reminiscent of marginal man and a state of marginal mental health or even of mental illness. More recently, however, the concept has been

used to refer to a flexible, resilient state of working adjustment in a multicultural situation (See Daniel Crowley, 1957 and S. Polgar, 1960). Recently, John B. Cornell, Robert J. Smith and Sugiyama Iutaka carried out research on biculturalism among students of Japanese descent in Brazil. Defining biculturalism as an "intercultural construct of polarized interests and activities which permits considerable role mobility in certain contexts between Issei-Japanese and Brazilian poles," they examined the academic context as one salient field of bicultural behavior. They found that the behavior of Issei students shifted toward the Brazilian pole of behavioral continua in sources of motivation, academic performance, envisioned career organization, as well as ethnic identity, dating and marriage. This study is one of the few that directly concerns itself with acculturation in an educational context. Latin America with its diversity of ethnic, immigrant and indigenous cultural groups and developing national educational systems is clearly a rich, inviting field for the study of how formal educational institutions function with respect to processes, stages, phases, and typologies of acculturation and/or assimilation.

V. CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES

Several of the studies so far discussed have been cross-national studies that, taken in combination, may begin to bear upon the theoretical issues of cultural and social change (Elder, Goldrich, Havighurst, Havighurst, *et al.*, Hess, Iutaka, Leeds, Nasatir, Nash, Rosen). There is not room here to analyze them for suggested empirical generalizations and theoretical implications, but the juxtaposition of the several studies suggests the following brief observations. Making judgments about stages of development from cross-national studies on the U. S. and a given Latin American country, like constructing a curve from only two points, offers too narrow a sample base. In the absence of cases from other culture areas, one should be most guarded in speculations regarding determinants of change, as well as the identification of stages, phases, and directions of evolution. Secondly, the use of standardized instruments developed first for North American populations for cross-national purposes, emphasizes the North American perspective on many problems and entirely overlooks the "cognitive field" of the Latin Americans. Applying to North American and Latin American populations, questionnaires developed by Latin Americans from Latin American perspectives might correct the present over-emphasis on North American definition of problems. Although there are examples of studies such as the Havighurst study of Chicago and Buenos Aires youths, which offers an impressive array of varied instruments or on comparisons of census and demographic data, most of the cross-national studies are based on questionnaires-attitude survey. Cross-national studies of career struc-

tures such as that done by Leeds in Brazil are most enlightening, and more emphasis upon behavioral processes and structural-functional comparisons would be a welcome research development.

Leeds (1964b), in the context of a discussion of the nature of limitations of contributions of applied anthropology to educational problems, suggests a comparative schema for cross-cultural comparison of educational profiles. Based on locating a nation state on a series of continua or dimensions, a procedure not unlike that now employed in comparative education studies that emphasize culturally significant aspects of education, he suggests that description that allows for significant comparison is the key problem at the present time for developing a cross-culturally sophisticated theory of education as a cultural process.

VI. CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONNEL

Studies of the school institutions as such are rare, although higher educational institutions have enjoyed more scrutiny of this type than have the secondary and primary institutions (Vasconi and Romero, 1963; Wells, 1962; Williamson, 1964; and Arno's article on research on higher education, pp. 45–62, this issue). Studies of particular schools from the point of view of their formal organization—teacher-supervisor relations, teacher-teacher relations, teacher-student relations, etc.—appear not to exist in published form. Although anthropological research techniques readily lend themselves to this type of study, there is already evidence that initiative in the area will probably come through use of paper and pencil instruments such as sociometric tests (D'Andrea, 1963 and Lunazzi de Jubany, 1965).

Lack of research on characteristic operation and configuration of educational organization—which requires at least a few *in vivo* studies—makes such personal documents as Luis F. Iglesias' *Diario de Ruta* especially useful and important. In lieu of more rigorous studies, a bibliographic review of such personal documents would be of great immediate value to researchers removed from and often ignorant of the day-to-day realities of schooling, with teacher and students in context.

