

27TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

May 30, 1996, Thursday, SOONER EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. A-11

LENGTH: 691 words

HEADLINE: SALZBURG SYNERGY;
OVER THERE, SHARP MINDS BRING U.S. POLITICS INTO FOCUS

BYLINE: DAVID S. BRODER

DATELINE: SALZBURG, Austria

BODY:

Few things in this world could bring Susan Estrich, feminist lawyer and manager of Michael Dukakis' 1988 presidential campaign, and Ralph Reed, the head of the Christian Coalition, together as collaborators. But the Salzburg Seminar is like few things in this world.

As it approaches its 50th birthday next year, this unique venture in international education has developed into something its founders could hardly have imagined. In 1947, three young Harvard graduates persuaded the widow of Max Reinhardt, the famous theater director and co-founder of the Salzburg Festival, to let them use Schloss Leopoldskron, the 250-year-old Reinhardt villa on the outskirts of this city, as the site of a conference center for American and European intellectuals, cut off from each other by years of war.

The first U.S. participants were urged to bring a suitcase full of books and five pounds of flour for the sustenance of their European colleagues' brains and bodies.

Now, the seminar can count 17,000 alumni in more than 125 countries. The seminar is still housed in Schloss Leopoldskron, with its Baroque stonework and magnificent, paneled library. But its programs and publications are also on the Internet and its reach goes far beyond the villa's walls. It is financed by foundation grants, subsidies from several governments and corporate and individual gifts.

The program that brought the Odd Couple of Estrich and Reed here recently along with Karl Rove, a Republican campaign consultant from Texas, Thomas Mann, the Brookings Institution scholar of Congress and politics, and three journalists, Sam Fulwood of the Los Angeles Times, Theo Sommer of Die Zeit, the German weekly, and this reporter - was focused on the current U.S. election campaign and the forces shaping it.

We were the "faculty" and the "students" were 44 young or midcareer journalists, academics and political activists from 33 nations, ranging from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Bangladesh to Tajikistan, Tunisia and Vietnam.

If they did nothing else, the seminar discussions proved that Oscar Hammerstein II was right when he wrote "The King and I" lyric in which Anna sings, "If you become a teacher, by your students you'll be taught." It was

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humbling enough to try to describe the current American political scene to a diverse and sharp-minded audience.

A Warsaw journalist made me sweat bullets with a series of polite but pointed queries about how much responsibility the American press bears for public cynicism about our politics and politicians. Tom Mann was pressed by a Belarus university lecturer to justify our attachment to the two-party system in a nation which all of us said was becoming more ethnically diverse with each passing decade. Ralph Reed was taken aback, if only for a moment, when a Tunisian told him that "fundamentalism in our part of the world has been a big source of trouble."

In such a setting, you are forced to re-examine the assumptions and myths you have stuffed into your head and allowed to lie there, undisturbed, for far too long. That happened to all of us, including, I think it is fair to say, Estrich and Reed.

Their disagreements were wide and deep at the beginning of the week and remained so at the end. But in a nation like ours, where the formats of television and op-ed pages encourage people to demonize their opponents, they had never met on genuinely neutral ground. In Salzburg, Estrich learned Reed has a sense of humor that delighted in the irony of his being asked to speak in a palace built by the archbishop who drove the Protestants out of the country. And Reed learned to appreciate the candor of a feminist who confessed that fear of him was more useful to her than the promise of a second Clinton term in persuading certain wealthy Beverly Hills women to give money to the Democratic Party.

A cloud hung over Salzburg's mountains almost the whole week we were here, but a great deal of foggy thinking was swept away. It seems a long way to come for enlightenment, but it is certainly worth the trip.

David S. Broder is a syndicated columnist for The Washington Post.

LOAD-DATE: June 1, 1996

34TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 3, 1995, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: LEARNING; Pg. A17

LENGTH: 1056 words

HEADLINE: GRAND GLOBAL DISCUSSIONS MARK SALZBURG SEMINAR

BYLINE: By Anthony Flint, Globe Staff

DATELINE: SALZBURG, Austria

BODY:

At the stately 18th-century castle Schloss Leopoldskron, the chandeliers burn softly over elegant, high-ceilinged dining rooms. The Baroque-style library is similarly awash in a warm glow, evoking a decidedly academic mood.

Outside, swans patrol the nearby lake, dotted with languid, flowering lily pads. From the manicured gardens, the magnificent peaks of the Alps are in view.

This is the setting for the Salzburg Seminar, an international conference center started by three Harvard students in 1946 to revive intellectual discussion after the ravages of World War II. Bouncing back from doldrums and financial difficulties of recent years and now run by the former president of Middlebury College in Vermont, Olin Robison, the Salzburg Seminar is trying to serve a similar function in the aftermath of the Cold War. There are sessions on law, government, the environment and the media for the benefit of emerging democracies.

To today's participants, coming from Romania, Poland or Uganda, the subtle message of these elegant surroundings might seem like the West's way of saying: Follow our free-market path and all this can be yours.

That, however, is not really what the place has in mind. Though the Salzburg Seminar receives some US government funding, organizers say they strive to make the conference sessions open-ended exchanges, not simply Americans telling people how to run their countries.

American studies programs have been broken off into a separate center, designed mostly for teachers in foreign lands. For the main sessions, the faculty is international, and participants are encouraged to debate issues on a level playing field.

If the plush surroundings have an effect, conference organizers say, it is the way Schloss Leopoldskron seems to nurture relationships among the participants. The setting puts them at ease, relaxes them, and in the end makes them more candid in expressing their views, seminar alumni say.

"This is a place that's genuinely conducive to making friendships," said R. Spencer Oliver, former chief counsel for the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a member of the Salzburg Seminar board. "You look through the alumni list and you see people who have ended up being foreign ministers and CEOs, and they

The Boston Globe, December 3, 1995

are constantly running into each other and remembering what a great time they had as fellows here."

The seminar recruits midcareer professionals for the one-week conference sessions that run throughout the year. This year's schedule included sessions on economies in transition, philanthropy, migration, the role of non-governmental organizations in democracies and the role of a free press.

"We try to get people on their way up," said Robison, who took over as president of the seminar in 1991.

At other similar conferences - The Aspen Institute in Colorado or the Ditchley Foundation in England - "they might have a week on how to solve Bosnia. We're not going to do that," Robison said. Salzburg's topics are broad and international, with slightly younger participants. The session on the role of a free press in September was a good example of the kind of global sweep the Salzburg Seminar is striving for.

The American faculty members - former State Department spokesman Hodding Carter; media attorney Ron Olson; George Krinsky, head of the Center for Foreign Journalists in Reston, Va.; Geoffrey Cowan, director of Voice of America - lectured on how the media work in the United States.

Faculty members from other countries, however, particularly journalists from Colombia and Indonesia, were among the most powerful speakers, talking about the realities of reporting in places that aren't so free.

Furthermore, the fellows from emerging democracies around the world, mostly journalists but some government officials as well, were not sold on the idea of America's and Britain's free-market media system. They bemoaned increasingly consolidated corporate ownership with its strict attention to the bottom line, the proliferation of trash TV broadcasting and tabloid journalism.

There was considerable wariness about the imposition of Western values in fledgling media systems and the so-called "cultural pollution" that satellite TV transmissions originating in the West were said to bring.

Accordingly, the discussions, which spilled over into the wee hours in the castle's basement pub, were an education for the Western faculty as much as for the fellows.

"This is a place where people can really cross-reference," said Carter, now president of Main Street TV Production in Washington. "I know I learned a lot."

The Salzburg Seminar's effort to take a perch alongside Aspen or Ditchley was almost short-circuited. The conference's mission was never much in doubt when it started in 1946 with three Harvard students who sought to revitalize intellectual discussion after World War II. The focus was on American studies, and much of the faculty came from Harvard. In the '70s and '80s, the seminar lost some steam and sense of direction, and started running into money problems as well. By 1991, the conference was some \$ 6 million in debt, and organizers wondered how long it could go on.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War provided an opportunity for the seminar to invigorate its mission: a clearinghouse of

The Boston Globe, December 3, 1995

ideas for the new emerging democracies. Robison, noted for his fund-raising talents at Middlebury College, went to work on the money end, tapping new sources of funding from foundations such as Kellogg, Ford, Mellon and Schumann as well as some private giving.

Faculty members are put up for the week, but are not paid. Most fellows receive financial aid to attend.

The big draw for the Salzburg Seminar, however, remains its greatest question mark: Schloss Leopoldskron, in the postcard-perfect city of Salzburg. The stately building - built by Archbishop Leopold Firmian in 1736, bought by German arts producer Max Reinhardt in 1918, occupied by the Nazis in World War II and finally donated to the seminar's founders by Reinhardt's widow in 1946 - is in constant need of upkeep and repair.

"The big question is the overhead and whether it's worth it," said Carter, surrounded by fellows at one of the big round dining tables in the dining hall overlooking the peaceful, Alps-rimmed lake. "I think it is."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, 1. Fellows from all over the world meet at the Salzburg Seminar. / GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / ANTHONY FLINT 2. Schloss Leopoldskron is in constant need of repair. / GLOBE STAFF PHOTO / ANTHONY FLINT

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 6, 1995

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 19, 1996 Tuesday ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 031

LENGTH: 649 words

HEADLINE: What's in 'conservative' label

BYLINE: By MICKEY EDWARDS

BODY:

SALZBURG, Austria -- These are heady days for American conservatives. The belief in government as paternal caretaker is in decline; from Bangor to Belarus, there is a new insistence on the right to shape one's own life without the heavy hand of bureaucracy. I see this again here, nearly 4,000 miles from home, listening to the voices of men and women to whom English is a strange tongue and America a strange place.

In my younger days, when travel was a mind-spinning break from the ordinary, buttressed by guidebooks and a hasty immersion in the native tongue, the world seemed infinite in its variety. Turbans and shawls, thick fur hats, houses with straw roofs. What I saw was a world in which nobody was like anybody else. As with so much we see in youth, it was a misleading picture.

This has come home to me repeatedly in the years since travel became a staple of my life. The differences are in the superficialities - the blouses and accents and ways of wearing our hair. We have different customs and traditions - and different experiences that shape our views of who is protector and who is to be protected. But our aspirations are universal. Whether in Bulgaria or Boston, we want to be free.

I have just spent eight days in a picturesque old schloss - a colorful palace where "The Sound of Music" was filmed - on the outskirts of Salzburg. I was here under false colors: I had been invited to serve as co-chairman of a seminar on of conservative political movements in western industrialized nations. I was to lecture to and guide a group of 50 scholars from 30 countries. But I was not a teacher at all: I lectured, filling foreign heads with history, philosophy and organizational strategy, and tried to shape suitable answers to incisive and penetrating questions. But as the session went on, I realized I was learning more than I was teaching.

I was speaking of the American conservative's quest for federal restraint; I was hearing the eastern European's echoing desire for a government the citizens could control. But I was hearing also the concerns of women from Mexico and Jordan that "conservatism" as it was understood on much of the planet - a ferocious clutching to the identities of the past - had no place in it for the women of the world.

This, I knew, was nonsense. I rattled off the names of women who are, themselves, "conservative." I was aware, as I said it, however, that just 10 days before, a majority of American women had voted for a man whose values they questioned simply because they had such great antipathy toward the message

The Boston Herald, November 19, 1996 Tuesday

they heard from the conservative camp. At the Salzburg Seminar, men and women whose native tongues ranged from Arabic to Latvian were able to communicate better with each other in English than conservative American men had been able to communicate with American women.

I was struck, too, by the confusion over the very idea of "conservatism." In America, "conservatism" has come to mean what Europeans call, more properly, "liberalism" - an emphasis on the individual rather than the state. In much of the world, however, instead of emphasizing free markets and individual liberties, "conservatives" offer the clenched fist and shrill voice of ethnic nationalism or religious fundamentalism.

For eight days, courtesy of the Salzburg Seminar, I was immersed in the meaninglessness of labels and pat answers. And as the days went by, I was increasingly disconcerted by the realization that much of America's own "conservative" movement has begun to edge away from the American tradition toward the dark European model of ethnic identity and prescribed values. I went to Salzburg to spread the message of an American movement that values individual choice; I return in the hope of reminding America's conservatives that we must practice what we preach.

Mickey Edwards teaches at Harvard's Kennedy School.

LOAD-DATE: November 20, 1996

9TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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International Herald Tribune

April 4, 1997, Friday

SECTION: Opinion; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 934 words

HEADLINE: Does the Nation-State Have a Future?

BYLINE: By Neal R. Peirce; The Washington Post

DATELINE: SALZBURG

BODY:

Is the nation-state at the end of its 500-year run? Is it about to succumb to rapid-fire economic globalization, resurgent regions or to ethnic and tribal rivalries?

Not entirely, say midcareer professionals from some 32 nations who came here in March to debate the nation-state's future at the elegant 18th-century palace that has been the site of the Salzburg Seminar for 50 years.

Whether from advanced or undeveloped, Western or Eastern nations, most participants agreed we'll still need nation-states to give people identity, raise taxes, provide social safety nets, protect the environment and guarantee internal security.

But for a peek into the deep uncertainties of the 21st century and the astounding array of forces now undermining the nation-states, this conference was a remarkable tour de force.

Leading the parade of transformative change are globalization and its accomplices. The computer and telecommunications revolutions enable instant worldwide communications to create new relationships, new economics, whether central governments like them or not.

Multinational corporations now assemble goods from plants across the globe and have moved heavily into services, too. Q law, accounting, advertising, computer consultation Q as if the world were borderless.

Financial markets are also globalized. Where nation-states once sought to set exchange rates, private traders now control currency flows Q at a scarcely believable level of \$1.3 trillion a day.

The nation-states fatefully shrank their own power by creating supernational institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization and World Bank. Each creates its own cadres of civil servants unaccountable to any single state.

Now comes a rise of influential, globally active nongovernmental organizations Q the NGOs Q ranging from Greenpeace to Amnesty International to animal rights groups. They got official UN recognition at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992; now they're negotiating to get a voice in official UN deliberations.

International Herald Tribune, April 4, 1997

Yet the NGOs, like the multinationals, are mostly based in Europe and North America, feeding off cutting-edge technology, setting new global standards without much accountability to anyone.

Globalization is creating immense wealth. Yet countries unwilling or unequipped to become technologically connected Q many in Africa today, for example Q face "marginalization," another word for isolation and poverty.

At the Salzburg sessions there was real unease about globalization Q a fear that the world order now emerging would be too cruel, too amoral, too exclusive in its power-wielding.

Anil Saldanha, a corporate executive from India, gave voice to these concerns.

"Man is not well," Mr. Saldanha said. "He is going through a process of insularity Q insecurity, fright, fear. He doesn't know what's thrust on him, yet he must cope. So we need to look inward, to express our individuality, spirituality. If we do not put a human face on globalization, bring humanity to the forefront, we may not have far to go."

A global market does not create a global community, another speaker commented.

Yet the conference made it clear that the erosion of the nation-state is not only coming from above, it's creeping up from below.

One force is the rise of subnational regions impatient with the bureaucracy and unresponsiveness of large national governments. Nimble city-states Q the "Asian tigers" of Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, for example Q have been recent models of success. In 1970, four U.S. states had trade offices abroad. Now virtually all do and all have official standing in the World Trade Organization.

Ethnic, racial and religious groups grasping for power are perhaps an even greater pressure from below. The end of the Cold War untapped myriad ethnic nationalistic tensions.

Indeed, we may end up with more nation-states. The United Nations had 143 member "states" in 1991. It now has 185, and it could one day end up with 400 or more, just because of ethnic divisions. But how many will be viable nations? And what does the developed world do about the collapse of countries worlds removed from its sleek globalization?

New hybrid structures Q African, Asian or Latin American emulations of the European Union, for example Q may be needed.

Perhaps we'll see forms of community as unknown now as the nation-state was when it burst on the scene in the 16th century.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: April 4, 1997

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Baltimore Sun

April 7, 1997, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. 11A

LENGTH: 853 words

HEADLINE: More nations, weaker nations

BYLINE: Neal R. Peirce

BODY:

SALZBURG, Austria -- Is the nation-state at the end of its 500-year run? Is it about to succumb to economic globalization, resurgent regions or ethnic and tribal rivalries?

Not entirely, say mid-career professionals from 32 nations who came here in March to debate the nation-state's future at the elegant 18th century palace, which has been the site of the Salzburg Seminar for 50 years. Most participants agreed that we'll still need nation-states to give people identity, raise taxes, provide social safety nets, protect the environment and guarantee internal security.

But the conference offered a remarkable peek into the deep uncertainties of the 21st century and the astounding array of forces now undermining the nation-states.

Leading the parade of transformative change are globalization and its accomplices. The computer and telecommunications revolutions enable instant worldwide communications -- faxes, e-mail, satellite hookups, the Internet -- to create new relationships, new economics, whether central governments like them or not.

A borderless world

Multinational corporations now assemble goods from plants across the globe and have moved heavily into services too -- law, accounting, advertising, computer consultation -- as if the world were borderless.

Financial markets, too, are globalized. Where nation-states once sought to set exchange rates, private traders now control currency flows -- at a scarcely believable level of \$ 1.3 trillion a day.

The nation-states fatefully shrank their own power by creating supranational institutions such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization and World Bank. Each creates its own cadres of civil servants unaccountable to any single state. Between 1972 and 1992, Jessica Mathews reports in Foreign Affairs, the number of environmental treaties often controlling domestic behavior rocketed from a few dozen to more than 900.

Now comes a rise of influential, globally active nongovernment organizations ranging from Greenpeace to Amnesty International to animal-rights groups. They got official U.N. recognition at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992; now they're

negotiating to get a voice in official U.N. deliberations.

Accountable to no one

Yet these groups, like the multinationals, are mostly based in Europe and North America, feeding off cutting-edge technology, setting new global standards without much accountability to anyone.

Globalization is creating immense wealth. Yet countries unwilling or unequipped to become technologically connected -- many in Africa today, for example -- face "marginalization," another word for isolation and poverty.

At the Salzburg sessions there was real unease about globalization -- a fear that the world order now emerging would be too cruel, too amoral, too exclusive in its power-wielding.

Anil Saldanha, a corporate executive from India, gave voice to these concerns. India now has economists, leaders at the forefront of the globalization movement, he said. But many see only a juggernaut, scattering winners and losers before it.

"Man is not well," Mr. Saldanha said. "He is going through a process of insularity -- insecurity, fright, fear. He doesn't know what's thrust on him, yet he must cope. So we need to look inward, to express our individuality, spirituality. If we do not put a human face on globalization, bring humanity to the forefront, we may not have far to go."

A global market does not create a global community, another speaker commented.

Erosion from below

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One force is the rise of subnational regions impatient with the bureaucracy, the unresponsiveness of large national governments. Nimble citistates -- the "Asian tigers" of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, for example -- have been recent models of success.

In 1970, four U.S. states had trade offices abroad. Now virtually all do and all have official standing in the World Trade Organization.

Ethnic, racial and religious groups grasping for power are perhaps an even greater pressure from below. The end of the Cold War untapped myriad ethnic nationalistic tensions. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have been torn apart. In Canada, French Quebec flirts with secession.

Between 6,000 and 7,000 languages are spoken in the world today: Is each to have its own nation?

Indeed, we may end up with more nation-states. The United Nations, had 143 member "states" in 1991. It now has nearly 200, and could one day end up with 400 or more, just because of ethnic divisions. But how many will be viable nations? And what does the developed world do about the collapse of countries

The Baltimore Sun, April 7, 1997

worlds removed from its sleek globalization?

New hybrid structures -- African, Asian or Latin American emulations of the European Union, for example -- may be needed. Perhaps we'll see forms of community as unknown now as the nation-state was when it burst on the scene in the 16th century.

Neal R. Peirce writes a column on state and urban affairs.

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LOAD-DATE: April 9, 1997

SALZBURG

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Mozart's birthplace and the "festival city" of breathtaking scenic beauty, "The Sound of Music" resonates in every alleyway and picture perfect street of Salzburg. One of the most famous cities in the world and for more than one thousand years a part of Germany, Salzburg used to be called the "Rome of the North" partly because of the Italian influence on its architecture and partly because it was for centuries the major centre of religious power in the German world.



Today, it is perhaps the best existing example of a Baroque city, that riotously decorative style of architecture that first blossomed at the end of the 17th century. Salzburg's most important single attraction is still music and in particular, the two festivals which annually transform the city into a music-lovers paradise.

The premier event runs from July through to the end of August and is traditionally launched with a performance of Hugo von Hofmannstahl's "Everyman" in Cathedral Square. From then on, the Festspielhaus is the centre of activity with major concerts or opera in progress all the time. The shorter Easter festival, founded by the late, great conductor Herbert von Karajan emphasises the large scale aspects of music performance in grand opera productions, orchestral concerts and large choral works.





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PAGES (including cover): (18)

Good article with ideas & examples
for the speech & briefing book.

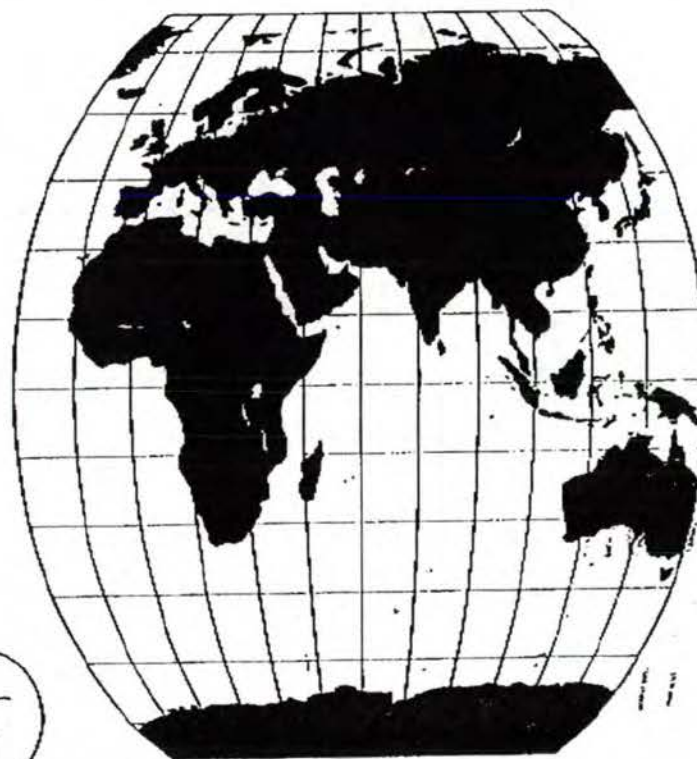
MV - Thanks for sparking up the
meeting! This conference is building on
HEC visits & will really help to move
things along.

THE
CHALLENGE
OF LOCAL
FEMINISMS



*Women's Movements
in Global Perspective*

edited by **AMRITA BASU**
with the assistance of C. Elizabeth McGrory



1995

Westview Press • Boulder, CO • 1995

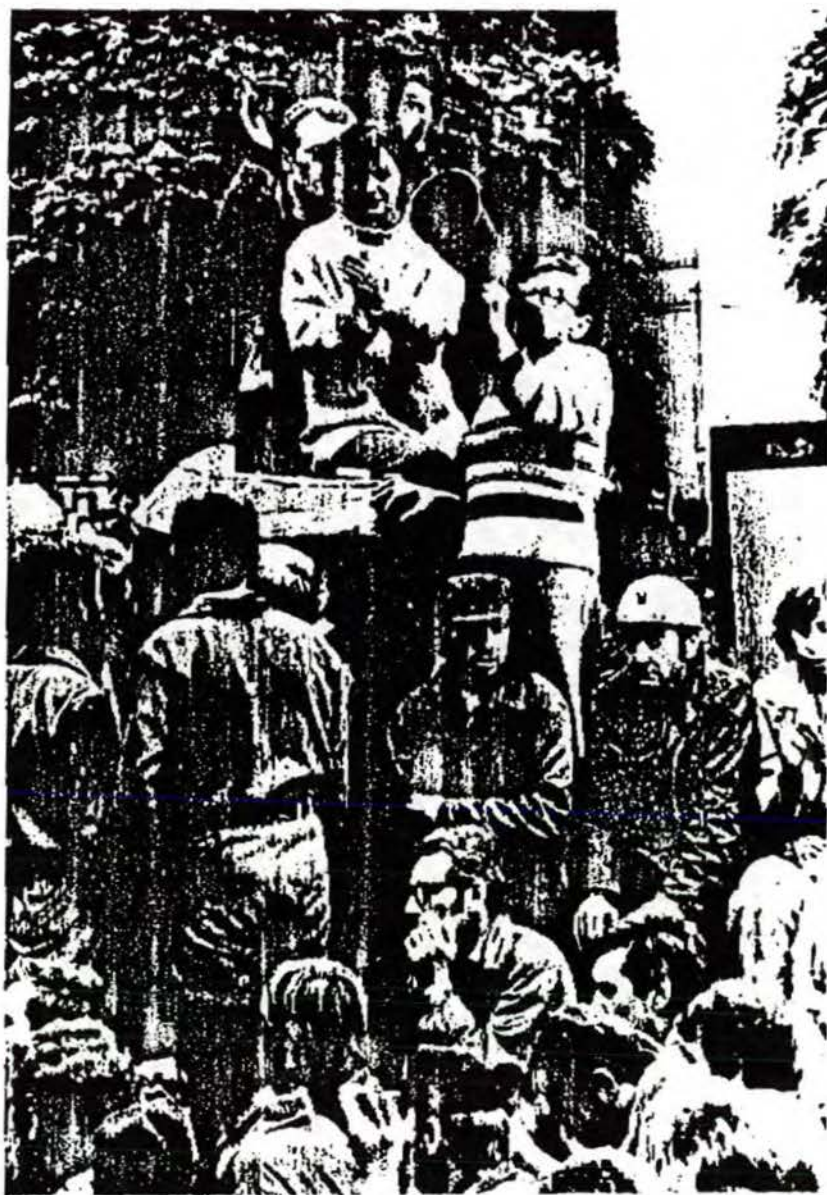
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*Finding a Voice: Women in
Postcommunist Central Europe*

ELZBIETA MATYNIA

WHEN I FIRST RETURNED to my native—and already virtually “postcommunist”—Poland in the summer of 1989 after an eight-year absence, one of the things that struck me most vividly was that in the new and exuberant public life of the country there was an almost total absence of those capable women who had played such an active and essential role in the clandestine operations of the prodemocratic movements of the 1970s and 1980s. I knew many of them well and had been active along with them, but, like them, I had never defined the crucial problems in terms of gender. The primary objective of every social protest and movement then had been to fight for the political rights of *all* members of society. All other issues had seemed to be of secondary importance; it was felt that these could be dealt with after the final battle for democracy had been won. But now, as I watched the freewheeling debates in the new Parliament and read about all those newly created democratic institutions, I found myself wondering where all the women were.

During the first four years following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, when I frequently visited various countries of the region, I could sense a new kind of tension building up around “the problem of women.” On the one hand, the issue of gender, never really discussed in those countries before, has been emerging as a response to the deteriorating legal and economic status of women. On the other hand, there was enormous sociocultural and political pressure coming from both men and women to disregard the issue and even to ridicule those involved in discussions of it.



Polish women in Gdansk join workers in protests at the Lenin Shipyard during the summer of 1980. Women played a central role in the movement that became Solidarity and brought about the end of communist rule.

CZECH REPUBLIC

GENERAL

type of government: Republic
 major ethnic groups: Czech (81%); Moravians (13%); Slovaks
 language(s): Czech
 religions: Atheist; Roman Catholic; Protestant

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 10.3 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 13
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.9
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 69%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 14

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1920
 economically active population*: M 77% F 62%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 47
 life expectancy M 69 F 77
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)*
 primary 97
 secondary 170
 tertiary 73
 literacy* M 99% F 99%

*Data for Czechoslovakia, 1990

The very concept of gender as we understand it in the "West" is difficult to convey here since in Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian the word for *gender* has only a narrowly grammatical connotation (i.e., the gender of a given noun) and not a sociocultural one, while the word *sex* has only a narrowly biological connotation. The whole situation is additionally complicated by the very complex attitudes toward feminism in this part of Europe. The very word *feminism* is perceived as a pejorative one, and it is considered political suicide for a woman active in public life to identify herself primarily with women's issues.

SLOVAKIA

GENERAL

type of government: Republic
 major ethnic groups: Slovak (87%); Hungarian (10%); Gypsy
 language: Slovak (official); Hungarian
 religions: Roman Catholic; Protestant; Eastern Orthodox; Uniate

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 5.3 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 15
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 2
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 77%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 14

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1920
 economically active population*: M 77% F 62%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 43
 life expectancy M 68.6 F 77.2
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)*
 primary 97
 secondary 170
 tertiary 73
 literacy* M 99% F 99%

*Data for Czechoslovakia, 1990

Despite the seeming similarity between some of the problems faced by women in Western Europe and those faced by women in the postcommunist countries, there are overwhelming differences that, if not fully grasped, present obstacles to communication between women activists of the West and their counterparts in the more western countries of the former Soviet bloc that are considered here: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Communication is often more difficult precisely because these differences do not entail issues as striking or dramatic as those of veiling or female circumcision, which women in some postcolo-

POLAND

GENERAL

type of government: Democratic Republic
 major ethnic groups: Polish (98%); German; Ukrainian; Byelorussian
 language(s): Polish
 religions: Roman Catholic (94%); Eastern Orthodox; Protestant

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 38.4 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 14
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.9
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 75%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 15

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1918
 economically active population: M 77% F 60%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 46
 life expectancy M 66.8 F 75.5
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)
 primary 95
 secondary 103
 tertiary 127
 literacy M 99% F 99%

nial countries must contend with. The differences arise primarily out of the substantially different experience of women throughout the Soviet bloc during the recent forty-year period of their officially proclaimed equality and all their officially extended "privileges." To understand the dynamic of, and the prospects for, the women's movement in the postcommunist societies, I have found it useful to review the discourse regarding their own position that was initiated just a few years ago by women in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

My choice of these countries is based not just on geographic considerations but on cultural affinities and certain similarities in their historical experience. These include their shared exposure to the world of the Hapsburg Empire (as opposed to

HUNGARY

GENERAL

type of government: Parliamentary democracy
 major ethnic groups: Magyar (92%); German (2.5%); Gypsy (3%); Serb; Slovak; Romanian
 language(s): Hungarian
 religions: Roman Catholic (67%); Protestant (25%)
 date of independence: 1901 (unification)

DEMOGRAPHICS

population size: 10.3 million
 birth rate (per 1,000 population): 12
 total fertility (average number of births per woman): 1.8
 contraceptive prevalence (married women): 73%
 maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births): 15

WOMEN'S STATUS

date of women's suffrage: 1945
 economically active population: M 72% F 53%
 female employment (% of total workforce): 45
 life expectancy M 66 F 75
 school enrollment ratio (F/100 M)
 primary 95
 secondary 98
 tertiary 115
 literacy M 99% F 98%

the Ottoman Empire, which left its mark on the Balkans) and to some democratic values and institutions between the world wars as well as the fact that they were the only countries to generate a succession (every twelve years!) of upheavals against the communist system: the Hungarian October in 1956, the Prague Spring in 1968, and Polish Solidarity in 1980-1981. The experience of these movements has significantly reinforced the already existing cleavage between these three countries of Central Europe and the rest of the postcommunist states. Polish historian Adam Michnik has pointed out that the protest movements in Hungary,



A Hungarian woman carries a machine gun in Budapest during the 1956 revolt against the Soviets.

Czechoslovakia, and Poland shared the goal of broadening national and civil rights, while they differed in the dynamics of their social change.¹ But the experience—however different for each country—of building civil society has certainly contributed to the emergence since 1989 of a greater degree of independent discourse on the situation and role of women than has emerged in other countries of the region.

"Until recently I never divided issues into male and female issues. Now I am noticing that actual women's rights in Poland are being threatened. So women's issues have faced me right here on our own front doorstep, and not just slipped in through the international back door."² This confession, made in the fall of 1992 by a physician who was then deputy speaker of the Polish Parliament, Olga Krzyzanowska, reflects an extremely crucial process now—slowly and with a lot of resistance—taking place throughout the female population of East and Central Europe: the process of discovering and acknowledging that there is a problem of women in the first place. With the exception of the former Yugoslavia, where both a women's movement and the introduction of free market mechanisms started well before 1989, this process is conspicuously parallel to the closely monitored and studied process of transition from communism to democracy and a market economy.

Krzyzanowska's statement was made in an interview that was considered courageous in Poland and yet at the same time indicative of a changing attitude among ever-larger groups of women. The process of discovering, acknowledging, and defining women's problems is not an easy one, especially in the context of postcommunist societies undergoing systemic transformation. One of the by-products of this transformation has been the rise of nationalist ideologies in which the rights of the nation as a community are given priority over the rights of the citizen. Women are defined here as bearers of the community's distinctive ethnic lineage and are therefore considered a vital factor in national survival. This logic provided a strong argument for the antiabortion lobby in Hungary; it has taken a more perverse form in the at least partially systematic rape of Muslim women in Bosnia as an instrument of "ethnic cleansing."

Women in East and Central Europe are now beginning to recognize both the constraints they were subjected to in the past and those they are facing now. The scale and the depth of this change in awareness are different in each of the four postcommunist countries I am considering here—Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary—but in any case it has already begun to create a hitherto unknown intellectual and political climate around women and the question of women.

My focus on these four countries, as I have already indicated, is not accidental. They are not only perceived by the outside world (with its watchful agencies: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Community, and the Council of Europe) as the most stable ones in the region and the most ad-

vanced in the transition process, but they are the ones that presented the greatest challenges to totalitarianism over the past forty years and that, to varying degrees, gained practical experience in building dissent, creating alternative social structures, and expanding civil society within the communist order. The best-known outbreaks of freedom provided these societies not only with the memory of a joyous taste of democracy but also with practice in self-organization, which could potentially enhance an emerging movement's chances of success.

So in many ways the situation of women in the four countries is similar; yet on closer inspection one finds that in each country the situation is different. The similarities stem from the shared model of the communist order, which was imposed on the bloc as a whole, its legislation uniformly devised in accordance with ideological principles, its clone-like, Soviet-type institutions structuring the social life of each country in similar ways. The differences arise from the specificity of pre-1945 cultural and political traditions and also from the divergent applications of the Soviet model, known as the countries' different "roads to socialism." The differences were further modified during the last decades by the citizenries' varied experiences and accomplishments in their efforts to create civil societies.

In all four countries, the existing constitutions still guarantee—as they did before 1989—the fundamental rights and freedoms of all, regardless of differences of sex, race, religion, ethnic background, and so on. Yet equality for women never did—and still does not—extend much beyond their participation in employment. If one looks at the numbers, the similarities become especially striking. All four countries show very high employment rates for women (70–90 percent), a striking gender segregation of the labor force, and 20–30 percent lower pay for women than for men. The high participation of women in the labor market results from the needs of postwar industrialization, identical in all four countries; from the priority given to ideological principles; and from the pressure on individual families to supplement the family income.

However, the principle of equal pay, explicit in the legislation of all four countries, was and remains a purely theoretical declaration, and in the context of the market economy gender discrimination, especially in hiring practices, is more pronounced than ever (and is openly expressed in the language of newspaper want ads). Growing unemployment, which results from the restructuring of industries, the closing of Soviet markets, and the shrinking of interbloc trade, affects women more than men, especially in Poland and Slovakia.

Similarities are also evident in the legacy of fairly uniform communist legislation, such as protective labor legislation, child care provisions, and abortion rights. All of these are now endangered because of new economic and political factors. The old structural supports for working women—a system of nurseries and kindergartens, similarly designed in the four countries, overcrowded, and often criticized in the past for causing developmental problems in children—are now collapsing, either closing their doors or drastically raising their fees. (Some of

the most vocal political groupings in these countries see this development as helpful in the new effort to define a woman's role in terms of mother and homemaker.)

Looking at the lives of women in particular, one can observe a pair of striking paradoxes. The first is that for many in politics the most politically rewarding behavior in the first postcommunist years seemed to be that which focused on eradicating all remnants of the previous system, which included, ironically, its own unfulfilled commitments to human rights in general and to women's rights in particular. The second paradox is that the only spheres of freedom available under communist rule, those provided by the Church in Poland, by the so-called second economy in Hungary, and by the family in Czechoslovakia, have now for women become spheres of constraint.

In all four countries (three before 1993), a quota system had been designed by the Communists to ensure that women's participation in Parliament would be numerically high but passive (about 30 percent in all three). Various analyses of the composition of the Polish Parliament show that women had always been selected to demonstrate the thesis that even young, inexperienced nonprofessionals without political backing could become members of Parliament (MP). Women were selected in such a way as to represent all these features simultaneously. This is why women, to a greater extent than the male MPs, played the role of *filters*. They were always a numerical minority, but their influence was even smaller than their numbers might have suggested.¹

Since the quota was dropped after 1989, the participation of women has been numerically much smaller: about 8–14 percent in each Parliament. But those women now participating are much more visible in the public life of the country, which is sometimes attributed to their average level of education, which is statistically higher than that of men, and to their considerable legislative and political experience.² Yet even among those women visible in public life, it is still the exception rather than the rule when they pay any attention to the mounting problems facing women or act on their behalf. On the contrary, there is a continuing assumption among many women policymakers and lawmakers that women's problems are inseparable from the problems facing society as a whole and should not be gendered. One of the reasons for such a widely shared position is the need to avoid resembling either of the two models of the woman activist that have been widely ridiculed: that of the thoroughly discredited official communist "women's representative" (whether in Parliament or in some other high office) and that of the Western feminist, parodied with some success by the communist media as a spoiled, pathetic, professionally unsuccessful activist who, on top of everything else, frequently uses the language—so compromised here—of socialist doctrine.

But in the course of the 1990s, in Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, and Bratislava—places where the political scene is more and more frequently looked upon with disappointment and disgust—one has also been able to detect the reemergence of a public-spirited ethos exemplified more often than not by certain individual

women and women's groups in parliaments and beyond. Such an ethos combines the experience and civic commitment of former dissidents (from the democratic opposition of the 1970s and 1980s) with a readiness to address imaginatively the unfamiliar challenges of new political and economic circumstances. These women are beginning to be respected by both the broader public and the political elites either because of—or in spite of—their commitment to women's issues.

In Hungary and Poland it was the fight for the preservation of reproductive rights that helped crystallize such an ethos and bring about a broader recognition of women policymakers. In each of the four countries the new women's initiatives are introducing to political and public life an anticonservative agenda and are working on those issues that are the least rewarding politically. In Poland such women established the Women's Parliamentary Group and successfully competed with men in the autumn 1993 elections to Parliament, increasing their participation from 9 to 13 percent. In Hungary such women MPs created in 1992 the Foundation of the Women of Hungary (MONA), dedicated to women's issues, and organized a national women's roundtable the following year, which for the first time brought together all Hungarian women's organizations, representing the full political spectrum—an initiative unthinkable for the dramatically divided political parties in 1993 Hungary. In Czechoslovakia, a well-known former dissident and member of Charter 77 (the human and civil rights movement founded in 1977 by Václav Havel and others), Jirina Šikdová, established in 1992 a gender studies center, lending a badly needed credibility to the budding discourse on the social position of women. After the "Velvet Divorce" of Czechoslovakia in 1993, a group of women in the new country of Slovakia not only launched a journal, *Aspekt*, devoted to "unpopular" women's issues but also flouted the official political line in pointedly disregarding the Czechoslovak breakup by making their journal, though published in Bratislava, a joint Czecho-Slovak initiative.

In its often Sisyphean effort to build and strengthen women's organizations, to communicate their concerns effectively to broader groups of women, and to win sympathizers, readers, members, and activists, the emerging women's movement has downplayed some issues that are regarded as too radical for the general public. Only rarely does one hear women's groups addressing in public the problem of sexual harassment or domestic rape and, almost never, sexual difference.³ Lesbian women involved in women's groups are choosing, usually for tactical reasons, not to confront the issue and further jeopardize the movement's chances of growing. It is hard enough in some women's groups just to call oneself a feminist; one must struggle to overcome a prejudice against the very word.

The problem of women and race, limited as it is in this part of Europe, is beginning to gain some attention with regard to the Roma women, or Gypsies, especially in the countries with a significant Roma population (Hungary, 5–10 percent, Czech Republic, 4–6 percent, and Slovakia, 4–8 percent). Roma women have their

own separate organizations, with only very weak connections to other women's groups.

Finding a Voice

At the end of 1992 one of the first books to articulate the problems of women in postcommunist countries was published as the result of a grassroots effort in Poland. The publication, entitled *Women Have the Floor*,⁴ is not a translation from English, German, or French but a collection of original essays by Polish women on what it means to be a woman in Poland. The book documents one of the key preoccupations of most active women in the region after 1989: conducting a debate on the recent past—that is, on the specificity of women's experience under communism and its repercussions for the character of the women's movement in these countries. Similar questions appear in a Hungarian feminist periodical, *Nostemely* (*Female*), published irregularly since 1991, and in the Slovak *Aspekt* (since 1993). Such questions are also raised at every conference, seminar, and workshop where women from the region get together, often with their Western counterparts.

There are several reasons one should look closely at these debates. In most of the postcommunist countries, where there are various women's groups but no sizable, organized movement at the national level, the very existence of the debates brings women's issues into better focus. In fact, they are the very first manifestation of women's self-mobilization around women's issues and, in some countries, the only one. In Poland and in Hungary more challenging circumstances (especially antiabortion legislation) mobilized women earlier on. Women's movements in other countries, too, may emerge in response to immediate circumstances, but the character and strategies of all of them will be largely determined by the past or, more precisely, by the outcome of their reflection upon those elements from the past that have shaped the identities of Polish, Hungarian, Czech, or Slovak women.

As I look at the debates in those countries with which I am most familiar, the most frequently raised theme is the complexity of the situation women lived in under communism. The argument most commonly offered throughout the region to explain the absence of women's protest in the past—an argument that primarily reflects the views of women from the intelligentsia—runs as follows: There existed a sense of solidarity between men and women under state socialism since they regarded themselves as equally repressed by the centrally controlled institutional structures of the state; so the energies of every social movement were directed entirely toward activities having the potential to effect systemic change. Therefore, as most women in these countries point out, all other issues—including women's issues—seemed at that time to be of secondary importance.

Now that those first steps have been accomplished, two new goals are in order: democratization and marketization. Are women taking part in advancing them? Are they included in the shaping of the new legal, social, and economic order? How do they regard their situation under the new circumstances? Are they actually involved in addressing their own situation as women? The very state of the women's movement is closely related to how the women in each country are handling these questions.

There is yet another goal formulated immediately after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and intensely pursued ever since by the governments of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics. It is captured in the popular slogan "Return to Europe!" But given the fact that in the process of democratization and the transition to a market economy virtually no room has been allowed for the participation of women or women's organizations—that, in fact, women's role is being relegated to hearth and home—there has arisen an uncomfortable issue for the governments of the region: that they do not meet the standards of the European Community and the Council of Europe when it comes to equality between men and women, as required in the various documents of these organizations. Women's groups in all four countries are using these instruments more and more (even though some only have the character of recommendations) to argue their case and to initiate discussion on practical ways to realize the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens without regard to gender.

Czech and Slovak Women After Communism: An Escape from Forced Emancipation

For a Westerner, one of the most puzzling trends in post-1989 Czechoslovakia has been the expressed desire of women to withdraw from the world of work into the world of the household, domesticity, and the family. Several factors underlie this trend, and most of them are related to the way women experienced the communist sociopolitical order. But in the Czech Republic especially, an additional factor is the fact that economic reform was not introduced in the manner of "shock therapy," and has neither caused massive unemployment nor generally lowered the standard of living.

For this retreat into domesticity, the simplest and most frequent explanation offered by Czech women is, "We were overemancipated and still are." This attitude seems to be quite disturbing for many of the women activists from the West who visit fashionable Prague. The energies of Czech and Slovak women activists and intellectuals are directed toward explanations that often tend toward defensiveness (e.g., the argument, which I examine more closely in the following section, that emancipation was not a matter of choice but was imposed from above).

This strong preference for the private sphere in general and the family in particular, as the only realm where Václav Havel's "living in truth" is possible, is further reinforced by the Czechs' and Slovaks' relatively limited experience of civil society in the 1970s and 1980s. After the crackdown on the Prague Spring of 1968, Czechoslovakia became one of the most repressive regimes in the region, and Charter 77's activities, though well known abroad, were confined to a relatively small circle of courageous intellectuals. The combination of these two elements has made the situation of Czech and Slovak women—since the very beginning of the changes in 1989—quite different from that of the Poles and Hungarians. In Slovakia, which is Catholic and whose population is generally more religious than the mainly Protestant Czechs, the focus on family has a less secular explanation. The family was and is the traditional center of spiritual life, offering asylum from the pressures of the official structures to conform. Czechoslovak families also developed successful strategies for accessing the goods, both material and cultural, controlled by the state by placing various family members in different key positions. This very special role of the family (analyzed by a sociologist from Brno, Ivo Možný) in playing the game, or cheating the state, in a "redistribution of commodities" further strengthened the family's position in Czechoslovakia.

Through my visits to Prague and Bratislava over the last couple of years I have come to realize that the vast majority of women here do not feel they are in any way worse off than men are. Slovak women told me in the summer of 1994 that most of the problems they face are not specific or exclusive to women but are family problems caused by the economic transformation and the split of Czechoslovakia (unemployment, loss of social services, divided families, the sex trade, and citizenship issues). One Czech participant in the debate on women's issues, Hana Havelková, observed in 1992 that "nothing has yet happened publicly to show women the importance of their solidarity, their lobbies, and their political representation, and they do not yet think about it themselves."⁷

The antiabortion legislation that provoked Polish and Hungarian women to organize themselves did not take place in either the Czech or Slovak republic. Abortion is still legal, but Czech women have to pay a fee that comes close to their average monthly salary and that thus discriminates against poorer women. The severe restriction on the right to abortion that was attempted by the Christian-Democratic government in Slovakia never materialized. Abortions performed during the first six weeks of pregnancy are free, and those performed during the second six weeks require a relatively small payment. There is yet another serious problem, that of female prostitution, which is not discussed publicly at all in this Catholic country: But it is only a one-hour drive from Bratislava to Vienna, Slovaks do not need visas to get to Austria, and for enterprising women the exchange rate can make such trips very lucrative.

Among the more than thirty women's organizations that one might find (most of them only on paper) in the Czech Republic and a comparable number regis-

tered in Slovakia, there are very few that express any interest in actually advancing the position of women. Some of them, relics of the past such as the formerly communist Czech Women's Union and Slovak Women's Union (which still retain considerable property and claim memberships in the hundreds of thousands), have lost all their legitimacy. Every political party has its own women's section, convenient for the leadership in its foreign contacts but not particularly active on the national scene.

In both countries of the former Czechoslovakia, as in Poland and Hungary, there is a strong negative reaction among women to the idea of participation in any large nationwide organization. The image of the *sodruzka*, the communist token woman, is still associated in their minds with such structures and still haunts them. "We are neither *sodruzky* nor feminists. We are women." And they prefer to define themselves, for example, as female intellectuals from Bratislava. This cautious search for self-identity and for a definition of women's position in society has been conducted since 1990 through an ongoing debate and through activities that help facilitate that debate. One item of documentation produced in this effort is the so-called Blue Book, entitled, *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Postcommunist Czech Republic*.⁸

Only relatively recently have projects been developed that actually address the concrete problems of women. One such transitional institution that recognizes both the need for debate and the need to tackle immediate problems is the Meeting Place. Supported partially by the Gender Studies Center, its major activity entails organizing legal and psychological services for elderly women while tapping their memories of the past. Foundation ROSA is mostly preoccupied with organizing help for divorced women, and work has begun on setting up a crisis hotline and resource center for female victims of violence.

The debate brings women together in conferences, seminars, lectures, and publications, and—what is more important—it gradually and constantly extends the number of those engaged in it. The first institutional and inspirational hub of these activities was the Gender Studies Center, founded in 1991 by former dissident Jirina Siklova and situated for its first two years, along with an impressive library of feminist literature, in her own apartment in Prague. The statement of its goals reflects what I call the debate-oriented character of this young movement: "to raise gender consciousness in society; to encourage public discussion, research, writing, publication, and study that re-evaluate the roles, images, and positions of men and women."

In Bratislava a group of women originally associated with the progressive literary monthly *Slovenske Pohľady* (Slovak Views) and prompted by the government decision to close it established their own—this time, female only—quarterly. Its title, *Aspekt*, is discreetly accompanied by the female sign: ♀. The editorial article of the first issue (1993) states their mission clearly: "The old social roles are falling apart and we have to find our place in the new ones." *Aspekt*, which cultivates the

civic ideals of the first prodemocratic and antinationalist movement in post-1989 Slovakia, the Public Against Violence, is trying to disregard the split of Czechoslovakia and has created through a joint editorial board a bridge between the readers in both countries who are interested in women's issues. The group around *Aspekt*, constantly striving to remain as informal as possible, has managed to open a library in Bratislava, which is the starting point for an educational center in gender studies.

The Czech and Slovak Debate: Emancipation from Above

By 1948, argues Jirina Siklova, it was clear to the Czechoslovak Communist Party planners that the women's emancipation movement could serve the ideological objectives of the communist system. These entailed a buildup of heavy industry, especially in Slovakia, and a transfer of the labor force from the countryside to the cities. The party regime argued that the effective emancipation of women depended upon their entering the labor force, which could lead to their economic independence. Therefore, party leaders popularized the "working woman" as a role model throughout the 1950s. Hana Navarova, one of the few Czech sociologists studying women's issues, says in her paper "What Did Socialism Give to Women?" that by the 1960s it was also clear that through this emancipation women were being forced to take on a dual role: working woman and housewife/mother.¹⁰ Moreover, their family obligations were holding them back professionally. In a vicious circle, this disadvantageous position at work would further incline them to retreat to the family.

Around this time, Czechoslovakia experienced a significant drop in population, and the state offered a variety of privileges to women who opted for childbearing. Siklova points out that such privileges were awarded only to women when it was felt they would further the development of socialism. For example, when the cheap labor force needed in the 1950s was an economic priority, the maximum maternity leave was four months; but in the 1970s, when the labor market was saturated, priorities changed, and maternity leave was gradually extended to as much as three years. According to research, the very high rate of female employment (currently 90 percent of all working-age women) is primarily the result of financial necessity and only partially an expression of women's professional aspirations.¹¹

In Slovakia, which had traditionally been rural, rapid industrialization over the past forty years created a huge army of workers who still live in villages and cultivate their small plots of land but who commute long distances to work in the cities. At the factories women usually work the early shift, and just as they head back for home, their husbands are starting the second shift, often at the same factory. Helena Wolekova, until June 1992 Slovakia's minister of labor, has characterized this as an even further crippling of the family, in which, in accordance with the

Czechoslovak model, both parents work in any case. These women are doing triple duty: in the factory, on the farm, and in the home. What sort of emancipation is that? she asks.¹² Women "were reduced to a cheap source of labor that could be plugged in anywhere without regard to specific capabilities, prerequisites, or ambitions"—so argue two Slovak women philosophers from the *Aspekt* circle.¹³

As a result of this forced emancipation of women in Czechoslovakia, which can be interpreted either in terms of ideological necessity (for the state) or economic necessity (for families, most of which needed two incomes to survive), there now exists among women a kind of allergic reaction to all forms of public involvement. Today liberation does not mean escaping from domesticity. It means acknowledging the family's recent role as a refuge, a place providing shelter from a paternalistic state that always knew "what was best" for the people. And so today for many Czech women liberation means precisely a return to the family, seen as a space where one's lost dignity can be recovered. In Slovakia the question of who can afford this newfound freedom is answered as follows: businessmen's wives.

The traumatic experience of the crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring introduced another factor into the "centrally planned emancipation" of many women of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. In order to escape the increased pressures of official ideology, an entire generation of politically active young women turned to the family because the family was the only realm sheltered from state control. In the words of Miroslava Holubová, an English teacher and cofounder of a women's group called New Humanity, "If we had won in '68, I don't think I would have had a family right away. I would have been a public person: a journalist, a politician. ... But for me the only choice, psychologically, was emigration or having babies."¹⁴ Alexandra Berková, a well-known writer and the author of New Humanity's manifesto, argues that women, who came home from work to meet their first priority—creating a protective environment for the family—emerged from the totalitarian system psychologically stronger than men, who were more completely exposed to the system.¹⁵

These educated and critical women, now in their forties, are in fact excited about the possibilities for reentering a public arena that is no longer monopolized by a repressive state. But for twenty years—as they frankly admit—the family was their safe haven and the only place where they could find fulfillment. They are well aware of the fact that to the outsider they appear to be full of contradictions, with their mixed conservative and progressive ideas about women's roles in a changing society. And they will have to face a still small but growing number of younger women still in university and taking their first gender studies courses whose views are both less accommodating to the home-and-hearth tradition and more resistant to the current situation in which women have no voice.

For the moment such student women are the main constituency for the Bratislava-based *Aspekt*. Run rather cautiously by women scholars and writers who for the most part do not want to be labeled as feminists, the journal presents highly

abstract articles, translations, and, much less frequently, materials that deal specifically with women in Slovakia. But since *Aspekt* and its circle are perceived as belonging to the antinationalistic and anti-Meciar opposition, the journal has appeal for a broader group of democratically minded intellectuals and is therefore able to lend legitimacy to university gender studies, which still badly need it at the local level. No matter how elitist the current initiatives by women intellectuals may be, they are breaking new ground and are opening up a space—unthinkable just a few years ago—in which women's issues can be considered at all.

Hungarian Women: Between the Past and the West

An outside observer can notice some similarities between the activities of Hungarian women and those of women in the former Czechoslovakia: What is mobilizing women from various—though still mostly intellectual—circles and bringing them together is their reflection on their former and present situations and how these compare with the experience of Western women. One might reasonably argue that in trying to position themselves vis-à-vis the West and vis-à-vis the past, Hungarian, Czech, and Slovak women are engaged in laying the necessary groundwork for confronting the challenges they will inevitably face as a group.

Hungarians talking to Western feminists try to refute the latter's easy assumptions about the privileges women were granted under communism. Eniko Bollobas, who in 1989 founded a political discussion group called Hungarian Feminists, challenged the widespread stereotype of women from the region during a meeting in Strasbourg in the fall of 1992: "Women are not suffering because of the collapse of Communism, but because of the damage Communism has done to their mentality. This has not yet collapsed."¹⁶

Like some of the Czech feminists, Bollobas points to a problem that may be the greatest obstacle not only to the emergence of a women's movement but also to the very process of democratization in the postcommunist countries. As individuals, people were not encouraged to develop and experience—much less allowed to exercise—their autonomy, self-reliance, or initiative. Despite such general similarities, certain specificities of Hungarian communism made the experience of women in this country quite different.

The departure from the previous system in 1989 was not as dramatically clear-cut and spectacular here as it was in Czechoslovakia. Structural changes in the Hungarian economy had already begun in the late 1960s with the general mixing of the command economy with a free market. By the 1980s the process that led to the emergence of this "second economy" had created the peculiar socioeconomic experiment known as "goulash communism."

The Hungarian Debate: The Goulash Economy and Women's Triple Burden

By introducing a liberalized economic and employment policy in the mid-1960s, a time of chronic shortages, the Kadar regime established conditions under which people were able to improve their living standards by taking second and even third jobs in their own or other small businesses. This second economy, or "private sector," a sphere of economic activity that was legal but outside of the state monopoly and came to be known as the goulash economy, had a major impact on many areas of production. Between 1960 and 1980 it built more apartments and produced more agricultural goods than did the state sector. For individuals, the second economy provided a sphere of freedom from total state control that was unknown in other socialist countries. It created a climate in which people could learn how to make their own choices, take responsibility for their own decisions, and find a new kind of self-respect. (The only comparable situation existed in the Polish countryside, where the majority of private middle-sized farms were in the hands of peasants and were never nationalized.) This important vehicle for maintaining economic standards and reclaiming some degree of personal autonomy from the state depended heavily upon the support of the family unit and a kind of family self-exploitation. It therefore imposed limitations in other areas, and one of those areas affected women: It forced them to concentrate on their traditional role as homemaker even while working and often being otherwise professionally active at the same time.

The second economy, argues sociologist Olga Toth,¹⁷ required a very specific division of labor within the family, one that reinforced existing assumptions about gender roles. Typically, both husband and wife worked in the first (state-run) economy. Then the wife returned home to assume the domestic responsibilities, while the husband went to his second wage-earning job and often on weekends to a third one. By managing the household, and serving as liaison between the family and the bureaucracies governing housing, health care, schools, and even vacation planning, the wife made it possible for the man to be involved in the second economy, thus benefiting the family. Observers often stress that without this mutual support within the family, the second economy could not have functioned since most single men and women could not have handled such a triple burden: a first job, a second job, and the bureaucratic and household demands of everyday life. Approximately 75 percent of families participated in the second economy in various ways, and in effect, since 1989, they still do. Since the late 1970s, this Hungarian specificity, which sociologist Julia Szalai has described as "symbolizing autonomy, cooperation, and success for men and women who share their efforts within it,"¹⁸ has complicated the already difficult situation of women in Hungary.

Economic necessity underlies the popularity of early marriage in Hungary. As Toth points out, establishing a family offers Hungarians more strategies for survival than does remaining unmarried: special social benefits, a better chance for an apartment, at least two incomes, and the necessary conditions for entering the second economy. Yet juggling the roles of employee, housekeeper, and mother throughout an extremely long working day (including those evening and weekend hours when the husband is at his second or third job) has contributed to a very high rate of emotional and mental disorders among Hungarian women: 37 percent in the most active age group (30 to 59).

Why There Is No Women's Movement in Hungary

On Hungary's present political stage, as in any other postcommunist country, there is a striking absence of women. There is also at the moment only a slim chance for the emergence of a women's movement on the national level. For one thing, since 1989 there has been no radical change in the social and economic status of women. As yet the most serious economic and social problems of the new Hungary are not specifically "women's" problems. Despite growing unemployment, for example, especially outside of Budapest, women are not affected by it to the same extent as men since the biggest reduction in jobs has taken place in heavy industry and mining, where most employees are men. It is expected that a second wave of unemployment will hit light industry (because of the collapse of the Soviet market), service industries, and the public sector (because of cuts in state and local budgets). The victims of these employment cuts will mainly be the women who predominate in these industries.

There are three groups of reasons offered by Hungarian women to explain the absence of a women's movement, and the arguments one hears have been a part of the debate since the late 1980s. The first argument, already mentioned, points to the heritage of the communist past: a paternalistic state that infantilized society and typecast women. The second—true for all countries of the region but often a revelation for Westerners—is that women's issues have not achieved agenda status; on the contrary, since 1989 they have constituted a forbidden agenda. In March 1994, six weeks before the parliamentary elections, women's groups organized a forum for the main political parties and asked them what their policies toward women were. They did not have any. They also had very few women running for Parliament. The situation, argue Hungarians, is a vicious circle: Women do not get into decisionmaking positions if they talk about women's issues, and they are underrepresented in public life precisely because women's issues are not taken seriously. The third argument cites the vulnerability of the existing women's organizations, trapped between the past and the West. For example, there are two organizations of professionally active urban women in Hungary: the Association of Hungarian Women and the Feminist Network. Both of them are perceived as con-

troverial, but for opposite reasons: The association, for its connection with the communist past, and the network, for its links to the West.

The Association of Hungarian Women was established in 1989 as the successor to the Women's Council, which was an official organization backed by the Communist Party. Although it inherited the council's considerable property, the association now emphasizes its nonpartisan orientation. In its brochure published in 1992, it claims to represent the interests of women and families from different walks of life, with the main objective being "the realization of women's social equality and equal rights."

The Feminist Network, established in 1990, is a much smaller, nonbureaucratic, activist-driven organization whose major goal, as stated in its flier, is "to work against all forms of discrimination against women ... [and] to encourage the participation of women in political life." The network's main liability is that its active participants include a few women from the West: Americans and Britons studying or working in Hungary. Additionally, their organization's name, which was deliberately selected to indicate a commitment to a feminist perspective, is widely considered pejorative in Hungary and has a clearly nondomestic, Western connotation. As I learned when attending one of the network's meetings, all of the participants (mostly in their twenties, thirties, and early forties) had originally become interested in feminism through foreign contacts: a trip abroad or a Western visitor.

Recognizing that the perception of the group's activities is constantly damaged by the very word *feminism*, the Feminist Network, which has recently been functioning as a much looser structure, is gradually dropping the discredited label. The new projects it launched in the beginning of 1994 and through which it wants to reach more women are using straightforwardly self-descriptive names: Women for Women Against Domestic Violence (NANE) and Women's House. The former has organized the first telephone hotline in Hungary and counseling in cases of domestic and sexual violence and has plans for organizing a public education campaign on violence, including a training program for professionals such as lawyers, physicians, and members of the police force.

The second project, Women's House, was organized by an initiative known as the Ombudswoman's Office, which is affiliated with the Department of Social Policy at ELTE University. Women's House, which occupies two rooms in an old former building of the Communist Party, is open during evening hours and offers women the free services of a lawyer and a social worker on matters involving divorce laws, custody laws, child support, or the need for lodging in one of Budapest's two shelters for women. There is a visible effort under way in Budapest to play down Western feminist connections and to rely more on domestic or regional collaborations. In establishing the NANE hotline, experienced women from Belgrade's SOS-HOTLINE, who came to Budapest to provide training for eighteen Hungarian hotline volunteers, played an important role.

The problem of foreign interest in women's issues in Hungary has another dimension. As I was frequently reminded during my stay in Hungary, almost all scholarly research on women in Hungary has so far been inspired, financed, and published by foreign institutions or agencies. Although this activity has raised the awareness of women's problems among the cosmopolitan circles of Budapest's women intellectuals (one of them, Maria Adamik, acknowledging that Western women played an important role as facilitators of feminism), many say that outside of academia there seems to be no market for this research on women's issues. Critics point out that it tends to address a Western set of questions, is tailored to fit the programs of international conferences and English-language publications, is not channeled back to Hungary, and therefore has virtually no impact on the way Hungarians perceive women. Those engaged in the Hungarian debate are aware that there is a lack of connection between academia and the "real world." And they recognize yet another cleavage: that between Budapest and the provinces. Both these gaps, while not limited to women's issues, impede in particular the laying of any groundwork for a nationwide women's movement.

Poland: From Debate to Action

When in April 1989 a team of sociologists asked a representative sampling of Poles to choose from a list the one category that best defined their identity, gender came in last place, after (in this order) human being, Pole, parent, and occupation. The survey was conducted at the time of the roundtable negotiations between the Solidarity-rooted opposition and the ruling Communist Party, during which the communist regime was being forced by society to share power. The feeling of solidarity against the system on the part of all citizens was very strong, and in this struggle gender was a negligible social variable.

But today, after more than five years during which women's civil rights have been put into question and even denied, the same survey would probably yield very different results, with gender almost certainly winning a much higher place on the list. The new antiabortion legislation, which went into effect in March 1993, was preceded by four years of escalating protests organized by women. These, together with the additional impetus given to the mobilization of women by the spectacular rise of women's unemployment after 1990, in fact laid the foundation for a new and growing women's movement in Poland.

The relatively long experience of the Solidarity movement of 1980-1981, in which Poles—with the notable participation of Polish women—practiced the self-organization of citizens independently from governmental structures, is an important source of the difference between the state of the women's movement in Poland and that in the other countries of East and Central Europe. Another difference comes from the unusual position the Catholic church has occupied in Polish



Polish textile workers, among twelve thousand townspeople in Żyrardów protesting food shortages in late October 1981, pray at a makeshift altar outside a factory. The church's central role in Polish life and politics has proven to be a challenge to the contemporary women's movement.

political life. According to popular wisdom, as manifested in the parliaments throughout East and Central Europe, the first step toward a successful transformation to democracy must be a radical departure from the communist past. The vacuum left after the collapse of communism in Poland—and after official ideology had vanished—was quickly filled by the Catholic church. The new political correctness that emerged is visible in parliamentary laws (religious instruction in school, antiabortion laws, restitution of church property), in the recently signed concordat with the Vatican, in the media (now obliged to observe “Christian values”), and in public life. The Polish debate on women's issues therefore examines the impact of the church on the past and current role of women.

Feminism made its very first, shy appearance in Poland among university students in the early 1980s, and this is when the debate on women's issues began. Because of its longer history, today's discourse—compared with that in the other countries I am examining here—is much less Western oriented and Western driven and to a much greater degree generated by indigenous questions and problems. It involves women scholars, journalists, and politicians but also a new breed of women activists. The experience of the past is examined and discussed but is only one of the many issues reflected in the debate.

The Polish Debate: Between Motherhood and Motherland

For the last forty-five years, Poles have been as much affected by the Catholic church—the only institutional survivor from the past—as by the institutional framework of “real socialism.” The threatened position of the church vis-à-vis the communist regime afforded the church a particularly strong position vis-à-vis Polish society. Its already high moral authority was further strengthened in the early 1970s when the church became an ally of the democratic opposition and provided a base for many oppositional activities. Before 1980 (pre-Solidarity times) and after the imposition of martial law in December 1981, the church provided the only space where Poles could feel a real sense of freedom and dignity, protected from state control, and it was perceived by the majority of the society as the only possible guardian of spiritual values. Among the closely related elements of the dominant value system was the identification of catholicism with Poland, or, to put it another way, the identification of catholicism with the national tradition of struggle for the independence of the motherland.

A specifically Polish religiosity centers around the cult of the Madonna. The content of this folk-type religiosity committed to a Marian tradition—through its iconography, religious festivals, and pilgrimages—celebrates heroic, self-sacrificing women and motherhood in a national context provided by Polish history and romantic patriotic literature. In this literary tradition, the main duties of Polish women are maintaining the family and preserving Poland's national identity, while men (husbands and sons) fight for the motherland, conspire against foreign occupiers, and often spend their lives in prison. This form of “managerial matriarchy” (best captured by the ideal of the *Matka Polka*, the “Polish Mother,” the still widely revered role model for Polish women) historically provided women not only with dignity and prestige but also with psychological gratification. These could be gained in virtually no other way than through this role of mother and family caretaker.

After 1945—just as in the other countries of the bloc—this traditional model was upset by a massive enlistment of women into the labor market as a result of ideological and economic pressures. Women were urged to assume new roles, becoming workers and building a new social order alongside men. But in October 1956, after the communist state had suffered its first setback with a workers' protest in Poznań, this crudely promoted concept of a “new breed of socialist women” had to be discarded. At the same time, the collectivization of private farms was suspended; the primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, was released from internment; and religious instruction was reintroduced into the schools. Since then, the officially promoted model of Polish women has been largely a by-product of the intricate relationship between the Catholic church and the communist state. The socialist model never recovered its original hard-line position, while the conservative model continued to gain visibility, especially during times of relative

freedom (Solidarity, 1980–1981), when the Catholic church increased its influence and presence and thus had a greater impact on public affairs.

Issues, Groups, and Projects

There are several dozen women's groups at work in different parts of Poland, which, though functioning at the local level, constitute a thriving network of projects and initiatives dealing with current women's issues, especially the problems of reproductive rights and of women's unemployment.

Reproductive Rights. The year 1989 was critical for the Polish women's movement, less because of the final break with the communist system than because of the abortion bill prepared by a group of Catholic deputies for the last communist Parliament. The first draft of this bill specified a five-year prison term for a woman who had an abortion. This provoked the rapid establishment of numerous new women's organizations. Among the first registered were the Polish Feminists' Association (PFA), and Pro-Femina. Both of these groups are relatively small (50 to 60 members), urban, young, and intelligentsia based. Pro-Femina is devoted almost entirely to the issue of abortion. PFA's core group in Warsaw had already been meeting informally throughout the 1980s, at which time it resembled today's debate-oriented women's movement in the Czech and Slovak republics. Its program has been broader than Pro-Femina's from the beginning, and in the early 1990s it launched branches in several large university cities (Wrocław, Szczecin, Poznań, Gdańsk, and Kraków), which have since turned themselves into autonomous groups having one feature in common: that they all openly call themselves feminists.

The Warsaw PFA group has good international contacts and has earned credibility with women in Parliament, with the ombudsperson, and with other women's groups. The group's natural environment is the university community, and members have few contacts with women workers or peasants. Their leaders, Jolanta Plakwicz, Beata Fiszer, and Magdalena Umińska, speak fluent English. Their general interest is political and includes a monitoring of the legislative process to see how the new laws address women's needs and comply with European standards. The concerns of the Kraków group are more oriented toward a cultural feminism. There they organize conferences, discussions, and film festivals and publish the women's periodical *Pelny Głos* (*With a Full Voice*). The first Polish feminist book of essays, edited by Sławka Wałczewska, was the work of the Kraków group. The Polish Feminist Association is a good example of the way in which the new women's groups in Poland are constituting themselves. In the variety of its local forms it represents one model of organization: grassroots, flexible, non-hierarchical, and committed to preserving its own internally democratic self-governance and to expressing the needs and interests of its own members.



Gender and reproductive rights issues that had been buried under communism reemerged with democratization. This cartoon, printed in Poland—stating “No! We are not machines for making children!”—publicized an issue faced by women in many countries.

The abortion issue and the general feeling of helplessness on the part of society vis-à-vis its elected representatives have become major catalysts for the most impressive, liberal-oriented social movement in postcommunist Poland: the “proreferendum movement.” Between November 1992 and March 1993, hundreds of committees established themselves throughout the country to exert pressure on Parliament to refrain, at the very least, from criminalizing abortion. The committees collected 1.5 million signatures of adult Poles requesting that a referendum be held to decide whether abortion should be punished. The referendum committees continue to have a life of their own, even after their movement was effectively disarmed by Parliament’s decision in the final bill that only the physician performing an abortion is to be punished and not the woman undergoing it.

The latest parliamentary elections (October 1993) reflected widespread support for the proreferendum movement when its most vocal leader, Barbara Labuda, gained twice as many votes as Wladyslaw Frasiuk, a legendary figure from the Solidarity period and a very popular politician, who was running in the same district. Labuda, despite many predictions to the contrary, was not hurt by her openly feminist and anticlerical stand. Moreover, the new Parliament has a significantly larger proportion of women representatives (up from 9.1 to 13.4 percent).

Asked whether she thinks there is a women's movement in Poland, Slawka Walczewska, an activist and cofounder of the Foundation of Women in Kraków, says, "We have many groups—but a movement? Women are extremely resistant to any idea of centralization or of furthering the formal structuring of their activities. None of the existing groups is willing to join or submit itself to a larger structure." This insistence on horizontal autonomous structures results not only from the negative reaction to the superhierarchical communist organizations but also from the experience of Solidarity, both during the period of the triumphantly self-governing society tolerated by the regime in 1980–1981 and—after the government crackdown—during the years of rebuilding the union's structures underground. The less centralized the activities, the more successful they were—and the more difficult for the police to disrupt. This is one of the reasons women in Poland prefer very loose networks or, as they put it, just "a directory of groups." "Give me a list of addresses, and if we need to act, we'll contact them," said one of the activists in Kraków. In fact, the main tool facilitating communication between groups is an address directory of all the women's organizations and initiatives, which was recently prepared by the Women's Promotion Center. This is how women organized themselves in the—as they stressed—informal group Women Too in preparation for the local elections in Poland. Their activities for several months (November 1993–May 1994) were focused on searching for the best women candidates and helping them prepare their election campaigns. They ran seminars and published a handbook, *How to Win the Elections*, which includes a special section offering self-help exercises in leadership, public speaking, negotiation and conflict resolution, stress management, and so forth. They also had a hotline for women candidates from outside Warsaw.

And there is still another factor—that of strategy—that Polish women will have to give considerable attention to as they consider what kind of movement could best grow and succeed in Poland. There is still little doubt that any centralized women's movement operating on a national scale would first have to become a strongly anticlerical movement. But given the peculiarity of Polish society—that its vast majority is pro-choice and yet deeply connected to the church—such an anticlerical orientation might jeopardize the very existence of the movement. This was one of the reasons the referendum movement did not succeed: It would have had to turn against the church. And in Poland it is considered too early to take such a risk.