A few community depth studies on education do exist (e.g., Altenfelder, 1958). Conceivably, anthropological community studies that attended to educational processes could be of great value, but formal education has not been of interest to most anthropologists doing community studies, or, at least, not of sufficient interest to attract them into the schools for more than brief visits. Happily, there are a few exceptions (Reichel-Dolmatoff, and Nash). Community studies that focused on educational processes could provide a valuable reality check on the optimistic plans and assessments made in urban national

capitals, as well as a means of assessing why really excellent curriculum, personnel qualifications, and procedural innovations do not work out. Manning Nash's comparative study of one Burmese and two Maya villages demonstrates the point that under certain local conditions pouring additional money into educational effort does not facilitate the desired change in the direction of economic development, but only strengthens traditional patterns and old structural features to the further detriment of the national purpose. While observational-behavioral studies are few, several studies of characteristic attitudes and values of categories of personnel connected with schools are available (Havighurst, *et al.*; Albornoz, 1963; Teixeira).

The interest in occupational development noted in an earlier section has stimulated several studies of how school personnel of various categories are recruited. Albornoz's (1963) study of teachers in a populous area of Venezuela indicates most were females; most were below 31 years of age; most were married; and most were born in the same area where they taught. A study by Gouveia (1965a) in Brazil that compared industrial São Paulo with rural Paráia hypothesized that as conditions of urbanization and industrialization expand the various sectors of employment, secondary school teachers will tend to include fewer males, smaller proportions from upper-class, and larger proportions coming from lower-class origins. The study supports the hypothesis concerning change in sex ratio of secondary school teachers, but indicates that change in social origins is different for males and for females.

The question of the relationship of school to community and parents is the subject of a few studies. Albornoz (1965) found Venezuelan parents thought the most important qualification of a teacher to be technical capacity (34%) and discipline and responsibility (32%). Thirty-two percent felt the major defects of teachers were bad education and immorality. A rather unique demonstration experiment in this area is the Crecer project of Peru (Via Ortega and Sayres, 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1966, and Paulston, 1967), in which teachers are taught and supported in doing community studies as a way of making rural schooling relevant, vital, and efficacious in the lives of rural Peruvians.

VII. A SUMMARY

Although few recent studies on socialization and enculturation offer interesting results, there is clearly need for more concentrated work in the area of early childhood training as new social forces and factors affect changing Latin American societies. With some exceptions, ethnic, tribal, and cultural groupings have not received the attention proportional to their numbers in most Latin American nations. By taking into account subcultural diversifications as they affect socio-economic variations, one increases the predictive potential of this type of research.

The study of schools as dynamic formal organizations has also been neglected in the Latin American area, particularly below university level. Until we know more of the daily operations of particular schools and organizational process of larger units, innovation of almost any sort will continue to be unpredictable and haphazard.

The studies reviewed here, as one might anticipate, support the position that the three factors (or sets of factors)—economy, social structure, and education—are interdependent. However, the interdependence is in weighted proportion. For the present, economic conditions and social structure are apparently more dominant in their determinancy than is the educational system on either or both. Each structure, however, will remain inevitably interdependent on the other.

Studies of the relation between socioeconomic class and education show that before judgments are made regarding achievement orientation, opportunity must be taken into account, not merely overall, but as it obtains for each class, sociocultural group, and locale within the several nations. Moreover, if opportunity is thought of as the chance for occupational mobility (and associated valued aspects), then it may not always be correlated with continuation of school, and the investigation of why this is so should continue to be of great interest to educational researchers. Although education is a function of the distribution of opportunities in the social structure, the development of interest in dropouts tends to place emphasis on questions of perception of education, its significance for the individual receiving it, and its relevance to the disadvantaged groups in the social structure of the nation, rather than on the quantitative questions of the number of school buildings, ratio of teachers, and their geographical distribution.

In brief overview, one can say that there is a great deal of descriptive data available on Latin American education that is being used in only the most elementary sense. On the other hand, there is a shortage of time-ordered descriptive data of ongoing educational and educationally relevant processes. Many studies are concerned with low level or highly restricted generalizations, though this is probably a necessary phase of development for each new area of inquiry. There are a growing number of theoretical models and middle-level sets of hypotheses under development and test. Yet, their discussion usually reveals little attention to, even unawareness of, the existence of parallel developments by other researchers and teams of researchers. This condition, plus the near absence of integrating surveys of literature on the social sciences of education, suggest that efficient communication among scholars interested and active in research on Latin American education is a major problem.

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