A respect for the individuality of the various groups' programs has not been an obstacle to the occasional creation of issue-oriented coalitions like the one formed in the spring of 1992 by pro-choice groups to promote and lobby for reproductive rights, called the Federation for Women and Family Planning. Among the participants are the Polish Feminists' Association, Pro-Femina, Neutrum, the Women's League, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Polish Association of Sexologists. The federation, which for tactical reasons avoided the use of the phrase *reproductive rights* in its name, already has a considerable number of achievements to its credit. The women's hotline provides assistance mostly on questions of contraception, rape, violence, and legal matters for women with life-threatening pregnancies. The offices of the Federation and its hotline (which in Polish is called the *trustline*) are functioning as a major resource center for women and for the media as well. The latter are regularly supplied with information on the relationship between the church's ban on contraception and the increase in the need for abortions, in deaths caused by illegal abortions, in underground clinics, and so on.

Another model of organization is one that has been inherited from the previous system: a somewhat transformed version of the large-scale, centralized organization with a sizable bureaucratic apparatus. This model is represented by two organizations that claim rather large memberships: the Women's League, with thirty-five hundred members, and the Democratic Women's Union, with six thousand members. The Women's League, founded in 1945, was the only women's organization in the People's Republic of Poland. It still retains a considerable part of its property, offices, and staff. The Democratic Women's Union was established in 1990 for the purpose of accommodating those women, previously members of the Communist Party, who did not want to remain a part of the Women's League.

Interestingly, neither of these organizations is excluded from the community of new women's groups in Poland. They are both listed in the roster of existing groups. Despite all the resentments about the communist past and reservations about centralized national organizations, what emerges from the meetings, demonstrations, conferences, and joint publications is a growing recognition of common interests and sense of community and the realization that a major step is being taken—by women—toward the further restoration of civil society in Poland.

Women's Unemployment. The second major problem that has mobilized women in Poland has been the unprecedented rise in unemployment. The collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union, the closure of big and costly state enterprises, the restructuring of certain industries, and the reduction in the number of civil servants all contributed to an unemployment rate in Poland of 15.41 percent at the end of 1993. While women constitute 53.4 percent of the unemployed, in regions that are centers of the textile industry and in some of the large conglomerates women suffer unemployment at a rate that is twice as high as that for men.

The decentralization of the Polish women's groups and their generally local focus encouraged a relatively prompt response to the issue of unemployment. Either local women's groups created and launched their own special programs to ameliorate the hardships (such as retraining programs), or women activists solicited the collaboration of other organizations to establish such programs (such as the collaboration in Lodz of the Center for the Advancement of Women with the International Women's Foundation or the Women's Promotion Program, a project of the Foundation for Democratic Action).

Women are also aware of another reason for the higher rate of female unemployment. It is a result of those still functioning legal regulations that were designed to let the socialist woman take on the double role of mother and worker. These stipulate, for example, that women have the "exclusive privilege" of taking paid leave to care for a sick child. These and similar laws, argues Malgorzata Fuszara, director of the Center for Social and Legal Studies on Women, are detrimental to women in today's competitive labor market. They encourage open discrimination against women on the grounds of their lesser productivity. This issue is particularly distressing since, in the absence of other labor legislation, it is extremely difficult to bring to bear the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens without regard to gender. Women's groups not only recognize the discriminatory effect of yesterday's privileges, but through the Parliamentary Women's Group they are also demanding prompt changes in labor legislation. Also under way is the introduction to the floor of Parliament a bill called the Act on the Equal Status of Women and Men.

Conclusions, or Is There a Women's Movement in East and Central Europe?

One of the results of the changes in the postcommunist countries is the emergence of autonomous activities focused on a set of issues that have never been discussed here before—even by women themselves—and that are related to the problem of gender equality in a democratic society. At the moment most of these activities are still in an initial stage of mapping the field: questioning the past and the present and articulating the problems. But this debate-driven moment is crucial for any potential movement; it is here that women meet, problems are identified, goals drafted, organizational structures initiated, and forms of activity considered. The initial themes of the debate have been prompted by an urgent need on the part of many women to rethink their situation both as it was in the recent past under state socialism and as it is now during the process of transition to democracy and a market economy. An awareness of the many similarities between their respective efforts, and the very uniqueness of these efforts historically speaking, frequently brings women from these countries together. Whereas it is still difficult to speak of

women's movements operating on a national level in any of these countries, there are signs of close collaboration among different women's groups in the region. This makes it additionally tempting to see the initiatives of Polish, Czech, Slovak, or Hungarian women as contributing to a significant change in the sociopolitical landscape of the entire region.

Interestingly, recent collaboration on joint projects by women from different East and Central European countries has frequently been facilitated by a new, nonpatronizing breed of Western women's organizations that seek genuine understanding of, and dialogue with, women from the postcommunist countries. Among these is the Network of East-West Women, initiated by women from the United States but now with members in all the postcommunist countries, including Russia, and with joint governance by an international steering committee. A conference on women and the law, organized by the network in early June 1994 in Budapest, helped women conceptualize not only the issues but also the ways in which to address them in each country's legal environments. Other groups most frequently interested in collaboration with East European women come from Germany and the Scandinavian countries. So women's movements are gaining a firm foothold in much of East and Central Europe, stimulating growth and development of civil society. If successful, they may not only get women's issues onto the official agendas of their respective governments and parliaments, but they may also influence the very process of democratization in their societies.

NOTES

1. Adam Michnik, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p. 27.
2. Agnieszka Metelska and Ewa Nowakowska, eds., *Gdzie Diabeł Nie Moze* (Warsaw: BGW, 1992), p. 145.
3. Renata Siemienska, "Wybierane i Głosujące," in *Kobiety: Dawne i Nowe Role* (Warsaw: Centrum Europejskie Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Biuletyn Nr. 1, 1994), p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
5. An article on lesbian activism in the Czech Republic was written by Susanna Trnka and published in Susanna Trnka, with Laura Busheikin, eds., *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Postcommunist Czech Republic* (Prague: Prague Gender Studies Center, 1993).
6. Slawka Walczewska, ed., *Kobiety Maja Glos* (Kraków: Convivum, 1991).
7. Hana Havelkova, "A Few Prefeminist Thoughts," in Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds., *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 72.
8. Trnka, with Busheikin, *Bodies of Bread and Butter*.
9. Jana Cvikova, "List z Bratislavy: Pokus o Postsocialistický Feminismus," *Aspekt* (1993): 2.
10. Hana Navarova, "Co Dal Socialismus Zenam?" in *Pastaveni Zen w Ceskoslovenske Spolecnosti* (Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1991).

11. See, for example, the research by Maria Cermakova, "Gender and the Employment of Higher Education Graduates in Czechoslovakia," Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1992.

12. Interview with Helena Wolekova, Bratislava, summer 1992.

13. Zuzana Kitzkova and Etela Farkasova, "The Emancipation of Women: A Concept That Failed," in J. Funk and M. Mueller, eds., *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 89.

14. Interview with Miroslava Holubova, Prague, summer 1992.

15. Interview with Alexandra Berkova, Prague, summer 1992.

16. Eniko Bodiobas, "The Role of Women and the Transition to Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe" (Paper presented at a conference of the Council of Europe, Center for Democracy, Strasbourg, October 1992).

17. Interview with Olga Toth, Budapest, summer 1992. (Toth elaborates her point in an unpublished paper on women and their changing role in the family and society in Hungary.)

18. Julia Szalai, "Some Aspects of the Changing Situation of Women in Hungary," *Signs* (Autumn 1991), p. 161.

19. Interview with Slawka Walczewska, Kraków, August 1993.

WESTERN EUROPE

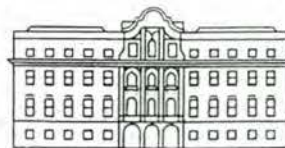
16

Extending the Boundaries of Citizenship: Women's Movements of Western Europe

JANE JENSON

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN Western Europe have a long history. At the end of the nineteenth century movements emerged in many countries, claiming women's right to vote, to work for fair wages, and to have some individual autonomy from fathers or husbands. Organizing in separate women-dominated organizations or as part of existing political parties and trade unions, this first wave of the women's movement was not totally different from its second-wave successors. These latter-day women's movements also mobilized and worked in many different ways. A snapshot of the Dutch women's movement in the mid-1980s captures an image of the situation in many Western European countries since 1968, when the women's movement burst out of the New Left, the old Left, and the student movements:

The movement covers an extremely wide range of ideologies and concrete activities. There are political interest and pressure groups—women for peace, women for legalized abortion, women against sexual violence, women dependent on public support, and women's groups within political parties and unions. There are counseling, education and training groups for women seeking radical therapy; groups for women in midlife; crisis hotlines; courses on society (the so-called VOS, or "Women's Orientation to Society" course) for women with only a few years of secondary education. There are cultural groups such as women's cabarets and theaters, women's art galleries, women's publishing and printing companies, women's bookstores, women's newspapers and magazines. And there are more general groups and activities: women's houses or cafes, consciousness-raising groups and women's groups in commu-



Salzburg Seminar

Session 348

Educating Youth: Challenges for the Future

July 12-19, 1997

FACULTY

Anne Bryant (Co-chair), Executive Director, National School Boards Association, Alexandria, Virginia, USA

Michael Mambo (Co-chair), Minister of Education, Harare, Zimbabwe

Thomas Brezina (guest lecturer), Children's Book Author, Austrian representative to UNICEF, Vienna, Austria

Jan Hawkins, Director, Education Development Center, Center for Children and Technology, New York, USA

Wendy Kopp, Founder and President, Teach for America, Inc., New York, New York, USA

Madeleine May Kunin, Ambassador of the United States to Switzerland; former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Education; former Governor of the State of Vermont, Bern, Switzerland

Jack Mawdsley, Vice President – Programs, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan, USA

Clara Osinulu, Educator, Anthropologist, Vice-President of the International Federation of University Women, Specialist on Girls' Education, Lagos, Nigeria

Shu Yunxiang, (invited) Deputy Director, Research Institute of Education Sciences, Shanghai Institute of Education, Shanghai, China

Kerstin Thoursie, Head of the International Department, Swedish Ministry of Education and Science, Stockholm, Sweden

(We are currently seeking to identify a faculty member from Latin America to replace Paulo Friere)

SESSION RESOURCE PERSON

Boris Berenfeld, senior scientist and principal investigator, TERC, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA

FOCUS

Society bears few greater responsibilities than the education of its youth. The educational process serves to prepare young people for their personal lives and careers, as well as to develop a responsible citizenry and a skilled workforce. With the recent political changes, in particular in South Africa, Latin America, and East Europe, the issue of youth and education has become of critical importance. Not only do school curricula need to be reconsidered, but in some cases national educational systems must be adapted to the new political and social realities.

This session will review the complex issues confronting societies that are either reforming their educational systems, or are seeking to meet the education challenges of a world increasingly driven by technological advances. Using a series of case studies, participants will examine diverse approaches toward primary and secondary education and explore ways in which cognitive skills and decision-making capacities can be developed and nurtured in young people. The session will reach across international and regional boundaries to analyze educational issues through comparative frameworks by bringing together a wide range of individuals concerned with educational policy, organization, theory, and practice.

LECTURE AND PANEL TOPICS:

Session Overview: *Anne Bryant*

Financing Education: *Michael Mambo*

Strategies for National Education Policies: *Madeleine May Kunin*

Children's Literature: *Thomas Brezina*

The Impact of Technology on Education: *Jan Hawkins*

Girl's Education: *Clara Osinulu*

Educational Reform in China: *Shu Yunxiang*

Perspectives on Teacher Training: *Wendy Kopp*

European Perspectives on Education and Training: *Kerstin Thoursie*

WORKING GROUP TOPICS:

- A. TEACHER TRAINING/TEACHING TECHNIQUES
- B. LEARNING STYLES/ASSESSMENT ISSUES/MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES
- C. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON CURRICULUM/SCHOOLS/RESULTS
- D. EDUCATIONAL POLICY AT THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVEL/FUNDING OF EDUCATION

READINGS:

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SALZBURG SEMINAR

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June 11, 1997

Dear Fellow of Session 348:

We look forward to welcoming you to the opening of Session 348 of the Salzburg Seminar, *Educating Youth: Challenges for the Future*, to be held July 12-19, 1997 at Schloss Leopoldskron.

You will find enclosed more detailed information about the session, including some pre-session reading material and information about faculty, lecture topics, and working group themes. Please bring the articles with you to Salzburg.

We would ask you to indicate on the enclosed form your working group preferences and any specific topics on which you would be prepared to lead a discussion, and return this to us as soon as possible. If you have relevant materials addressing specific cases, you may wish to bring them with you as well.

If you have not already done so, it is important that you advise us of your arrival and departure plans, making use of the enclosed form. As mentioned in your letter of appointment, you should plan to be in Salzburg on the afternoon of Saturday, July 12. Departure is on Saturday, July 19. Should you find that you are unable to attend, please notify us immediately. There are people on the waiting list who can be accepted if we know in time.

If you have not yet mailed us the requested passport photos and biography, please do so as soon as possible. They are needed for our session directory which will be distributed upon your arrival.

If you have any questions regarding your participation in Session 348, please do not hesitate to contact us by phone, fax, or email.

Sincerely,

Susanna Fox
Session Director

cc: Session 348 faculty

Internet address: Susanna Fox, Session Director: <sfox@fc.salsem.org>

Kim Thornton, Program Assistant: <kthornton@salsem.ac.at>

Educating Youth: Challenges for the Future

July 12-19, 1997

WORKING GROUP TOPICS

The Seminar will divide into four Working Groups on four afternoons of the session. Each group will investigate a sub-theme relating to the session's main focus: the challenges that exist for primary and secondary education as we enter the next millenium. Given the diversity of educational contexts from which session participants will be coming, each working group will be asked to examine its respective sub-theme from a variety of perspectives, bearing in mind differences that exist in rural and urban educational environments as well as in developing and industrialized countries. The working groups will be asked to report back to the full session on the final afternoon of the seminar.

Working Group A: Teacher Training/Teaching Techniques

This working group will devote its attention to issues relating specifically to teachers. Beginning with a look at teacher training, participants will compare different models for teacher training and recruitment, and will also look at differing approaches to the professional development of teachers. The group will then turn its attention to teaching techniques and will attempt to define what constitutes effective teaching. Questions to be dealt with will include: How can teachers continue to learn? How can the cooperation amongst teachers be facilitated so they can plan cooperatively and can enhance each others' teaching skills? How can we hold teachers accountable for attaining results in students' achievement and development, and help them be effective in attaining those results? What relationships exist between teachers and their pupils and between teachers, parents, and educational administrators? What current and future challenges exist for teachers in classrooms around the world?

Working Group B: Learning Styles/ Assessment Issues/Multiple Intelligences

This working group will focus on issues relating to the child and his/her learning process. Discussions will begin by analyzing learning styles, by exploring how children learn, and by comparing ways in which different learning styles can be balanced in the classroom. Questions to be raised include: How can the learning process be made active rather than passive? What motivates children to learn? How can critical thinking skills and problem solving skills be nurtured in children? A second focus of discussion will be on assessment issues, including the effectiveness or desirability of national standards for performance. Methods for measuring a pupil's progress and achievement will also be identified and analyzed. The third area of focus will be on theories of multiple intelligences, which shed new light on more traditional measurements of intelligence and focus on the talents of the individual child.

Working Group C: Curriculum Development and the Impact of Culture on Curriculum/Schools/Results

This working group will take a comparative look at curriculum development around the world, to identify both positive and negative trends in a variety of countries. What is being taught in classrooms around the globe? What are the educational goals of a society and who determines them? What sociological, cultural, and philosophical considerations enter into decisions concerning school curriculum? How are educational materials developed, selected, and used? What about textbooks and their selection, development, and production? How will new technologies affect curricula?

What impact does culture have on curriculum, and in what ways do cultural factors influence attitudes and approaches to education?

Working Group D: Educational Policy at the National and Local Level/Funding of Education

This working group will take a critical look at education policy at the national as well as at the local level. Given the considerable differences in education policies and education funding sources and strategies around the world, this study group will have a strong comparative component. Since educational policy cannot be developed in a vacuum, the economic, political, and social contexts – which will differ widely from country to country –, and public attitudes surrounding the educational policymaking process will also be examined. The goals and expected outcomes of various national and local education policies will be compared and contrasted, as will the efficacy and viability of various funding mechanisms. The group will also grapple with models of educational reform and will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of “top down” and “bottom up” reform.

A Call to Action For American Education

In the 21st Century

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALL TO ACTION FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

To prepare America for the 21st century, we need strong, safe schools with clear standards of achievement and discipline, and talented and dedicated teachers in every classroom. Every 8-year-old must be able to read, every 12-year-old must be able to log onto the Internet, every 18-year-old must be able to go to college, and all adults must be able to keep on learning.

We must provide all our people with the best education in the world. Together, we must commit ourselves to a bold plan of action:

- ✓ Set rigorous national standards, with national tests in 4th-grade reading and 8th-grade math to make sure our children master the basics.
- ✓ Make sure there's a talented and dedicated teacher in every classroom.
- ✓ Help every student to read independently and well by the end of the 3rd grade.
- ✓ Expand Head Start and challenge parents to get involved early in their children's learning.
- ✓ Expand school choice and accountability in public education.
- ✓ Make sure our schools are safe, disciplined and drug free, and instill basic American values.
- ✓ Modernize school buildings and help support school construction.
- ✓ Open the doors of college to all who work hard and make the grade, and make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as high school.
- ✓ Help adults improve their education and skills by transforming the tangle of federal training programs into a simple skill grant.
- ✓ Connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000 and help all students become technologically literate.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALL TO ACTION FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In his 1997 State of the Union address, the President made clear that his number one priority for the next four years is to ensure that Americans have the best education in the world. He issued a ten-point call to action for American education in the 21st century to enlist parents, teachers, students, business leaders, and local and state officials in this effort:

- ✓ **Set rigorous national standards, with national tests in 4th-grade reading and 8th-grade math to make sure our children master the basics.** Every 4th grader should be able to read; every 8th grader should know basic math and algebra. To help make sure they do, the President is pledging the development of national tests in 4th-grade reading and 8th-grade math, and challenging every state and community to test every student in these critical areas by 1999. These tests will show how well students are meeting rigorous standards and how well they compare with their peers around the country and the world. They will help parents know if their children are mastering critical basic skills early enough to succeed in school and in the workforce. Every state and school should also set guidelines for what students should know in all core subjects. We must end social promotion: Students should have to show what they've learned in order to move from grade school to middle school and from middle school to high school. We must make sure a high school diploma means something.
- ✓ **Make sure a talented and dedicated teacher is in every classroom.** In addition to the talented and dedicated teachers already in the classroom, 2 million new teachers will be needed over the next ten years to replace retirees and accommodate rapidly growing student enrollments. We must take advantage of this opportunity to ensure teaching quality well into the 21st century by challenging our most promising young people to consider teaching as a career, setting high standards for entering the teaching profession, and providing the highest quality preparation and training. We should reward good teachers and quickly and fairly remove those few who don't measure up. The President's education budget will make it possible for 100,000 master teachers to achieve national certification from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards over the next ten years.
- ✓ **Teach every student to read independently and well by the end of the 3rd grade.** Reading is the key to unlocking learning in all subjects. While America's 4th graders read on average as well as ever, more than 40 percent cannot read as well as they must to succeed later in school and in the workforce. Research shows that students unable to read well by the end of the 3rd grade are more likely to become school dropouts and truants, and have fewer good options for jobs. The President's **America Reads Challenge** is a

nationwide effort to mobilize a citizen army of a million volunteer tutors to make sure every child can read independently by the end of the 3rd grade. Parents, teachers, college students, senior citizens, and others can all pitch in to give children extra help in reading during the afternoons, weekends, and summers. At the same time, schools must strengthen the teaching of reading in the school day, and the President's budget invests more in programs that address reading achievement in school.

- ✓ **Expand Head Start and challenge parents to get involved early in their children's learning.** A child's learning begins long before he or she goes to school. That's why the President's budget expands Head Start to benefit one million children by 2002. Parents are their children's first teachers, and every home should be a place of learning. The President and First Lady will convene a conference this spring to review recent scientific discoveries on early childhood learning and to show how parents, teachers, and policy makers can use this new knowledge to benefit young children. And in June, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will host their sixth annual family conference, and focus on the importance of parents' involvement throughout a child's education.
- ✓ **Expand school choice and accountability in public education.** The President has challenged every state to let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation, competition, and parental involvement will make our public schools better. We must do more to help teachers, parents, community groups, and other responsible organizations to start charter schools—innovative public schools that stay open only as long as they produce results and meet the highest standards. The President's budget doubles funding to help start charter schools so that there will be 3,000 charter schools at the dawn of the 21st century, providing parents with more choices in public education.
- ✓ **Make sure our schools are safe, disciplined and drug free, and instill American values.** Students cannot learn in schools that are not safe and orderly and do not promote positive values. We must find effective ways to give children the safe and disciplined conditions they need to learn, such as by promoting smaller schools, fair and rigorously enforced discipline codes, and teacher training to deal with violence. We should continue to support communities that introduce school uniforms and character education, impose curfews, enforce truancy laws, remove disruptive students from the classroom, and have zero tolerance for guns and drugs. We should also keep schools open later as safe havens from gangs and drugs, expanding educational opportunities for young people in the afternoons, weekends, and summers, and providing peace of mind for working parents.
- ✓ **Modernize school buildings and help support school construction.** Just as we face unprecedented and growing levels of student enrollment, a recent report by the General Accounting Office shows that a third of our nation's schools need major repair or outright replacement. To keep children from growing up in schools that are falling down, the Administration has proposed \$5 billion to help communities finance \$20 billion in needed school construction over the next four years.

- ✓ **Open the doors of college to all who work hard and make the grade, and make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as high school.** To prepare ourselves for the 21st century, we must open the doors of college to all Americans and make at least two years of college as universal as high school is today. The President's HOPE scholarship, a \$1,500 tax credit for tuition paid for the first two years of college, would be enough to pay for a typical community college education or provide a solid down payment at four-year colleges and universities. The President also is proposing a \$10,000 tax deduction for any tuition after high school, an expanded IRA to allow families to save tax-free for college, and the largest increase in 20 years in Pell Grants for deserving students.
- ✓ **Help adults improve their education and skills by transforming the tangle of federal training programs into a simple skill grant.** Learning must last a lifetime, and all our people must have the chance to learn new skills. Basic literacy and adult education are more important than ever for adults as well as children. Adults should take on the responsibility of getting the education and training they need, and employers should support their efforts to do so. The President's G.I. bill for workers would provide a simple skill grant that would enable eligible workers to get the education and training they need.
- ✓ **Connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000 and help all students become technologically literate.** Our schools must now prepare for a transition as dramatic as the move from an agrarian to an industrial economy 100 years ago. We must connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000, so that all children have access to the best sources of information in the world. The President is proposing to double the funding for America's Technology Literacy Challenge, catalyzing private-public sector partnerships to put the information age at our children's fingertips. CEOs of some of America's most innovative technology and communications firms have already responded to the President's challenge to work with schools to get computers into the classroom, link schools to the Internet, develop effective educational software, and help train our teachers to be technologically literate.

NATIONAL STANDARDS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Student achievement is not improving fast enough. Across our nation—in our cities, suburbs, and rural communities alike—far too many students are still not meeting the standards that will prepare them for the challenges of today and tomorrow. What the top 20 percent of our students typically learn in math in the 8th grade is learned by most students in Japan in the 7th grade. And while today America's 4th graders read as well as ever on average, 40 percent cannot read as well as they should to hold a solid job in tomorrow's economy.

As a nation, we do not expect enough of our students. Strong schools with clear and high standards of achievement and discipline are essential to our children and our society. These standards of excellence are important to help instill the excitement, knowledge and basic values, such as hard work, that will set our children on the right track. Unfortunately, we currently give far too many of our students a watered-down curriculum inadequate to prepare them for the challenges of the global society and information age. For too many of our children, we create a tyranny of low expectations. A watered-down and boring curriculum and low expectations are the surest way of turning a child eager to learn into an angry, high school dropout who can't read.

Every child can learn. We know that every child in America can meet higher standards, if we have the courage and the vision to set the standards, to teach up to them, and to test whether children have learned what we have taught them. Every state and every school must establish meaningful standards for what students should master in the core subjects. Only with a standard measure of excellence can parents hold schools accountable for improved performance, teachers and principals improve curriculum and instruction, and students have a guide for charting their own progress.

Mastering the Basics: High National Standards in Reading and Math

Every 4th grader should be able to read independently; every 8th grader should know algebra. To help make sure they do, we are going to provide states and local schools the opportunity to participate in rigorous national tests based on these widely accepted standards for reading and math. By 1999, every state should test every student in the 4th and 8th grades to make sure these standards are met. No matter where they live and no matter their background, all our students must master the basics.

- *Reading and math are critical starting points in our drive toward higher standards.*

It is essential that our students master the basics of reading English by the end of 3rd grade. At 4th grade, students are expected to read so they can learn science, history, literature and mathematics. If they can read by then, they can read to learn for a lifetime.

Students who fail to read well by 4th grade often have a greater likelihood of dropping out and a lifetime of diminished success.

It is also important that our students master the basics of math and the essentials of algebra and even geometry by the end of 8th grade. They will then have the foundation to take college prep courses in high school and compete in the world arena. The United States ranks below average internationally in 8th-grade math. We must do better.

A New National Test in 4th-Grade Reading and 8th-Grade Math

- *The Clinton Administration will support the development by 1999 of rigorous national tests for use by individual students based on the widely accepted 4th-grade National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reading test and the 8th-grade Third International Math and Science Study (TIMSS) test of mathematics.*

Although the national reading and math tests will be based on existing tests (National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP] in reading and the math portion of the Third International Math and Science Study [TIMSS]), new tests must be developed. NAEP and TIMSS test a random sample of students to produce estimates of overall statewide and nationwide student achievement; no one student takes the entire test. In contrast, the new tests will be expressly designed to produce individual student scores that will be useful for parents and teachers.

The new tests will be developed during 1997 and 1998, with a pilot test in the spring of 1998 and the first full administration in the spring of 1999. They will be updated annually. The U.S. Department of Education will provide ongoing funding for the development of the tests, and funding for administering and scoring them during the first year. Guidance for test development will come from the most successful math and reading teachers across the country, as well as from parents, governors, and local and state education, civic and business leaders.

- *The Administration is challenging every state and local school across the country to participate in these tests so students, teachers, and parents will know how they are progressing.*

States and school districts can administer the tests as part of their local testing program. After each test's administration, the entire test (along with answers and scoring guides) will be released, placed on the World Wide Web, and widely distributed with supporting materials, so students, parents and teachers can know what is necessary to reach standards of excellence. New tests each year will keep the content current.

We need a national effort to ensure that our students learn the basics and achieve world-class standards of excellence in America's schools. These tests will help show us who needs extra help and which schools need to be improved.

- *The Administration urges schools and teachers to work over the next two years to improve instruction and prepare their students for these tests by 1999.*

Preparing students for the national tests in 1999 means providing students the instruction they need to read independently and well by the end of 3rd grade and the after-school and summer tutoring they need. And it means ensuring that every student by the end of 8th grade has mastered the basics of mathematics and has had a good introduction to algebra and even geometry. While this will require teachers, parents, schools, communities and states to take a hard look at the rigor of what is being taught and the extent to which children are now learning, we know it can be done.

For example, the results on the 8th-Grade Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) test showed that the United States is below average in mathematics achievement when compared with other countries. TIMSS also showed that U.S. students receive a less demanding and less focused curriculum, with instruction focused more on teaching mathematical procedures and less on helping students understand mathematical concepts. However, the **First in the World Consortium**, a group of 20 Chicago-area school districts that joined together to try to become the best in the world in math and science, defied these data, scoring among the top nations in science and second only to Singapore in math.

Developing Challenging Academic Standards in All Core Academic Subjects

Many states and school districts—along with thousands of educators, parents and business and community leaders—have been working to develop better academic standards for students. In almost every core subject, we are better off today because of their efforts in defining essential knowledge, skills and understanding in a range of subjects. But the work is not yet done.

**Places that Set High Standards Have Shown a Difference
In Student Achievement**

In 1993, the chancellor of the **New York City Schools** required all students to take math and science courses at the level of the state's Regents honors exam. In 1995, State Education Commissioner Richard Mills announced that all students would be required to take Regents-level classes starting with that fall's freshman class (the graduating class of 2000). Since the City University of New York (CUNY) began its College Preparatory Initiative with the district, the number of New York City freshmen with four years of English has risen by 59 percent, the number of students passing CUNY math entrance exams has increased by 7.5 percent, and the number of Hispanic and black students who passed the science test has more than doubled. Entering freshmen at the City University of New York are reportedly the best prepared academically in two decades.

Several important pieces of legislation developed by the Clinton Administration together with Congress support the efforts of local schools, communities and states to develop challenging standards and high-quality assessments and improve teaching and learning to help all children reach those standards:

- The **Goals 2000: Educate America Act**, passed in 1994, is helping communities across the country raise academic standards, improve teaching, increase parental involvement and expand the use of technology in the classroom. Communities in all 50 states and thousands of schools have decided to participate in Goals 2000, and many more than the program currently has money to support want Goals 2000 funding to raise standards.
- The **Improving America's Schools Act of 1994** fundamentally reformed Title I—a \$7 billion program for teaching basic and advanced skills in high-poverty schools—to get rid of lower educational expectations for poor children and ensure that disadvantaged students are held to the same standards as other children. The Improving America's Schools Act also expands professional development focused on preparing teachers to help students reach the new standards, provides opportunities for waivers of federal requirements for the first time, and offers start-up funds for charter schools.
- The Clinton Administration reinforces the importance of higher standards for all children through its proposal for the **reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)**, as well as through strategies to support and strengthen bilingual education programs.

While the federal government can provide support and leadership through its programs, the success of this drive toward high standards rests in the hands of teachers and parents, business,

community and religious leaders, and others at the grassroots level. Every community, school, and state needs to continue its work to develop challenging standards and high-quality assessments, measure whether schools are meeting those standards, cut red tape so that schools have more flexibility for grassroots reforms, and hold schools, teachers, and students accountable for results.

States Are Making Progress in Developing Standards and Improving Achievement in Critical Areas

Since the early 1980s, the United States has made significant strides in raising standards and improving student achievement. Across the country, 48 states are developing common standards in core academic subjects, and 42 states either have or are developing assessments to measure student progress towards those standards. The proportion of students taking the core courses recommended in *A Nation at Risk* (4 years of English, 3 years of social studies, 3 years of science, 3 years of math) has increased from 14 percent in 1982 to 52 percent in 1994. These efforts are beginning to pay off. The number of students passing advanced placement (AP) exams has more than tripled since 1982. Combined math and verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores are at their highest since 1974, while the number and diversity of students taking the SAT have increased dramatically. American College Testing (ACT) scores have increased or held steady in each of the last four years. Math and science achievement on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has risen since the early 1980s. And in states like Kentucky, which established comprehensive school improvements six years ago, student achievement is on the rise: more than 92 percent of Kentucky's schools posted achievement gains in 1995-96, and 50 percent of schools in the state met or exceeded their performance goals.

Preparing Academically for College

To get ahead and navigate these changing times, our middle and high school students today need to be preparing to go to at least two years of college and probably go back to college, postsecondary training programs, and universities several more times in their lifetime to continually upgrade their skills and knowledge. That means our elementary and secondary schools need to raise their standards for promotion and graduation. They need to make mastering the basics universal and strengthen all of their core subjects from science to American history and English and from the arts to foreign languages. Students can get on the path to college by mastering successfully not only basic math but the essentials of algebra and geometry by the 8th grade. High schools need to eliminate their general track and replace it with advanced placement and tech-prep classes and other rigorous courses. Students need to be preparing to handle college

work and careers. That's why the President in his 1998 budget is supporting expansion of advanced placement courses, raising standards for students, teachers and schools, and continuing support for tech-prep.

Holding Students and Schools Accountable for Reaching High Standards

It is not enough to set high standards; we must be willing to hold people accountable for meeting them. Our schools and teachers must give all children the help needed to meet high expectations. But we must also say: no more free passes. Today, only a handful of states in the country require young people to demonstrate what they've learned in order to move from one level of school to the next. Every state should do this and put an end to social promotion. No one in America should graduate with a diploma he or she can barely read.

Not only students should be held to high standards. Schools must also be held accountable for results. Despite the central importance of a school principal in leading a successful school, few states hold their districts accountable for having good principals in every school and then give the principals the authority they need to do the job. Too many school districts spend much too much money on central administration and too little money on education and instruction. It is time to hold administrators, as well as educators, accountable for results.

- **Every diploma must mean something, and students should pass tests to move from one level of schooling to the next.**

Once we set high expectations for students, we must help them believe they can learn, challenge and motivate them so they want to learn, ask them to grasp challenging subjects, assess whether or not they're learning, reward them when they succeed and hold them accountable when they fall short. Every state should require a test for students to move from elementary school to middle school, or from middle school to high school or to receive a high school diploma. These tests should measure mastery of the basics and the rigorous material expected in these tough new standards.

Some children may not measure up at first and may need extra help to lift themselves up. Give them the extra help in afternoons, weekends and summers, keep schools open as homework centers, involve their parents more—do whatever it takes to encourage and help them master the basics and perform to the challenging standards we expect of them. If we believe all students can learn, we have to give them a chance to demonstrate it. Students, teachers, and schools will all perform better once we do.

- **We must begin holding schools and their states or school districts accountable for results.**

We must insist that schools and districts have good principals, recruit and hire talented

teachers, reduce administrative costs, and provide more options for parents. Moreover, we should overhaul or shut down schools that fail, and allow new charter schools to start over in their place. The Clinton Administration is urging states and districts to use their authority under the reformed Title I program to hold schools accountable for the assistance they receive, including reconstituting chronically failing schools.

TALENTED TEACHERS IN EVERY CLASSROOM

Every community should have a talented and dedicated teacher in every classroom and at least one master teacher certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards in every school. Our most promising young people also must get encouragement and support to become teachers.

This nation faces several challenges in sustaining and upgrading the quality of our teachers. Two million teachers will be needed over the next ten years to replace retirees and accommodate rapidly growing student enrollment. This presents an enormous opportunity for ensuring teacher quality well into the 21st century, if we recruit promising people into teaching and give them the highest quality preparation and training.

As we demand higher levels of knowledge and skills from our students, we must honor and support our teachers in the classroom today, equipping and expecting them to help our students master the basics and be prepared for college, employment, and good citizenship. Without quality teachers and teaching, our most serious efforts to raise standards and improve schools will not succeed.

Everyone has a role to play in helping our teachers become the best in the world. Parents, schools, community leaders, universities, state leaders—and most important, current and future teachers themselves—can take many steps to address this challenge.

- **Identify and reward our most talented master teachers.** For many years, many educators, led by North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, have worked hard to establish nationally accepted credentials for excellence in teaching. More than 500 of these master teachers have been certified since 1995. Under the President's budget, 100,000 more teachers over the next 10 years will be able to seek certification from the National Board as highly accomplished master teachers—enabling at least one teacher in every school to get certification from this board. States, school districts, and the private sector can also establish rewards for master teachers and other excellent teachers they identify in such ways as through teacher-of-the-year competitions. School districts can call on these master teachers to become mentors for other teachers.
- **Do more to challenge talented young people and mid-career professionals in other areas to become teachers and help them make the transition into a teaching career.** Communities can start middle and high school academies for students interested in becoming teachers, and states can establish centers for teacher recruitment that bring promising students into teaching. States can make it financially easier for young people to teach in high-need areas through fellowships and loan forgiveness programs. School districts can make sure that beginning teachers get support and mentoring from

experienced teachers. The Clinton Administration proposes to change the tax law so that more students can use community or public service to repay their student loans without owing tax. It will continue working to make college and teacher preparation more affordable for young people who go into teaching.

- **Reinvent teacher preparation for beginning teachers and improve professional development for more experienced teachers so they get the training they need to help students master the basics and reach high standards in the core academic areas.** Colleges, universities and school districts must provide current and future teachers ongoing, sustained opportunities to learn how to be more effective and upgrade their skills. The Clinton Administration has supported their efforts by increasing funding that may be used for sustained professional development, stronger teacher standards, and performance evaluation for teachers. The Eisenhower Professional Development program, Goals 2000, and the National Science Foundation's Teacher Enhancement Program also provide substantial support for high-quality professional development.

Teacher Recruitment—Starting Early

School districts and universities can work together to create middle and high school programs that expose young people to the teaching profession. For example, the South Carolina Center for Teacher Recruitment has reached thousands of academically talented high school juniors and seniors through its Teacher Cadet Program, offered in more than 140 schools statewide. Teacher Cadets study education and have the opportunity to teach younger students under the tutelage of both school and university faculty. The center also targets minority middle school students, encouraging them to take rigorous courses in school and aspire to a career in teaching.

- **Expand efforts to help teachers become technology literate and to use technology to improve training available to teachers.** The President's technology initiatives will play a major role in helping teachers to become technology literate. For example, the President's Technology Challenge Grant program supports private-public sector partnerships to develop models for using technology in education, such as providing "electronic field trips" for new teachers to learn from expert teachers and mentors around the country. Moreover, the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund will leverage public funds to target school districts and schools committed to helping teachers integrate technology into the classroom. Finally, the Clinton Administration's 21st Century Teachers initiative will recruit thousands of technology literate teachers to upgrade their knowledge and help at least five of their colleagues learn how to use technology in the classroom.
- **Set high standards to enter teaching and find ways to help—or quickly and fairly remove—teachers who don't measure up.** School districts and teachers can help start

and participate in peer assistance programs where they help identify, and then provide intensive assistance to, burnt-out or low-performing teachers. School districts can develop fair and faster processes for holding teachers accountable and assisting or removing teachers who are not making the grade. Educators and communities should not look the other way if a teacher is burned out or not performing up to standard. The Clinton Administration will share promising strategies for recruiting talented young people and others into teaching, rewarding good teachers, and quickly and fairly improving or removing teachers who don't make the grade. The Administration also will provide guidance to schools, districts, and states on how existing federal funds can be used to address these challenges.

Upgrading Teacher Skills: An Award Winning School

The Woodrow Wilson Elementary School, in Manhattan, Kansas, was established as a "professional development school" where current and future teachers can go for assistance in upgrading their skills and knowledge in math, science, and technology. The school helps teachers understand the widely acclaimed math standards developed by the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics, and prepares them to help students meet or exceed these standards. At the school, student test scores on the Kansas Mathematics Assessment Test have improved for the past three years, including especially strong gains for girls. The school recently was one of five schools to win a national award from the U.S. Department of Education for its efforts to give teachers the skills they need to help students succeed.

AMERICA READS CHALLENGE

"We ought to commit ourselves as a country to say that by the year 2000, 8-year-olds in America will be able to pick up an appropriate book and say 'I can read this all by myself.'"

Remarks by President Clinton to the Community of
Fresno, California, September 12, 1996

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, 40 percent of America's 4th graders are reading below the basic level—not nearly as well as they must to keep up with the complexities of today's jobs and society. We need to really push toward improving our efforts to help all children read.

While teachers and schools have the critical responsibility for making literacy and the basics a top priority, study after study finds that sustained individualized attention and tutoring after school and over the summer can raise reading levels when combined with parental involvement and quality school instruction. Reading with children at the youngest age, quality pre-school, and tutoring from pre-school to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade can work to help all our children read at an early age—but certainly by the end of the 3rd grade. If families, schools, community groups, employers and religious groups make improving the reading skills of children and adults a top priority from the earliest years of a child's life at home until he or she becomes a successful reader, then America can attain the goal of being a reading, literate society.

For this reason, in August 1996, President Clinton announced the **America Reads Challenge** to ensure that every child can read well and independently by the end of 3rd grade. And he called on all people in America—parents, teachers, libraries, religious institutions, universities, college students, the media, community and national groups, business leaders, senior citizens—to join the effort to meet this challenge. Already, groups from Jumpstart in Boston to the Reading One-One program in Richardson, Texas, have responded enthusiastically to the President's challenge.

The President has pledged \$2.75 billion over 5 years toward the **America Reads Challenge** which includes:

- ***America's Reading Corps*** of one million tutors to provide individualized after-school and summer tutoring for more than three million children in pre-K through 3rd grade who want and need extra reading help. Thirty thousand reading specialists and tutor coordinators, including Americorps volunteers, will mobilize and train this corps of one million volunteer tutors who will work with teachers, principals and librarians to help children succeed in reading.
- ***Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grants*** that invest in success by supporting effective and proven local efforts, as well as regional or national networks, that assist

parents who request help to better work with their children so that they may become successful readers by the end of 3rd grade. Research shows that reading to children in their first three years helps children learn words and concepts and actually stimulates physical development of the brain.

- ***Expansion of Head Start.*** The President's balanced budget will expand Head Start to reach one million 3- and 4-year-olds by the year 2002, while continuing the new 0-3 year-old Head Start initiative. The priority of providing all children with high-quality preschool responds to studies stressing that literacy problems are best averted with the earliest intervention possible, including preschool.
- ***Support for 100,000 College Work-Study Students to Serve as Reading Tutors.*** Last year, the President signed into law a budget that increased the number of work-study jobs for college students by a third—enabling an additional 200,000 young people to work their way through college. The President has called for half of all new work study funds to support 100,000 college students to serve as reading tutors, thereby providing a unique opportunity for college students to be involved in helping young children learn to read. To encourage this activity, the Secretary of Education has waived the employer matching fund requirement for those work-study students who tutor pre-K through elementary school children in reading. Also, the President has called upon college presidents to rally other students and college resources to help America read. More than twenty college presidents have already stepped up to lead this effort.
- ***Accountability for Results.*** The Administration will use the improvements in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) to provide an annual measure of the reading performance of 4th graders and their progress toward meeting the reading challenge.

A challenge to every parent, teacher, principal, and community member

The success of the America Reads Challenge depends on the involvement of all Americans—parents, teachers, principals, libraries, religious institutions, universities, college students, the media, community and national groups, cultural organizations, business leaders, and our senior citizens.

- ***Parents should read to their children 30 minutes a day.*** Even as babies, children are learning about language from their families. Talking to them, reading to them, and singing with them even in these earliest years can make a big difference. Parents need to turn off the TV, take their child to the library and get a library card, talk with teachers about their child's progress, and take time to read with their child at home. Parental involvement makes a real difference. According to a recent study, 4th-grade average reading scores were 46 points below the national average where principals judged parental involvement to be low, but 28 points above the national average where parental involvement was high.

- *Schools should provide a high-quality reading program for all students*, including making sure teachers know how to teach kids to read and have the support they need to do so. They must also identify those students who need extra help. The **America Reads Challenge** is not a substitute for in-school reading programs. Instead, it is designed to build on the work of teachers and schools to improve their in-school reading programs, as well as on the Administration's investments in Title I, Even Start, bilingual education and other in-school programs to strengthen in-school teaching and learning.
- *Community members* should start an **America Reads Challenge** reading tutoring program at their local school, library, or community center or become a reading tutor after school, on weekends, and in the summer. The Clinton Administration, through the summer Read*Write*Now! effort, already has begun working with organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs, Girl Scouts, the American Association of Retired People, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the American Library Association, the International Reading Association, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, and Reading is Fundamental to mobilize reading partners for children during the summer months.
- *Businesses should work with schools and libraries.* The Administration also is working with the private sector in helping parents help their children learn to read, through the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. Employers can help start a summer reading program in their community as part of the Read*Write*Now! effort to avoid the summer drop-off in reading.
- *Colleges and universities* should use half of their new funds for work study to provide reading tutors. If all colleges meet this challenge, 100,000 work-study students in 1998 would be tutoring young children in reading. Already 60 college presidents have pledged almost 10,000 work-study slots in support of this goal, as well as thousands of other students to do community service as reading tutors.

For more information on the **America Reads Challenge**, call 1-800-USA LEARN or visit the U.S. Department of Education's home page at www.ed.gov/

AmeriCorps SLICE Corps, Simpson County, Kentucky

In this program, 25 AmeriCorps members provided intensive tutoring in reading to 128 2nd graders, helping the students improve their reading comprehension by an average of 2.8 grade levels over nine months. One-third of the students improved by more than three grade levels. Members visited each student's home every other week to show parents their children's reading materials, update them on the child's academic progress and offer tips on how to help their children read. The key is consistency. AmeriCorps SLICE members tutor students for the entire school year. As a classroom teacher said about one student: "[The student] is in his second year of being tutored by a SLICE Corps member. Last year he was very shy and withdrawn. He was very adept verbally but not so at reading and writing. This year his reading is better and he really enjoys writing. He's a real worker and seems to enjoy school much more. [The student's] parents are very interested in his school progress. They are willing to come whenever you call them and they spend time working with him on his school work. He has thrived on the individual attention that only a SLICE Corps member could give him."

Samuel W. Mason Elementary School, Boston, Massachusetts

Mason School, once cited in a 1990 *Boston Herald* article, with its then enrollment of 133, as "The Least Chosen Elementary School In The City," turned itself around through a variety of innovative approaches. The school has 296 students (43 percent African American, 23 percent Cape Verdian, 14 percent Latino, 13 percent white, 3 percent Asian American, 2 percent Native American). Twenty-four percent of the homes are non-English speaking. Reading has been a primary emphasis of Mason's improvement efforts. Teaching teams include Reading Recovery and Resource Room teachers. These teachers work with grade-level clusters in the morning to reduce the student-teacher ratio from 26:1 to 13:1. In the afternoon, the team works with the kindergarten and early childhood teachers in the early literacy program, "Bright Start," in groups of nine students. Title I reaches all students and doubles the time in reading instruction. Special attention is paid to learning styles, with emphasis on accelerated reading instruction and problem-solving activities. In 1995, Boston College's Urban District Assessment Consortium Project found that Mason's reading performance exceeded the average score for the City of Boston and for the other 11 urban school systems in the project.

What It Means to Read Well by 4th Grade

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) defines three main levels of 4th-grade reading: basic, proficient, and advanced, and they help explain what it means to read well by the 4th grade. The following sample passage is from *Charlotte's Web*, by E.B. White. While not from the actual NAEP, it helps illustrate the kinds of skills expected of students at each level of comprehending a work of fiction.

Having promised Wilbur that she would save his life, she was determined to keep her promise. Charlotte was naturally patient. She knew from experience that if she waited long enough, a fly would come to her web; and she felt sure that if she thought long enough about Wilbur's problem, an idea would come to her mind. Finally, one morning toward the middle of July, the idea came. "Why how perfectly simple!" she said to herself. "The way to save Wilbur's life is to play a trick on Zuckerman. If I can fool a bug," thought Charlotte, "I can surely fool a man. People are not as smart as bugs."

- Students at the **basic** level are able to read the passage and tell what Charlotte promised Wilbur.
- Students at the **proficient** level are also able to describe why Charlotte thought she could fool Zuckerman.
- Students at the **advanced** level recognize that Charlotte compares waiting for ideas to entrapping a fly.

President Clinton's **America Reads Challenge** asks all Americans to pitch in and help children read so that by the time they reach the 4th grade, they can at least read at the "basic" level and many more than now are reading at the "proficient" level.

EARLY LEARNING

The latest research on the human brain and its development confirms what we have known for decades—that the early years of children's lives are critical to their cognitive, emotional and physical development. Parents need to be their children's first teacher if their children are to start at school ready to learn.

Since the beginning of the Clinton Administration, investment in early childhood education has been a top priority. Over the last four years, the federal government has invested heavily in effective programs, increasing funding for Head Start by 43 percent. The Clinton Administration is committed to building on this progress to ensure that every parent is their child's first teacher and every child arrives at school ready to learn.

Expanding Head Start

- ***Head Start Helps Children Get Ready to Learn and Ready to Read.*** For more than 30 years, Head Start has been one of our nation's best investments in helping low-income parents be their children's first teacher, and in making sure that children start school ready to read and ready to learn. Head Start provides hundreds of thousands of three- and four-year-old children cognitive, social and language development, comprehensive health services and healthy meals and nutrition. Head Start offers parenting skills, support, education and training to parents seeking to improve their circumstances and their children's chances of success.
- ***President Clinton's Budget Expands Head Start Participation to One Million Three- and Four-Year-Olds.*** Today, 800,000 low-income children and their families—but not all of those who are eligible—have a chance to benefit from Head Start. The President's budget plan continues to expand enrollment so that, by the year 2002, one million of this nation's most disadvantaged children and families will have the chance for a head start.
- ***Head Start Works.*** Research findings overwhelmingly show that Head Start works. Last year, a Packard Foundation study reviewed nearly 150 separate studies of the Head Start program and concluded that it not only had the immediate impact of raising reading scores, but had the lasting effect of making students less likely to be held back a grade, less likely to be placed in special education classes, and more likely to graduate from high school. Even later in life, former participants were less likely to go on welfare or enter the criminal justice system.

- ***Parental Involvement Is the Bedrock of Head Start.*** Last year more than 800,000 Head Start parents demonstrated their commitment by volunteering in their local program. And they get a great deal in return: Head Start staff work closely with parents to help them build their skills, not only to become better parents but also to become contributing members of their community. Parents are taught the importance of reading to their children. When parents have difficulty reading, Head Start programs work with them to improve their literacy skills.
- ***Early Head Start and Quality Improvements Under the Clinton Administration.*** In 1994, the Clinton Administration established the **Early Head Start** program, providing tens of thousands of children ages zero to three and their families with family-centered and community-based services. Over the last three years, the Clinton Administration has also invested significantly in improving program quality, providing local programs with the resources they need to attract and retain high-quality teachers and to improve the quality and safety of the Head Start centers.
- ***Family Literacy is a New Priority in Head Start.*** Under new standards developed by the Clinton Administration, family literacy is a new priority in Head Start as well as in Even Start—all parents will be offered training to help them be involved in their children's education and to help them be their children's first teacher.
- ***The America Reads Challenge Will Build on the Strong Foundation Provided by Head Start.*** After-school and summer tutoring for young school-age children and for their older siblings and parents builds on what Head Start begins. Through the Head Start Transition Initiative, Head Start programs will dedicate at least one part-time staff person to work with local school systems, parents, child care providers and other members of the community to make sure children successfully make the transition from Head Start to public school.

Other Early Learning Opportunities

- ***America Reads Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grants:*** To make sure that every child can read well by the end of 3rd grade, the President's **America Reads Challenge** includes Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grants that will invest in proven efforts to provide assistance to parents who want to help ensure their children will read well. The grants will fund national and regional networks to share information on how parents can help children to read, and fund the expansion of successful local programs, such as the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) or the Parents as First Teachers (PAT) program. The President's proposal includes \$300 million over five years for these grants.
- ***White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain.*** Thanks to the latest scientific research and discoveries, we now know much more about a child's cognitive, emotional and physical development in the first few years of life. For example, we now know that reading

to children in their first three years not only strengthens the emotional bonds between a parent and a child and helps children learn words and concepts, it also actually stimulates their brain growth. The President and First Lady will convene a White House conference this spring to explore the implications of these scientific discoveries and research for parents and policy makers.

- ***National Prescription for Reading Campaign.*** In December 1996, the First Lady announced, along with representatives of the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Booksellers Association, the American Library Association, and the Reach Out and Read program, a national campaign to put books in the hands of parents who bring their young children to the doctor, and to get doctors to prescribe daily reading. Doctors and nurses across the country are beginning to "prescribe reading" to infants and young children because they know the impact reading has on babies and young children, and they have a unique opportunity at every check-up to encourage parents to read to their children daily.
- ***Vice President's Conference on Family and Learning.*** In June 1997, Vice President and Mrs. Gore will hold their sixth annual family conference, this time on families and learning. We know that children learn best when their parents are active partners in the process. The conference will bring together leaders in the field of education, parents, teachers, and policy-makers to build on successful examples of partnerships among families, schools and communities, including those that help children learn before they start school.
- ***Partnership for Family Involvement in Education:*** Over 2,000 family, school, community, employer and religious groups have joined with Secretary of Education Richard Riley to create the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. The Partnership's efforts include strengthening at-home activities that encourage reading, promoting and adopting family-friendly business practices such as providing leave time to attend parent-teacher conferences and volunteer in schools, and supporting community-based organizations and schools to work together to create neighborhood learning communities through organized before- and after-school and summer activities.
- ***Goals 2000 Parent Resource Centers:*** In addition to involving parents in the development of state and local Goals 2000 education plans, the President's Goals 2000 program provides funding for each state to establish parent resource centers that help parents learn how to help their children achieve high standards. The centers coordinate existing programs, provide resource materials, and support a variety of promising models of family involvement programs. In fiscal year 1997, \$15 million in funding is available for support centers in 42 states, 14 more than in 1996.

PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

One size does not fit all in American education. All students and their families need to be able to choose a public school that meets their needs, and schools must be given more flexibility in return for greater accountability to parents and the public for high standards. Public school choice and public charter schools are especially promising strategies for expanding options and accountability in public education.

Public School Choice

- *States and school districts should provide public school choice plans* that give every parent the ability to choose their child's public school. States and communities can provide parents with their choice of school within a district, state, or even of smaller schools-within-schools at their neighborhood public school. Local and state boards of education can encourage and support the development of charter schools, magnet schools and other choice strategies and undertake careful reviews of charter proposals to be sure they are of the highest quality. The President has challenged states to provide parents with more choice in their children's public education, and states and communities have been responding.
- *Provide report cards on every school.* States and school districts can publish in print and on the Internet report cards on every school, providing parents the information they need to choose their child's school. This can help parents compare things such as reading scores, graduation rates, class size, courses offered, number of teachers with advanced certification, safety records, and other key measures, with those of schools across the school district, state, and country.

Public Charter Schools

- *Every state should pass a charter school law that enables parents and teachers to start new public charter schools that stay open only as long as they do a good job.* These schools can be created by teachers, parents, community groups, businesses, universities, museums, and others. Done right, they can be tailored to meet the needs of their students and promote healthy competition within public education. State legislatures must enact solid charter school laws to support the creation of a sizable number of high-performing public charter schools, providing these schools with real flexibility while holding them accountable for reaching high standards for all children. Five years ago, there was only one charter school in America. Today, there are more than 400, and half the states have charter school laws.

- *To support these efforts, the Clinton Administration, together with Congress, is expanding start-up funding for charter schools.* The Administration has proposed nearly doubling the charter school start-up grant program to \$100 million in FY 1998. The President initiated this fund in 1994 to address the most commonly cited obstacle to creating these schools—lack of access to start-up funding. The President's budget plan sets aside enough funding to quickly bring more choices in public education to students and their families, helping to start 3,000 charter schools over the next several years. The funding requested for FY 1998 alone would support the development of about 1,000 charter schools by teachers, parents, community groups, and other responsible organizations.

The Nation's First Charter School: A Teacher's Vision Becomes Reality

City Academy, in St. Paul, Minnesota, was the first charter school in the nation. Founded by two teachers with assistance from many of the first-year students, the school focuses on youth who have dropped out of school. City Academy, placing a heavy emphasis on student responsibility and decision making, is a small school with a personalized learning environment and has had significant success. Most of the students, all former dropouts, have graduated and gone on to some kind of postsecondary education. Like most charter schools in Minnesota, this school was started "from scratch," rather than converted from an existing school. The school's director is also helping teachers in other states to create charter schools.

- *The Clinton Administration will assist local teams of parents, teachers, community leaders, and others to develop successful public charter schools.* The Clinton Administration will support regional meetings, helpful guidebooks, summer institutes, and a World Wide Web site to help provide the information and assistance needed to start high-quality schools, including developing the rigorous performance benchmarks by which schools may be held accountable.

Accountability

- *Fix failing schools quickly and directly—even if it means closing them and then reopening them in a way that meets the needs of students, parents, and communities.* Clear standards can be set to evaluate the success or failure of schools, and school districts and states can intervene when schools are not meeting these standards. These efforts should take advantage of the new approach to accountability in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the largest federal program in K-12 education—which now requires states and school districts to intervene in low-performing schools with such strategies as intensive technical assistance, mentoring, reconstituting failing schools, or creating new charter schools.

School districts can support and reward principals and teachers who establish an atmosphere of learning, a system of accountability, and a spirit of adventure that help students learn. At the same time, school districts can find ways to improve or remove teachers or principals who are not making the grade. In return for greater accountability, principals and teachers, in turn, should be given the authority and support they need to do a good job.

Holding Schools Accountable for Results

Maryland has held its schools accountable for results by putting in place a system for taking over schools with low student attendance rates and achievement on state assessments. Low-performing schools are first given the opportunity to improve based on a state-approved plan. Though no schools have been taken over yet, the focus on accountability is making a difference. For example, after being identified as low performing, Patterson High School in Baltimore hired a new principal who focused her team on increasing student achievement by reorganizing instruction and the school day. As a result, attendance rose, more students passed the state's graduation test, and more seniors graduated than in prior years.

Greater flexibility

- *In return for accountability, the Clinton Administration has pressed for greater flexibility and local decision making in the use of federal program funds.* Drawing on their experiences as former governors, both President Clinton and Secretary of Education Richard Riley came to Washington strongly committed to increasing flexibility for states and communities, cutting red tape, and supporting states and communities in their own education improvement efforts. Since 1993, the President and the Secretary have implemented the Goals 2000 program with no new regulations, cut nearly 80 percent of elementary and secondary education program regulations, approved over 140 waivers of requirements of major federal education programs, and cut the paperwork required to receive student loans. In addition, they have given nine states the authority to grant waivers of federal requirements for their own school districts and made over 20,000 schools eligible to combine most of their federal funds to support schoolwide reform, freeing them from most federal requirements.

SAFE, DISCIPLINED, AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

We cannot educate our children in schools where weapons, gang violence and drugs threaten their safety. For students to learn well, their schools must be disciplined and feel safe. While most schools do provide a secure learning environment, a growing number of schools in all types of communities—urban, suburban, and rural—are experiencing problems with violence and with alcohol and drug use.

Fortunately, schools, parents, and communities are finding practical ways to provide children the safe and disciplined conditions they need and should expect to find in school, such as by promoting smaller schools, respectful communities, fair and rigorously enforced discipline codes, teacher training to deal with violence, school uniforms, and after-school programs that keep kids productive and off the streets.

As a nation, we too must do everything possible to ensure that schools provide a safe and secure environment where the values of discipline, hard work and study, responsibility, and respect can thrive and be passed on to our children. We have a basic, old-fashioned bottom line. We must get drugs and violence out of our schools, and we must put discipline and learning back in them.

Ensuring Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free Schools

The Clinton Administration challenges all schools to have in place high standards of discipline and behavior with tough measures to keep guns and drugs out: a "zero tolerance" policy. In October 1994, the President signed into law the **Gun-Free Schools Act**, and issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce "zero tolerance" in our schools: If a student brings a gun to school, he or she does not come back for a year.

In last year's budget, the President successfully protected the **Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program**, which now provides school security, drug and violence prevention and education programs in 97 percent of America's school districts.

We must continue working to ensure that every child, every teacher, and the community can feel safe in and around the school building.

- *Schools should consider adopting uniform policies.* School uniforms are one way to deter school violence,

In 1994, the **Long Beach, California** School District implemented a mandatory school uniform policy for nearly 60,000 elementary and middle school students. District officials found that in the year following implementation of the policy, overall crime decreased 36 percent, fights decreased 51 percent, sex offenses decreased 74 percent, weapons offenses decreased 50 percent, assault and battery offenses decreased 34 percent and vandalism decreased 18 percent.

promote discipline and foster a better learning environment. The Administration sent a *Manual on School Uniforms* to the nation's 16,000 school districts last year. The manual is a road map for communities and schools that want children in their schools to wear uniforms and is a vital source of information about successful programs.

- ***Communities should enforce truancy laws.*** One of the most effective ways to reduce juvenile crime is to crack down on truancy. The Administration has ~~also~~ provided every school district in the country with a *Manual to Combat Truancy* to help communities establish fair and effective laws to reduce truancy and keep kids in school and off the streets.
- ***Keep schools open in the afternoons and summers.*** The President's budget includes a new initiative to provide additional safe havens and to extend learning opportunities for children and their families at schools around the country. The initiative will help after-school, summer and weekend programs get started as Community Learning Centers, get us "back to basics" and foster active community involvement. Keeping schools open late can help give young people a safe haven from gangs and drugs, and peace of mind for working parents. They can serve as homework centers, offer enrichment courses and tutoring in reading, math, and science, and help prepare young people and other neighborhood members to go to college.

Bringing in Parents to Increase Safety

Fathers at Beech Grove City Schools in Indiana have joined together to be "Security Dads," attending school-sponsored sporting events, dances and other student activities. Security Dads ensure proper behavior, evict troublemakers when necessary, and generally keep the peace. As a result of this effort, parents' involvement in their children's education has increased and student behavior has improved.

Making Schools Places for Values, Not Violence

Schools are a place for values, not violence. They must teach the basic American values of respect, hard work, and good citizenship.

- ***Promoting character education as part of every curriculum.*** We cannot raise standards in every other subject if we fail to teach our children good values and how to be good citizens. Toward this end, the President has hosted two White House Conferences on Character Education and has encouraged the development of character education through the Improving America's Schools Act.

- ***Protecting the religious freedom of students and reaching out to America's religious community to support the learning of young people.*** With the support of a diverse group of religious and school leaders, Education Secretary Riley issued guidelines in August 1995 to make clear that students' religious rights do not end at the schoolhouse door. As a result of these guidelines, reported the National School Boards Association, there has been a dramatic drop in the need to help school officials clarify what is allowed in public schools when its students practice their religion. In addition, 33 religious communities representing 75 percent of religiously affiliated Americans signed onto the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. Two successful religion and education local summits also brought together religious leaders, school officials, and the leadership of community organizations and businesses.
- ***Promoting greater parental involvement.*** Thirty years of research shows that greater parental involvement in children's learning is a critical link to achieving a high-quality education for every student. Through the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education, the Department of Education has played a critical role in helping schools to be more welcoming and inviting to families; encouraging employers to provide ways for parents and employees to be involved in education, including volunteering in their local schools; and expanding the support that youth, community, cultural and religious groups are giving to back greater family involvement in education. Over 2,000 employers, schools, religious, and community groups—including the National PTA, Urban League, John Hancock, Hadassah, Pizza Hut and United Methodists—have joined the Partnership and have pledged to support the education of children and the involvement of their parents.

Service in Support of Safety

In Los Angeles, AmeriCorps members are working with thousands of students to reduce school violence. AmeriCorps members mentor and tutor 2,000 community youth, train them in conflict resolution skills, and help establish after school programs.

- ***Promoting community service by high school and college students through Learn and Serve and AmeriCorps.*** AmeriCorps is the new domestic Peace Corps that involves Americans of all ages getting things done to meet community needs. In just two years, AmeriCorps has given more than 70,000 Americans an opportunity to serve their country. The vast majority of AmeriCorps members are working on the critical problems of children and youth. They tutor, mentor, organize after-school programs, teach violence and drug prevention, and organize safe havens and safe corridor programs. National service promotes the core values of hard work, self discipline, and personal responsibility. It encourages people to give something back to their country. And it teaches its members to take responsibility for others, not just for a year, but for a lifetime.

Through Learn and Serve America, more than a half million students from kindergarten through graduate school are helping their communities and proving their academic skills in the process. They are learning citizenship in a direct and vital way, not by textbooks, but by service, by working on real problems in society. The skills and habits they develop—teamwork, self-discipline, initiative—will help them become productive workers as well as responsible citizens. We must spread and develop this idea in every school, college and university, to engage an increasing number of students in America.

The Clinton Administration challenges all students, schools, parents, communities, religious and other groups to do what they can to make all our schools safe, disciplined and drug-free environments to engage and motivate students to learn, and to teach the values of hard work and respect.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION

American schools face the twin pressures of rising enrollment and deteriorating buildings. To be ready for the 21st century, our children's schools should be safe and spacious places to learn. The schools of the future should be equipped with computers, new media and state-of-the-art science labs. Clean, well-maintained, up-to-date schools send every student a clear message: you are important to us. We take your education seriously. In order to keep faith with our children, we must ensure that our schools are prepared for the next century.

Distressingly, today our nation's schools, many built 50 years ago, are increasingly run-down, overcrowded and technologically ill-equipped. Too many school buildings and classrooms are literally a shambles. According to a report of the General Accounting Office, one-third of our schools need major repair or outright replacement, 60 percent need work on major building features—a sagging roof, or a cracked foundation, and 46 percent lack even the basic electrical wiring to support computers, modems, and modern communications technology. These problems are found all across America, in cities and suburbs and one-stoplight towns.

We have high expectations of our students, teachers and schools. But we cannot expect our children and our teachers to build strong lives on a crumbling foundation. In order to keep faith with our children, we must ensure that our schools are prepared for the next century. This is a matter of real urgency. This year our schools opened their doors to the largest number of students in the history of our republic—51.7 million. And enrollment is expected to continue to rise over the next ten years, breaking all previous enrollment records.

Because of the unique circumstance of record enrollments and often run-down school buildings, the President has proposed that the federal government for the first time join with states and communities to modernize and renovate our public schools. The President's budget calls for \$5 billion over the next four years to help pay for up to half the interest that local school districts incur on school construction bonds, or for other forms of assistance that will spur new state and local infrastructure investment. This financing assistance can help to spur \$20 billion in new resources for school modernization—a 25 percent increase above current levels over the next four years.

This school construction initiative is flexible. It will give communities and states the power to decide how to use the new resources. It will help those who help themselves—requiring local communities to take responsibility for this effort. And it will focus on sparking new projects, not merely subsidizing existing ones.

The Broward County, Florida, Public Schools already ranks among the largest school systems in the nation with more than 218,000 students, and it continues to grow at a phenomenal rate (the district estimates it is adding 10,000 more students a year). Although the district added 37 new schools and refurbished many existing schools over the past seven years, the district's projected capital needs over the next seven years total \$2.4 billion. Funding from identifiable sources to date totals only \$1 billion, leaving a shortfall of \$1.4 billion. The county's use of 2,144 portable classrooms has earned it the nickname "the portable capital of the world." Thousands of other students attend classes in areas intended to be music and science rooms, labs or auditoriums. Meanwhile, the space crunch is impeding the system's efforts to make greater use of technology in the classroom, including meeting the superintendent's goal of providing a minimum of four computers in every classroom for student use and one computer for teacher use.

The federal government will do its part by subsidizing the interest that communities incur on school construction bonds or other financing mechanisms—making it cheaper and easier for communities to finance school construction. Communities—with appropriate assistance from states—must do their part by making a commitment in investing in their schools. They must approve and pay for local bond issues needed to repair old schools and build new ones. And they must provide adequate maintenance for today's schools so that they can continue to serve students into the next century.

OPENING WIDE THE DOORS OF COLLEGE

Today, more than ever before in our history, education is the fault line between those who will prosper in the new economy and those who will not. Most of today's good jobs require more skills and training than a high school diploma affords. Over half the new jobs created in the last three years have been managerial and professional jobs requiring higher-level skills. Fifteen years ago the typical worker with a college degree made 38 percent more than a worker with a high school diploma. Today, that figure is 73 percent. People who finish two years of college earn 20 percent more each year and a quarter of a million dollars more than their high school counterparts over a lifetime.

One of the great challenges of our time is making the dramatic economic changes occurring all over the world benefit our young people and open opportunities for our older adults as well. While many people were managing to find education and training that prepared them for high-skilled jobs without a college degree, too many young people lost their way between high school and the world of work. And for those who are academically prepared for college, the cost limits access for many working families and middle-income families, just as it does for low-income families. The average cost of a public college increased from 9 percent of the typical family's income in 1979 to 14 percent in 1994.

We must make two years of college—the 13th and 14th years of education—as universal for young Americans as the first 12 are today. And, we must make college more affordable for all Americans. To support these goals, the President has already initiated an unprecedented college opportunity strategy that will make college more accessible and affordable to Americans than at any time in their lives, while also reducing fraud and abuse and reducing costs to taxpayers.

Over the next five years, the President's budget will more than double the federal commitment to postsecondary education from the time he entered office—going from \$24 billion a year in 1993 to \$58 billion in 2002.

The Direct Lending Program

The Direct Loan program, signed into law by President Clinton in 1993, gives student loans directly to people who need them, with new flexible repayment plans. This dramatic change is making loans to students and their families more affordable and debt more manageable, providing borrowers and participating schools with a simple, more automated and accountable system, while saving taxpayers billions of dollars. In its third successful year, the program will provide \$10 billion in loans at over 1,500 schools. More than 2.1 million student and parent borrowers have received direct loans since the program began. During the 1996-97 academic year, it is expected that Direct Loans will make up approximately 36 percent of federal student loans.

An important aspect of the new Direct Loan program is that it provides students the ability to repay their loans as a percentage of their income—**income-contingent repayment**—to encourage community service, and to make debt more manageable and to reduce defaults. As of November 1996, nearly 100,000 borrowers with loans totaling \$1.5 billion have consolidated into direct lending. About three-quarters of these borrowers are selecting non-standard repayment options with 52 percent selecting income-contingent repayment.

Through the legislation that created the Direct Student Loan program we were able in 1993 to **reduce by 50 percent (from 8 percent to 4 percent) the student loan fees** that lenders and guarantee agencies were allowed to levy on student borrowers. But we need to do more. We propose to further reduce these fees in both the new Direct Student Loan and the older Federal Family Education Loan programs, cutting loan fees from 4 percent to just 2 percent on need-based Stafford loans, and to 3 percent on other loans for students and parents. Furthermore, because the Congressional Budget Office and other analysts have noted that lender costs are very low during the in-school period, when students are not required to make payments on their loans, we propose to reduce the interest rate paid to lenders during that period by one percentage point.

Increasing Grant Aid Available to Students—Pell Grants

The Administration has worked hard to increase funding for student financial aid programs. Aid available to students increased by \$12 billion between 1993 and 1997—an increase of 48 percent. This year, aid available to students will increase by an additional \$3.4 billion for a record total of \$36 billion (excluding consolidation loans), benefiting an estimated 7.5 million students in 1998.

Pell Grants are the most important form of student financial aid for the nation's neediest students. In the decade preceding 1992, funding for this critical program did not keep pace with inflation, which seriously eroded the Pell Grants' purchasing power. The Clinton Administration began immediately in 1993 to restore fiscal integrity to this program at a time when it had been allowed to accumulate a projected internal program deficit of over \$2 billion. After eliminating that program deficit, the President secured bipartisan support for the largest Pell Grant increase in recent history, a \$230 increase (9 percent) in the maximum grant to \$2,700 in FY97. This represents a full \$400 increase, more than 17 percent, in the maximum grant since 1993.

We now are proposing to increase the maximum award from \$2,700 to \$3,000, as well as greatly expand eligibility to older independent students. Increasing the maximum award to \$3,000 provides more aid to currently eligible students, and makes an additional 130,000 students eligible for the grants. The President's budget also expands the eligibility of low income students age 24 and older. This change will make an additional 218,000 students eligible for Pell Grants, and expand aid for over 890,000 students by an average of \$800. These changes, contained in the President's balanced budget, will increase Pell Grant funding by \$1.7 billion in fiscal year 1998, a more than 25 percent increase over current funding levels.

HOPE Scholarship and Other Tax Benefits: Making the 13th and 14th years of education—at least two years of college—as universal in America as high school is today.

The President's plan includes five tax benefits for middle-class students and families that accept the responsibility to pursue additional education for their children and themselves. We believe that not only will these students and families reap substantial personal and financial benefits from these education incentives, but these investments will also pay a huge long-term dividend to the country. For much of the 20th century, tax policies included incentives to invest in capital and equipment. At the beginning of the 21st century—the education and information age—we must create incentives and tax policies to invest long term in education and human capacity.

HOPE Scholarships. A centerpiece of President Clinton's HOPE and Opportunity Agenda for higher education is the proposed **HOPE Scholarship tax credit**, which offers two years of tuition at the typical community college for any student enrolled at least half-time. It provides students with a maximum \$1,500 tax credit for tuition and required fees in their first year, and another \$1,500 in their second year if they work hard, stay off drugs, and earn at least a B minus average in their first year. This \$1,500 tax credit will pay the full cost of tuition at a typical community college—essentially making community college free or nearly so for every student. In 1998, this credit is expected to help 4.2 million middle-income students pay for college.

Although the HOPE Scholarship tax credit is priced to pay the full cost of two years of tuition at a typical community college, the credit can be applied to tuition at any college, including four-year public and private colleges. The credit would be a substantial down payment for parents sending their children to four-year colleges with higher tuition. Students receiving tax credits would still be eligible for other federal student aid, including student loans, Pell Grants, and Work Study. However, the maximum tax credit would be \$1,500 minus any federal grants awarded to the student.

The proposal builds on the enormously successful HOPE Scholarship program in Georgia, which guarantees any student in the state of Georgia free college as long as they have earned a B average and stayed off drugs. This year the scholarships are helping 80,000 students—including 70 percent of the freshman class at the University of Georgia.

The HOPE scholarship tax credit will help open the doors of college opportunity to every American who works hard and makes the grade, regardless of that student's ability to pay, because education at the typical community college will now essentially be free. The program also makes it clear that with opportunity comes the responsibility to work hard and achieve at a high level. This benefit will initially be available without restrictions tied to previous academic performance but the continued benefit will be reserved for those people who, by definition, are willing to work for it. It's America's most basic bargain: we as a nation will help create opportunity if you'll take responsibility.

\$10,000 Tax Deduction for Education and Training. We have also proposed a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 per family per year for tuition and fees (minus grants) for college, graduate school, community college and certified training and technical programs. In 1998, 8.1 million students stand to benefit from this proposal for tax relief in 1998.

Students eligible for both the tax credit and the tax deduction would choose one or the other, although students benefiting from the tax credit in the first two years would still be eligible for the deduction in later years. Because the tax proposals are meant to help working families and low- and middle-income students pay for college, eligibility for both the tax credit and the tax deduction would be phased out for joint tax filers with incomes between \$80,000 and \$100,000 and for individual filers with incomes between \$50,000 and \$70,000.

Helping Make Saving for College Tax Free: Using Individual Retirement Accounts for Educational Savings. We have proposed greater flexibility in using Individual Retirement Accounts so that all funds saved in these accounts can be used for postsecondary education expenses free from early withdrawal tax penalties. In addition, our proposal makes 20 million more families eligible for tax-deductible IRA contributions by substantially extending the income cutoffs for IRA participation. Currently, if an individual or spouse participates in an employer's retirement plan, eligibility is phased out for taxpayers filing a joint return with adjusted gross income between \$40,000 and \$50,000 (between \$25,000 and \$35,000 for single taxpayers). The proposal would expand the phase-out ranges to match the ranges described for the HOPE Scholarship tax credit and \$10,000 deduction. Families who save through an expanded IRA, and then use the savings for higher education, can deduct up to \$10,000 of their withdrawals a year, making savings for college virtually tax free for middle-class families.

Expanding Tax-Free Treatment for Forgiveness of Student Loans. We propose to change the tax law so that more students can use community or public service to repay their student loans without owing tax. Ordinarily, when a lender forgives a loan and erases the remaining debt, the borrower is treated as having income on which he or she must pay tax. Our proposal would eliminate this tax liability when the lender is a charitable or educational institution that lends money to a student to pay for education and then forgives the loan after the student fulfills a commitment to perform community or public service for a certain period of time. To be covered by this proposal, the loan must be used to pay the costs of attendance at an institution of higher education or to refinance other student loans. The same tax-free treatment would apply when the Federal government forgives a loan made through the direct student loan program for a student who has been making income contingent repayments.

Extension of Tax Benefit to Employees Who Receive Employer-Provided Education Assistance (Section 127). We propose reinstating through the year 2000 the current exclusion from an employee's income of up to \$5,250 per year of postsecondary educational assistance provided by an employer for undergraduate and graduate students. In addition, for 1998-2000, small businesses would be given a new incentive to provide educational assistance to their employees through a 10 percent tax credit for amounts paid under an employer-provided

educational assistance program for education provided by a third party

Other Forms of Aid

National Service Corps. Through creation of the National Service Corps, more than 70,000 AmeriCorps members have been able to provide service throughout the country to work on projects to tutor children to read and learn and to improve the environment, health services, and community policing. This creative new program is helping to regenerate an ethic of community service in this country, particularly for a generation of young adults who were at risk of becoming further alienated from the powerful societal needs of a sense of community and commitment to those communities. The participants also receive scholarships or loan forgiveness for postsecondary education, in return for their service.

Work-Study. Work study helps students earn money while they are in school. The President proposed a multi-year plan to increase funding for this valuable federal program by 50 percent by the year 2000, so that one million students will be able to attain part-time employment. With strong bipartisan support from the Congress we received an exceptional one-year increase of 35 percent for FY 1997. This increase is substantial enough to allow an increase in the wages for student workers, an expansion of traditional work-study opportunities, and, perhaps most important, to expand higher education's commitment to community service activities. To this end, the President has challenged the higher education community to use one-half of the college work-study increase for community service, primarily to tutor young children in reading. Indeed, the Secretary of Education has issued regulations to waive the match for those who use work-study funds to help tutor young children to read.

Presidential Honors Scholarship. We propose a Presidential Honors Scholarship that further emphasizes the importance of student achievement. This program would award one-year, \$1,000 scholarships to the top 5 percent of graduating high school students in every high school in the nation. We need to send a message to every high school in America that we are serious about excellence.

* * *

Reducing Fraud and Abuse. The Administration has made aggressive accountability and oversight efforts to remove ineffective schools from the student financial aid programs, both protecting students and ensuring accountability for taxpayer funds. The U.S. Department of Education's efforts, along with new statutory controls and lender and guarantor efforts, have cut the student loan default rate by more than *one-half*, from 22.4 percent for the FY90 cohort to 10.7 percent for the FY94 cohort. About 700 institutions have been eliminated from eligibility to participate in the federal student assistance programs, based on high default rates. At the same time, the U.S. Department of Education has reduced the administrative burden on participating institutions by streamlining our regulations and by reengineering our administrative processes to make them less intrusive and more effective.

A call to parents, schools, colleges and universities to help students take advantage of these expanded options.

Although the federal government can expand options for paying for college, it will be up to students, parents, families, communities, colleges and universities, and states to make them work.

- **Students** must work hard, play by the rules, and assume responsibility for obtaining the education they will need to get a job and succeed in life.
- **Parents** must make sure their children take the high school classes they need (such as chemistry, four years of math, advance placement and tech-prep courses, and at least two years of a foreign language) to get into college and take advantage of the savings afforded by the tax policies to help support their children once they are in college.
- **Schools** can make sure students (as early as in middle school) and their families understand the options available for paying for college and make sure students take the classes and obtain the skills they need to enroll and succeed in college.
- **Colleges and universities** must contain costs of postsecondary education to assure that the benefits of these increases in federal support accrue to the intended beneficiaries—students and their families, while maintaining their world-class standards of excellence.
- **States** can build on the HOPE Scholarship plan by making scholarships available for four years of college for students who maintain a B average.

LIFELONG LEARNING

Current training and unemployment programs were designed in a very different time to suit a different economy. Today, gaining entry into the labor market requires a higher level of skill, and maintaining membership in the workforce requires continuous learning. In this context, the transition from school to work and opportunities for lifelong training require our attention as never before.

School-to-Work Opportunities

The **School-to-Work Opportunities Act**, signed by President Clinton in 1994, broadens educational, career and economic opportunities for students in high school, including creating pathways for those not immediately bound for four-year colleges and for the many young people who cannot see the relevance of what they're doing in the classrooms to the world of work, and thus get bored and tune out. When the barrier between academic learning and vocational education is broken, when work-based learning and school-based learning are linked, these students not only stay in school, but they become engaged in learning and do better and continue on to college.

Students at the **Oakland Health and Bioscience Academy in Oakland, California** learn all aspects of the health care industry. Their knowledge of health care includes planning, management, finance, technical and production skills, technology, labor issues, community issues, safety, and environmental issues. They gain this broad understanding through a variety of learning experiences and teaching techniques. Interactive career explorations and a 200-hour hospital internship in the 11th and 12th grades expose them to the business, administrative, and clinical departments of a health care facility. Students also create work-based learning portfolios, which include reflective journal entries and work samples keyed to health career standards. Projects offer an opportunity to explore different aspects of health care and their relationship. Projects may simulate the decision-making processes of a health care provider—for example, reading a case study of a lead-poisoned child, interpreting the results of lab tests, and creating a medical management plan. Student teams may explore health care delivery systems by planning a school-based clinic, and operating a student-run health education center.

All 50 states have received grants under School-to-Work to plan comprehensive training and education and apprenticeship systems. By late 1996, 37 states had made sufficient progress in their planning efforts to receive 5-year grants for implementing their plans. More than 500,000

young people in 1,800 schools throughout the nation are participating in school-to-work systems that integrate academic and vocational instruction and provide work-based learning, preparing them for one to two years of college or more and careers. More than 135,000 employers have been involved in these efforts.

The support of the business community and state and local governments is essential to maintain local and state school-to-work systems that will help ensure a pathway to the middle class for most Americans.

A G.I. Bill for America's Workers

A centerpiece of President Clinton's G.I. Bill for America's Workers has been our proposal to fundamentally reform the current federal job-training system. We have proposed consolidating at least 70 separate job training programs, replacing them with an integrated system that minimizes red tape and maximizes individual choice in each local community. Unemployed workers and workers in transition from one job to another would receive Skill Grants of up to \$3,000 to use as they choose to learn new skills to find new and better jobs.

We would provide these workers access—through computerized networks open to all and One-Stop Career Centers already operating in many states—to reliable information on jobs, careers, skill sets required for those jobs, and the success records of various training institutions, so that they can make informed choices about how best to improve their futures.

For our youth, federal vocational education, as well as training, and employment programs will be reshaped to support the community-based school-to-work activities that have evolved in response to the innovative School-to-Work initiative we began in 1994. These programs enable high schools, colleges, and the private sector to offer all youth academically rigorous school- and work-based learning opportunities so that all youth graduate with the skills and habits of mind necessary to benefit from college education, lifelong learning, and rewarding careers.

For adults with basic literacy skills or for adults who do not have the literacy skills to succeed in the workplace as citizens or as parents, we will revamp the Adult Education Act so it can better meet adult learners' needs and be more accountable for program results.

TECHNOLOGICAL LITERACY

Just as 100 years ago the nation struggled with the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy, today we confront the transition from an industrial to a global, technological economy. Technology—the World Wide Web, computer-aided design, word processing, data processing, electronic transfers—has become an engine of our economic growth and has fundamentally changed the ways we learn, how we do business, and the skills students in America need to flourish in the world of work. States, communities, business, families and teachers need to ensure that by the dawn of the next century every classroom in America is connected to the information superhighway with high-quality computers, creative software, and well-trained teachers.

Today, technological literacy—computer skills and the ability to use computers and other technology to improve learning, productivity and performance—is a new basic that our students must master. Preparing our children for a lifetime of computer use is now just as essential as teaching them to read and write and do math. Every major U.S. industry has begun to rely heavily on computers and telecommunications to do its work.

Technology also enriches education. Children with access to computers and trained teachers can learn faster and learn better. In some cases, scores on standardized tests of basic skills for children taught with computers rise by 10 to 15 percent compared to the scores of those taught using conventional instruction. With computers, students can learn at their own pace and practice as much as they need to. For students with disabilities, technology such as word processing and speech recognition can give them the tools they need to participate fully in challenging academic courses. Children master basic skills in 30 percent less time than would normally have been the case. Using technology, quality software and good teachers, students can also learn differently. For example, instead of reading about the human circulatory system in a book and seeing textbook pictures, students can use technology to see blood moving through veins and arteries, watch the process of oxygen entering the bloodstream, and experiment to understand the effects of cholesterol on blood flow, gaining a better understanding of these processes.

Despite the importance and promise of technology, America's schools are not yet prepared for the technological era. About half of all teachers have little or no experience at all with technology in the classroom. Only 4 percent of schools have a computer for every five students—a ratio that allows regular use by each student. Only 9 percent of classrooms have connections to the Internet.

The goal we have presented cannot be set and cannot be achieved unless we all work together. It can be met only with communities, businesses, governments, teachers, parents and students all joining together—in a sense, a high-tech barn raising.

Technology in Support of Reform

A partnership between the Union City, New Jersey, school district and Bell Atlantic turned around a failing middle school. Christopher Columbus Middle School demonstrates how technology can improve student performance. Every classroom has several computers and students and teachers have computers at home so that they—and parents—can communicate with each other, get assignments and do homework. As a result of intensive use of technology, reading, math and writing scores are up significantly. Moreover, the school, which had a high absenteeism rate, now has the best attendance record in the district.

Beginning in 1995, President Clinton challenged the nation's parents, teachers, government, community, and business leaders to work together to ensure that all children in America are technologically literate by the dawn of the 21st century—equipped with the communication, math, science, and critical thinking skills essential for the 21st-century economy. He established the four pillars of his technology literacy agenda:

1. Connect every school and classroom in America to the information superhighway;
2. Provide access to modern computers for all teachers and students;
3. Develop effective and engaging software and on-line learning resources as an integral part of the school curriculum; and
4. Provide all teachers the training and support they need to help students learn through computers and the information superhighway.

The response to the President's challenge was immediate and came from all parts of the American community. While much remains to be done, an enormous amount has already been accomplished and steady progress continues to be made.

The Private Sector Response. CEOs of some of the nation's largest and most innovative technology and telecommunications companies have responded to the President's challenge by contributing resources and energy to work in partnership with schools and communities in meeting all four of the President's goals.

In October, the President announced the U.S. Tech Corps, a volunteer organization which enables high-tech workers from the private sector to assist teachers and schools to put the information age at the fingertips of their students.

America's Technology Literacy Challenge. In his 1996 State of the Union Address, President Clinton asked Congress to fund a \$2 billion, five-year Technology Literacy Challenge designed to catalyze state, local, and private sector partnerships in each state to achieve the four educational technology goals and to spur substantial additional private, state and local investment in education technology. Congress supported the President's request for first-year funding and appropriated

\$200 million for grants to states to launch this challenge. States will develop a strategy for using the funds to achieve the President's four goals and for ensuring that no students—especially students in low-income areas and in districts with the greatest need for technology—are left behind. The Challenge builds on the Secretary of Education's national plan, *Getting America's Students Ready for the 21st Century, Meeting the Technology Literacy Challenge*. The President's FY 1998 budget calls for more than double funding to \$425 million.

The Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) program is a national and international hands-on environmental science and educational program that officially started on Earth Day 1995. GLOBE uses scientific instruments and state-of-the-art technology to make science relevant to today's K-12 students. Through GLOBE, students conduct an array of measurements and observations at their schools and share their data via the Internet with other students and scientists around the world to detail an environmental picture of the globe. Vice President Al Gore articulated his vision of the GLOBE program in his book, *Earth in Balance*. He proposed a program "involving as many countries as possible that will use school teachers and their students to monitor the entire earth..."

The Technology Innovation Challenge Grants. This component of the technology literacy challenge invites school systems, colleges, universities, and private businesses to form partnerships to develop creative new ways to use technology for learning. These local innovation grants focus on integrating innovative learning technologies to improve teaching and learning. Each federal dollar is matched by more than 3 to 1 by local and private funds. The 19 consortia funded in FY95 out of 500 proposals are reaching schools with 1.2 million students and involve partnerships with businesses, museums, libraries, and parks in school systems around the nation. An additional 24 partnerships funded in FY96 will allow 24 school districts to work in partnership with a total of 153 other school districts and 130 businesses in 34 states. Another \$57 million will be available for the program in FY97 to support a third round of grants and FY98 will call for \$75 million—a more than 30 percent increase.

Universal and Affordable Access to Advanced Telecommunications. President Clinton signed into law the Telecommunications Act of 1996 which ensures that all U.S. schools, libraries, hospitals, and clinics have affordable access to advanced telecommunications services. The President called on the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) regulators to ensure that every school and library has access to the information superhighway and, in November 1996, the Federal/State Joint Board on Universal Service unanimously recommended that schools and libraries receive discounts for telecommunications services, Internet access, and internal connections. If approved by the FCC, the average discount would be about 60 percent, and one-third of all schools and libraries will receive discounts of 80 to 90 percent. Without these discounts, many schools will be cut off from the enormous potential of the information

superhighway—putting their students and communities at a severe competitive disadvantage in the informational marketplace of information, ideas and commerce.

NetDays. The President and Vice President launched a historic effort to mobilize communities of volunteers to connect classrooms to the Internet. As a result, on March 9, 1996, the President and Vice President and more than 20,000 volunteers laid six million feet of cable connecting thousands of California schools with the technology needed to link classrooms, libraries, and laboratories to the information superhighway. This effort sparked an enormous response around the nation and in the fall of 1996 over 40 states organized and participated in NetDays, wiring over 25,000 schools, using over 250,000 volunteers. More NetDays are scheduled for this year.

21st Century Teachers. The new technology cannot make much of an impact on learning unless teachers help find creative new ways to exploit its power and make the new tools an integral part of their teaching. The teachers, and the organizations that support teachers, all stepped forward earlier this year to work together to meet the President's challenge. The National School Boards Association, the National PTA, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and many other business and professional organizations have launched this initiative to recruit thousands of teacher volunteers who will improve their own understanding of how to use education technology and share their expertise with at least five of their peers during the coming school year.

Technology in Education: Transitions

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OVERVIEW

While computer technologies have been available to schools in substantial numbers for about fifteen years, we are now in a period of transition for technology in education. Rapid advances in telecommunications and multimedia technologies combine with national consensus about the need for higher standards of achievement in schools to present new challenges. Innovative projects and sites using technology to improve student achievement have developed around the country, but the majority of schools have yet to take thorough and effective advantage of technologies for education. Technology can no longer be treated as a separate issue for schools, or as the sole solution to difficult problems. It now must be thoughtfully used to realize overall goals for improvement. This is a time of transition in three ways:

- (1) Transition from primarily **stand-alone hardware** in schools to **connectivity** -- linking computers throughout schools with communications technologies and to resources around the world;
- (2) Transition from primarily **isolated skills-practice** to **integrating technologies as tools throughout the disciplines** to achieve higher standards of education and to enable more effective teaching;
- (3) Transition from **inadequate preparation of teachers** to **support for all teachers to learn how to use technologies effectively** throughout their everyday teaching and for self-directed staff development.

Choices made now will determine whether education successfully makes these transitions.

Until recently the incorporation of technologies into schooling has been marked by relatively slow acquisition of hardware and software and inadequate budgeting strategies; emphasis in the majority of schools on basic drill and computer skills rather than as tools for discipline-based learning for high standards; and little effort to help educators integrate the tools into teaching, learning, assessment, and management.

Educators have primarily focused on the question: "Should schools have computers?" -- rather than on the more productive one: "How are technologies best used in education to realize high achievement standards now being developed by states and to prepare students for the world they will enter when they leave school?" Education is the only "knowledge industry" still asking the question of *whether* modern technologies should be part of the enterprise of learning and work. It now is estimated that 60 percent of jobs by the year 2000 will require skills with information technologies. These jobs are expected to pay a 10-15 percent premium over jobs that do not require them. This is a dramatic rise from the 1984 estimate of 25 percent of jobs requiring such skills, and the 1993 figure of 47 percent. It has been argued persuasively that the match earlier in this century between the country's educational system and the needs of the manufacturing industry was the basis for much

While federal programs and corporate philanthropy have done much to "level the playing field," schools with high proportions of poor and minority students tend to have less equipment. For example, those schools with the lowest proportion of minority students (less than four percent) had an average of one computer for every 14 students, whereas those with the highest percentage (greater than 24 percent) had an average of one for 18. Likewise for poor students: by 1994, those schools with more than 80 percent Chapter 1 students had an average of 7.2 computers per 100 students, whereas those with relatively few poor students (less than 20 percent Chapter 1) had an average of 3.6 computers per 100 students.

Also sobering is the age and poor capacity of the current equipment throughout K-12 education. Five percent of computers in today's schools are old 8-bit machines. As of 1994, 85 percent of the installed base could not support multimedia applications or connectivity to outside resources. Few schools have programs to upgrade systematically their technologies; unlike businesses, most schools must treat computers as one-time hardware purchases because of their funding mechanisms.

Schools are just beginning to take advantage of telecommunications. As of 1995, it was estimated that while 85 percent of schools currently had local or wide area networking capability, most of this was for administrative purposes. Forty-five percent of classrooms had access to a local area network, but only one-third (35 percent) had access to a wide area network. Only 20 percent of schools allowed teachers access to local area networks in their workrooms, and only 14 percent of schools provided similar access to wide area networks. A mere seven percent of schools were connected to the high speed, high quality lines that are needed to take full advantage of two-way video and audio of modern telecommunications. Forty percent of schools reported that lack of or poor equipment was a major barrier to either the acquisition or the use of advanced telecommunications. Aging facilities in many districts offer a particular challenge in this respect.

However, a national survey of 917 schools recently released by the Department of Education suggests that there has been some rapid progress. The study found that about half of the schools are now connected to the Internet (as compared with 35 percent a year ago), and the number of classroom connections has risen to nine percent. Connectivity varies by wealth; 31 percent of low-income schools in the survey (more than 71 percent of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch) were connected, compared with 62 percent of schools with fewer than 11 percent of students thus eligible. It also varies by school type; 65 percent of high schools were connected to the Internet (49 percent the previous year) compared with 46 percent of elementary schools (30 percent the previous year).

According to a 1995 report by McKinsey & Co., state and local governments supply 84 percent of K-12 public education monies overall. But state and local governments supply only about 60 percent of the spending for educational technologies. Federal monies, which comprise six percent of public school funds, provide 25 percent of schools' technology budgets. Business donations and other fundraising efforts, which make up ten percent of education monies, cover the remaining 15 percent of technology funds -- with business picking up ten percent of this tab.

significantly since 1989, and the trend continues. Controlling for income and education, Hispanic, African American, and Native American households have the lowest percentage of computers. Telephone access, necessary for telecommunications, also is limited by race/ethnicity and location, especially for Native Americans, rural Hispanics, and African Americans.

The Rand study found benefits for those who have access to telecommunications-based networks, including gaining more accurate information about "matters of political, professional, and organizational concern," as well as increased social and civic alliances. People with access also experience a decrease in status-linked barriers to participation in public life, including links to civic networks that facilitate "interpersonal relationships and the social integration of otherwise marginalized group" (see endnote 3). The study, in addition, identified outcomes related to possibly higher wages. One way to address the problem of access is to focus on the school as a possible point of community access.

The differences between homes and schools with respect to technology are likely to become increasingly problematic as more computational and communications power becomes available to children at home. This is particularly sobering with respect to equitable access and use for urban and rural children.

What is needed for transition?

Given recent initiatives from industry, activity underway in many states, and the President's recent proposal for an Educational Technology Initiative to connect all schools to the "information superhighway," the numbers cited may begin to change rapidly for schools. Many states now are involved in a variety of programs and activities to address the challenges of connectivity for education. But "having a line" is only one component of stable access to modern resources for learning.

First, considerable upgrading of computational hardware is needed in most schools to take advantage of connectivity and multimedia technology. In many cases, this means changing educational designs so that computational and communications resources are located in classrooms and libraries where they are most needed rather than corralled in computer "laboratories."

Second, a different budgeting process is needed. Technology purchases require a long-range, planned program of replacement and upgrading rather than a one-time purchase. Budgeting must also include costs of regular telecommunications access. Eighteen states thus far have some form of preferential rates for schools. The recent Telecommunications Act will be important in this regard.

Third, resource planning must take into account the other costs necessary to effective use of technologies. It is now estimated that hardware costs are only 55 percent of needed expenditures; software and technical support are another 30 percent, and training requires a minimum of 15 percent. Far too little has been invested in these latter categories thus far.

school with students' homes and with a variety of multimedia resources for learning. Combined with a major effort to change the quality of education in this poor community, the technologies have played a key role in enhancing student achievement on traditional measures of success.

With support from IBM's Reinventing Education initiative, *Charlotte-Mecklenburg, NC* is another model for linking schools with homes and other institutions throughout the community. Network-based software enables parents to communicate with schools and to better understand and participate in their children's progress.

AT&T also is engaged in developing a comprehensive approach to and support for a national learning network plan.

As the standard for educational technology transforms from isolated computers to connected systems, more schools will be wired and linked to a growing array of resources, experts and community supports. Beyond mere wiring, it is critical to learn from ongoing models such as these on *how* best to take advantage of connectivity for enhancing learning.

(2) MOVING FROM ISOLATED SKILLS-PRACTICE TO INTEGRATED TOOLS THROUGHOUT THE DISCIPLINES

The second transition concerns the incorporation of these learning resources throughout the curriculum. While there are good examples of technology-enhanced learning in schools around the country, far more schools are now using these technologies primarily as isolated supplements to traditional curricula.

What is the present situation?

The evidence about what computers are currently used for in K-12 schools is sobering. A 1994 national survey by Henry Jay Becker indicates that an individual student uses a computer in school on average for two hours per week, as reported by computer coordinators. (In the same survey, students themselves report markedly less use.) The 1995 Grunwold Associates study also finds that students with computers in their homes spent more time on homework each week than students without computers.

In elementary schools, the technologies are overwhelmingly used for basic skill exercise, isolated from the ongoing curriculum. In middle and high schools, the technologies still primarily are used for word processing and for learning computer skills. It is quite rare for these tools to be integrated into work in the disciplines; only 19 percent of high school English classes, six-seven percent of high school mathematics classes, and three percent of social studies classes integrate technologies into learning (see endnote 5).

investment in innovative design of technology-based materials for learning, especially to support the reform of education for higher standards. Cycles of research and development are needed that take more rapid advantage of technical advances so that they reach schools sooner than has been the norm.

In addition, the software industry for schools now operates in a very uncertain business environment. Though there are some efforts underway for change, twenty-two states have an adoption process that was developed for text materials and is inappropriate in many respects for the software industry (e.g., five-year purchase cycles). Many other states have antiquated procurement processes which create a poor business climate for the sort of innovation now needed in the educational software/content industry (endnote 8).

Third, as Nora Sabelli of the National Science Foundation points out, technology in education requires a "testbed" infrastructure to support continuing innovation. Complementing research and development for specific products, large-scale and ongoing "experimental" sites allow these new approaches continually to be tested and refined in districts or schools to understand and seed large-scale implementation. Education has chronically had great difficulty absorbing powerful innovations nationally, and this has proved true for the electronic technologies over the last decade. The National Science Foundation, the Department of Education, and the Department of Commerce, often in partnership with industry, have supported testbeds for telecommunications infrastructures (states, communities, districts) over the last several years that can provide guidance (endnote 9).

Fourth, and most critical, the professional preparation and development of teachers and other educators must change if we are to create schools that take advantage of technologies for higher standards. Teachers in preparation must themselves experience powerful uses of technologies for learning. They must be taught to use them well in their own teaching. The technologies are also likely to be key to the solution of chronic problems of providing effective professional development at scale. This is further discussed in the subsequent section.

Models

A number of models exist in schools around that country that demonstrate how technologies can be incorporated throughout the curriculum to enhance thinking and problem-solving. Many software titles and solutions currently on the market focus on these approaches. Schools and universities also have served as laboratories for new developments.

The *Jasper* project of Vanderbilt University combines video, computational and telecommunications technologies to create a vibrant elementary mathematics curriculum that involves students in the kind of mathematics problem-solving required by the standards. *Jasper* transforms the way mathematics is taught in the classrooms, taking advantage of the technologies to engage students in meaningful real-world mathematics. Students throughout seven southern states have worked with this curriculum — and with each other — to share their solutions and ideas about mathematics. These

those newly prepared for health professions or businesses to be similarly inadequately trained. Fortune magazine reported that in 1994 \$2 billion was spent by businesses training their employees to use new technologies; 90 percent of teachers report that they are self-taught (endnote 10).

In a recent national survey, 50 percent of teachers reported that they had very little experience with technologies, let alone confidence. Eighty-one percent of districts spend less than ten percent of their technology budgets on professional development. Even model districts spend less than 15 percent of their budgets on this critical element. Overall, there is slender training for a complex task. One survey found that only 21 percent of professional development was oriented to technology integration with very little follow-up after an initial workshop (26 percent of courses). More than half of the training was delivered as a half-day workshop with little or no follow-up in classrooms. The training tends to take the form of introduction to the mechanics of the equipment, rather than how to incorporate it to do teaching jobs more effectively. It tends to be exposure, rather than skill-building, and there is seldom incentive to devote the energy needed to use technologies innovatively.

Few schools currently have staff members (called computer coordinators) who are assigned to both teach and maintain the equipment. Only six percent of elementary schools and three percent of high schools have full-time computer coordinators. An analysis of how these individuals spend their time indicates that most is devoted to teaching students about computers, followed by hardware and software maintenance. Only an average of 3.6 hours per week is spent working with other teachers.

There has been little attempt to link reform in colleges of education with what is needed in K-12 schools. Technology has never been central to teacher education, and what exists generally focuses on teaching *about* the technology rather than teaching with it. A 1994 survey found very low use of technology in college courses around the country. Consequently, teachers are not experiencing effective uses in their own learning, nor do they commonly have the opportunity to learn from other skilled teachers in their field experiences.

What is needed for transition?

Teachers not only need intensive training to use technologies well, but they need training to create classrooms that allow students to achieve the new standards. Ideally, training in new practices and in use of tools to achieve them should be merged. Ideas about effective professional development are changing. The traditional one-shot, short workshop has generally proved ineffective for real change in practice. Effective approaches appear to have four components:

- (1) Intensive sessions where teachers are able to explore new ideas and materials over several sessions;
- (2) Follow-up consultation over an extended time period with mentors when teachers return to classrooms and try to implement new practices;

opportunities; (2) overall college support for change; and (3) close interaction with the K-12 community.

Models

A number of projects now underway illustrate effective approaches to professional development. *The Teacher Development Centers* of Apple Computer's ACOT program demonstrate the merger of intensive seminars on integrating technologies into curriculum with apprenticeship to expert K-12 teachers in technology-enhanced classrooms. The Centers also train leadership teams to create local programs in participants' home towns. These TDC's are now located in three sites around the country and are being developed in several other countries.

The *Labnet* project of the Technical Education Research Center (TERC) has used networking technologies as the central media for long-term online training and support for science teachers around the country. The project demonstrates an effective design that combines professional development for science education with a continuing and active professional community for ongoing discussion and support.

IBM's *Reinventing Education* initiative is engaged in designing new ways of using the Internet, developing electronic mentors, and designing new pre- and in-service models of professional training.

The *Private Universe* project of Harvard-Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory illustrates how videotape can be used as the centerpiece for improved teaching. This project has developed a comprehensive series of videotapes that illustrate the process — over several months — of a number of teachers moving from traditional science instruction to hands-on problem-solving methods in their classrooms. Teachers are enthusiastic about these materials because they offer guidance and information about what change looks like in real classrooms of other professionals doing the same job.

The *ArtsEdge* project of the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C. presents innovative design in providing a network-accessible database of information on arts education to teachers around the country. This project has been experimenting with the most effective and appealing ways to provide information and guidance to teachers to enhance instruction in the arts.

The *Image Processing* project of the University of Arizona provides intensive training for teachers to learn how to use advanced visualization tools in scientific and interdisciplinary projects. The design of this project is based on intensive summer experiences for teachers where they participate in the kinds of learning projects they will be asking of their students, with guided follow-up when they return to their own schools.

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EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW

In 1993, UNESCO set up an independent International Commission on Education for the 21st century, chaired by Mr. Jacques Delors. The Commission, whose members (see inside back cover) and advisors were drawn from the major world regions, has now completed its work. Here Mr. Delors presents for Courier readers a roundup of the main issues studied by the Commission and previews some of its conclusions.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, intense thought and discussion are being devoted to the future of human society. Whereas advances in knowledge, especially in science and technology, bring hope of progress for humankind in the future, events each day remind us how the contemporary world is liable to drift off course, how exposed it is to dangers, in some cases extreme dangers, and how vulnerable it is to conflicts.

The increasing interdependence of peoples and nations, which is the hallmark of our time, is providing scope for unprecedented international co-operation. But the emergence of this global consciousness also reveals the extent of the disparities that beset our world, the complexity of its problems and the number of threats that are liable at any time to jeopardize the stock of human achievement.

Great demands are consequently being made on education, whose contribution to human progress is so vital. The idea is gaining ground that education is one of the most powerful tools with which to shape the future--or, to use more modest terms, to steer us into the future by taking advantage of constructive trends and trying to avoid pitfalls. What is education doing today to prepare the active citizens of tomorrow?

UNESCO has taken the initiative of bringing the light of its international experience to bear on this issue. Its Director-General, Mr. Federico Mayor, asked me to chair an International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, mandated "to study and reflect on the challenges facing education in the coming years, and to formulate suggestions and recommendations in the form of a report that could serve as an agenda for action for policy-makers and officials at the highest levels".

The following question from the Commission's terms of reference formed our point of departure: "How can education play a dynamic and constructive role in preparing individuals and societies for the twenty-first century?" We were asking it some twenty years after another Commission, chaired by Mr. Edgar Faure, had published a report--which is still topical--under the significant title *Learning to Be*.

Four crucial issues

The Commission did its best to project its thinking on to a future dominated by globalization, to ask the right questions and to lay down some broad guidelines that can be applied both within national contexts and on a global scale. Here I shall examine four issues which I believe are crucial.

between education and culture (culture being seen as a factor in greater self-knowledge and knowledge of others); between education and citizenship and, more generally, the sense of belonging (so that our contemporaries and descendants do not feel isolated in the world of exceptionally rapid change which they see on their television screens); between education and social cohesion (which is weaker than it was fifty years ago in the countries of both North and South). And then, of course the connection between education, training, work and employment; the connection with development; and, lastly, the essential role which education must play in the progress of research.

If the proposals that emerged from the Commission's work were to have a real impact on education policies, three transversal problems also had to be tackled. These were: the effect of modern communication media on contemporary education systems; the future of the teaching profession; the systems to be set up and the funding to be found.

The pillars of education

The four main pillars that the Commission has presented and illustrated as the bases of education are: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together.

The first of these is learning to know. Bearing in mind the rapid changes brought about by scientific progress and new forms of economic and social activity, there is a need to combine a broad general education with the possibility of working in depth on a selected number of subjects. In a sense, such a general education is the passport to learning throughout life, insofar as it should teach people to enjoy learning and also lay the foundations that will enable them to carry on learning throughout their lives.

Learning to do is the second pillar. In addition to learning to practise a profession or trade, people need to develop the ability to face a variety of situations and to work in teams, a feature of educational methods that does not receive enough attention at present. These skills are more readily acquired if pupils and students have the opportunity to develop their abilities by becoming involved in work experience schemes or social work while they are still in education. Increased importance should thus be attached to all schemes in which education alternates with work.

Learning to be was the theme of the Edgar Faure Report published under UNESCO's auspices in 1972. The Report's recommendations are still extremely relevant, for in the twenty-first century everyone will need to exercise greater independence and judgment combined with a stronger sense of personal responsibility for the attainment of common goals.

Learning to live together, finally, by developing an understanding of others, of their history, their traditions and their spirituality. This would provide a basis for the creation of a new spirit which, guided by recognition of our growing interdependence and a common analysis of the risks and challenges of the future, would induce people to implement common projects or to manage the inevitable conflicts in an intelligent and peaceful way. Some might say that this is utopian; and yet it is a necessary utopia, indeed a vital one if we are to escape from the dangerous cycle sustained by cynicism and complacency.

Learning throughout life

One major problem area in any reform concerns the policies to be adopted for young people after primary education. One might go so far as to say that secondary schools tend to be neglected in educational thinking. They are the target of considerable criticism and provoke a considerable amount of frustration.

One source of frustration is a demand for expansion and diversification of secondary education, leading to rapid growth in enrolments and congestion in teaching programmes. This gives rise to some classic problems of mass education which developing countries cannot easily solve either financially or in terms of organization. Furthermore, there is the discouraging problem of school leavers who face a shortage of opportunities, their distress increased by a widespread all-or-nothing obsession with access to higher education. Mass unemployment in many countries has exacerbated this malaise.

The only way out of this difficult situation seems to be a very broad diversification of types of study available. The latter should include both conventional education, which focuses more on abstraction and conceptualization, and approaches that combine school and job experience in a way that brings out other abilities and inclinations. In any event, there should be bridges between these approaches so that errors in choice of direction, which are far too widespread, can be corrected.

Furthermore, the prospect of being able to go back to education or training would alter the general climate by assuring each young person that his or her fate is not sealed between the ages of fourteen and twenty.

Higher education should be seen from the same angle.

In many countries, other types of higher education institutions exist side by side with universities. Some are highly selective, while others were set up to provide specifically targeted, quality professional and vocational training. This diversification obviously meets the needs of society and the economy, both at the national and regional levels.

Increasingly stringent selection in order to ease the pressures brought about by mass higher education in the wealthiest countries is neither politically nor socially acceptable. One of the main flaws in such an approach is that many young people are expelled from the educational process before they have been able to obtain a recognized diploma and find themselves in the desperate predicament of having neither a degree nor training appropriate for the job market.

There is a need to manage increasing university enrolment in tandem with reform of secondary education.

Universities would contribute to this process by diversifying what they offer: as scientific establishments and centres of learning leading to theoretical or applied research or teaching; as establishments offering professional qualifications, with courses and content tailored to the needs of the economy; as one of the main crossroads for learning throughout life; as leading partners in a form of international co-operation favouring exchanges of teachers and students and promoting the wider availability of first-class teaching through international professorships.

These proposals have a special significance in poor countries, where

without jeopardizing their future choices.

As far as the international community is concerned, as agent of the success of educational reforms, the Commission framed a number of suggestions concerning: a policy of strong encouragement for the education of girls and women; the allocation of a minimum percentage of development aid (a quarter of the total) to fund education; the development of debt-for-education swaps to offset the adverse effects on state education expenditure of adjustment policies and policies for reducing internal and external deficits; the widespread introduction of the new technologies of the "information society" in all countries, to prevent the growth of yet another gap between rich countries and poor countries; enlisting the outstanding potential of non-governmental organizations.

These few suggestions should be seen in the context of partnership rather than aid. After so many failures and so much waste, experience militates in favour of partnership. Globalization makes it inescapable.

Conclusion

The interdependence of nations provides scope for--and requires-- international cooperation on a new scale and in all fields. The International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century is one of the ways of asserting the will to achieve this as the turn of the century draws near.

Without conducting a purely descriptive exercise or outlining a philosophy of education systems, its goal was not to construct "scenarios for the future" resulting in a set of precepts for educational policy-makers, but to provide decision-makers with facts to help them draw up educational policies and to spark off a debate that would go beyond the world of education and teachers, and involve parents children, business leaders, trade unionists and associations engaged in giving education a more effective role.

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): Jacques Delors

PHOTO (BLACK & WHITE): A high school student in a Hanoi street (Viet Nam)

PHOTOS (COLOR): An Indian charitable organization, T.R.A.C.K.S. ("Training Resources and Care for Kids"), helps to care for orphaned and abandoned children who live on Howrah railway station in the outskirts of Calcutta. Above, morning lessons on platform 1. Right, afternoon recreation.

PHOTO (COLOR): French school pupils compare handiwork during an art lesson.

PHOTOS (COLOR): Thailand's Hill Areas Education Project (HAE), which helps children and adults in 600 villages of northern Thailand, was awarded a UNESCO prize for its innovative educational programme and its community-based approach in 1994. Top, an education centre in an Akha village. Above, students learn Thai at the same time as they study their own history and traditions in their mother tongue.

By Jacques Delors

Introductory Note

After the publication of *Frames of mind*, I was often asked to summarize the main points of the theory. Of the various versions that I concocted, a brief "unbuttoned" talk given in 1986 at the 350th anniversary of the founding of Harvard University has proved the most popular; it appears here as chapter 1. Around the same time my colleague Joseph Walters and I also prepared a number of more formal summaries of the theory; I have reworked one of these papers to form chapter 2. Taken together, these two essays serve as a comfortable introduction to the major claims and arguments that constitute the theory of multiple intelligences.*

Once the theory became known, many thoughtful individuals raised questions about its principal claims, as well as its educational implications. Walters and I responded to some of the most common questions in one piece, and, at other times, I answered questions put to me by Helen Weinreich-Haste, and by several other interviewers (see appendix C). In chapter 3, I present a collection of these recurring "issues and answers," grouped under the following topics: terminology; the theoretical status of MI theory; the fine structure of each intelligence; the relationships among the various intelligences; the relationship between intelligence and critical thinking; the relationship between intelligence and artistry; the possibility of additional intelligences; the possible existence of different intellectual profiles in different groups; and sundry educational considerations.

Need an individual test which quickly provides a stable and reliable estimate of intelligence in four or five minutes per form? Has three forms? Does not depend on verbal production or subjective scoring? Can be used with the severely physically handicapped (even paralyzed) if they can signal yes or no? Handles two-year-olds and superior adults with the same short series of items and the same format? Only \$16.00 complete.

Now, that's quite a claim. The American psychologist Arthur Jensen suggests that we could look at reaction time to assess intelligence: a set of lights go on; how quickly can the subject react? The British psychologist Hans Eysenck suggests that investigators of intelligence should look directly at brain waves.

There are also, of course, more sophisticated versions of the IQ test. One of them is called the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). It purports to be a similar kind of measure, and if you add up a person's verbal and math scores, as is often done, you can rate him or her along a single intellectual dimension. Programs for the gifted, for example, often use that kind of measure; if your IQ is in excess of 130, you're admitted to the program.

I want to suggest that along with this one-dimensional view of how to assess people's minds comes a corresponding view of school, which I will call the "uniform view." In the uniform school, there is a core curriculum, a set of facts that everybody should know, and very few electives. The better students, perhaps those with higher IQs, are allowed to take courses that call upon critical reading, calculation, and thinking skills. In the "uniform school," there are regular assessments, using paper and pencil instruments, of the IQ or SAT variety. They yield reliable rankings of people; the best and the brightest get into the better colleges, and perhaps—but only perhaps—they will also get better rankings in life. There is no question but that this approach works well for certain people—schools such as Harvard are eloquent testimony to that. Since this measurement and selection system is clearly meritocratic in certain respects, it has something to recommend it.

But there is an alternative vision that I would like to present—one based on a radically different view of the mind, and one that yields a very different view of school. It is a pluralistic view of mind, recognizing many different and discrete facets of cognition, acknowledging that people have different cognitive strengths and contrasting cognitive styles. I would also like to introduce the concept of an individual-centered school that takes this multifaceted view of intelligence seriously. This model for a school is based in part on findings from sciences

that did not even exist in Binet's time: cognitive science (the study of the mind), and neuroscience (the study of the brain). One such approach I have called my "theory of multiple intelligences." Let me tell you something about its sources, its claims, and its educational implications for a possible school of the future.

Dissatisfaction with the concept of IQ and with unitary views of intelligence is fairly widespread—one thinks, for instance, of the work of L. L. Thurstone, J. P. Guilford, and other critics. From my point of view, however, these criticisms do not suffice. The whole concept has to be challenged; in fact, it has to be replaced.

I believe that we should get away altogether from tests and correlations among tests, and look instead at more naturalistic sources of information about how peoples around the world develop skills important to their way of life. Think, for example, of sailors in the South Seas, who find their way around hundreds, or even thousands, of islands by looking at the constellations of stars in the sky, feeling the way a boat passes over the water, and noticing a few scattered landmarks. A word for intelligence in a society of these sailors would probably refer to that kind of navigational ability. Think of surgeons and engineers, hunters and fishermen, dancers and choreographers, athletes and athletic coaches, tribal chiefs and sorcerers. All of these different roles need to be taken into account if we accept the way I define intelligence—that is, as the ability to solve problems, or to fashion products, that are valued in one or more cultural or community settings. For the moment I am saying nothing about whether there is one dimension, or more than one dimension, of intelligence; nothing about whether intelligence is inborn or developed. Instead I emphasize the ability to solve problems and to fashion products. In my work I seek the building blocks of the intelligences used by the aforementioned sailors and surgeons and sorcerers.

The science in this enterprise, to the extent that it exists, involves trying to discover the *right* description of the intelligences. What is an intelligence? To try to answer this question, I have, with my colleagues, surveyed a wide set of sources which, to my knowledge, have never been considered together before. One source is what we already know concerning the development of different kinds of skills in normal children. Another source, and a very important one, is information on the ways that these abilities break down under conditions of brain damage. When one suffers a stroke or some other kind of brain damage, various abilities can be destroyed, or spared, in isolation from other abilities. This research with brain-damaged patients yields a very powerful kind

cognitive profile. This vision stands in direct contrast to that of the uniform school that I described earlier.

The design of my ideal school of the future is based upon two assumptions. The first is that not all people have the same interests and abilities; not all of us learn in the same way. (And we now have the tools to begin to address these individual differences in school.) The second assumption is one that hurts: it is the assumption that nowadays no one person can learn everything there is to learn. We would all like, as Renaissance men and women, to know everything, or at least to believe in the potential of knowing everything, but that ideal clearly is not possible anymore. Choice is therefore inevitable, and one of the things that I want to argue is that the choices that we make for ourselves, and for the people who are under our charge, might as well be informed choices. An individual-centered school would be rich in assessment of individual abilities and proclivities. It would seek to match individuals not only to curricular areas, but also to particular ways of teaching those subjects. And after the first few grades, the school would also seek to match individuals with the various kinds of life and work options that are available in their culture.

I want to propose a new set of roles for educators that might make this vision a reality. First of all, we might have what I will call "assessment specialists." The job of these people would be to try to understand as sensitively and comprehensively as possible the abilities and interests of the students in a school. It would be very important, however, that the assessment specialists use "intelligence-fair" instruments. We want to be able to look specifically and directly at spatial abilities, at personal abilities, and the like, and not through the usual lenses of the linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences. Up until now nearly all assessment has depended indirectly on measurement of those abilities; if students are not strong in those two areas, their abilities in other areas may be obscured. Once we begin to try to assess other kinds of intelligences directly, I am confident that particular students will reveal strengths in quite different areas, and the notion of general brightness will disappear or become greatly attenuated.

In addition to the assessment specialist, the school of the future might have the "student-curriculum broker." It would be his or her job to help match students' profiles, goals, and interests to particular curricula and to particular styles of learning. Incidentally, I think that the new interactive technologies offer considerable promise in this area: it will probably be much easier in the future for "brokers" to match individual students to ways of learning that prove comfortable for them.

There should also be, I think, a "school-community broker," who would match students to learning opportunities in the wider community. It would be this person's job to find situations in the community, particularly options not available in the school, for children who exhibit unusual cognitive profiles. I have in mind apprenticeships, mentorships, internships in organizations, "big brothers," "big sisters"—individuals and organizations with whom these students might work to secure a feeling for different kinds of vocational and avocational roles in the society. I am not worried about those occasional youngsters who are good in everything. They're going to do just fine. I'm concerned about those who don't shine in the standardized tests, and who, therefore, tend to be written off as not having gifts of any kind. It seems to me that the school-community broker could spot these youngsters and find placements in the community that provide chances for them to shine.

There is ample room in this vision for teachers, as well, and also for master teachers. In my view, teachers would be freed to do what they are supposed to do, which is to teach their subject matter, in their preferred style of teaching. The job of master teacher would be very demanding. It would involve, first of all, supervising the novice teachers and guiding them; but the master teacher would also seek to ensure that the complex student-assessment-curriculum-community equation is balanced appropriately. If the equation is seriously imbalanced, master teachers would intervene and suggest ways to make things better.

Clearly, what I am describing is a tall order; it might even be called utopian. And there is a major risk to this program, of which I am well aware. That is the risk of premature billeting—of saying, "Well, Johnny is four, he seems to be musical, so we are going to send him to Juilliard and drop everything else." There is, however, nothing inherent in the approach that I have described that demands this early overdetermination—quite the contrary. It seems to me that early identification of strengths can be very helpful in indicating what kinds of experiences children might profit from; but early identification of weaknesses can be equally important. If a weakness is identified early, there is a chance to attend to it before it is too late, and to come up with alternative ways of teaching or of covering an important skill area.

We now have the technological and the human resources to implement such an individual-centered school. Achieving it is a question of will, including the will to withstand the current enormous pressures toward uniformity and unidimensional assessments. There are strong pressures now, which you read about every day in the newspapers, to compare students, to compare teachers, states, even entire countries,

word "intelligence": the child with the greater "intelligence" has the ability to solve problems, to find the answers to specific questions, and to learn new material quickly and efficiently. These skills in turn play a central role in school success. In this view, "intelligence" is a singular faculty that is brought to bear in any problem-solving situation. Since schooling deals largely with solving problems of various sorts, predicting this capacity in young children predicts their future success in school.

"Intelligence," from this point of view, is a general ability that is found in varying degrees in all individuals. It is the key to success in solving problems. This ability can be measured reliably with standardized pencil-and-paper tests that, in turn, predict future success in school.

What happens after school is completed? Consider the two individuals in the example. Looking further down the road, we find that the "average" student has become a highly successful mechanical engineer who has risen to a position of prominence in both the professional community of engineers as well as in civic groups in his community. His success is no fluke—he is considered by all to be a talented individual. The "superior" student, on the other hand, has had little success in her chosen career as a writer; after repeated rejections by publishers, she has taken up a middle management position in a bank. While certainly not a "failure," she is considered by her peers to be quite "ordinary" in her adult accomplishments. So what happened?

This fabricated example is based on the facts of intelligence testing. IQ tests predict school performance with considerable accuracy, but they are only an indifferent predictor of performance in a profession after formal schooling (Jencks, 1972). Furthermore, even as IQ tests measure only logical or logical-linguistic capacities, in this society we are nearly "brain-washed" to restrict the notion of intelligence to the capacities used in solving logical and linguistic problems.

To introduce an alternative point of view, undertake the following "thought experiment." Suspend the usual judgment of what constitutes intelligence and let your thoughts run freely over the capabilities of humans—perhaps those that would be picked out by the proverbial Martian visitor. In this exercise, you are drawn to the brilliant chess player, the world-class violinist, and the champion athlete; such outstanding performers deserve special consideration. Under this experiment, a quite different view of *intelligence* emerges. Are the chess player, violinist, and athlete "intelligent" in these pursuits? If they are, then why do our tests of "intelligence" fail to identify them? If they are not "intelligent," what allows them to achieve such astounding feats? In

general, why does the contemporary construct "intelligence" fail to explain large areas of human endeavor?

In this chapter we approach these problems through the theory of multiple intelligences (MI). As the name indicates, we believe that human cognitive competence is better described in terms of a set of abilities, talents, or mental skills, which we call "intelligences." All normal individuals possess each of these skills to some extent; individuals differ in the degree of skill and in the nature of their combination. We believe this theory of intelligence may be more humane and more veridical than alternative views of intelligence and that it more adequately reflects the data of human "intelligent" behavior. Such a theory has important educational implications, including ones for curriculum development.

What Constitutes an Intelligence?

The question of the optimal definition of intelligence looms large in our inquiry. Indeed, it is at the level of this definition that the theory of multiple intelligences diverges from traditional points of view. In a traditional view, intelligence is defined operationally as the ability to answer items on tests of intelligence. The inference from the test scores to some underlying ability is supported by statistical techniques that compare responses of subjects at different ages; the apparent correlation of these test scores across ages and across different tests corroborates the notion that the general faculty of intelligence, *g*, does not change much with age or with training or experience. It is an inborn attribute or faculty of the individual.

Multiple intelligences theory, on the other hand, pluralizes the traditional concept. An intelligence entails the ability to solve problems or fashion products that are of consequence in a particular cultural setting or community. The problem-solving skill allows one to approach a situation in which a goal is to be obtained and to locate the appropriate route to that goal. The creation of a *cultural* product is crucial to such functions as capturing and transmitting knowledge or expressing one's views or feelings. The problems to be solved range from creating an end for a story to anticipating a mating move in chess to repairing a quilt. Products range from scientific theories to musical compositions to successful political campaigns.

MI theory is framed in light of the biological origins of each problem-solving skill. Only those skills that are universal to the human species

ble area, as language. Although the particular susceptibility of musical ability to brain damage depends on the degree of training and other individual differences, there is clear evidence for "amusia" or loss of musical ability.

Music apparently played an important unifying role in Stone Age (Paleolithic) societies. Birdsong provides a link to other species. Evidence from various cultures supports the notion that music is a universal faculty. Studies of infant development suggest that there is a "raw" computational ability in early childhood. Finally, musical notation provides an accessible and lucid symbol system.

In short, evidence to support the interpretation of musical ability as an "intelligence" comes from many different sources. Even though musical skill is not typically considered an intellectual skill like mathematics, it qualifies under our criteria. By definition it deserves consideration; and in view of the data, its inclusion is empirically justified.

BODILY-KINESTHETIC INTELLIGENCE

Fifteen-year-old Babe Ruth played third base. During one game his team's pitcher was doing very poorly and Babe loudly criticized him from third base. Brother Mathias, the coach, called out, "Ruth, if you know so much about it, YOU pitch!" Babe was surprised and embarrassed because he had never pitched before, but Brother Mathias insisted. Ruth said later that at the very moment he took the pitcher's mound, he KNEW he was supposed to be a pitcher and that it was "natural" for him to strike people out. Indeed, he went on to become a great major league pitcher (and, of course, attained legendary status as a hitter) (Connor, 1982).

Like Menuhin, Babe Ruth was a child prodigy who recognized his "instrument" immediately upon his first exposure to it. This recognition occurred in advance of formal training.

Control of bodily movement is, of course, localized in the motor cortex, with each hemisphere dominant or controlling bodily movements on the contra-lateral side. In right-handers, the dominance for such movement is ordinarily found in the left hemisphere. The ability to perform movements when directed to do so can be impaired even in individuals who can perform the same movements reflexively or on a nonvoluntary basis. The existence of specific *apraxia* constitutes one line of evidence for a bodily-kinesthetic intelligence.

The evolution of specialized body movements is of obvious advan-

tage to the species, and in humans this adaptation is extended through the use of tools. Body movement undergoes a clearly defined developmental schedule in children. And there is little question of its universality across cultures. Thus it appears that bodily-kinesthetic "knowledge" satisfies many of the criteria for an intelligence.

The consideration of bodily-kinesthetic knowledge as "problem solving" may be less intuitive. Certainly carrying out a mime sequence, or hitting a tennis ball is not solving a mathematical equation. And yet, the ability to use one's body to express an emotion (as in a dance), to play a game (as in a sport), or to create a new product (as in devising an invention) is evidence of the cognitive features of body usage. The specific computations required to solve a particular bodily-kinesthetic problem, hitting a tennis ball, are summarized by Tim Gallwey:

At the moment the ball leaves the server's racket, the brain calculates approximately where it will land and where the racket will intercept it. This calculation includes the initial velocity of the ball, combined with an input for the progressive decrease in velocity and the effect of wind and after the bounce of the ball. Simultaneously, muscle orders are given: not just once, but constantly with refined and updated information. The muscles must cooperate. A movement of the feet occurs, the racket is taken back, the face of the racket kept at a constant angle. Contact is made at a precise point that depends on whether the order was given to hit down the line or cross-court, an order not given until after a split-second analysis of the movement and balance of the opponent.

To return an average serve, you have about one second to do this. To hit the ball at all is remarkable and yet not uncommon. The truth is that everyone who inhabits a human body possesses a remarkable creation (Gallwey, 1976).

LOGICAL-MATHEMATICAL INTELLIGENCE

In 1983 Barbara McClintock won the Nobel Prize in medicine or physiology for her work in microbiology. Her intellectual powers of deduction and observation illustrate one form of logical-mathematical intelligence that is often labeled "scientific thinking." One incident is particularly illuminating. While a researcher at Cornell in the 1920s McClintock was faced one day with a problem: while *theory* predicted 50 percent pollen sterility in corn, her research assistant (in the "field") was finding plants that were only 25 to 30 percent sterile. Disturbed by

and in playing chess. The visual arts also employ this intelligence in the use of space.

Evidence from brain research is clear and persuasive. Just as the left hemisphere has, over the course of evolution, been selected as the site of linguistic processing in right-handed persons, the right hemisphere proves to be the site most crucial for spatial processing. Damage to the right posterior regions causes impairment of the ability to find one's way around a site, to recognize faces or scenes, or to notice fine details.

Patients with damage specific to regions of the right hemisphere will attempt to compensate for their spatial deficits with linguistic strategies. They will try to reason aloud, to challenge the task, or even make up answers. But such nonspatial strategies are rarely successful.

Blind populations provide an illustration of the distinction between the spatial intelligence and visual perception. A blind person can recognize shapes by an indirect method: running a hand along the object translates into length of time of movement, which in turn is translated into the size of the object. For the blind person, the perceptual system of the tactile modality parallels the visual modality in the seeing person. The analogy between the spatial reasoning of the blind and the linguistic reasoning of the deaf is notable.

There are few child prodigies among visual artists, but there are idiots savants such as Nadia (Selfe, 1977). Despite a condition of severe autism, this preschool child made drawings of the most remarkable representational accuracy and finesse.

INTERPERSONAL INTELLIGENCE

With little formal training in special education and nearly blind herself, Anne Sullivan began the intimidating task of instructing a blind and deaf seven-year-old Helen Keller. Sullivan's efforts at communication were complicated by the child's emotional struggle with the world around her. At their first meal together, this scene occurred:

Annie did not allow Helen to put her hand into Annie's plate and take what she wanted, as she had been accustomed to do with her family. It became a test of wills—hand thrust into plate, hand firmly put aside. The family, much upset, left the dining room. Annie locked the door and proceeded to eat her breakfast while Helen lay on the floor kicking and screaming, pushing and pulling at Annie's chair. [After half an hour] Helen went around the table looking for her family. She discovered no one else

was there and that bewildered her. Finally, she sat down and began to eat her breakfast, but with her hands. Annie gave her a spoon. Down on the floor it clattered, and the contest of wills began anew (Lash, 1980, p. 52).

Anne Sullivan sensitively responded to the child's behavior. She wrote home: "The greatest problem I shall have to solve is how to discipline and control her without breaking her spirit. I shall go rather slowly at first and try to win her love."

In fact, the first "miracle" occurred two weeks later, well before the famous incident at the pumphouse. Annie had taken Helen to a small cottage near the family's house, where they could live alone. After seven days together, Helen's personality suddenly underwent a profound change—the therapy had worked:

My heart is singing with joy this morning. A miracle has happened! The wild little creature of two weeks ago has been transformed into a gentle child (p. 54).

It was just two weeks after this that the first breakthrough in Helen's grasp of language occurred; and from that point on, she progressed with incredible speed. The key to the miracle of language was Anne Sullivan's insight into the *person* of Helen Keller.

Interpersonal intelligence builds on a core capacity to notice distinctions among others; in particular, contrasts in their moods, temperaments, motivations, and intentions. In more advanced forms, this intelligence permits a skilled adult to read the intentions and desires of others, even when these have been hidden. This skill appears in a highly sophisticated form in religious or political leaders, teachers, therapists, and parents. The Helen Keller–Anne Sullivan story suggests that this interpersonal intelligence does not depend on language.

All indices in brain research suggest that the frontal lobes play a prominent role in interpersonal knowledge. Damage in this area can cause profound personality changes while leaving other forms of problem solving unharmed—a person is often "not the same person" after such an injury.

Alzheimer's disease, a form of presenile dementia, appears to attack posterior brain zones with a special ferocity, leaving spatial, logical, and linguistic computations severely impaired. Yet, Alzheimer's patients will often remain well groomed, socially proper, and continually apologetic for their errors. In contrast, Pick's disease, another variety of presenile dementia that is more frontally oriented, entails a rapid loss of social graces.

kinds of information about a person and that is at the same time an invention that all individuals construct for themselves.

Summary: The Unique Contributions of the Theory

As human beings, we all have a repertoire of skills for solving different kinds of problems. Our investigation has begun, therefore, with a consideration of these problems, the contexts they are found in, and the culturally significant products that are the outcome. We have not approached "intelligence" as a reified human faculty that is brought to bear in literally any problem setting; rather, we have begun with the problems that humans *solve* and worked back to the "intelligences" that must be responsible.

Evidence from brain research, human development, evolution, and cross-cultural comparisons was brought to bear in our search for the relevant human intelligences: a candidate was included only if reasonable evidence to support its membership was found across these diverse fields. Again, this tack differs from the traditional one: since no candidate faculty is *necessarily* an intelligence, we could choose on a motivated basis. In the traditional approach to "intelligence," there is no opportunity for this type of empirical decision.

We have also determined that these multiple human faculties, the intelligences, are to a significant extent *independent*. For example, research with brain-damaged adults repeatedly demonstrates that particular faculties can be lost while others are spared. This independence of intelligences implies that a particularly high level of ability in one intelligence, say mathematics, does not require a similarly high level in another intelligence, like language or music. This independence of intelligences contrasts sharply with traditional measures of IQ that find high correlations among test scores. We speculate that the usual correlations among subtests of IQ tests come about because all of these tasks in fact measure the ability to respond rapidly to items of a logical-mathematical or linguistic sort; we believe that these correlations would be substantially reduced if one were to survey in a contextually appropriate way the full range of human problem-solving skills.

Until now, we have supported the fiction that adult roles depend largely on the flowering of a single intelligence. In fact, however, nearly every cultural role of any degree of sophistication requires a combina-

tion of intelligences. Thus, even an apparently straightforward role, like playing the violin, transcends a reliance on simple musical intelligence. To become a successful violinist requires bodily-kinesthetic dexterity and the interpersonal skills of relating to an audience and, in a different way, choosing a manager; quite possibly it involves an intrapersonal intelligence as well. Dance requires skills in bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and spatial intelligences in varying degrees. Politics requires an interpersonal skill, a linguistic facility, and perhaps some logical aptitude. Inasmuch as nearly every cultural role requires several intelligences, it becomes important to consider individuals as a collection of aptitudes rather than as having a singular problem-solving faculty that can be measured directly through pencil-and-paper tests. Even given a relatively small number of such intelligences, the diversity of human ability is created through the differences in these profiles. In fact, it may well be that the "total is greater than the sum of the parts." An individual may not be particularly gifted in any intelligence; and yet, because of a particular combination or blend of skills, he or she may be able to fill some niche uniquely well. Thus it is of paramount importance to assess the particular combination of skills that may earmark an individual for a certain vocational or avocational niche.

Implications for Education

The theory of multiple intelligences was developed as an account of human cognition that can be subjected to empirical tests. In addition, the theory seems to harbor a number of educational implications that are worth consideration. In the following discussion we will begin by outlining what appears to be the natural developmental trajectory of an intelligence. Turning then to aspects of education, we will comment on the role of nurturing and explicit instruction in this development. From this analysis we find that assessment of intelligences can play a crucial role in curriculum development.

THE NATURAL GROWTH OF AN INTELLIGENCE: A DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORY

Since all intelligences are part of the human genetic heritage, at some basic level each intelligence is manifested universally, independent of education and cultural support. Exceptional populations aside for

In the case of the most powerful talents, such crystallizing experiences seem difficult to prevent; and they may be especially likely to emerge in the domains of music and mathematics. However, specifically designed encounters with materials, equipment, or other people can help a youngster discover his or her own *métier*.

During the school-age years, some mastery of notational systems is essential in our society. The self-discovery environment of early schooling cannot provide the structure needed for the mastery of specific notational systems like the sonata form or algebra. In fact, during this period some tutelage is needed by virtually all children. One problem is to find the right form, since group tutelage can be helpful in some instances and harmful in others. Another problem is to orchestrate the connection between practical knowledge and the knowledge embodied in symbolic systems and notational systems.

Finally, in adolescence, most students must be assisted in their choice of careers. This task is made more complex by the manner in which intelligences interact in many cultural roles. For instance, being a doctor certainly requires logical-mathematical intelligence; but while the general practitioner should have strong interpersonal skills, the surgeon needs bodily-kinesthetic dexterity. Internships, apprenticeships, and involvement with the actual materials of the cultural role become critical at this point in development.

Several implications for explicit instruction can be drawn from this analysis. First, the role of instruction in relation to the manifestation of an intelligence changes across the developmental trajectory. The enriched environment appropriate for the younger years is less crucial for adolescents. Conversely, explicit instruction in the notational system, appropriate for older children, is largely inappropriate for younger ones.

Explicit instruction must be evaluated in light of the developmental trajectories of the intelligences. Students benefit from explicit instruction only if the information or training fits into their specific place on the developmental progression. A particular kind of instruction can be either too early at one point or too late at another. For example, Suzuki training in music pays little attention to the notational system, while providing a great deal of support or scaffolding for learning the fine points of instrumental technique. While this emphasis may be very powerful for training preschool children, it can produce stunted musical development when imposed at a late point on the developmental trajectory. Such a highly structured instructional environment can accelerate progress and produce a larger number of children "at promise," but in the end it may ultimately limit choices and inhibit self-expression.

An exclusive focus on linguistic and logical skills in formal schooling can shortchange individuals with skills in other intelligences. It is evident from inspection of adult roles, even in language-dominated Western society, that spatial, interpersonal, or bodily-kinesthetic skills often play key roles. Yet linguistic and logical skills form the core of most diagnostic tests of "intelligence" and are placed on a pedagogical pedestal in our schools.

THE LARGE NEED: ASSESSMENT

The general pedagogical program described here presupposes accurate understanding of the profile of intelligences of the individual learner. Such a careful assessment procedure allows informed choices about careers and avocations. It also permits a more enlightened search for remedies for difficulties. Assessment of deficiencies can predict difficulties the learner will have; moreover, it can suggest alternative routes to an educational goal (learning mathematics via spatial relations; learning music through linguistic techniques).

Assessment, then, becomes a central feature of an educational system. We believe that it is essential to depart from standardized testing. We also believe that standard pencil-and-paper short-answer tests sample only a small proportion of intellectual abilities and often reward a certain kind of decontextualized facility. The means of assessment we favor should ultimately search for genuine problem-solving or product-fashioning skills in individuals across a range of materials.

An assessment of a particular intelligence (or set of intelligences) should highlight problems that can be solved *in the materials of that intelligence*. That is, mathematical assessment should present problems in mathematical settings. For younger children, these could consist of Piagetian-style problems in which talk is kept to a minimum. For older children, derivation of proofs in a novel numerical system might suffice. In music, on the other hand, the problems would be embedded in a musical system. Younger children could be asked to assemble tunes from individual musical segments. Older children could be shown how to compose a rondo or fugue from simple motifs.

An important aspect of assessing intelligences must include the individual's ability to solve problems or create products using the materials of the intellectual medium. Equally important, however, is the determination of which intelligence is favored when an individual has a choice. One technique for getting at this proclivity is to expose the individual

tune to guide individuals with the right set of abilities to these billets. Finally, our world is beset with problems; to have any chance of solving them, we must make the very best use of the intelligences we possess. Perhaps recognizing the plurality of intelligences and the manifold ways in which human individuals may exhibit them is an important first step.

Chapter 3

Questions and Answers About Multiple Intelligences Theory

Coauthored by Joseph Walters

Once the theory of multiple intelligences had been introduced, numerous questions were raised by friendly (and, at times, by not-so-friendly) critics. In this chapter, parts of which were originally coauthored by Joseph Walters, I answer the more common questions, grouping them as appropriate. In the next chapter, I take a more comprehensive look at the relations among the concept of "intelligence" and other efforts to describe significant human achievement.

The Term "Intelligence"

Your "intelligences"—musical, bodily-kinesthetic, and so on—are what others call talents or gifts. Why confuse the issue by using the word "intelligence" to describe them?

There is nothing magical about the word "intelligence." I have purposely chosen it to join issue with those psychologists who consider logical reasoning or linguistic competence to be on a different plane than musical problem-solving or bodily-kinesthetic aptitude. Placing logic and language on a pedestal reflects the values of our Western culture and the great premium placed on the familiar tests of intelligence. A more Olympian view sees all seven as equally valid. To call some

Far away, close at hand

THE NEW CURRICULA AND THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONALISATION

OS 3 D

EN, SCANDINAVIA

THE WORLD

RTH, SPACE

UNIVERSE

Skolverket

Foreword

Our society is undergoing a constant process of internationalisation, and the education sector is of course affected by this process as much as the rest of society. "Far Away, Close at Hand" discusses and analyses the concept of Internationalisation as embodied in the new, revised curricula and syllabuses adopted by the Swedish National Agency for Education for use in the country's schools. It is our hope that this book will fulfill two aims: to cast light on a complex concept; and to inspire teachers and other members of school staff to think about and discuss the issues involved in putting ideas on internationalisation into successful practice.

The material is divided into two parts; in the first part four independent authors talk about what the concept of internationalisation means to them, with the second part considering internationalisation from the perspective of the new curricula. In their respective essays, each author highlights those aspects which he/she holds to be of central importance in the internationalisation of education, and paints a personal picture of our age as we approach the next millenium. They also put forward what they see as being schools' most important tasks in equipping today's young people to meet the future, to survive and thrive in an unpredictable reality likely to be characterised by dynamic change.

Like the four authors, we all have our ideas about what the future will look like - and these ideas are primarily derived from our assumptions and basic values. Researchers analyse our past and our present, but they are unable to say with certainty what form our future will take; they can only seek to understand and interpret the trends that signpost the way to the future, and thus provide an input to our ideas as to how the future may turn out. Our ideas, in their turn, exert a selective influence on how we envisage and plan for our future.

The curricula and syllabuses lay down the aims for the education to be provided by schools. They are regulatory documents, established by democratic procedure; they can be said to express and embody what the collectivity regards as the knowledge and values it is important and desirable to pass on to the next generation. The themes and subjects deemed appropriate and necessary during any particular period in history reflect the guiding principles prevailing during and characterising that time. For example, the choice of what should be taught and learnt in the early elementary and grammar schools of Sweden bore the stamp of the moral principles of the day, while a rational scientific ethos, in line with modern industrial society, has characterised organised school education throughout the twentieth century.

Today's researchers talk about a new phase of history - the post-modern or post-industrial age. This transitional phase of history is seeing an expansion of the concept of society, an expansion from the national, from strict demarcations, to the international, to the transcending of boundaries.

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Sweden should respect the country's own values, especially those expressed in the laws of the land. Further, every child should respect every other child's right to be who they are.

The heart of the matter is mutual respect, together with an understanding of what goes to constitute identity - and in this regard the emphasis given by the UN to *language* is important. Those who question refugee children's right to instruction in their native language, take note!

What the Article has to say about *peace* picks up on ideas which were formulated as early as the first Declaration of the Rights of Children in 1923. Respect for their background and their own identity is to provide the basis of children's developing feelings of understanding and responsibility towards people elsewhere in the world. The words "understanding, peace, tolerance, . . . friendship between all people, between ethnic, national and religious groups." have a utopian ring about them today - but it is still necessary that they be there in black and white, and the majority of the children I have met feel that they are naturally right. It is exactly because the world is in the state it is that we are obliged untiringly to keep on highlighting, reminding people about, utopian dreams like these! It is important to show children that adults do not only destroy each other, but that they are also capable of framing visions of something different and better.

Finally, the UN spotlights *respect for the natural environment*. The original proposal put forward by American Indian organisations, where the text said that children should "learn to live in harmony with nature", was revised by the UN and given weaker expression: however, it is still the case that one of today's rights of children is to be provided with knowledge about nature, the environment and ecological thinking.

The basic values on which the Convention builds are surprisingly stable; the UN has succeeded in emphasising things that the world's main religions and spiritual philosophies have in common and by which they can be united. This makes the UN Convention on the Rights of Children our most important navigational instrument as we try to reach new destinations with our children and our world.

My five-year-old son, Hugo, suddenly asked me the other day:
"If both parents die - does that make the children sad?"
He had seen pictures from Bosnia.
"Yes, wouldn't you think it does?" I asked him.
"Yes, very, very sad", he said and burst into tears.

In his imagination he was a very lonely orphan, and that evening he did not want to go to sleep by himself.

Being confronted with ideas like this is a difficult and disturbing experience for children of this age. The child becomes aware of the existence of suffering, death and evil just around the corner - and feels at the same time that he/she would be unable to defend him/herself if these threats became personally real. The child's safety and protection are utterly dependent on adults' wanting and being able to help.

It is not surprising, therefore, that for a time our children make us stronger than we really are. They need to be able to give all the responsibility to us; Mum is invulnerable, Dad is the world's strongest man.

The child becomes extremely sensitive as to what is genuine and what is not. All false poses, all baseless or half-thought-through opinions and beliefs are revealed and held up to question. At the same time children feel anxiety that as they are no longer children they will be abandoned, left unprotected.

Children of parents who are actively concerned suffer less from dread of the future than other children. What scares children most is not war, environmental destruction and nuclear weapons - it is the indifference of adults in the face of all this. Sensitive children find it incomprehensible that grown-ups do not do more for children caught up in wars, more to stop the destruction of the Earth, the planet which will be theirs to live on and which they will be responsible for.

Those parents who do get actively involved in doing something are often criticised for being away from home too much, for spending too little time with their children, and of course there is a balance which needs to be struck: children really do need their parents' physical and guiding presence. But at the same time they also need parents and teachers who stand up for something, adults they can admire, identify with and get a foot up from, adults whose ideas are perhaps nothing like teenagers' but who have thought through their standpoint and are prepared to fight as equals for what they see as right and good.

I once asked a teenage girl:
"What does your mother say about that?"

And she answered:
"She doesn't say anything. That's what's worst. I wouldn't mind what her opinion was, if only she had an opinion."

Who am I responsible for apart from myself, and what does that responsibility entail? How big is my own responsibility, and what kind of responsibility can I give to my parents or my teacher? Who is responsible for seeing that I get up in the mornings, that I do my homework? Who is responsible for making sure that I have friends, that I think it's fun to be alive? How much responsibility should I feel for my brothers and sisters, for my friends, for children who get bullied, for the children of refugees, for the environment, for world peace? Can responsibility be shared, and if it can, how?

The child's questions follow us through life. There are no clear-cut, once-and-for-all answers. A lot of exchanging of ideas and constant reflection are needed before we can begin to sense where the answers might lie. All of us who work with children have perhaps a special need to find the time and place for carrying on this kind of conversation, on an adult-to-adult basis, free from pressure, prestige and short-sighted demands for achievement.

I often find myself thinking of what Dag Hammarskjöld, the former Secretary General of the UN, wrote:

Humbleness of spirit when you come across a flower near the timber-line
opens the way up to the high mountain.

Lars H. Gustafsson is a paediatrician, and a writer on child welfare

THE MEANING OF CULTURE

What can we learn from a story like this? That meetings between different cultures tend to develop into culture-clashes? That it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, for someone from a minority to become fully conversant with a new culture? That all sounds so bereft of hope, and moreover it is not true. Neither is it true that meetings between people, and the mistakes they make, are always the result of culture-clash. Before going back to our example, and modifying and problemising it, we need to establish a couple of definitions.

Culture is a difficult word, used to refer to all kinds of phenomena. I have been using it here in a broad ethnological sense, roughly defined as "people's way of living their lives, and the values underlying the choices of way". By this definition, most things people do are an expression of their culture, though this does not mean that the values guiding what they choose to do are conscious or clear-cut.

As long as, in a given situation, we belong to the **majority culture**, then there is much that remains invisible and unconscious. Together with the people around us we share an implicit, unreflecting community of values - and this in turn means that these values seem to be unspoken and difficult to interpret in the eyes of outsiders. Another example can serve to clarify this point: an Indian student visiting Sweden was surprised that everybody living in a block of flats closed the door behind them when going into their own flat. For him, not something you obviously do, for the Swedes so obvious and natural you do not even think about it - culture has become nature.

Up to this point we have been using one uniform definition of culture; but there are other ways of defining the word. Culture is often used to mean something refined, beautiful, and perhaps rather old: Rembrandt, Mozart and Strindberg represent culture, while graffiti, hip-hop and magazines for teenagers are scarcely held so to do.

A decade or so ago there was much talk about "culture in schools", by which was meant visits by authors to schools, theatre-trips and concerts, i.e. something which would be offered to the cultureless pupils. But one might also talk about "school culture", by which is meant something that everyone in a particular school has in common, i.e. that school's life, its rules and values, its code, as we sometimes say. "Culture in schools" is a narrower, normative conception of culture, while "school culture" is a broader, descriptive conception.

WHY DO CLASHES OCCUR?

In our example, cultural analysis is a tool enabling us to understand. This is the way things can go sometimes at school, or in Swedish society at large, when people come face to face with each other and experience surprise at what the "others" are like. The children in my example were not deliberately behaving badly: on the contrary, in their own eyes they were on their very best behaviour - but still it went wrong. Astrid and Evert certainly thought they were bad-mannered, and we parents felt very uncomfortable.

Suppose for a moment that they had jumped up on their chairs, thrown cake about and sung indecent songs, i.e. that they had deliberately behaved in a provocative manner.

recognisable. We thereby deprive ourselves of the opportunity to intervene, talk through, do something, even to punish - the consequences of which might be, for example, that nothing is done about Turkish girls staying away from school in order to look after their younger brothers and sisters, or that immigrant men receive lighter sentences when charged with assaulting women. We end up **culturalising** things which are not, or are not primarily, manifestations of culture, and teaching immigrant groups to grab culture and religion as a defence and explanation for everything they do or do not want: "My culture/religion prohibits me from going for walks in the forest!"

Moreover, we choose to see only other ethnic and religious groups as cultures, and disregard the numerous variety of anti- and sub-cultures that exist within Swedish society and the Swedish majority culture - the different youth cultures, such as hip-hoppers or skinheads, women's culture, working-class culture, and so on. These are also minority cultures whose encounters with the majority culture result in clashes. This makes cultural encounters in schools easier and more normal, and at the same time more complex. Generalisations about immigrant and Swedish can not provide a proper explanation. Let me illustrate this with the help of two examples taken from school life:

WHO IS THE NEGRO?

A few years back I was awarded a research grant to study cultural encounters at school; my main aim was to examine how Swedish pupils received immigrant children, and to influence pupils' attitudes towards immigrants and refugees in a positive direction. Across the board, schools were being urged to adopt an "intercultural outlook". Seeing the reality of school life close up, and working together with teachers and pupils, gave me a new understanding and taught me how to problemise the concept of intercultural education.

In one class, of eleven-year-olds, the strongest culture-clash proved to be the one between boys and girls. Boys were in the majority, and were downright repressive in their treatment of the girls. When we started tackling this problem in different ways and the pupils - or at least the girls - began to see the pattern, it opened up possibilities of understanding other cultural encounters/confrontations. It transpired, for example, that the most inveterately girl-hating boys were equally adamant in their attitudes towards aid to third-world countries: "Not a penny to children in Africa", and towards refugees: "Turn them back at the border". By approaching the problem in a manner that spotlights attitudes and values, perhaps we can make pupils more aware of where they themselves stand, thus leading, in the long term, to a fundamental change for the better.

In a large upper secondary school in central Sweden, a group of boys following a technical-vocational programme described their experience of culture-clash like this: "We're the negroes here". They were treated - they said, with concrete examples to back up what they were saying - by pupils following more academic programmes, by teachers and by head- and deputy-head teachers, as the "school's blacks". There was a culture clash between, in their terminology, themselves, "the workshop crew", and "the snobs". The two camps' opinions of each other were very clear: for the technical-vocational pupils, "the others" were "the rich wankers, kids with an intelligence transplant, the creeps, the swotters, the toffee-noses" - all descriptions of one and the same group in opposition to themselves. Conversely, some of the pupils following the academic natural sciences

As an external observer, one comes more and more to view pupils and staff as actors in an absurd drama, directed by nobody knows who. After the lesson we adults have a long conversation: the lecturer in teaching methods and the trainee teacher agree that the keenest, hardest working pupils would be worthy of a better mass than the catholic church could give them today. It was not the culture clashes that were of real interest here, however complex they were (for example, the Bosnian pupils from Sarajevo think that their countrymen from Tuzla are real yokels). What is at issue here is subject matter, teaching aids, conception of knowledge, didactics and methods. What if the pupils' interest and enthusiasm could be got to set its teeth into their own experiences and questions about life!

Cultures meet and clash in society and in schools. These encounters are not straightforward or unidimensional: they need to be analysed and problemised separately in every separate case. Teachers impart knowledge, some of which, perhaps, pupils learn, while sitting still and listening or climbing up and down the classroom walls. There are no easy answers or solutions. Sometimes the most fruitful approach is to turn the simplest-looking explanations on their head. Reality cannot be squeezed into fixed, orderly patterns.

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people have to say about it. What part can the teacher play in this? Help create the kind of environment in which ideas and questions arise and thrive; and be there, ready, not just as a professional teacher with his/her subject competence, but as a human being, with all the facets and roles that being a human being entails.

Without this interface, this impossibility "internationalisation" cannot come about. And without this impossibility, none of the other perspectives that schools are supposed to offer can exist, since we cannot speak crossways language with each other, we cannot use crossways methods, we cannot pile ourselves crossways on each other's shoulders - but: within an individual human being, cross-pollination is possible, different kinds of knowledge and ideas and perspectives can be crossed with each other; and one of the roles of the teacher is to provide thought structures, thought hooks, on which pupils can hang their ideas, is to be a source of inspiration who does not fight shy of communicating his/her thoughts and ideas - thoughts and ideas which can act as sources of inspiration, embryos for pupils' cross-fertilised ideas and thoughts. Internationalisation is a singular noun, but a plural reality.

2

EXPERIENCE CANNOT GO FAR WITHOUT IDEAS

Internationalisation is not achieved merely by the fact that there are foreign pupils in the classroom, or that fantastic Internet journeys are undertaken, or that pupils spend time abroad to learn a language. Experience must also be thought over, so that it can be concentrated into a seed that will bloom into new imagination and ideas, which can create a new wish to gain new experience.

3

WHERE THERE'S A WILL

"Create a new wish": that is what it is about, to a great extent. Now, schools are good at seeing for example the pre-requirements, in terms of certain topics studied to a certain level, for entrance to a programme of upper-secondary education. But pupils' level of will, and for that matter their pre-conceptions and prejudices, affect their learning just as much as the level of knowledge they have already reached, their "pre-requirements".

How can we go about reducing prejudice? Wrong-minded pre-conceptions grow most rank in the face of the unknown, or in situations which people do not understand or feel they cannot control. As soon as people have tools that help them to deal with and understand the world around them, the grip of prejudice is loosened.

4

MORE IS DIFFERENT

In their work with internationalisation schools can learn something from what Philip Anderson had to say in an article in Science in 1972. Under the heading "More is Different" the solid-state physicist describes how:

The School World in a Post-Westphalian Age

BJÖRN HETTNE

All sectors of society are affected by what is called internationalisation. Quite a large number of sectors have, to various degrees and in various ways, a conscious, explicit internationalisation policy. The term "internationalisation" in the education context can mean a wide range of things: the addition of an international perspective in the subjects taught; a network of contacts with other schools around the world; the increased geographical mobility of teachers and pupils; improved knowledge of languages; better preparation for encounters with other cultures; international demands on the content and quality of education. All these aspects are expressions of the positive, optimistic view of internationalisation, which, however, perhaps reflect a rather idealised, even naïve way of seeing the world as overflowing with exciting opportunities and challenges. The world, as any reader of the newspapers knows, is equally full of unpleasant and threatening things. For many social groups, the horizon seems more threatening than anything else, and this has given rise to xenophobic and isolationist tendencies. Internationalisation work should, therefore, be grounded in an awareness of the problematical, uncomfortable aspects of the world about us, in the will to approach such aspects without pre-conceptions and prejudice in order to fully understand them, and in a readiness to embody commitment to the protection of human rights and the counteracting of political oppression.

In this article I am principally going to concern myself with certain central concepts which may prove useful when we discuss the relationship schools and other social institutions have with the world around them: internationalisation, globalisation, and regionalisation. Internationalisation, then, can be defined as the term for the policy which an institution, in this case the Swedish school system, implements in an effort to build up a positive, but not uncritical, understanding of the world, and also in an effort to expand and deepen its international contacts. However, these relationships are, at the same time, subject to change which any individual nation is not able to determine - for example as a result of the process of globalisation. So, what do we mean by "globalisation"?

GLOBALISATION

One of the phenomena that the term "globalisation" refers to is the fact that different parts of the world are becoming increasingly more accessible as a consequence of the development of transport and information technology. The world, we feel, is becoming a "smaller place". Similarly, certain cultural phenomena which were once geographically limited to a specific region can now be found all over the world, as components of an ever-expanding world culture. Further, the world economy is becoming more and more integrated: the autonomy of separate national economies is diminishing, and will ultimately be completely eliminated. The task of national governments will be to act as an intermediary, to take economic signals from the "world market" (a wonderful term in the 80s, an ugly term today) and translate them, in our part of the world mostly into budget-

integration appears to be an integrated aspect of globalisation. Consequently there is no natural law that says that globalisation will continue uninterrupted; globalisation must be seen as a contradictory, in certain respects threatening, process. The problems it stirs up in its wake generate counter-movements, for example in the form of neo-nationalism and regionalisation, two tendencies which partly overlap, partly contradict each other. It is one of the obvious tasks of a school system to uphold the national culture, at the same time as it rejects every tendency towards national chauvinism and other forms of anti-intellectualism. So, how does regionalisation come into the picture?

REGIONALISATION

Regionalisation in this article refers to a tendency in world society towards the growth of trans-national groupings of states which for varying reasons, usually to do with economic but also in matters of security policy, transfer part of their national sovereignty to supranational organisations. During recent years the trend within the world economy and political order towards fragmentation into such regional blocs has been the subject of intensive discussion, which has become somewhat less intensive since the conclusion of the latest GATT treaty. Nonetheless all the indicators suggest that this tendency towards the formation of trade blocs will continue, with it coming to leave its stamp on the future "world order", i.e. the institutional structure and rules which make possible and govern trans-national economic transactions of different kinds. Trade blocs are not, however, the same thing as regions as these were defined above. Regionalisation in a deeper sense presupposes on the one hand such changes in the world order as result in increased freedom of manoeuvre on the regional level, and on the other hand the development of a regional identity. The clearest example, and for us Swedes the one that most readily suggests itself, is of course the European Union, EU.

The international region, or "macroregion", then, is a growing social level between the national and the global levels. The term "microregion" thus refers to a sub-national region that seeks to establish a place for itself in the new political landscape arising as a result of the larger, macro, regionalisation process. Prominent examples of this kind of attempt to liberate a microregion from its national context are provided by Northern Italy and Catalonia in Spain. It is in this light one can consider the separate, individual ambitions vis-à-vis the EU expressed by provinces/regions within many European countries.

Over the past decades Europe has been witnessing an historical unification effort which can serve to illustrate what has been said above on the subject of regionalisation. Fifteen states have created a common, "inner", "boundary-free" market, and are working to establish economic and political union. Simultaneously a process of dissolution, disintegration, is in motion, threatening the stability and security of the whole of Europe, and indirectly of the rest of the world as well. This threat is making Europe increasingly self-centred and inward-looking; the commitment to freedom and human rights beyond the borders of the continent is diminishing, as is the will to allocate resources to the economic and social development of the world's poor countries. Acts of violence against immigrants occur in all EU countries, and the laws governing political asylum are being tightened. Wherever we look we can see that nationalism is undergoing a renaissance which rhymes badly with the ideals of internationalisation.

system. In line with their "Pre-Westphalian" traditions the universities generally speaking opposed the consistent carrying through of nationalisation; however, this could not prevent them from coming in time to bear the stamp of Westphalian institutions, imparting an education couched in the national language and serving national goals and interests. There is nothing wrong with this at the school level, but here, too, the flag of internationalisation must be held high. Today's school pupils will soon be university students, and many will enter areas of work with international rather than national scope.

The need for the internationalisation our time is experiencing - which can be seen as a compensation for the self-chosen national orientation of the Westphalian age - coincides with the fact that, since the end of the second world war, national economies have undergone rapid trans-nationalisation; political and cultural institutions are obliged to follow suit in the movement towards a "Post-Westphalian" order which, paradoxically, evinces a number of "Pre-Westphalian" features. Once more, Swedish students are going in search of learning and enlightenment at seats of learning throughout Europe; higher education has once more become "boundary-free". Starting from this year secondary schools are also able to participate in European exchange programmes with the support of the EU. The exchange can take various forms, ranging from study visits to written correspondence or regular contacts via the Internet, and is to be tied to a common theme; at least three different countries have to be involved in each exchange. The aim, of course, is that Swedes become true Europeans.

Europe, however, is not the world; one should make a distinction between Europeanisation and internationalisation. "Europeanisation" refers to the internationalisation work aimed at promoting the integration of education in Sweden with the other EU member countries, and which is a consequence of various obligations and undertakings Sweden has in the European Union. In other words it is regionalisation in the specific European context; Europeanisation is part of internationalisation, but internationalisation implies much more besides. It is about all the ways in which we adapt to the globalisation of the world around us and, not least, about our own society. Continued conscious internationalisation is therefore more important than ever.

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The new curricula and the concept of internationalisation

NOT A NEW CONCEPT

Different forms of work with international orientation have appeared in Swedish schools since the beginning of the century; however, it was after the end of the second world war that the development that has led to today's internationalised school education really gathered speed. Sweden had not been involved in the war, and was in a situation of economic growth and development; there existed both the will and the means to do something to help war-afflicted and less well-off countries. An aid programme based on ideas of international assistance was developed. At the same time, the 1946 Schools Commission put forward a language programme, which aimed to provide Sweden's youngsters with the possibility to see other countries and encounter other cultures than their own.

During the 1950s Sweden's international efforts were focused on organising aid work with international solidarity as the guiding principle. 1950 saw the first parliamentary resolution on development assistance: SEK 500 000 were donated to the UN aid programme for developing countries. Aid policy and projects underwent continual revision and growth throughout the 1950s, and in 1962 a white paper laying down guidelines for aid policy was presented to the Swedish parliament. Parliament decided that the basic overall aim of Swedish aid efforts should be to raise the living standards of the world's poorest peoples. In the same year the first national curriculum for compulsory comprehensive education was adopted (Lgr 62). The curriculum reflected the prevailing political views on internationalisation, emphasising the need for schools to provide pupils with knowledge and awareness of major international issues and to lay the foundation for international understanding and co-operation.

INFORMATION AND INFLUENCE

Aid issues were given increasing priority in Swedish politics throughout the 1960s. In 1965 the Swedish International Development Agency, SIDA, was established, a government authority responsible for directing and administering Swedish aid. One element of SIDA's remit was to conduct broad-based information activity in order to increase awareness of the development assistance provided by Sweden and of the situation prevailing in those countries which received aid. In a white paper from 1968 the government declared that the state's aid work should be planned so that by the budget year 1974/75 development assistance would correspond to one per cent of gross national product. The government pointed out that with this high ambition there was a need to ensure that the general public was given increased information, in order to create understanding and maintain interest in third-world issues. SIDA explained that information to the public ought to concentrate on describing what conditions in the countries receiving Swedish aid were actually like.

Schools are to aim at fostering solidarity with less-privileged groups within Sweden; they are actively to work for the inclusion of immigrants to this country in the social community. Schools are also to foster the will to seek peaceful solutions to conflict: this means that pupils are to be given the opportunity to develop the ability to empathise with and understand other people's situation and conditions, to act in the best interest of other people. (Lgr 80, p. 17).

Not only was there a greater number of immigrants in Sweden, but also the composition of the immigrant population had changed. Earlier decades' immigration of labour, primarily from Finland and Yugoslavia, was replaced by political refugees and people in search of asylum coming from far-away, impoverished and war-afflicted countries. An increased number of different cultures needed now to be integrated into Swedish society: for the first time the national curricula's words about international solidarity would have to be put into real practice, and the words were no longer about people far away, but about the new people next door. The circumstances in which schools had to do their work had changed.

Increased cultural diversity can lead to increased tension between different ethnic groups, and indeed this trend became visible in schools during the 1980s. The responsibility placed on schools in the Lgr 80 curriculum to work to promote understanding and the seeking of peaceful resolution of conflict thereby stood out as being of crucial importance. Concurrently with, or perhaps because of, the increasingly multicultural nature of society the 80s saw renewed interest in the Swedish cultural heritage. 1983 saw the celebration of the Year of the Swedish Book, with the emphasising of the importance of literature in transmitting a national and cultural identity. Ten years on, the new national curriculum reiterates the importance of Swedes' seeking their historical roots and cultural identity. Another example of the attention being accorded to Sweden's cultural inheritance is the republication of traditional folk-songs - where once again a traditional picture of Sweden is used as a symbol for Swedish cultural heritage.

INTERNATIONALISATION AS A PROCESS

Two further factors characterised the education system's international efforts during the 1980s. The first factor was developments in Europe, on the one hand events in Eastern Europe, and on the other hand Sweden's moving closer to what is now called the European Union. The result for Sweden was new forms for co-operation and collaboration and a growing involvement with above all the Baltic states. Schools found that they had new opportunities for making contact with schools in other European countries. An increasing interest both for Sweden's European past and for on-going developments meant that teaching looked at the Swedish cultural heritage not only as a means of creating a national identity, but also as a means of marking out Sweden's place in Europe - i.e. as the foundation for a wider identity than the purely national.

The second factor was the fact that the concept of internationalisation became broader and increasingly complex. During the 1960s and 70s work on international questions was carried out within the framework of certain school subjects, and with time the number of subjects connected with international education rose. The development was then towards a more overall, inter-subject approach, and it became difficult to regard internationalisation as the concern solely of certain subjects or teachers. Moreover, the 1980s saw the

TARGETS/OBJECTIVES

Global dimensions
European dimensions
Nordic dimensions
L A G U A G E
C U L T U R A L H E R I T A G E
M U L T I C U L T U R A L S O C I E T Y

BASIC VALUES

perspective...is an important tool in becoming able to see one's own reality within its global context, in developing a feeling of international solidarity, and in becoming prepared to take active part in a society characterised by many and frequent contacts across cultural and national boundaries" (Lpo 1994, p. 7).

Adopting the international perspective means that an internationally oriented mode of thinking must colour all of school life and work. In addition, the curricula contain several specific, direct aims related to internationalisation - for example pupils are to learn to communicate in foreign languages; pupils leaving school are to have developed an understanding of other cultures and are to be aware of the interdependence that links different countries and areas of the world.

THREE AREAS OF KNOWLEDGE

In the review body findings that preceded the new curricula and syllabuses, presented in the report "Schools, Education and Culture" (Skola för bildning, Swedish Government Official Reports No. SOU 1992:94) internationalisation work was defined in terms of three specific areas. These areas tie in with several of the overall objectives established in the new curricula. The areas of knowledge are not subject-specific; they can and should be dealt with within the respective spheres of many subjects.

The Curriculum Review Body writes that knowledge of international conditions and relations is necessary, partly as an aspect of the study of Sweden and the changes undergone by the country, partly in order to be able to meet the need for increased understanding of and empathy with other people. In addition, emphasis is given to schools' responsibility for disseminating information about, and highlighting the concrete implications of, the international conventions Sweden has undertaken to observe. The three areas of knowledge the Review Body sees as the vehicle for internationalisation are:

- 1) Better knowledge of foreign languages. This is not only necessary in order to communicate with other people, but also to be in with a chance both on the rapidly growing international job market and on the domestic job market, too.
- 2) Better knowledge of one's own cultural heritage. This enables pupils to become aware of their own fundamental values, thus strengthening their identity. If pupils have a strong sense of their own identity they are better able to meet and accept other cultures.
- 3) Better knowledge of other cultures and religious beliefs. This is to foster increased tolerance; the knowledge imparted must be based on respect for people's cultural background and on the standpoint that a multicultural society is something valuable.

This formulation of internationalisation in terms of three areas of knowledge can be clearly traced in the new syllabuses, where they have been tied in with the targets which each pupil is expected to achieve in each subject. Pupils in compulsory primary and secondary education (aged 7 - 16) are to have acquired "knowledge of the interdependence that links different countries and areas of the world" - which is in line with the general aims put forward in the Curriculum Review Body's report. The three areas of knowledge find expression in the aim to make pupils "familiar with the specifically Swedish cultural

of the other two areas of knowledge, i.e. questions related to cultural heritage and the multicultural consideration.

DIMENSIONS

In the education context we use the terms Nordic, European and global dimensions, but we could just as accurately talk about Nordic, European and global perspectives. Adding a new dimension to education is a way of opening up new angles, new interconnections. Exchange between teachers and pupils from different countries gives rise to chains of thought in the mind of each and every participant. What this thought process adds to the ideas each individual had before, is the new dimension. In his essay earlier in this book Bodil Jönsson expresses this when he writes the "global village" is not merely the sum of all the villages in the world. More is different.

EXCHANGE AND INTERACTION

Bringing a Nordic dimension to school education can be described as placing the regular teaching in a Nordic context by means of exchange and interaction with teachers and pupils from one or more of the other Nordic countries, or by using computers or a library to find out what for example the Finnish or Icelandic views are on the questions currently being studied. The Nordic angle is sometimes aimed at profiling the Nordic countries as a region, or at stimulating pupils to think about a joint Nordic identity or cultural heritage, the ultimate purpose of this kind of exchange is however to raise the quality of education.

The European Union's school and education policy stresses that personal contacts constitute the way to creating a joint European identity in young people. Contacts between schools are to be built up through personal visits and with the aid of modern technology, by individual teachers, and pupils on exchange/study programmes or traineeships. It is hoped that by building up numerous close links between different schools and countries, a strong sense of a shared European identity will grow up.

The Nordic and European dimensions are just two examples of possibilities for new perspectives; neither of them excludes other possibilities. Culture, traditions and interests will shape schools' work in different ways; what is central, is that schools, by providing pupils with the opportunity to see their own reality against other contexts, can strengthen pupils' sense of their own identity, thus equipping them to meet a changing world with confidence and self-respect.

GLOBAL OPENNESS

A global dimension in school means that pupils' own reality is placed in the largest of international contexts. It is a dimension that makes it possible to analyse the conditions of dependence and interdependence that exist between the countries and areas of the world. It also implies looking very closely at the society we live in and the culture we tend to accept as second nature. As far as schools are concerned the global dimension of the internationalisation of education is at bottom about fostering tolerance and openness vis-à-vis cultural traditions which may seem very strange.

ELECTRONIC MOTORWAYS

The new channels for communication being created by information technology. IT. present schools with new ways of doing their work. Correspondence with overseas schools can be given new life - via the Internet pupils can communicate quickly, and receive an immediate response, at a reasonable cost. New technology can be used to find out about pen friends' countries in databases. The Nordic school computer network currently being established is another source of new opportunities for schools. It is to be hoped that new, simple communication routes will make the distances shorter, and boost the exchange of experiences and ideas. New technology can be a tool in the development of educational methods.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

The importance of a knowledge of foreign languages has already been emphasised. Many schools, understanding this, have sought to develop their language teaching in various ways: some schools have given added timetable space to the traditional European languages, other schools have begun offering a greater number of languages, and still others have begun timetabling more unusual languages. There are more courses in European Studies, and internationalisation programmes have been developed, especially in upper secondary schools. There is nothing to indicate that this development is likely to slow down: on the contrary, interest in internationally oriented education seems to be growing all the time.

The most far-reaching development of language teaching is taking place in the area of bilingual education, where pupils are taught in a foreign language in subjects other than languages. In the majority of cases the language used is English. The development of bilingual courses has been encouraged, for example by means of government funding. There are several reasons for this: this kind of course makes it more attractive for foreign guest students to study in Sweden, which in turn can lead to increased interest for Sweden in other European countries. Bilingual education leads to the foreign language becoming much more of a flexibly operative tool for pupils than is the case with traditional language teaching, and this makes Swedish youngsters more competitive in the international job market. Obviously, this kind of teaching places extra demands on teachers: in addition to their subject knowledge they need to have an excellent command of the foreign language in question. New teaching materials are needed, and a complete re-moulding of the subject syllabus must be carried out. This being said, those teachers who have started teaching within the framework of bilingual education schemes have reacted very positively, and see the method as stimulating and educationally enriching.

Bilingual education is receiving quite a lot of attention at present, but another form of work with bilingualism has been going on in schools for a long time: pupils with a native language (or with parents whose native language is) different from Swedish receive native-language tuition. This is a well-established, living example of the attempt to help pupils develop bilingualism, to help them develop or retain a mastery of the language of their background and at the same time attain proficiency in the language of their new homeland. At the same time as the position of native-language tuition in schools has been strengthened, so that it is regarded as a subject in its own right at upper secondary level,

What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future

Report of the National Commission on
Teaching & America's Future

Summary Report

September 1996

The National Commission on Teaching & America's Future

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The Summary Report

We propose an audacious goal . . . by the year 2006, America will provide all students in the country with what should be their educational birthright: access to competent, caring, and qualified teachers.

With these words, the National Commission on Teaching & America's Future summarized its challenge to the American public. Following two years of intense study and discussion, the Commission concluded that the reform of elementary and secondary education depends first and foremost on restructuring its foundation—the teaching profession. The restructuring, we make clear, must go in two directions: toward increasing teachers' knowledge to meet the demands they face; and toward recognizing and using teachers' expertise in schools that are redesigned to support high-quality teaching and learning.

The Commission found a profession that has suffered from decades of neglect. By the standards of other professions and other countries, U.S. teacher education has historically been thin, uneven, and poorly financed. Teacher recruitment and hiring are distressingly ad hoc, and salaries lag significantly behind those of all other professions. This produces chronic shortages of qualified teachers in fields like mathematics and science, and the continual hiring of large numbers of people as "teachers" who are unprepared for their jobs.

Furthermore, in contrast with other countries that invest most of their education dollars in well-prepared and well-supported teachers, half of the educational dollars in the United States are spent on staff and activities outside the classroom. Lack of standards for students and teachers, coupled with schools organized for 19th-century learning, leave educators without an adequate foundation for constructing good teaching. Under these conditions, excellence is hard to achieve.

In more than a decade of school reform, America is still a very long way from achieving its educational goals. Instead of all children coming to school ready to learn, more are living in poverty and without health care than a decade ago. Graduation rates and student achievement in most subjects have remained flat or have increased only slightly. Fewer than 10% of high school students can read, write, compute, and manage scientific material at the high levels required for today's "knowledge work" jobs. Meanwhile, international tests continue to show U.S. high school students ranking near the bottom in mathematics and science.

This distance between our stated goals and current realities is not due to lack of effort. Many initiatives have been launched with positive effects in local communities. Nonetheless, we have reached an impasse in spreading these promising efforts to the system as a whole. It is now clear that most schools and teachers cannot produce the kind of learning the new reforms demand—not because they do not want to, but

The Summary Report

This report offers what we believe is the single most important strategy for achieving America's education goals: a blueprint for recruiting, preparing, supporting, and rewarding excellent educators in all of America's schools. The plan is aimed at ensuring that all schools have teachers with the knowledge and skills they need to teach so that all children can learn, and all school systems are organized to support teachers in this work. If a caring, competent, and qualified teacher for every child is the most important ingredient in education reform, it should no longer be the one most frequently overlooked.

We recognize as well that such teachers must work in schools and school systems that are well designed to achieve their key academic mission: They must be focused on clear, high standards for students; organized to provide a coherent, high-quality curriculum across the grades; designed to support teachers' collective work and learning on behalf of their students; and structured to allow for ongoing parent engagement.

We note that this challenge is accompanied by an equally great opportunity: Over the next decade we will recruit and hire more than 2 million teachers for America's schools. More than half the teachers who will be teaching ten years from now will be hired during the next decade. If we can focus our energies on preparing this generation of teachers with the kinds of knowledge and skills they need to help students reach these goals, and on creating schools that use their talents well, we will have made an enormous contribution to America's future.

The Commission recommends five major interlocking changes:

- Get serious about standards, for both students and teachers.
- Reinvent teacher preparation and professional development.
- Overhaul teacher recruitment and put qualified teachers in every classroom.
- Encourage and reward teaching knowledge and skill.
- Create schools that are organized for student and teacher success.

Taken together, these steps can make the crucial difference in improving learning in our schools.

The Nature of the Problem

Good teaching is more important than ever before in our nation's history. Due to sweeping economic changes, today's world has little room for workers who cannot read, write, and compute proficiently; find and use resources; frame and solve problems with other people; and continually learn new technologies and occupations.

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learning. Moreover, as students with a wider range of learning needs enter and stay in school—a growing number whose first language is not English, many others with learning differences, and still others with learning disabilities—teachers need access to the growing knowledge that exists about how to teach different kinds of learners effectively.

Developing the kind of teaching needed will require much greater clarity about what students must learn to succeed in the world that awaits them, and what teachers must know and do to help them achieve it. Standards that reflect these imperatives for student learning and for teaching are largely absent in our nation today. Although states are just now beginning to establish standards for student learning, most schools do not yet have the kind of high-quality, professionally informed curriculum guidance that will help them organize their work so that it adds up in a powerful way across the grades and within and across subjects.

Standards for teaching are equally haphazard. Although parents might assume that teachers, like other professionals, are educated in similar ways so that they meet the same standards before they are admitted to practice, this is not the case. Unlike doctors, lawyers, accountants, or architects, teachers do not have the same training. Some teachers have very high levels of skills—particularly in states that require a bachelor's degree in the discipline to be taught; coursework in teaching, learning, curriculum, and child development; extensive practice teaching, and a master's degree in education. Others learn little about their subject matter or about teaching, particularly in states that have low requirements.

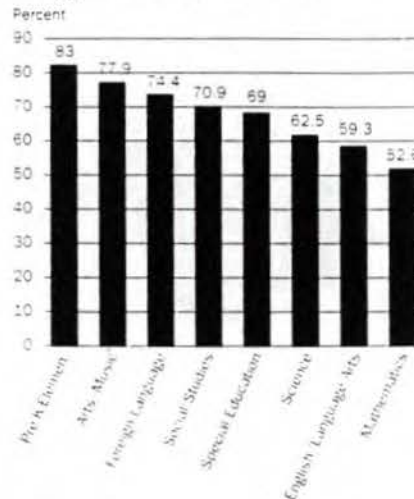
And while states have recently begun to require some form of testing for a teaching license, most are little more than multiple-choice tests of basic skills and general knowledge, widely criticized by educators and experts as woefully inadequate to measure teaching skill. Furthermore, in many states the cutoff scores are so low, there is no effective standard for entry.

These difficulties are barely known to the public. But the schools' most closely held secret amounts to a national shame: Roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of newly hired American teachers lack the qualifications for their jobs. More than 12% of new hires enter the classroom without any formal training at all, and another 14% arrive without fully meeting state standards.

Although no state will permit a person to write wills, practice medicine, fix plumbing, or style hair without completing training and passing an examination, more than 40 states allow districts to hire teachers who have not met these basic requirements. Most states pay more attention to the qualifications of veterinarians treating America's cats and dogs than to those of the people educating the nation's children and youth.

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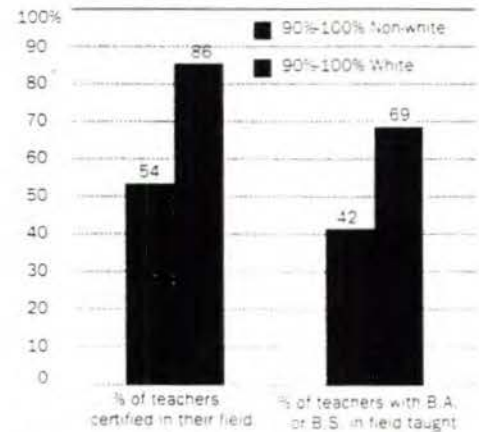
Percentage of Public School Teachers with a State License and a Major in Their Main Teaching Assignment Field: 1990-91



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Schools and Staffing Survey, 1990-91. Published in Marilyn M. McMillen, Sharon A. Bobbit, and Hilda F. Lynch, *Teacher Training, Certification, and Assignment in Public Schools, 1990-91*, paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA, April 1994.

Qualifications of Secondary School Mathematics and Science Teachers

By school racial composition



Source: Jeannie Oakes, *Multiplying Inequities: The Effects of Race, Social Class, and Tracking on Opportunities to Learn Mathematics and Science* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 1990), p. 61.

In the nation's poorest schools where hiring is most lax and teacher turnover is constant, the results can be disastrous. Thousands of children are taught throughout their school careers by a parade of teachers without preparation in the fields they teach, inexperienced beginners with little training and no mentoring, and short-term substitutes trying to cope with constant staff disruptions. It is more surprising that some of these children manage to learn than that so many fail to do so.

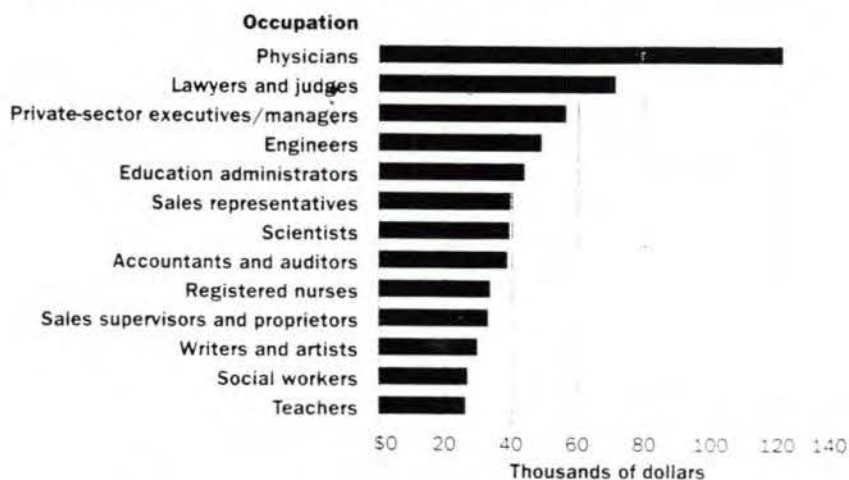
Current Barriers

It is quite clear that the challenges of improving teaching are long-standing and complex. There are no "silver bullet" solutions. Efforts to deal with these problems have often been stymied by a persistent set of myths that deflect attention from the hard work that is needed. Among the most destructive of these are: "Anyone can teach." "Teacher education makes no difference." "Teachers don't work very hard." "Tenure is the problem." And "teacher unions prevent change."

Like every myth, there is some truth to each of these statements, but a great deal

Comparisons of Earnings by Occupation

Average annual earnings in the previous year, 1991



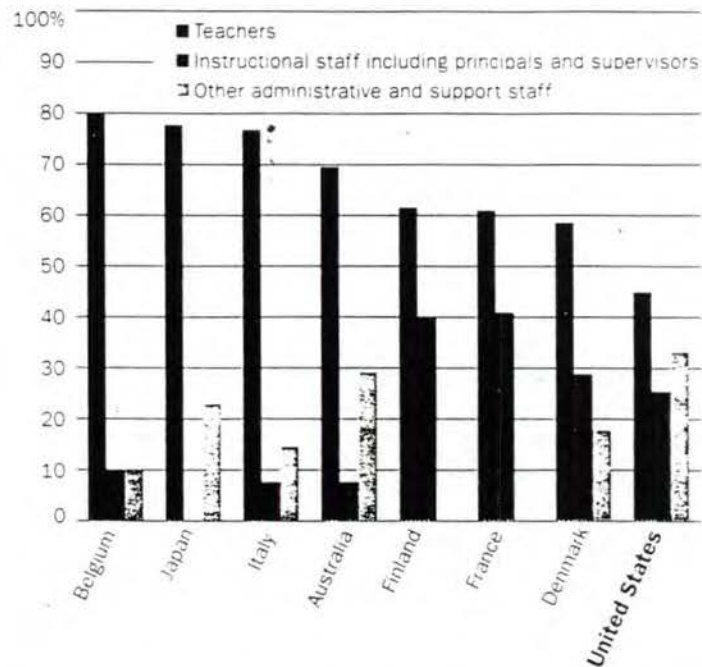
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Adult Literacy Survey, 1992. Published in the *Condition of Education 1995* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1995), p. 161.

tasks, and treated as semiskilled workers. Others would be hired to design teaching work and tell teachers what to do. Many states and districts spend more time and energy developing teacher-proof regulations than preparing teachers who can deliver top-flight instruction.

The result of this long-standing view is that there is no real system for recruiting, preparing, and developing America's teachers. Major problems include the following:

- **Inadequate teacher education.** Because accreditation is not required of teacher education programs, the quality of programs varies widely, with excellent programs operating alongside those that are out of touch with current knowledge and inadequately funded to do the job. Too many American universities still treat their schools of education as "cash cows" whose excess revenues are spent on the training of doctors, lawyers, accountants, and almost any other students than prospective teachers themselves. Many still do not offer the kinds of training needed to prepare teachers for today's new standards and changing student populations.
- **Slipshod recruitment and hiring.** Although the share of academically able young people entering teaching has been increasing, there are still too few in

Comparisons of Educational Staff By Function



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators* (Paris: OECD, 1995), table p31, pp. 176-177.

teaching. This is made possible because these other countries invest their resources in many more teachers—typically 60% to 80% of staff as compared with only 43% in the United States—and they hire many fewer non-teaching staff.

- Schools structured for failure.** Today's schools are organized in ways that support neither student nor teacher learning well. Curriculum goals are not well defined. Students are passed off from teacher to teacher for short periods of time, which makes it hard for them to learn challenging material or to be well known by school staff. Teachers are isolated from one another so they cannot share knowledge or be responsible for overall student learning. Technologies that could enhance learning are not yet widely available, and few staff are prepared to use them. And too many people and resources are allocated to activities outside of classrooms, sitting on the sidelines rather than the front lines of teaching and learning.

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current available knowledge and practice. This redesign should create a continuum of teacher learning based on compatible standards that operate from recruitment and preservice education through licensing, hiring, and induction into the profession, to advanced certification and ongoing professional development.

We also propose a comprehensive set of changes in school organization and management that will provide the conditions in which teachers can use their knowledge much more productively to support student learning. And finally, we recommend a set of measures for ensuring that only those who are competent to teach or to lead schools are allowed to enter or to continue in the profession—a starting point for creating professional accountability.

For the first time in the history of education reform, a broad-based group of policymakers and educators—including those who will have to take courageous steps to put these recommendations in place—have issued a comprehensive agenda for change and have pledged to take the steps necessary to implement it. We understand that these recommendations are not easy to undertake and that the self-interest of various constituencies will be challenged in the process of bringing them to life. However, we are persuaded that these reforms are absolutely essential to guarantee every child a caring, competent, and qualified teacher . . . and to guarantee America a just and prosperous future.

To put teaching and teachers at the heart of school improvement, we offer these recommendations:

I. Get serious about standards, for both students and teachers.

The Commission recommends that we renew the national promise to bring every American child up to world-class standards in core academic areas and to develop and enforce rigorous standards for teacher preparation, initial licensing, and continuing development.

Standards for both students and teachers form the linchpin for transforming the way teachers work and schools operate. The goal of standards is to support student learning. Therefore, student standards need to be reinforced by incentives that encourage students to work hard, schools to support their efforts, and teachers to acquire greater knowledge and skill.

With respect to student standards, the Commission believes every state should work on incorporating demanding standards for learning—such as those developed by professional bodies like the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics—into curriculum frameworks and new assessments of student performance.

The Three-Legged Stool of Teacher Quality

The three-legged stool of quality assurance—teacher education program accreditation, initial teacher licensing, and advanced professional certification—is becoming more sturdy as a continuum of standards has been developed to guide teacher learning across the career. When these standards have been enacted in policy, teacher preparation and professional development should be focused on a set of shared knowledge, skills, and commitments.

Accreditation: A rigorous new set of standards for teacher preparation programs has been developed by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). NCATE-accredited institutions must show how they prepare teachers to teach to the student standards developed by professional associations such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, one of NCATE's 30 professional organization members. They also must show how they prepare teachers to meet new licensing standards (see below) regarding content knowledge and skill in curriculum planning, assessment, classroom management, teaching strategies for diverse learners, and collaboration with parents and colleagues. To date, about 500 of 1,200 teacher education programs have received professional accreditation through NCATE.

Licensing: Under the auspices of the Council of Chief State School Officers, a consortium of more than 30 states and professional organizations has formed the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC). This consortium has created a set of performance standards for beginning teacher licensing and is developing new examinations that measure these standards. The new examinations draw upon the pace-setting work of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (see illustration, opposite page)

and evaluate teaching in terms of how well teachers can plan and teach for understanding, connect their lessons to students' prior knowledge and experiences, help students who are not initially successful, analyze the results of their practice on student learning, and adjust it accordingly. If new teachers can do these things, they will be prepared to teach for the new student standards that are emerging and to develop the more advanced skills of a Board-Certified teacher.

Certification: The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards was instituted in 1987 to establish rigorous standards and assessments for certifying accomplished teaching. A majority of the Board's 63 members are outstanding classroom teachers; the remaining members include school board members, governors, legislators, administrators, and teacher educators. Veteran teachers who participate in the Board's assessments complete a yearlong portfolio that illustrates their teaching through lesson plans, samples of student work over time, videotapes, and analyses of their teaching. They also take tests of content and pedagogical knowledge that tap their ability to create and evaluate curriculum materials and teaching situations. The Board's standards are being used by some school districts to guide ongoing professional development and evaluation as well as certification of accomplished practice.

The Commission recommends that this framework be used to guide education policy across the states so that every teacher prepares at an NCATE-accredited institution, demonstrates teaching competence as defined by INTASC licensing standards, and develops accomplished practice as defined by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

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Then they must develop strategies that effectively help teachers learn to teach in these much more demanding ways.

Over the past decade, many schools of education have changed their programs to incorporate new knowledge. Like those in other countries, more than 300 have developed extended programs that add a fifth (and sometimes a sixth) year of training to undergraduate preparation. These programs allow beginning teachers to complete a disciplinary degree in their subject and acquire a firmer grounding in teaching skills. They allow coursework to be connected to extended practice teaching in schools; often these are professional development schools that, like teaching hospitals in medicine, have a special mission to support research and training. Recent studies show that graduates of extended programs are rated as better prepared and more effective teachers—and far more likely to enter and remain in teaching than their peers from traditional four-year programs.

As teachers move into the profession, they should have support from an expert mentor during the first year of teaching. Research shows that such support improves both teacher effectiveness and retention. In the system we propose, teachers will have completed initial tests of subject matter and basic teaching knowledge before entry and will be ready to undertake the second stage—a performance assessment of teaching skills—during this first year.

Throughout their careers, teachers should have ongoing opportunities to update their skills. In addition to time for joint planning and problem solving with in-school colleagues, teachers should have access to networks, school-university partnerships, and academies where they can connect with colleagues to study subject matter teaching, new pedagogies, and school change. These opportunities should offer sustained work on problems of practice that are directly connected to teachers' work and student learning. They should allow for in-depth inquiry, peer coaching, and sharing of knowledge so that real transformations of practice are possible.

III. Overhaul teacher recruitment, and put qualified teachers in every classroom.

The Commission recommends that states and school districts pursue aggressive policies to put qualified teachers in every classroom by providing financial incentives to correct shortages, streamlining hiring procedures, and reducing barriers to teacher mobility.

Although the nation each year produces more new teachers than it needs, shortages of qualified candidates in particular fields (e.g., mathematics and science) and

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particular locations (primarily inner city and rural) are chronic. While some districts have long waiting lists of qualified teachers eager for work, others cannot find the applicants they need.

In large districts, logistics can overwhelm everything else. It is sometimes the case that central offices cannot find out about classroom vacancies, principals are left in the dark about applicants, and candidates cannot get any information at all. And large pools of potential midcareer teacher entrants—from “downsized” corporation employees, military and government retirees, and teacher aides already in the schools—lie for the most part untapped.

States and districts should aggressively overhaul teacher recruitment by providing financial incentives to correct shortages; streamlining hiring procedures; and reducing barriers to teacher mobility. Five principles are involved here:

- Increase the ability of financially disadvantaged districts to pay for qualified teachers and insist that school districts hire only qualified teachers.
- Redesign and streamline hiring at the district level, principally by creating a central “electronic hiring hall” for all qualified candidates and establishing cooperative relationships with universities to encourage early hiring of teachers.
- Eliminate barriers to teacher mobility by promoting reciprocal interstate licensing and by working with states to develop portable pensions.
- Provide incentives (including scholarships and premium pay) to recruit teachers for high-need subjects and locations.
- Develop high-quality pathways to teaching for recent graduates, midcareer changers, paraprofessionals already in the classroom, and military and government retirees.

IV. Encourage and reward knowledge and skill.

The Commission recommends that school districts, states, unions, and professional associations cooperate to make teaching a true profession, with a career continuum that places teaching at the top and rewards teachers for their knowledge and skills.

Schools have few ways of encouraging outstanding teaching, supporting teachers who take on the most challenging work, or rewarding increases in knowledge and skill. Newcomers who enter teaching without preparation are paid at the same levels as those who enter with highly developed skills. Entering novices take on exactly the same kind of work as 30-year veterans. Mediocre teachers receive the same rewards as outstanding ones. And unlicensed “teachers” are placed on the same salary schedule

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cation to serve as a lead teacher—a role that is awarded to teachers who have demonstrated high levels of competence and who want to serve as mentors, consulting teachers, and program developers.

One other feature of a new compensation system is key. The central importance of teaching to the mission of schools should be acknowledged by a system in which the highest paid professional in a school system is an experienced National Board-Certified teacher, who should be able to earn as much by teaching as by becoming an administrator. As in other professions, teaching and administrative roles should become less distinct. The jobs of teacher, consultant, supervisor, principal, curriculum developer, researcher, mentor, and professor should be hyphenated roles, allowing many ways for individuals to use their talents and expertise without abandoning the core work of the profession.

V. Create schools that are organized for student and teacher success.

The Commission recommends that schools be restructured to become genuine learning organizations for both students and teachers: organizations that respect learning, honor teaching, and teach for understanding.

Many experts have observed that the demands of serious teaching and learning bear little relationship to the organization of the typical American school. Nothing more clearly reveals this problem than how we allocate the principal resources of school time, money, and people. Far too many people sit in offices on the sidelines of the school's core work, managing routines rather than improving learning. Our schools are bureaucratic inheritances from the 19th century, not the kinds of learning organizations required for the 21st.

Across the United States, the ratio of school staff to students is 1:9. However, actual class sizes average about 24, reaching 30 or more in many cities. High school teachers generally see more than 100 students per day. This is because most staff are not classroom teachers, and teachers' work is organized like piecework on an assembly line. The organizational assumptions that led to this way of managing work are being abandoned in high-performance businesses that are flattening hierarchies, creating teams, and training employees so they can take on wider responsibilities. Many schools have proved that it is possible to restructure adult use of time so that more teachers and administrators actually work with students on a daily basis in the classroom, thus reducing class sizes while creating more time for teacher collaboration. They do this by creating teams of teachers who share students, engaging almost all

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	Traditional High School	Restructured High School
Total students	3,380	450
Ratio of student to staff	13:1	10:1
% of Staff who are full-time teachers	58%	78%
Average class size	33	18
Average pupil load	167	36
Joint work time for teachers	45 minutes/week	7.5 hours/week

Studies have found that attendance, grades, graduation rates, and college-going rates are all higher in these restructured schools than in the traditional schools they are replacing.

By contrast, teachers in a traditional New York high school of 3,300 have class sizes of 33 and see 167 students per day, although student-adult ratios are only 13:1. Teachers have no joint planning time because the school's person-hours are consumed by the large number of non-teaching staff: 9 assistant principals, 11 guidance counselors, 13 secretaries, 10 school-based services specialists, 17

security guards, 22 nonteaching school aides, 14 paraprofessionals, and 3 librarians. Students and teachers experience the anonymity of the factory model school, which produces far less learning for them both.

Teams that include many kinds of expertise and share groups of students can plan more effectively for students and use time more productively. Resources are better used when they go directly to the classrooms, rather than sitting around the periphery of the school to be applied in brief encounters with students or in coordinative rather than teaching roles.

Sources: Linda Darling-Hammond, "Restructuring Schools for High Performance," in *Rewards and Reform: Creating Educational Incentives that Work*, edited by Susan Fuhrman and Jennifer O'Day (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1996); and Karen Hawley Miles, "Freeing Up Resources for Improving Schools: A Case Study of Teacher Allocation in Boston Public Schools," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 17 (Winter 1995): 476-493.

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taken in the last decade. All across the country, successful programs for recruiting, educating, and mentoring new teachers have sprung up. Professional networks and teacher academies have been launched; many education school programs have been redesigned; higher standards for licensing teachers and accrediting education schools have been developed; and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards has begun to define and reward accomplished teaching.

Finally, we must understand that everyone must shoulder his or her share of the burden of transforming American schools.

While much of what we propose can and should be accomplished by reallocating resources from uses that are currently unproductive, there are new costs. As the table below indicates, the estimated additional costs of our key recommendations total just under \$5 billion annually—less than 1% of the amount spent on the federal savings and loan bailout several years ago. This is not too much, we believe, to bail out our schools and to secure America's future.

Type of Investment	Cost per Year
Scholarships for able teaching recruits in high-need areas	\$ 500 million
Teacher education reforms	\$ 875 million
Mentoring supports and new licensing assessments	\$ 750 million
Professional development funding	\$ 2.750 billion
TOTAL \$ 4.875 billion	

A Call to Action

Defining the agenda outlined above is the easiest task. Setting it in motion and carrying it to completion will demand much of us all. The Commission calls on governors to create state professional boards to govern teacher licensing standards and to issue annual report cards on the status of teaching. We ask state legislators to set aside at least 1% of funds for standards-based teacher training. We urge Congress to put money behind the teacher recruitment programs it has already approved but never funded.

Moreover, we ask the profession to take seriously its responsibilities to children and America's future. Among other measures, we insist that state officials close the loopholes that permit unqualified people to be placed as teachers in the classroom. We call on university officials to take up the hard work of improving the preparation of new and practicing teachers. We ask administrators and teachers to take on the difficult work of developing teaching of ever higher quality. And we ask local school boards and

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Good teachers are those who can transmit a passion for learning. They believe all children can learn, some may take a little longer, but will not stop until they have tried everything they can and then some. They understand that learning is a lifelong experience and let their children see they are still learning. . . . Good teachers care about their students as people, not just grades in a book.

— JOANNE LEAVITT,
PARENT, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA

The most important contribution we as educators can make to the well-being of children is to enable them to deal effectively with their universe. . . . This is not, of course, a trivial task.

It combines a number of concerns, ranging from teaching basic skills to readying students for the marketplace. In essence, it combines giving them the tools to analyze a situation to make an appropriate response, the self-confidence to use those tools, and the pride and motivation to use them with excellence.

— JOHN SNYDER, COMPUTER SCIENCE TEACHER,
ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES ACADEMY,
LAS VEGAS, NEVADA

Summary

The Task

The main task of the Commission on Curriculum was to draw up proposals for the compulsory school, the upper secondary school, municipal adult education as well as timetables and syllabi for the compulsory school. In addition it has had the task of working out proposals to prepare children for future school activity and proposals for strengthening teaching in Swedish and foreign languages in different types of schools. The Commission has also had a number of other tasks concerning upper secondary education.

Background and reasons

Work on the curriculum mainly concerns questions centring around the basic values and goals of education and what the national school system can and shall do. It also concerns education in its widest and deepest sense.

On the basis of this, the Commission has taken the following questions as the starting points for its work.

- What tasks will be important and possible for the school to carry out in the future?
- What goals shall the school have and how shall these be formulated?
- What content shall be selected for teaching and how shall this be organised?
- What shall be governed from the national level and what freedom should exist at the local level?

Designing a new curriculum can never take place in a vacuum. The curricula that exist to-day and the discussion on education that is taking place, both within and outside our national borders, must serve as an initial starting-point. Account must also be taken of how responsibility for the development of the school is now divided between politicians and those involved in the school sector, as well as between the State and the municipality. In addition account must also be taken of the need for ensuring that education of high quality and equivalence is made available over the whole country and at the same time scope is provided for local and individual freedom of choice. Other important starting points are the overall structure that has been decided on in recent reforms, the changes that have and are taking place in the surrounding world outside the school, as well as current research into knowledge and the learning-teaching process.

The curricula and the tasks of the school

Curricula are important in a pluralistic society for determining and identifying not only the foundation values of the school, but also the range and organisation of education in the school. A curriculum must thus contain both values and goals. The School Act sets out the basic values that are to characterise the national school system: equal access to education, equivalent education,

fundamental democratic values, the intrinsic value of each individual, and respect for the environment we all share. Such values, also expressed in the Swedish Constitution, the UN Declaration on Human Rights and in the UN Convention on the Rights of Children, can be regarded as unvarying in that they apply in a given cultural context under all circumstances. They can never be set aside, even though under certain circumstances, they may appear to be impractical, uneconomic or of little use.

Goals on the other hand state what is to be achieved or aimed for. The goals in the curriculum and syllabi should not impose a ceiling on the acquisition of knowledge. In addition to values and goals, the curriculum should also contain guidelines for work in the school. The guidelines set out the basic principles for work in the school.

In Sweden, work on the curriculum and the syllabus has long been regarded as a matter for politicians, administrators and experts in various subjects. Those who are working in the school are expected to "realise" the curriculum. A consequence of changes in how the national school system is to be "steered", and the new opportunities for establishing independent schools, is that the staff of the school have received greater responsibility over how subject material is to be chosen and organised, as well as ways and methods of working. Teachers and pupils have every opportunity of working with questions that earlier were to a great extent determined by the central school administration and educational publishers.

Changes in the means by which the system is steered, make even more crucial questions concerning equivalence and freedom of choice. Equivalence has been a central concept in the development of the school, and has been the reason for numerous attempts on the part of the State to regulate the Swedish school. The question concerning freedom of choice has, however, been central in the discussions on the school and has over a number of years been expressed in many different ways. To-day questions concerning equivalence and freedom of choice are at least as important as they were in the past.

The compulsory school shall provide all children and young people with a common platform to stand on, but it is essential to ensure that opportunities exist for initiatives to be taken both at the local and individual level to create and shape a school that is rich in diversity and variety. The proposals for the new goal documents must thus be drawn up such that national equivalence is maintained and that scope exists for both local and individual freedom.

"Knowledge and Skills", and "Upbringing" have been stated as the main tasks of the school in nearly all steering documents for the school. These tasks have not always been consistent with each other, but the contradiction between them is more apparent than real. All teaching involves upbringing in some form or other. Underlying this, however, are questions that major changes in the curriculum raise and to which each epoch must determine its own response. A few examples of such questions are: What tasks are important and feasible for the school in the future? What shall be the goals of the school and what educational content should be selected? What freedom should there be? Fundamental questions concerning the goals of education and how these shall be realised must be put and answers found by all involved in the school. The curricula in themselves provide no ready answers.

Every school system and curriculum builds on certain pre-determined notions concerning the ability and possibility for people to learn. Every epoch has its dominant notions as to what is meaningful as regards learning and what learning actually is. Different educational traditions, including our own, are thus an important platform where such questions have to be answered. The question as to what education in our time basically is, must be put into the context of class-room work. Every far-reaching change in the curriculum raises the classical question of what education is and thus questions concerning what the national school system can do, and what its role shall be. These questions can never be given a simple answer, since the future cannot be predicted. However, they must be put since they demonstrate that the school cannot be content with merely fulfilling the demands that exist to-day. The educational work of the school must rather build on the accumulated experience of the past. This, however, is not just a question of attempting to recreate something that has been found earlier. A school that is truly for all, where education in its broadest sense is the main task, has never existed.

Knowledge and learning

Every school system and every curriculum is based on a conceptual framework as to what knowledge is and how learning takes place. In a system where the State only determines the goals for and the orientation of school activities, it becomes even more important to present in the curriculum, a view of knowledge and learning. Management by goals and results imposes demands on having explicit national descriptions of what knowledge pupils shall acquire, and this in its turn requires a professional discussion amongst head teachers, teachers and pupils in the local school areas.

As a basis for the proposal on what type of knowledge it is the school's task to transfer, a view of knowledge and learning based on current research is presented.

There are above all three aspects to knowledge, the significance of which have been increasingly focused on during the last few decades. The first is the constructive aspect of knowledge. This means that knowledge is not just a reproduction a mirroring of the world, but rather a way of making the world understandable. Knowledge is developed in an interaction between what one wishes to achieve, the knowledge one already has, the problems that one encounters from this starting point, as well as one's experiences. The second aspect of knowledge is the contextual. Knowledge is dependent on its context, and this provides the basis for making it understandable. The third is the functional or instrumental aspects of knowledge i.e. knowledge as a tool.

There are many different kinds of knowledge. One might for example, know that things act in specific ways, one might know how something shall be done and be able to do it, one might understand context and contents and act with good reasons. Four different forms of knowledge are discussed in the report; knowledge as facts, understanding, skills and acquaintance. There must be a balance between these forms of knowledge since they complement each other and are the condition for each other's existence.

The Commission also reports on how research into learning has contributed to a change in our understanding of how the individual learns. This change can be described in three stages, namely learning as

- incorporating external knowledge
- understanding based on the pupil's level of development
- an interaction between the individual and the environment.

People's understanding and thinking isn't a purely mental process. There is always something to be understood by somebody in a given context. This context is linguistic and practical. It is through interaction with other persons and not only with the physical environment that the individual learns.

Taking this review of research that the Commission has carried out as the starting point, the task of the school cannot simply be reduced to that of selecting what knowledge to transfer. Knowledge cannot be regarded as a finished product, which can be understood in isolation from the contexts where it was developed. In the same way, the pupils' acquisition of knowledge is influenced by how the activity is organised. The school must offer a social context where the pupil's "pursuit of knowledge" becomes meaningful. Pupils must internalise concepts and structures from different subject areas in such a way that they can be made to function as intellectual tools.

In the school there shall be a balance between practical and theoretical knowledge. By means of reflecting over practical experiences and through practical experience of theoretical work, the ability to think and reflect is developed. In this manner the foundation is laid for developing a way of working and thinking that is scientific. However, acquiring and developing knowledge also involves creative, aesthetic and ethical dimensions.

Reviewing the concept of knowledge and learning leads into a discussion on the knowledge that the school shall transfer, as well as how this can be formulated in terms of curricula and syllabi.

The school and changes in the surrounding world

Questions regarding the selection and organisation of knowledge are treated in terms of the changes that have now become relevant since the current curricula were drawn up. Changes both in and outside the school, in Sweden as well as in the rest of Europe, and the world continue to impose new demands on the school. These demands must be carefully assessed in relation to the main tasks that the national school system has, and the current division of responsibility applicable to the school area. Of primary concern are the questions concerning selection that are connected to what shall be provided at the national level and what is appropriate for local decision making and consideration.

The view of life that children and young people have, is influenced by the structure and division of roles between families, schools and society in general. The role of the school and its importance has increased at the same time as its roles of mediator and norm setter have been subject to competition in a way that is different from earlier. The school's, and particularly the comprehensive school's co-operation with the home must be developed. The school's role in terms of providing security and social upbringing must at the same time be emphasised. School

activities shall build on and have as an important task the transfer and strengthening of fundamental democratic and ethical values. An important precondition for this is the strengthening of pupils' personal responsibility and influence in the school.

Ongoing internationalisation confronts the school with new challenges. This has consequences not only for the national steering documents, but also for local work in the school. Education in foreign languages needs to be reinforced. The school's task of transmitting central parts of our cultural heritage becomes even more relevant as it provides a basis for international co-operation, as well as understanding and respect for the culture and value systems of other peoples. The school, increasingly affected by multicultures which can develop cultural awareness and contribute to different cultural patterns and languages being represented in the school, is to be regarded as an asset. Contacts with schools in other countries as well as educational exchange programmes of different kinds shall be actively supported. International cooperation e.g. in the form of agreements and conventions are important for supporting and distributing knowledge within the school world.

Powerful and diverse media in society create new conditions for shaping public opinion and contributing to the future growth of different youth cultures. To get an overview of the flow of information, to understand one's surroundings and the time one lives in, to be able to read and decode open and hidden messages, needs an ability to be able to sift and critically examine as well as interpret words and pictures - to read the visual language. These are skills that the school should develop by allowing pupils to use modern educational aids such as computers, video etc. It is more a question of using new aids and available technology than making these a separate subject for study. Development of information technology creates new conditions for, amongst other things, access to new sources of knowledge for building contacts between schools as well as for in-service training.

Taking care of our common environment, both locally and nationally as well as internationally, requires fundamental knowledge on central concepts such as resource use, recycling and the ecological system. The consequences of material consumption and life-style habits must be clear for all, involvement and inventiveness is required to master environmental problems. Environmental knowledge needs to be dealt with in the compulsory school as a specific subject at the same time as co-ordination between subjects is essential.

Developments in society encompass increased demands for influence on the part of citizens and being able to choose between different alternatives. The school has an important role in providing education for citizenship. This means, amongst other things, being able, and willing to use both written and spoken forms of the language freely, having the ability to critically examine and being able to confront and assess the value of different arguments. This also implies the habit of working in democratic ways and participating in our cultural heritage in a broad sense. Demands for increased influence and taking greater responsibility are becoming increasingly important in daily working life, where personal competence, the ability to assess competence as well as to communicate and co-operate is intensified. Changes in conditions for young persons and in working life, mean that orientation to working life, and vocational and study guidance must also in the

future be a part of the school's activity, but how practical working life orientation takes place in the schools shall be mainly a matter for local decision making.

Understanding the changes taking place in the surrounding world and also that knowledge itself is changing, requires a historical perspective not only in subjects that focus on the development of society but also throughout all aspects of education.

Fundamental ethical questions have always been present, but they become even more important in new ways as a result of internationalisation, technological development and other changes in society. Ethical perspectives shall be brought into teaching in many subjects. By taking these up in natural contexts, both in the everyday events of the school and in terms of knowledge, conditions are created for the conscious development of pupils' individual standpoints, so that these can be based not only on values but also on knowledge.

The goal documents and the steering system

The new division of responsibility for the school means a clearer demarcation of responsibility between national and local levels and between those who have to decide on the goals of the activity and its orientation (politicians), and those who shall work for its realisation (principally teachers and head teachers in the schools). This imposes new demands on the form and structure of the steering document and how its functions are to be formulated. It also imposes demands on the instruments that must be developed to follow-up and evaluate the activities of the school. The National Agency for Education is responsible for this.

Goal and result-orientation means that the activities of the school do not need or should not be steered principally through rules and regulations, but rather through nationally determined goals. Teachers, head teachers and pupils shall transform the goals given at the national level into educational goals in their own school and in this way draw up their local work plans. By this means and through greater scope at a local level for determining ways and means of attaining goals, a type of participatory goal steering can be achieved. The extent to which the goals are fulfilled shall then be determined through evaluation instruments developed nationally and locally. This should provide feedback to decision makers on the areas where something needs to be improved and where additional resources should be targeted.

Participation of pupils and parents and their influence over the schooling the pupil receives, is made possible, by amongst other things, the right to choose school and the orientation of education. In addition there are opportunities for pupils within the framework of their education to make individual choice an important basis for exercising influence, an element which should be strengthened. But also the form of the curricula and the syllabi as well as its orientation has great importance in creating at a local level, opportunities for reaching agreement on how the work should be done and what shall be the specific content of education. The national goals must be clear in their focus at the same time as they provide scope for adjustment at the local level.

In Swedish terms the curriculum has traditionally been a document that contains not only overall goals and guidelines but

also timetables and syllabi. In our directives, the terms of reference were that the curricula shall contain overall goals and guidelines for education throughout the country, whilst syllabi and timetables shall be separate documents. In the future when we refer to the curriculum, we are referring to overall goals and guidelines. This more closely approximates the approach that is gaining international acceptance.

The nationally determined goals proposed are of two principally different types. "Perspective Goals" are those that one should attempt to realise, strive for and work towards. They shall steer the orientation of the work in the school. They are broad and set high ambitions. The underlying idea is not that they should necessarily be attained in their entirety, but that they should provide a focus for teaching. They shall reflect the opportunities for development that exist in the school and provide support for local discussion on choosing educational content. In contrast to perspective goals, "attainment goals" specify the knowledge that all pupils should be guaranteed they will receive in the compulsory school. Such goals shall provide a basis for evaluation, locally and nationally, and give signals as to what extent pupils have acquired knowledge and on the different kinds of resources that need to be reallocated. The syllabi for the comprehensive school as a result propose such attainment goals for the end of the fifth and the ninth year in school respectively.

Curricula and syllabi shall thus provide scope for professional local development of the school without jeopardising national equivalence. The same principles shall apply to the timetable which is nationally determined for the schools. This shall be the main basis for determining what resources the municipality must set aside for education and it shall state a minimum guaranteed time for amongst other things, all subjects that are compulsory. At the local level the steering documents will be supplemented by school programmes decided on by the municipal council. This states, amongst other things, what resources the municipalities must earmark for national goals to be attained, and how the municipal school sector shall be developed.

The School's co-operation with Preschool and Afterschool centres

For the school to be able to offer an environment that is as secure and developmental as possible, it is important that the school has close and well-developed co-operation with preschool and the after-school centres. Co-operation with the preschool shall primarily aim at *developing activities preparatory for school*, which create continuity for children and make it easier for them to start at school. Through the cooperation between the school and the after-school centres, optimal conditions can be created through different activities for the all-round development and teaching of the child. The school shall take its share of the responsibility for ensuring that this cooperation is achieved. Conditions for co-operation have been essentially facilitated by the municipalities having the full right to organise their boards as they see fit.

The most important condition for good co-operation between the school, preschool and the after-school centre is that co-operation between the different groups of personnel involved, builds on

mutual respect for each others' professional competence. It is not a question of inter-weaving roles and tasks but rather of close communication for creating a common view and solving common problems. The importance of such cooperation should be reflected both in the curriculum of the compulsory school and in the pedagogical programmes for preschool and after-school centres. For the schools, not only the headmaster's but also the teacher's responsibility should be clear. How this cooperation shall be organised and facilitated, as well as questions on the appropriateness of local planning and common supplementary training, all these are decisions to be made at the municipal level. The child's need for continuity, security and all-round stimulation must be in the foreground. This shall be reflected in the curriculum.

Proposal

Curricula

The requirements for a curriculum are that it should deal with questions concerning the values education should be based on and what type of knowledge should be selected for learning. It shall also state broadly what elements of the cultural heritage shall be transmitted from one generation to another and how the school should prepare for a world that is in the process of change. It should also clarify the distribution of responsibility between the different bodies involved and how that responsibility is to be exercised.

The curriculum shall also state the national goals, and in contrast to earlier occasions, not give guidelines on how the goals should be reached i.e. choice of material, approach to work and methods of working. This does not mean that the question of material selection is transferred completely to the local level. Instead it reinforces the need for nationally determined goals to be clear and provide a basis for determining priority at the local level. At the same time influence and responsibility are given to teachers and headmasters to draw up the goals of the activity and education in line with national goals, and to ensure that practical work is carried out to attain these.

The Commission's report can be regarded as a commentary on the Curricula.

The proposals of the Commission cover the foundation values of the school and its tasks, national educational goals as well as essential guidelines for work in the school, for co-operation between the school and the home, as well as co-ordination with preschool, upper secondary school etc.

The Swedish school system rests on fundamental democratic values that have evolved historically and are deeply embedded in the fabric of our country. Our proposals, in the same way as those for the existing curriculum, are based on this foundation. The proposals for the curriculum of the comprehensive school and the upper secondary school, and municipal adult education have great similarities. Fundamental values as well as overall goals and guidelines are in principle similar for the different types of schools. The differences between the schools are their different tasks, target